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| 3 Oct. 1921 | Digby, N.S.: A plea for unity of Liberal and farmer groups. | D 5555 |
| 4 Oct. 1921 | Kentville, N.S.: Campaign speech. | D 5562 |
| 5 Oct. 1921 | Amherst, N.S.: Meighen's manifesto. | D 5565 |
| 6 Oct. 1921 | Charlottetown: Campaign speech. | D 5570 |
| 10 Oct. 1921 | Kensington, P.E.I.: Campaign speech. | D 5594 |
| 11 Oct. 1921 | O'Leary, P.E.I.: The need for unity of the opposition forces. | D 5597 |
| 11 Oct. 1921 | Alberton, P.E.I.: Campaign speech. | D 5599 |
| 12 Oct. 1921 | Summerside, P.E.I.: The autocracies of Mr. Meighen; the tariff. | D 5603 |
| 13 Oct. 1921 | Moncton: Campaign speech. | D 5615 |
| 14 Oct. 1921 | Sussex, N.B.: Tariff policy. | D 5634 |
| 15 Oct. 1921 | St. John, N.B.: Campaign speech. | D 5638 |
| 17 Oct. 1921 | St. Stephen, N.B.: No Liberal alliance with the farmers. | D 5654 |
| 18 Oct. 1921 | Campbellton, N.B.: Campaign speech. | D 5660 |
| 25 Oct. 1921 | Rockland, Ont.: The civil service and munitions shipments. | D 5667 |
| 26 Oct. 1921 | Orono, Ont.: Munitions shipments. | D 5669 |
| 27 Oct. 1921 | Sutton, Ont.: North York and the class ideals of farmers. | D 5674 |
| 28 Oct. 1921 | Stouffville: Toryism - "Class Rule". | D 5678 |
| 28 Oct. 1921 | Aurora: The Liberal party and class rule. | D 5680 |
| 29 Oct. 1921 | Bolton: Premier Meighen's untruths. | D 5686 |
| 31 Oct. 1921 | Guelph: Liberalism vs. autocracy. | D 5690 |
| 1 Nov. 1921 | Stratford: Campaign speech. | D 5696 |
| 2 Nov. 1921 | Sarnia: Campaign speech. | D 5701 |
| 3 Nov. 1921 | St. Thomas: Campaign speech. | D 5716 |
| 4 Nov. 1921 | London: The Meighen autocracy. | D 5721 |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7 Nov. 1921 | Ottawa: The autocracy of the Meighen government. | D 5732 |
| 8 Nov. 1921 | Sudbury: Tariff policy. | D 5738 |
| 10 Nov. 1921 | Port Arthur: Campaign speech. | D 5742 |
| 12 Nov. 1921 | Melville, Sask.: The Progressives and the Liberal party. | D 5756 |
| 14 Nov. 1921 | Edmonton: Campaign speech. | D 5761 |
| 15 Nov. 1921 | Calgary: The Progressives and the Liberal party. | D 5763 |
| 16 Nov. 1921 | Regina: The usurping of government by the Meighen administration. | D 5772 |
| 17 Nov. 1921 | Moose Jaw: Campaign speech. | D 5785 |
| 18 Nov. 1921 | Winnipeg: Campaign speech. | D 5794 |
| 19 Nov. 1921 | Cobalt, Ont.: The usurping of government by Meighen. | D 5801 |
| 22 Nov. 1921 | Newmarket: The Meighen autocracy. | D 5805 |
| 23 Nov. 1921 | Woodstock: Campaign speech. | D 5809 |
| 24 Nov. 1921 | Brantford: Campaign speech. | D 5813 |
| 25 Nov. 1921 | Chesley: Campaign speech. | D 5820 |
| 26 Nov. 1921 | Peterborough: Campaign speech. | D 5822 |
| 28 Nov. 1921 | Pembroke: The farmer groups and Meighen rule. | D 5825 |
| 29 Nov. 1921 | Oshawa: Campaign speech. | D 5829 |
| 30 Nov. 1921 | Gananoque: Tariff issues. | D 5835 |
| 30 Nov. 1921 | Kingston: The women's vote; senate appointments; railways. | D 5839 |
| 1 Dec. 1921 | North Bay: Campaign speech. | D 5842 |
| 2 Dec. 1921 | Holland Landing: Tory autocracy; King's war record. | D 5846 |
| 3 Dec. 1921 | North York: Campaign speech. | D 5850 |
| 11 Dec. 1921 | Ottawa: Tribute to Marshall Foch. | D 5853 |
| 13 Dec. 1921 | Aurora: Expression of thanks to supporters in North York. | D 5867 |
| 14 Dec. 1921 | Newmarket: Expression of thanks to supporters in North York. | D 5870 |

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D 5044

April 1921 House of Commons

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

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Coll - Railway policy

D 5045

Rough draft

Mr. Speaker:-

The essential feature of this long debate on the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Merchant Marine must not be overlooked, lost sight of, or still less side-tracked, if I may say so. The sole question at issue is the right of Parliament to obtain full, vital and substantial information concerning the operations of the two great public services for which so much of the public money is spent. No other consideration should be allowed to prevail against this undoubted right, which it is our duty towards the country under the present circumstances to fully exercise. As my hon. friend, Mr. Fielding, said a few days ago on the floor, we wish to exercise it, not for the purpose, as the Government would seem to believe we try to do, of resorting to petty enquiries om matters of details- we are too busy for that and Parliament has something else to do- but for the purpose of ascertaining and checking how this enormous deficit for which we are accountable to those we represent has occurred and how ~~XXX~~ the management of these two most important public services is conducted.

That attitude has been ours for the last two years. We have not changed it, and this consistency shews our determination not to allow, as far as it is in our power to do, the Government to deviate from the very fundamental principle of the English constitution, that of ministerial responsibility in the matter of the expenditure of public money.

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The main trend of the discussion on this vital subject for the last fortnight has been this ministerial responsibility in such matters. If hon. gentlemen will look at the terms and contents of our amendment to the motion for the Committe of Supply, they will see what, on thi s side of the House, we consider is the gist of the discussion. Let me read it to show what we were asking for on the 22nd March :

(Read Amendment, page 3)

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D 5047

(3)

R A I L W A Y S And SHIPPING

AMENDMENT TO MOTION FOR COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY

MARCH 22,1921,
(Hansard, page 1231)

That all the words after the word "that" be struck out, and the following substituted therefor:

Subject to the reservation that in exceptional cases there may be documents of a confidential character which, in the public interest, may properly be withheld from publication, the House declares that it is the undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive copies of all reports, accounts, correspondence and papers in relation to the management of every department of the public service including the affairs of the Canadian National Railways, whether operating directly under the control of the department, or under corporate form.

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D 5047

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This attitude, consistently followed by the liberal party on this question as a matter of right and two weeks ago embodied in that [redacted] amendment, we will not change or depart from, because we cannot on constitutional principles do it, and we will not imitate the Government, who first promised in an emphatic manner to give full information as they are bound to do under the constitution, then questioned the right of Parliament to that information for various reasons which I think do not hold, and finally adopted a course which may very possibly lead to our being deprived of information entirely. We consider the magnitude and importance of the problems under discussion and waiting for solution do not permit us to indulge in such recantation.

(3) allusion
1. promised full
upon

My reference, when the amendment of hon. Mr. McLean was introduced, to the change of attitude of the Government, was then sufficiently emphasized. I will not dilate upon it, I will not rub the sore. That attitude they will explain, the best they can, before the country.

We are concerned with their present attitude as shown in the terms of this motion presented by the hon. Prime Minister.

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(5)

First let me observe?Mr. Speaker, that the motion of the Prime Minister was somewhat heralded by him as though it was to be a return to their previous attitudeo on that question of full information being furnished, to enlarge the scope of the powers to be entrusted to the Committee, to alleviate our grievances and restore peace on this side. That is so only in appearance, on the surface, not in reality.

Meighen, page 1684
"I am sorry to destroy
"the hopes of hon,
"gentlement opposite

hon.
Mr. Speaker, if gentlemen will look at the motion of Hon. member for Halifax, they will see that, from a negative point of view it could, if we compare it with the Prime Minister's motion, have been considered as not restrictive, in terms, of the powers which we wish this Committee to enjoy for investigation.

(Read McLean's motion)

next page

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(6)

That motion of the hon. member for Halifax merely asked for the appointment of a Standing Committe on Railways and Shipping, which after all was to be of the same character as the other already existing Committees and which decide upon questions referred to them, and we might consider that the door was left still open to giving the Committee proposed to be appointed then the full powers of investigation. We would have opposed the formation of such a Committee as proposed in the terms of the resolution of the hon. member for Halifax, because the motion did not say, in affirmative terms that the Committee would be given the necessary full powers of investigation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Halifax having withdrawn his motion from the Order paper (5th April, 1921 Hansard 1639) and also his amendment to Supply, we are again confronted with a proposal of a similar nature, made by the Prime Minister, but, I say and I will shew, absolutely restricted in terms and not more immediately conducive, I think, to a full and substantial information being furnished, as we are entitled it should furnished to Parliament.

I do not hesitate to say that the motion of the hon. Prime Minister is not acceptable, as it is again begging the whole question which we have been discussing

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for so long, the right, the inalienable right to information on the the operation of the Canadian National railways and the Canadian Merchant Marine.

Oh! Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentlemen of the government will say, and they will try to rely particularly well upon the shaped wording of the resolution, to say that the proposed Committee is not deprived of all powers of investigation, and that, on the contrary, it has a most important problem to solve. It is instructed to inquire into what information should, in public interest, be brought down in Parliament. My reply to this is that you cannot question the right, the inalienable right under the constitution, for the Parliament to inquire into all matters of the expenditure of public money. That inalienable right can still less be discussed, restricted or diminished by a Committe supposedly appointed to inquire into the question. And if you refuse inquiries in this House being made through questions or motions for production of papers, you must at least give the Committee full powers of investigation into the financial situation and operation of the Canadian National Railways and Canadian Merchant Marine. You cannot shut us off entirely, close up all the avenues through which Parliament is entitled to pass to get at the information it has a right to have. If you do, with this motion, we will not come to terms.

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(8)

RAILWAYS AND SHIPPING

PRIME MINISTER 'S MOTION
for
Appointment of Standing Select Committee

Notice, 5th April, 1921

April 5—*The Prime Minister*—The following proposed Resolution:—

That a Select Standing Committee on National Railways and Shipping be appointed for the present Session, and be instructed to inquire into the following questions:—

(1) What information as to operation of Canadian National Railways and Shipping as conducted by the Board of Directors and Management should, in the public interest, be brought down in Parliament on Question, Motion for production of papers, or otherwise.

(2) When, by what method, and under what conditions, if any, should such information be given, regard being had for the necessity of securing to Parliament and the public all facts requisite for the determination of policy (including finance), and to the Board of Directors the best possible conditions and efficiency of management,

(3) What system of auditing should be adopted, and what extent of detail should be given in the Annual Report,

(4) Whether and for what purposes the said Committee should be continued, and that for the above purposes and for such other purposes as the Committee deem in the public interest there be referred to said Committee the Annual Report of the Board of Directors and that the said Committee have power to examine witnesses under oath, to send for papers, persons, and records, and to report from time to time.

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(91)

The same observation must be made as to the other paragraph (2) of the motion:

(2) When, by what method and under what conditions, if any, should such information be given.

The proviso therein as to regard being had for the necessity of securing to Parliament and the public all the facts requisite for the determination of policy is thereby made subservient to the first part of that 2nd paragraph.

Mr. Speaker, let me tell the hon. gentlemen of the Government: Do not raise any question as to the time when, the method by which, and the conditions under which this Parliament has always obtained its information in matters of expenditure, and we ask you again after having too long waited for it already, to give this Committe the power to secure to Parliament and the public all facts requisite for the determination of policy, that is to say full powers of investigation, O therwise, I say it again, we will not come to terms.

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(10)

As to par. 3 . of the motion, I may say I do not care what system of auditing is adopted. That is a matter of detail as compared with the great issue we have been discussing over and over again.

And on the point as to what extent of detail should be given in the annual, I wish to say that we are not somuch concerned as to what detail in writing should be included in that Report, more or less, although a more detailed report would be of better use to the House as a quick channel of immediately available information, but we are concerned with our right to obtain ample and substantial information through this Committee, this session, without asking them to decide as to the right of the House to do so; and strong on our right to have that information, we ask that the committee should be given the powers to supply us with it.

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Par. 4 of the resolution, which is as follows

(4) Whether and for what purposes the said Committee should be continued, and that for the above purposes and for such other purposes as the Committee deem in the public interest there be referred to said Committee the Annual Report of the Board of Directors and that the said Committee have power to examine witnesses under oath, to send for papers, persons, and records, and to report from time to time.

is obviously the one through which the Government will contend they are giving satisfaction to the House in that matter of furnishing full information.

But apart from the fact already referred to that we cannot divest ourselves of an inalienable right in the matter and delegate such a decision to a Committee, it is clear from a careful reading of that 4th paragraph that its terms are not wide enough to satisfy us. We are not going to leave it in the hands of the Committee to decide for what purposes in the public interest the Annual Report of the Board of Directors should be referred to the Committee. If it is to be referred to them at all, it is for the purpose of full inquiry.

We have a statement made by the Prime Minister of the 5th April, Hansard 1660, which, to my mind indicates the idea of the Government. That statement he made just when he spoke of his forthcoming resolution and is therefore absolutely in connection therewith:

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Mr. Meighen's statement ,page 1660,Hansard,
April 5,last,On McLean Motion.

"It must never be thought that we should give
"to a committee powers or duties exceeding
"those we ourselves are ready to exercise.
"For example,if it is not in the interests
"of the country that we so hamper the management
"of the road as to render efficiency impossible
"by doing in this House what this House
"some few days ago decided it would not do,
"namely,bring out merely upon question or motion,
"all information, no matter what it is,
"if that is not going to be done by Parliment
",then Parliament is certainly not going to
"commit to a committee the power to do what in the
"public interest it is not right for Parliament
"to do itself.That could not be considered at all.

What investigations based on what reports
Committee can do/ever
What should be done
What can be done

Into committee for rest of session

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I think I have said enough to show why this Committed as proposed to be constituted is not acceptable.

I just want to refer to one of the reasons given by the Government to refuse to give the information we ask for, which/that they have given is and entrusted the operation and management of the Canadian National Railways to a corporation on which responsbility rests and into whose affairs we must not go.

We have several times tried to know from the Government exactly what was done under the law to entrust the management and operation of our railways to what is called the company, or the Board of Management or Directors, and take it from the hands of the Department.

I quote here what the hon. Minister of finance said to my hon. friend Mr. Lapointe:

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(14)

Question by Mr. Lapointe to Drayton

Hansard, 1672
5th April,
1921

" My Hon.friend has spoken of the "Board of Directors"
"of the Canadian National Railway. Has any board of
"directors been appointed under the law which was
"passed a few years ago? Has that corporation been
"organised to any extent at all, or are the railways
"managed, as they were then, under the Government
"by commissioners appointed by it?

An hon. MEMBER: "By order in Council"

Sir Henry Drayton:" The hon. gentleman is quite correct
"to a certain extent; but I am afraid in the main
"quite wrong. It is quite true to say that the general
" Act has not yet been put into effect, but it is also
"entirely untrue to say that the railway system
"is governed by a commission. The Board of Directors
"are electors just in exactly the same way as the
"board of directors of any company would be elected.

I think this is a very unsatisfactory answer.

Yesterday, we had the following statement made by the Minister of Railways that the Law under which the management and operation of the railways could be given to the company has not yet been brought into effect.

(Read next page .

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18.

Question asked by Mr. Fielding

Hansard, page 1732
April 6, 1921

"Are there no directors of the Canadian
"National Railway Company?

Hon. Mr. Reid: "That Bill has not yet been brought
"into effect"

Mr. Fielding: "There is no such company as the
"Canadian National Railway Company?

Hon. Mr. Reid:-That is only a descriptive title.
"We passed an order in council providing that
"the title "Canadian National Railways" should be
"used until we brought into force the Act
"passed two years ago.

Now if you look at section 11 of the Act 13, 9-10, Ch.
Geo. V, you will see that an Order in Council is necessary
in order
that the company should be entrusted with
operation and magement of the Canadian National Railways.

I have been looking for such an Order-in-Council
hon.
and have not found it, and the Ministers themselves admit
that the Act has not been put into operation.

The only conclusion to be drawn is that they
have still, legally, the operation and management of the
Canadian National Railways, al though they for which they may be responsible directly
say that, in fact, they have nominated a Board of Directors. as any
dispositions

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D 5060

19 May 1921 House of Commons

BUDGET SPEECH: "TARIFF REVISION
AND TAXATION"

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Subject to revision and further consideration. L.B.

coll · Railway policy
D 5061 R-1100

The railway problem as it stands to-day and as it will be probably for many years is by far the greatest question which the Canadian people rightly expect their representatives will examine, study and bring to solution. Its magnitude and complexity exceed in a very large measure that of any and all other national questions. In fact, never before was Canada faced with an immense question of such a nature, having all sorts of financial, political, administrative and legislative aspects and consequences, and it is true also that never in the past for the determination of a national question, fraught with the possibility of financial disaster in case of mismanagement or careless administration, were there required greater statesmanship, ability and vision on the part of the leaders and legislators.

At the outset, there are two things to be remembered, and I would like to put upon them all the emphasis which may be warranted by facts;

1. The problem as it stands today is the direct and immediate outcome of the policy of the present administration since its beginning and more particularly for the last few years.

There is on my part no intention to make political capital out of this assertion. But the situation exists and must be established in its true light, and responsibilities must be shouldered by those by whom it was directly created. There has been for the last few years an endeavour on the part of the Government to try and exonerate themselves by creating the general impression of a common responsibility jointly existing in the Liberal party and Conservative party, and by constantly alluding to so-called liberal mistakes during the previous administration.

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2 Apart from the fact that the contention of great mistakes having supposedly been made by the liberal administration is not established, the fact remains that today the situation is one which the present Government alone did create by their own policy and legislation as pursued and enacted since 1913. The present Government, since its inception has followed a policy of extravagance out of which the chaos arose and the present Government must take full responsibility therefor. The people of Canada today have to bear the cost of heavy taxes as the result of the railway policy of this Government, which therefore must, be held strictly accountable for this tremendous financial burden.

2. The Conservative administration had no constitutional right to pursue a policy of that nature, magnitude and consequence without consulting the people and obtaining from them a special mandate to deal with that question.

In this regard the Government is a usurper as in any other respects. When the Great War came to an end, the mandate of the Government given it in 1917 by the people for the prosecution of war came also to an end, and it was the constitutional duty of the Government to go to the people and renew the people's mandate for the prosecution of peaceful aims of administration. In the election of 1917, the railway policy of the Government was not placed before the people and was not made an issue, because it was a war election only. If there was one vital question which made it an imperative necessity to secure at the same time the approval of the electorate, before engaging the people's money in the pursuit of the Government's railway policy, it was assuredly the railway question, when the Government had decided to adopt a

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policy that meant the engulphing of hundreds of millions of the people's money into the purchase, financing and operation of what was to become the Canadian National Railways.

Before discussing this railway question in its most important aspects, I wish to disclaim any intention, direct or indirect, of attacking or favouring Government ownership of railways. But as to this, I would be inclined to think that much depended upon the integrity, ability and disinterestedness of those men put in charge of our railways. We are no longer faced with a theoretical problem, and whatever the theory may contain of truth or Utopia, we have in fact jumped with all our national wealth and money into Government ownership of railways. Nor is it expedient to discuss whether, under such circumstances as existed when the Government adopted their policy of national railways it should have been advisable to leave those railways wheich are today under Government control to work out their own salvation.

The point is that the Government, through their own lavishness and extravagant outlay in the way of guarantees and loans to the railways had placed themselves and the National treasury in such a position as to be compelled at a certain moment either to acquire the railways or to continue financing them in a still heavier manner. A time was reached when the Government was no longer in a position to withdraw and it may be truly said that through weakness and lack of vision and of foresight, the Government first launched into a policy of extravagant financial aid to the railways and finally found themselves financially bound to go on. So that the railway situation of today is the direct result of Government extravagance in the past.

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I wish first to give a view of the enabling legislation passed by the present administration and the extension of Government credit, in order to show ultimately how far the people of Canada are taxed today as the immediate result of their policy.

For the period between 1911 and 1919, I will take up the Public accounts for 1920, where are given, on page 10, in schedule "J" all the items of loans, guarantees and interests concerning the Canadian Northern Railway, the Grand Trunk Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. You will notice that the schedule "J" called railway accounts, contains only two items which refer to the liberal administration, amounting together to $12,000,000 out of a total of $272,624,931.34

" Schedule "J" "

RAILWAY ACCOUNTS (Non-Active)

| | |
|---|---|
| Canadian Northern Railway Loan Account,1914, (Chap.4,Act of 1915).....$ | 10,000,000.00 |
| Canadian Northern Railway Loan Account,1916... | 15,000,000.00 |
| Canadian Northern Railway Interest Account (Chap.20,Acts of 1914)..... | 5,294,000.02 |
| Canadian Northern Railway (Act No.1,Legislation 1918 on account of interest and equipment... | 25,000,000.00 |
| Canadian Northern Railway (Loan under War Measures Act)..... | 6,197,566.80 |
| Canadian Northern Railway (Purchase of Capital Stock C.N.Ry.Chap.24 Acts 1917, Sec.4, sub-section 3)..... | 10,000,000.00 |
| Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Interest account (Sec.10,Chap.6,Acts 1911)..... | 2,396,099.68 |
| Canadian Northern Railway (Legislation 1917,for acquisition of Capital Stock,(7-8 Geo.V, Chap.24)..... | 25,000,000.00 |
| Canadian Northern Railway (Appropriation Act of 1919)..... | 35,000,000.00 |
| Grand Trunk Railway (Interest Account,O.C.Sept. 1919)..... | 554,800.00 |
| Grand Trunk Railway Compant(Temporary Loan)..... | 593,733.33 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Prairie Section Loan Account (Chap.19 of Acts 1909)..... | 10,000,000.00 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Loan Account 1913 (Chap.23 of Acts,1913)..... | 15,000,000.00 |

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Schedule "J" Continued

| | |
|---|---|
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Loan Account 1914 (Chap.4 of Acts 1915)..... | 6,000,000.00 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Investment Account, | 33,093,333.23 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Loan Account (Appropriation Act No.4,1917)..... | 5,038,053.72 |
| Grand Trunk ~~Railw~~Pacific Railway Company,Interest Account,..... | 7,081,783.45 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway,Appropriation Act 1918,.... | 7,471,399.93 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Guaranteed Interest Account,..... | 2,732,750.27 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway,Receiver Account,.. | 9,709,401.98 |
| Railway Equipment Account,..... | 41,462,008.93 |
| | $ 272,624,931.34 |

In connection with this extravagant amount of $272,624,931.34 I would like to quote a few lines out of the statement of the Minister of Finance in his Budget speech of 1920:-

" It is obvious that the advances to the Canadian Northern, Grand Trunk Pacific and Grand Trunk railway Companies cannot be treated as active assets. They are not at the moment realizable; further no interest is being paid, and in some cases the principal as well as interest, is overdue. As is well known, Canada is now the owner of the Canadian Northern, receiver for the Grand Trunk Pacific, and steps have been taken for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk. While the railways have potential value, at the present time the fact is that the country itself owns the Canadian Northern and is responsible for the operation of the Grande Trunk Pacific, WITH RESULTANT HEAVY COST TO THE TAXPAYER. "

This is the admission by the Minister of Finance himself that as a result of those advances, etc., and as I have shown, the railway accounts in 1920 amount to 272 millions, the people of Canada are heavily taxed.

But that was up to 1920 ! What has happened since then ? To the 272 millions for which the people of Canada are heavily taxed

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there must be added many other millions which will involve other heavy taxes for the country. The reason is that the deficits arising out of the operation of those railways are greater every year.

In 1920, there was a deficit of $48,000,000. which necessitated a vote to that amount in the estimates. This year the Minister of Railways announced a deficit of $70,000,000. which some financial expert has placed as high, in fact, as ~~180~~ 128 millions. In consequence we have been asked this year to vote 50 millions as a loan to the Canadian Northern, $89,687,633. as a loan for the Grand Trunk Railway, and $26,000,000. as a loan to the Grand Trunk Pacific. To this must be added a probable deficit of $100,000,000. for next year.

x no account being taken of large total of deficits on Canadian National since 1917.

Therefore if you add 48, 90, 26 and 100 millions to the 272 millions, you reach the extraordinary sum of 536 millions, "with resultant heavy cost to the taxpayer of this country".

This is not the result of the war, and the people of Canada should not allow themselves to be fooled by this excuse that heavy taxes are the outcome of the war. It is not so. The present Government are responsible for the taxes which will result from those $500,000,000. and over which will appear in our railway accounts.

This was forecast by one of the Commissioners on the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into our railways and transportation, Mr. A. H. Smith, in his minority report of april 1917, referring to the recommendations of the other two commissioners.

> " Their plan would add a billion dollars to the direct debt of Canada. The interest on this is about forty millions, adding very largely to Government expenses. Judging from the experience Canada has had with its Government railways, it is fair to

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fair to assume that this would remain a permanent burden."

Well, we have not yet reached the billion dollars, but we have passed the half billion mark and we are well on the way. And all along the inhabitants of this Country will have to pay the resultant taxes.

I will add this last, just to show how far we have gone into extravagance through weakness and lack of foresight, that this year the estimates call for a vote of $167,937,290.72 chargeable to income for railways and canals.

The other feature which characterizes the railway policy of the Government and to which I wish to refer at some length is the patronage which has been allowed to subsist in the railway management. Not content to extending enormous credit to the railways through enabling legislation, the Government, which many times announced a policy of independence in the railway management, has not abolished patronage at all. You will see, as I go on, that this is the most appalling story ever heard of in governmental administration.

To understand it all, a little historical sketch is necessary.

You will recall that in 1914 the Government passed Ch.20 of the Acts of that year, by which it was provided that a guarantee of $45,000,000. should be made to the Canadian Northern Railway to enable it to carry on. The Government, of course, could not give a guarantee of that amount without obtaining consideration. In consideration of that guarantee of forty five millions, $33,000,000 of the capital stock of the company was to be transferred to the people of

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Canada. Seven millions of capital stock of the Company having previously (1913) been transferred to the Government as consideration for subsidies, the people of Canada in 1914 were to become the owners of $40,000,000. of capital stock, while the former proprietors of the Canadian Northern railway owned $60,000,000. of the stock, which at that time was increased to $100,000,000.00.

That was the first decisive step towards what might be called tacit acquisition, which would in days that were to come and which we have seen, make formal acquisition practically unavoidable.

You will recall also that in 1915, Chap.4 of the Acts of that year, provided for a loan to the Canadian Northern railway and that by the appropriation Act (No.2) p.36 of the statutes of 1916, a further loan of $15,000,000. was made to the same company, making a total for two years of $25,000,000.

In 1917, Sir Thomas White, then Minister of Finance, gave a statement of the railway situation wherein he ennunciated the policy of the Government, which was to acquire the outstanding capital stock of the Canadian Northern railway amounting as I have said to $60,000,000. in the hands of private owners and pledgees.

In accordance with that policy, Ch.24 of the statute of 1917, was passed for the acquisition by His Majesty of the outstanding six hundred thousand shares of the Canadian Northern Railway at a price to be fixed by arbitration. Pursuant to sec.3 of ch.24 of 1917, $25,000,000 was voted before the award was rendered, for the purpose of sustaining the financial affairs of the Canadian Northern.

As to the award itself, the amount to be accorded had been

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limited to $10,000,000. by order-in-Council, which the Government had no right to do, because the statute contained no words of limitation; as pointed out by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1918, Hansard p.2017. This is an instance of the old habit of the Government in passing Orders-in-Councils without authority.

The award was rendered in June of 1918 and the amount fixed was somewhere about $10,000,000.

The result was that, by 1918, the Canadian Government, having acquired the stock of the Canadian Northern Railway were the owners and masters of the railway and of its entire administration.

In 1918, shortly before the award above mentioned was rendered, Sir Robert Borden, then Prime Minister, made a statement as to the contemplated policy of the Government. He then made this pronouncement (page 1999 Hansard 1918)

> " We shall use every means available to the Government in order that anything like political influence, political patronage or political interference -I am using the word political in its narrower sense- shall be absolutely eliminated from the administration of that road"?

But curiously enough, shortly before in his speech he had said that the management of the Canadian Northern which had become Government-owned, would remain undisturbed until after the arbitral award was rendered. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who followed him in the debate, felt himself bound to remark in this connection: (1918 Hansard, p.2015)

> "The Prime Minister, in speaking of the re-organization, spoke upon a subject which everybody has in mind, that is to say, that we should keep that enterprise free from political patronage....
> If political patronage is to be eliminated from railway administration in Canada -and my Right Honourable friend

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has particularly insisted upon that point- the plan which he has suggested does not seem to be conducive to that result. IF YOU HAVE ANY BOARD OF DIRECTORS WHICH IS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT, YOU WILL NOT ELIMINATE POLITICAL PATRONAGE."

Remember that statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, because the situation which he described in 1918 is the one which has existed up to the present day.

As a matter of fact, when a year after, in 1919, the law to incorporate the National Railways was passed, ch.13 of 9-10 Geo.V, the first section was made to read as follows:-

> 1. The Governor-in-Council may nominate such persons as may be deemed expedient, not less than five, nor more than fifteen, to be directors of the Company, incorporated, and upon such nomination being made the persons so nominated shall be and are hereby incorporated as a company under the name of Canadian National Railway Co."

Moreover, under Sec.2 of that act, the directors so nominated are removable by the Governor-in-Council.

So that the feature to which Sir Wilfrid Laurier objected most strongly was made a part of the Act.

But more than that, you will see that the Government from the beginning, kept several of the directors of the old Canadian Northern Railway Co. such as Mr.Hanna, Mr.Mitchell, Mr.Wood. The auditors' report of 1919, page 128W, shows that Mr.Hanna had obtained under the award, $43,000. for his 2600 shares, Mr.Mitchell, $16,666.66 for 1000 shares, and Mr. Wood, $1,666.66 for 100 shares. And in answer to a question put by Mr.Copp, p.612 of Hansard 1919, Hon. Mr.Reid, giving the names of the directors said that Mr.Hanna and Mr.Mitchell were the only directors who gave their full time to the railway. So that

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"Canadian"

the management of the national railway so called under the Act, was really in the hands of two of the old directors of the Canadian Northern.

This is not to cast a shadow of doubt upon the integrety of those two gentlemen. It is the principle that I am ~~contending for~~ objecting to, and my contention is that, under such circumstances, it is impossible to say that political patronage has been eliminated through a sound method of independent management.

Since then, it was discovered that the Board of Directors is composed of gentlemen largely interested in finance and business. Let me give first, the full personnel of the Board:-

Mr. D. B. Hanna, of Toronto.
Mr. S. J. Mitchell, of Toronto.
Mr. E. R. Wood, of Toronto.
Mr. R. Hobson, of Hamilton.
Major G.A.Bell, C.M.S., of Ottawa.
Sir Hormidas Laporte, of Montreal.
Mr. A. F. Barnhill, K.C.,D.C.L., of St.John,N.B.
Col. Thomas Cantley, of New Glasgow, N.S.
Mr. R. T. Riley, of Winnipeg.

Now, what are the companies with which these gentlemen are connected ? I have here a list taken from the financial review for 1920.

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Besides being directors of the Canadian National Railway System, they are also directors in the following companies, according to the Annual Financial Review, June, 1920 :

D. B. Hanna - Canada Steamship Lines Limited.
Electrical Development Co. of Canada Ltd.
Canada Mortgage Investment Company.
British-America Assurance Company.
Western Assurance Company.
President, Canada Flour Mills.
Canadian North Prairie Lands Company.
Brazilian Traction, Light & Power Co. Ltd.
Rio de Janeiro Light & Power Co.
Sao Paulo Light & Power Company.

A. J. Mitchell - Western Canada Flour Mills.

I hear that Mr. Riley holds many more than these

R. T. Riley - Vice-Pres. Union Bank of Canada.
Vice-Pres. Great West Life Assurance Co.

Robert Hobson - Bank of Hamilton.
Canada Locomotive Co. Limited.
President, Steel Co. of Canada Limited.
Tuckett Tobacco Co. Limited.
North Star Oil & Refining Company.
Chartered Trusts & Executor Company.
British Empire Trust Company.
Dominion Power & Transmission Company.
Toronto General Trusts Corporation.

Major G. A. Bell -

Sir Hormisdas Laporte -
Credit Foncier Franco Canadien.
Societe d'Administration Generale.
Frontenac Breweries Limited.
La Sauvegarde Life Assurance Company.

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Colonel Thomas Cantley - Eastern Car Co. Limited (Controlled by the Nova Scotia Steel & Coal Co. Ltd., who own and issue all the common stock.)
Brandram-Henderson Paints & Varnishes.
Nova Scotia Steel & Coal Co. Limited.

A. P. Barnhill - Eastern Trusts Company.
James Pender & Co. Limited.
St. John Iron Works Limited.
Telegraph Publishing Company.
President, New Brunswick Electrical Telegraph Company.
Acamac Land Co. Ltd. (Pres.)
Fenton Land and Building Co.
Westfield Land Co.
Times Publishing Co.
New Brunswick Realty Company.

E. R. Wood - British-American Assurance Company.
Vice-Pres. Canada Life Assurance Co.
Western Assurance Co.
Canadian Bank of Commerce.
Dominion Steel Corporation.
Central Canada Loan and Savings Co. (Pres.)
Toronto Savings & Loan Co.
Calgary Power Company.
Mexico North Western Railway Co.
Barcelona Traction, Light & Power Co.Ltd.
Brazilian Traction, Light & Power Co.Ltd. (Vice-Pres.)
Rio de Janeiro Light & Power Co.
Sao Paulo Tramway, Light & Power Co.
Mexico Tramways Company.
Mexico Electric Light Company.
Toronto Railway Company.
Toronto Power Co. Limited.
Toronto Electric Light Co. Ltd.
The Electrical Development Co. of Canada, Ltd.
National Trust Co. (Vice-Pres.)
~~Central Canada Loan and Savings Co.~~
Dominion Securities Corporation Ltd.

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Let me also refer to the classes of articles which are required in great quantities as supplies and equipment for the National Railways:-

Iron and steel (locomotives, rails, cars, castings, couplers, bolts, barn, etc.).
Cement.
Oil; coal oil, white lead oil, boiled linseed oil.
Gasoline.
Lumber and timber, for car decking and roofing and for construction (fencing).
Paints.
Cotton and wool waste.
Uniforms for conductors and employees.
Coal.
Food of all kinds.
Ties.
Pullman and sleepers materials.
Electric materials.
Frogs.
Wheels.
Hose.
Air-brake materials.
Tie plates.
Hotel supplies.
Insurance.
Advertising.
Printing.

The above statements speak for themselves.

It is the reason why, at the time the Government policy was emunciated in 1918, and the law of incorporation was discussed in 1919, various suggestions were offered to eliminate this possibility of patronage. In 1918, Sir Wilfrid Laurier suggested that the National Railways should be operated under a commission similar to that which has administered the city of Washington D.C., and during the discussions of sec.1 of the act of Incorporation in 1919, certain of our members suggested that appointments of directors might be made proportionately by both parties in the House.

Hans. of 1918. page 2015.

Hans. of 1919 page 1624

Nothing of the kind was done and the principle of patronage although denounced in words by the Government, was kept alive in fact and in the legislation.

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Cement.
Oil; coal oil, white lead oil, boiled linseed oil.
Gasoline.
Lumber and timber, for car decking and roofing and for construction (fencing).
Paints.
Cotton and wool waste.
Uniforms for conductors and employees.
Coal.
Food of all kinds.
Ties.
Pullman and sleepers materials.
Electric materials.
Fuses.
Wheels.
Hose.
Air-brake materials.
Tie plates.
Hotel supplies.
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There is another extraordinary feature regarding this aspect of the case. It does not seem that the Act of incorporation passed two years ago has yet been put into effect.

On the 5th of April last, Hansard p. 1672, Mr. Lapointe asked the following question in the House:

> "My hon. friend has spoken of the Board of Directors
> "of the Canadian National Railways. Has any board of direc-
> "tors been appointed under the law which was passed
> "a few years ago? Has that corporation been organized
> "to any extent at all, or are the railways, as they were then,
> "under the Government by commissioners appointed by it?

To this Sr Henry Drayton answered:

> "The hon. gentleman is quite correct to a certain extent,
> "but I am afraid in the main quite wrong. It is quite true
> "to say that the general Act has not yet been put into
> "effect, but it is also entirely untrue to say that the
> "railway ~~xxxx~~ system is governed by a commission. The
> "Board of directors are elected the same way as the
> "board of directors of any company would be elected."

Again, on the 6th April 1921, Hansard p. 1732, Mr. Fielding asked the following question:

> "Are there no directors of the Canadian National Railways
> "Company?

Hon. Mr. Reid said:

> "That bill has not yet been brought into effect."

Hon. Mr. Fielding:

> "There is no such company as the Canadian National Rail-
> "ways Company?

Hon. Mr. Reid:

> "That is only a descriptive title. We passed an order-in-
> "council providing that the title "Canadian National
> "Railways" should be used until we brought into force
> "the act passed two years ago".

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This shows that the Act of Incorporation,1919,after two years has not yet been brought into effect,as admitted by the Government.

As a matter of fact,all the members of the Board ~~xx~~ seem to have been appointed before 1919.If you look at Hansard,p.612, for March 19,1919,you will see that in answer to a question (question 2) put by Mr. Copp,which was as follows:

> 2.-When were said directors appointed and what were their respective occupations immediately prior to their appointment?

the answer of hon. Mr. Reid shows that all the directors,who are the same today with the exception of one ,Mr. F.P.Jones,were all appointed in 1918,except Mr. Hanna,who is given as having been appointed in 1914 and Major Bell in 1916.

The only conclusion,therefore,is that the Government having acquired all the shares of the Canadian Northern railway company in 1917 by law and in fact after the award in 1918,appointed those gentlemen in the same way as the directors of any ordinary company are generally appointed.On the other hand,there is not in the Statute of 1917 which gives the Government power to acquire the outstanding capital stock of the Canadian Northern railway anything specifically providing that the Governor-in-Council is empowered to appoint directors. The Governor-in-Council assumed that ~~xx~~power from the fact that the capital stock had been acquired under the law of 1917,which is specifically quite a different thing.And as far as Mr. Hanna is concerned,his appoint

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Rider to page 17 D 5077

My assertion on this point is rendered unimpeachable by the following answer to a question put by Mr. Casgrain in the House, Rev. Hansard, 1920, page 2012:

Mr. Casgrain: 1.-Have any Orders-in-Council been passed under the provisions of section 11 of ch. 13, 9-10 Geo V, to incorporate Can. National Rly Co and respecting Can. Nat. Railways?

2.-If so, when and what are the number of said Orders-in-Council?

3.-If not, why?

Hon. Mr. Calder (for Mr. Reid).-

1.-No.

2.-Answered by No. 1.

3.-The provisions of section 1 of the Act referred to have not been given effect to.

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As you remember, section 11 is the one which gives the Governor-in-Council power to entrust the operation of the railways to the directors whom/ section 1 empowers the Governor-in-Council to nominate.

According to Mr. Calder himself, section 1 was not put into effect. That was in May of last year, and nothing has been done in that direction since.

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ment which dates back to 1914 cannot possibly be claimed to have been made at all under the authority of Parliament, since at that time, the Government was not the owner of the Canadian Northern railway company.

Let me give you another instance of the whole mess in this respect, which shows how the present Government are doing things. On the 1st of April last, Hansard page 1507, I put the following question to Hon. Mr. Reid:

> "May I ask what department the Board of Management is "under?"

The answer was that

> "there is a Board of Management appointed for the opera- "tion of the Canadian National railways--appointed by "statute- not by the Minister of railways".

And the Prime Minister a little later said:

> "The statute speaks for itself".

As a matter of fact, the Board of Management, as I have shown, was not appointed by statute at all, since the appointments date back, some to 1914 and 1916, and the others to 1918, all prior to the Act of Incorporation of the Canadian National Railway Company, 1919, which itself, as admitted by the Government, has not yet been put into effect.

See attached Rider.

The plain fact which remains is that those gentlemen were appointed in 1918 without any specific power of appointment having been conferred upon the Governor-in-Council by Parliament.

And whatever may be said to cover that irregularity, the fact ultimately remains that, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier said in 1918, the method of appointment is not one conducive to elimination of patronage

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in railway management.

The retort may be and has been that those directors, being allgentlemen of integrity and honesty, could not possibly be accused of being susceptible to being influenced by political interference. I willingly accept all that may be advanced in favour of their integrity and honesty, but beyond the fact that the principle is nevertheless wrong and assuming all that may be favourably said on behalf of the present directors of the Board of the Management, I must frankly confess on the other hand that we have not, and never have had, any opport nity to know anything about the intrinsic nature and working of the railway management and to check anything as to the operation of the Canadian National Railways.

And that leads me to consider another aspect of the railway question, which is the total deprivation of information concerning the management of our railways and the methods of expenditure relating thereto. We have, on the one hand, the tremendous outlay of the people's money

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and on the other, the policy of the Government consistently refusing to furnish any information which might satisfy the people and their representatives .We go along from year to year spending unheard of and enormous sums of money while being forced to remain in the dark as to what is done with it.The people are more and more heavily taxed because of the railways and we,as representatives of the people,are unable,after all possible attempts at gaining light in the matter, to tell how those taxes are at all justified.For the last two years we have fought in connection with this railway policy for the principle of ministerial responsibility in matters of expenditure on the ground that the government are bound,under the constitution,to render a strict account of every dolar spent for the railways,and up to this day we have made no progress in spite of all our efforts to that end.The Government have maintained this untenable position that for alleged political reasons,the public interest and the sake of good management,it was impossible to give any other information than that which is contained in a general annual report.This is the most subversive reversal of all recognized and sound principle of good administration that has ever occurred in the history of British Parliamentary institutions.

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# House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

## HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

ON

# TARIFF REVISION AND TAXATION

**Budget Debate, House of Commons, Ottawa, Thursday, May 19, 1921**

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): When Parliament assembled some three months ago, meagre as was the programme of legislation outlined, hon. members were given to understand that at least one subject of first importance would command their attention during the present session. That subject was a revision of the customs tariff. The announcement of the Government's intention with respect to this revision was no mere afterthought on the part of the ministry. It was made with all the formality and solemnity that attaches to a declaration of matured policy, conveyed to the country through the medium of the speech from the Throne by which His Excellency opens the proceedings of Parliament.

I shall not speak of the many public professions which preceded this formal announcement. They are well known to the House and to the country. One or two among the number may, however, be mentioned.

There was the declaration of Sir Thomas White, the former Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech of June 5, 1919, to the effect that a general revision of the tariff was "long over due," but, owing to the war, unavoidably overdue. It was urged that, because of the unsettled condition of international trade, still hampered by war restrictions and prohibitions and by exchange conditions, it would not be practicable to make a sound general revision of the tariff at that time. The hope, however, was expressed that within a year conditions would have become so stabilized as to permit of a general revision of the tariff The Finance Minister urged that, preceding the revision, a thorough inquiry should be conducted by the Minister of Finance and two or more of his colleagues, and gave it as his view that this inquiry might well be commenced about the autumn of that year. It was stated that the result of such an inquiry should be "a body of information which would enable the Government to effect a general revision of the tariff fair to all parts of the community and effectually promoting the national welfare of Canada." This pronouncement served the purpose of the avoidance of any tariff revision during the session of 1919.



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The autumn of 1919 came and went, but the inquiry foreshadowed for the fall of 1919 was not proceeded with. This occasioned a second official declaration. It was made, not by Sir Thomas White, but by his successor in office, my honourable friend the present Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton). It took the form of a statement issued to the public on December 15 of that year. That statement was intended to prepare the public mind for a further postponement of the day of tariff revision preliminary to the session of 1920. In that remarkable utterance, not only the time of general revision, but the time also of the inquiry which was to precede it, was further postponed. It was urged that international and economic conditions were in many respects worse than they were six months previous, or at any time during the war. Whilst this might serve as an excuse, if not as a reason, for delaying the general revision, it was evidently recognized that it would not serve with like effectiveness as a reason for abandoning the promised general inquiry which was to precede it. Accordingly the Government hit upon the rather unprecedented device of reversing the order of procedure with respect to inquiry, and instead of having the ministers confer with consumers and producers in a series of public hearings throughout the Dominion, announced its intention of having interested parties present their views and opinions in the form of written statements, which could be "systematically analyzed and classified for the purpose of making them a basis of general public inquiry to be held throughout the country."

The written statements were made to do duty for the session of 1920. Parliament was informed by my hon. friend, in his Budget speech of May 18 of that year, that though unfortunately trade and economic conditions were yet unstable, the tariff investigation had commenced, and public sittings would be held throughout Canada after prorogation. My hon. friend went further than promising the prosecution of the inquiry; he told the House that to make the inquiry thorough the Department of Finance would have the assistance of expert and other advisers, and he went on to say, "I am further of the opinion that not only should the investigation proceed, but that information should now be given of the principles and policies of the Government in the light of which effect will be given in the tariff revision to follow to the evidence and facts developed in the inquiry."

Then followed a somewhat pretentious and high-sounding enumeration of principles and policies, preceded by the declaration, "Our policy calls for a thorough revision of the tariff," and concluding with a reiteration of the affirmation that "a general revision of the Canadian tariff based upon the foregoing considerations was due." This statement of the hon. the Minister of Finance was limited only by the condition that the revision should not be undertaken "until a thorough inquiry is made to ascertain the essential facts upon which tariff provisions must necessarily be based."

That brought us to the end of the session of 1920. I shall omit for the moment reference to the somewhat remarkable, if not momentous, happening which occurred when the session ended, the disappearance in name, of the old Unionist party, and its disguised continuance under the all-embracing designation of the National Liberal and Conservative party. All I shall mention is that, as respects the tariff, the platform of the party as approved on July 1, 1920, called for a thorough revision.

Before the summer of 1920 was over, my hon. friend and certain of his colleagues, together with their experts and other advisers, entered upon the public sittings of the investigation, which was announced as having commenced when the statements of consumers and producers were called for. Across this continent, from ocean to ocean, at most of the important centres throughout the Dominion, and at great expense to the country, the Committee of the Cabinet conducted its hearings. Nothing was omitted in the way of press propaganda to have it appear that the committee was doing a great public work, and incidentally that protection was the one thing which everybody wanted. When the public hearings were over, the country was given to understand that the delay in the summoning of Parliament was due to the time required by the committee to get its information in shape for the tariff revision which was to be the main feature of the present session. Finally, on February 14, Parliament re assembled, and with the opening of Parliament came the pronouncement, in the speech from the Throne, respecting tariff revision.

I invite the attention of hon. members to the wording of the paragraph in the speech from the Throne referring to the promised tariff revision, and in particular with respect to the need for such revision.

"My advisers," says His Excellency, "are convinced of the necessity for revision of





the customs tariff." There is no uncertainty there. "Conviction" and "necessity" are strong words, and both find a place in this terse and emphatic sentence. His Excellency continues: "In order to secure the most complete information, a committee has conducted an extensive and thorough inquiry." Here again are clear and emphatic words. Not only has the inquiry been conducted, but the inquiry has been extensive and thorough. The pronouncement continues: "The hearings necessary for this purpose have now been completed, and the conclusions founded thereon will be submitted to you in due course." It is unnecessary to quote further. No declaration could be clearer. It only remained for the Budget to be brought down for the House to enter upon the important work of this session.

5 p.m.

I need not remind hon. members how week after week I inquired of the Government when we might expect the Budget, nor need I remind the House of the questions asked the ministry with respect to rumours that the promised revision might not be forthcoming, and of the Government's repeated denials of all such. Patiently we waited for pronouncements of the Finance Minister, allowance being made from every quarter for the protracted delays because of the supposed magnitude of his task. What, then, was our surprise and the surprise of the country when on Monday the 9th instant, my hon. friend, in presenting his Budget to the House instead of submitting the conclusions founded upon the hearings of the committee of investigation, and outlining the measure of revision of the customs tariff promised by His Excelency in the speech from the Throne, calmly informed the House that it was "not proposed to put into effect now a general revision of the tariff schedules."

I shall not delay the House by repeating the platitudes with which my hon. friend sought to conceal this complete change of front and humiliating retreat on the part of the ministry. There was nothing in anything he said which might not be said at any time, which, in fact, has not been said over and over again with respect to every contemplated revision of the tariff. It is true that my hon. friend made allusion to some emergency legislation being enacted in the United States, and which may or may not become permanent; but since when have hon. gentlemen opposite come to believe and to affirm that Canada cannot revise her tariff independently altogether of what the United States does or proposes to do? What was the whole burden of their professed objection to the reciprocity agreement? It was that it rendered Canadian tariff conditions dependent on those of the United States. The representation was not true, but it gave expression to a point of view which is the only right and proper one, namely, that every country must regulate its own tariff in accordance with its own needs, and should be free to do so wholly irrespective of the action of any other country.

Let me point out that the fact that the Government of the United States was likely to revise its tariff, and that in a manner possibly prejudicial to Canadian trade, was well known to the Government long before the assembling of Parliament. The attitude of the Republican party towards the tariff was well known, and, as the House will recall, the return of the Republican party was assured on November 2 last. That the Government not only knew, but sought to have the Canadian public believe, that the return of the Republican party to power would mean additional barriers to trade between the two countries, is apparent from publications for which hon. gentlemen opposite are themselves directly responsible.

I hold in my hand a pamphlet published by the National Liberal and Conservative Party Publicity Bureau, entitled "What the Return of the Republican Party to Power in the United States means to Canada." It bears on the title page the following quotation from the Toronto Globe of November 3, 1920: "Canadians may be prepared for an additional barrier to trade between the countries." That pamphlet was issued during the by-election campaign in East Elgin held in November of last year, and its whole purport is to arouse the electorate to the certainty of a raising of the American tariff wall in virtue of the return of the Republican party to power. The first paragraph of the pamphlet reads as follows:

> Canadians generally, and the electors of East Elgin in particular, * * * would do well to give the most serious consideration to the result of the election in the United States on November 2nd as it affects Canada, because there is no doubt that the return of the Republican Party to power will have the most important bearing on our future trading relations with the United States.

That was in November. Subsequent events only served to confirm the predictions made.

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The American Republican party was in power when the advisers of the Crown made their promise of a revision. The Fordney Bill, which subsequently became the Young Bill, was introduced in the House of Representatives early in December of 1920. It was February 14, 1921, that our Parliament reassembled, and that the speech from the Throne declared the conviction of His Excellency's advisers of the necessity for the revision of our customs tariff. If uncertainty as to American tariff legislation is a reason for delay in our much needed tariff revision it was as much a reason in the month of February as in this month of May.

As late as April 20, in answer to a question from the hon. member for Jacques Cartier, as to whether it was an accepted fact that there was not to be a general revision of the tariff, the Prime Minister replied in the negative.

In his remarks on the Budget, the Minister of Trade and Commerce led the House to believe that one of the reasons there had been no general revision of the tariff was the unfavourable state of the exchange with the United States. "The exchange situation", he said, " grows worse every day—and upon the exchange conditions, much depends in the fixation of your tariff." Now what are the facts? As between February 14, when the speech from the Throne promised revision, and May 9, when the Budget was brought down, the only change was favourable to Canada. On February 14, the rate of exchange between Canada and the United States was 14 per cent, and the value of the Canadian dollar in New York 86 cents; on May 9 exchange was at 10¼, and the value of the Canadian dollar therefore 89.75 cents.

Under these circumstances, it is useless for the Government to seek to have the country believe that it was influenced in its decision to withhold the tariff revision at the present session because of any actual or proposed action on the part of the United States. There were other and more subtle influences at work. That they can be shown to be more sinister influences as well is, I fear, unfortunately only too true.

But one of the alternatives is possible; either the Government, despite all its professions, has never had any real intention of revising the tariff; or, having such an intention, it has been frustrated in the carrying out of its intention the moment advance had been made to the point where definite action became necessary. It matters little which of these alternatives we take: the one really significant fact is apparent, the Government is not a free agent, in the matter of either intention or action. Its members in truth do not constitute the real Government of Canada to-day. In word and act, it is but the visible expression of influences and forces which dictate the policies, aye and in large measure are controlling the destinies of Canada to-day—forces and influences which constitute the real though the invisible government of this Dominion.

Were I to adopt the language of the right hon. the Prime Minister, and apply to him and his associates the terms which in his gratuitous and vituperative manner he has applied to a highly responsible and representative group of honourable members of this House, I would speak of him and his colleagues as "the servile tools and minions" of these sinister influences and forces. Let me remind my right hon. friend that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones, and that there is a passage of Scripture which says, "Judge not, that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

To say that the changes being made in the American tariff are responsible for the abortive professions, the frustrated intention of the Government, is to assume an unlimited degree of gullibility on the part of the Canadian people. The failure of the Government, at this time of high living-costs, and much needed increase of production, to give any relief from burdensome taxation to either consumers or producers, is not due to any circumstances so much a matter of chance as the present emergency legislation of the United States; it is due to a deliberate and determined effort to thwart trade and to restrict competition in every direction, with the Mother Country and our sister dominions even more than with the United States, in order that a few wealthy men and their immediate friends and associates may reap still larger fortunes through obtaining, not a much-needed home market, as they would have us believe, but a monopoly of the Canadian market, in addition to markets abroad secured for them through Government action in a variety of directions and at enormous expense to the taxpayers of this country. Let me proceed to make good the truth of this assertion.



I have referred to the need for a thorough revision of the tariff as set forth in the Budget speech of my hon. friend the present Minister of Finance in May of last year, and to the demand for such a revision as set forth in the platform of the National Liberal and Conservative party as framed some six weeks later. I wish now to draw the attention of the House to a comparison of the two statements pertaining to this so-called thorough revision. The comparison lets in a flood of light; it reveals the whole situation. It is not often that a political party discloses in a manner so apparent, and shall I not add, so abhorrent, the sinister influences that frustrate its good intentions and bind and shackle its freedom of action.

In referring to the Budget speech of my hon. friend, I made mention of the pretentious and high-sounding principles and policies in the light of which it professed effect would be given, in the tariff revision, to the evidence and facts developed in the inquiry which he and his colleagues and experts and other advisers were to conduct. Those principles and policies were of course fresh in the minds of the hon. gentlemen opposite, and were before them in printed form in the pages of Hansard when, at the end of the session on the 1st of July, they met in secret conclave to disown the name of the party to which they belonged, to rechristen it as the National Liberal and Conservative party, and to draft the platform of policies and principles on which they were thereafter to stand.

That the principles and policies outlined by the Minister of Finance in his Budget speech were actually before hon. gentlemen opposite at the time of the drafting of their political platform is wholly apparent from a reading of the two pronouncements. With a single remarkable exception, to which in a moment I shall refer, the one follows the other almost literatim et verbatim. Each has its six main assertions of policy and principle, under the letters a, b, c, d, e, f; and each has the development in extenso of each of its several assertions. To all intents and purposes, with the exception mentioned, both pronouncements are the same throughout.

My hon. friend in delivering himself on the Budget had evidently two objectives in mind. He was seeking a means of avoiding any immediate revision of the tariff; and he was trying out on interested parties and the public in advance the tariff plank of the political platform which he and his friends had in mind for the secret conclave to be held at the close of the session.

Now here, Mr. Speaker, is the astounding disclosure which a comparison of these two apparently identical pronouncements reveals. To appearance, they are identical; in reality there is from the one an omission of a statement of policy and principle contained in the other, which omission is damaging, shall I not say "damning", in the extreme.

I have already alluded to the statement of guiding principles and policies being set forth in the case of each in the six main assertions which appear in the case of both, under the letters a, b, c, d, e, and f. Let me repeat, they are, with one exception, practically identical in virtually every particular. Let me read the two statements to the House.

Here is the statement of principles and policies as given by my honourable friend to the House in his Budget speech on May 18, 1920:

> Our policy calls for a thorough revision of the tariff with a view to the adoption of such reasonable measures as are necessary—(a) to assist in providing adequate revenues, (b) to stabilize legitimate industries and to encourage the establishment of new industries essential to the proper economic development of the nation—to the end that a proper and ever-increasing field of useful and remunerative employment be available for the nation's workers, (c) to develop to the fullest extent our natural resources, (d) to specially promote and increase trade with the Mother Country, the sister dominions and colonies and Crown dependencies, (e) to prevent the abuse of the tariff for the exploitation of the consumer, and, (f) to safeguard the interests of the Canadian people in the existing world struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy.

Observe, Mr. Speaker, that there are the six assertions of policy and principles, a, b, c, d, e, and f.

Now let us look at the statement of tariff policy as set forth in the official platform of the National Liberal and Conservative party. The language is the same. Observe, too, that it has its six assertions: a, b, c, d, e, and f.

> A thorough revision of the tariff with a view to the adoption of such reasonable measures as are necessary—(a) to assist in providing adequate revenues, (b) to stabilize legitimate industries, (c) to encourage the establishment of new industries essential to the economic development of the nation, (d) to develop to the fullest extent our natural resources, (e) to prevent the abuse of the tariff for the exploitation of the consumer, and (f) to safeguard the interests of the Canadian people in the existing world struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy.

Do you observe any difference, Mr. Speaker? To all appearances they are the same; they begin and end the same.



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(a) in the case of each is "to assist in providing adequate revenues."

(f) in the case of each is, "to safeguard the interests of the Canadian people in the existing world struggle for commercial and industrial supremacy."

(e) in the case of each is the same; it is "to prevent the abuse of the tariff for the exploitation of the consumer."

(b) in the case of each begins "to stabilize legitimate industries;" but here a slight change occurs: (b) in the case of the speech of my hon. friend continues: "and to encourage the establishment of new industries essential to the proper economic development of the nation." In the case of the political platform of the National Liberal and Conservative party, this part of (b) is made a separate proposition; it is not set forth as a part of (b), but appears as (c). Why is that? It is because, between the time of the speech of my hon. friend on May 18 and the holding of the secret conclave on July 1, it had been found necessary, at the instance of the influences which control the Government, to drop something from the pronouncement of my hon. friend and, if possible, to conceal the omission.

Well, let us see what policy or principle it was that it was found necessary to drop when the party platform was framed. It was not the next proposition (c) to develop to the fullest extent our natural resources; that has become (d) in the party platform. That, Mr. Speaker, completes the slate so far as the statement of policies and principles in the party platform is concerned; a, b, c, d, e and f are now complete. The division of (b) in my hon. friend's speech into (b) and (c) of the party platform, and the placing of (e) of my hon. friend's speech under (d) in the party platform, made possible the squeezing out altogether from the platform of the party of (d) as given to this House and to the country in the Budget speech of my hon. friend.

Well, Mr. Speaker, what is (d)? What is the policy of the Government as set forth in the Budget speech of the Minister of Finance in May, 1920, which it was found necessary to delete from the platform of the party as framed some six weeks later? If it has passed unobserved, the House and the country will be astounded, I think, when I read it. Here it is, Mr. Speaker:

> To specially promote and increase trade with the Mother Country, the sister dominions and colonies and crown dependencies.

Let me read that again, and read it along with the context:

> Our policy calls for a thorough revision of the tariff with a view to the adoption of such reasonable measures—

Mark the words, Mr. Speaker, "reasonable measures":

> —as are necessary to specially promote and increase trade with the mother country, the sister dominions and colonies and crown dependencies.

Would you have believed it, Mr. Speaker—these words stricken out? And that by the hon. gentlemen who call themselves Empire-builders, that by the party that claims to have arrogated to its ranks all the patriots; that parades and boasts of its loyalty; that talks of a community of interest, of keeping the Empire united, of the family of nations comprising the British Commonwealth? And as if this were not enough—oh, unkindest cut of all—to choose for the occasion of thus stabbing at the heart our inter-Imperial trade, July 1, the birthday of our Dominion, the anniversary of the day on which the Mother Country gave us our status as a self-governing Dominion, the beginning of our nationhood within the British Empire—was there ever like ingratitude or baser treachery?

Why has this policy, this policy of promoting and increasing trade with the Mother Country, the sister Dominions and colonies, been erased and effaced from the platform of hon. gentlemen opposite? It is surely not because of the sacrifices of life and wealth shared in common in the Great War; it is surely not from motives of loyalty or affection towards the Mother Country; it cannot be from a desire to unite, to bind and to consolidate the different parts of the British Empire; nor is it from any concern for the great body of consumers in our own country. The Prime Minister has given us the answer. He knows. He ought to know. It is due to the dictation of the few wealthy men whose powerful interests are alone responsible for his being where he is to-day, the interests that demand what he calls "protection," that are not satisfied with the adoption of such reasonable measures of tariff revision as are necessary "to assist in providing adequate revenue," "to stabilize legitimate industries," "to encourage the establishment of new industries," "to develop the natural resources," "to prevent the exploitation of the consumer," and "to safeguard the interests of the Canadian people in the existing world struggle for commercial and industrial



supremacy," but who, for their own selfish ends and personal aggrandisement, wish to control and monopolize the trade of this Dominion and are prepared, in that endeavour, to sacrifice every obligation of honour, of loyalty, and of human need.

In the light of this disclosure, what becomes of the hypocritical pretension that emergency changes in the United States tariff are responsible for the absence of any tariff revision in accordance with the professed intentions of hon. gentlemen opposite?

Hon. members will do well to reflect upon the significance of this episode. It gives the key to all the rest. It explains the usurpation and maintenance of power by the right hon. the Prime Minister, against all constitutional right and the will of the electorate of this country. It explains the somewhat frantic and certainly undignified appeals made by my right hon. friend whenever he enters upon his advocacy of protection. It should let the country understand why we on this side of the House, however different the shades of opinion or however wide the divergences of view that may exist between us, are at all events one in our inability, to use the words of the amendment which is before the House, to concur in the declarations by the Government that the tariff should be based on the principle of protection. They talk of protection; it is not protection they want, but monopoly.

Mr. Speaker, is more needed to explain the sinister forces and influences that are dictating the policies, and for the time being controlling the destinies, of this Dominion? I have referred to their combined power as constituting the real, albeit an invisible, government, compared with which the Government we see personified in hon. gentlemen opposite is but as form and shadow. Perhaps the time would be well spent if we paused for a moment to look a little more penetratingly behind the shadow, and discern what we can of the reality. A moment's reflection will enable us to see how this organized power came into being, and how menacing its existence is to the social and industrial well-being of our country.

I need not remind the House that for four years the energies of this country, the energies of its Government, of its industries, as well as of its people, were strained to the one herculean task, the winning of the war. It was inevitable that during that period there should be the closest kind of association between certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, and between these several interests and the Government and its members. That association between the more active and prominent members of both groups was uninterrupted, and indeed necessarily intimate, over the greater part of the entire period. They were linked the one to the other by the most powerful of bonds. There was the bond of disinterested public service at the moment of the greatest crisis in the world's affairs, and there was the bond, wholly different in character it is true, but to some individuals even more powerful, of personal and private self-interest at a moment of opportunity such as has presented itself but once in the history of this world.

During those four years, a sum amounting to something like two billions of dollars was loaned by the country to the Government, and under Government direction was disbursed among these financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests. The Government was permitted a free hand; in the loans thus subscribed, the sacrifices present or future were never questioned; in the spending of these vast sums little or no check was exercised by Parliament; Orders-in-Council, at the caprice of the ministry were permitted to replace legislative enactments of both Houses of Parliament. It was an era of unparalleled opportunity both for the exercise of autocratic power and for the bestowal of favours. Strange indeed it would be had not the closest kind of relationship been formed between the controlling factors on both sides. That they were so formed, every Canadian citizen is well aware.

With the termination of the war and the demobilization of the military forces, this era of unlimited expenditures and unparalleled contracting came to an end. Not, however, the association between the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, among themselves, or with the Government. In considerable measure, it is true the compelling force of the bonds which had united these interests with the Government were lessened. Hon. members of the Government who read their obligation to the country in terms of disinterested public service, recalling the pledges on which the Government was returned to power, one by one retired from the ministry. Others of their colleagues, for reasons best known to themselves, continued in office. Similarly, it is to be presumed, among the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and dis-



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tributing interests, were numbers of influential and prominent men who were quick to sever the intimacy of the relations formed with members of the Government during the period of stress and strain, and to give their thought to their particular business interests regardless altogether of Government favours or action.

Unfortunately for our Dominion, all the men of great wealth and power have not been of this class. The same self-interest which caused members of the Government to cling to office despite honourable obligation and constitutional right, has operated in like manner to cause certain members of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests to continue to look to Government for special favours and special privilege, and in return to support the administration by direct methods as well as indirect in its retention of power against the will of the people as a whole. Thus we have come to have in Canada, on the one hand, a Prime Minister and a ministry to whom usurpation of office and the exercise of autocratic methods in Government belong as a sort of natural right, and, on the other, a small circle, a sort of little oligarchy of interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, prepared, in return for a continuation of favour and special privilege, to use their wealth and influence to keep the Administration in power, and thereby constituting in a very true sense the real though invisible Government of this country.

We have, in other words, political power united with plutocracy in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the State. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behaviour, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests mentioned, who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry and the State, but wish to dominate both. They are for the time being able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its existence to their dictation and its continuance in office to the powerful influence which in a multitude of directions they are able to exert. There is the real situation with which this country is faced at the present time. That is the danger to Canada at the moment, not that her Government is a Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, but rather that we have on the one side the selfish groups united together working for their joint ambitions, and, on the other, the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

This is the explanation, first of the Government's change in policy and principle respecting the promotion and increase of trade with the Mother Country and the sister Dominions in the period intervening between the Budget speech of the Minister of Finance and the secret conclave of July 1 of last year. It was part of the price paid by the Administration to these representatives of special privilege for a continuance of their support. It was not limited competition they were after; it was a monopoly of Canadian markets. Secondly, this is the explanation of the failure of the Government to revise the tariff at the present session. It was not fear of the consequences of American emergency legislation—that really was a ground for action—it was the maintenance by the favoured few of their privileged position as it has come to be in consequence of the war and conditions as they have grown out of the war. Thirdly, this is the explanation of the declaration made by the Prime Minister in the course of his lengthy speech on Friday last:

"This Government stands for the tariff that is in existence to-day, and in any adjustment that will be made we will admit the principle of protection and we will apply it. . ."

Some Hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Hon. gentlemen opposite say: Hear, hear. But protection for whom? Protection for these favoured interests, not for the great masses of the people. The invisible government has decreed that thus he must stand, and so the day of tariff revision in the interests of either producers or consumers is indefinitely postponed.

I shall not ask hon. members to accept my analysis of the situation as a last word. Did time permit, I might cite an abundance of evidence as proof of its accuracy. Fortunately we have the evidence of one who has been on the inside, one of the Government's own supporters who was permitted a peep behind the scene, in a position of exceptional opportunity, who was appointed to office by the Government itself, and who has given to the public a description of what he has seen, in the form





of an official document, a State paper, may I not term it.

It was thought that a life position and a good salary would be enough for Mr. James Murdock, when he was appointed a member of the Board of Commerce, and that he might be expected to lend himself to the Government's game of pretending to be solicitous of the well-being of consumers and the public interest though all the while screening and protecting from public disclosure and public censure the few wealthy men whose business interests through close association, have become intimately interwoven and whose combined strength constitutes the power behind the throne, applying the simile for the moment to the present Administration. Fortunately, Mr. Murdock was not of the spineless and time-serving character it was hoped he would prove to be.

Having accepted nomination as a member of the board, he came at once into a specially favoured position. Indeed, strategically, he was in the best of positions; he was where he could view, on the one side, the organization of the specially favoured interests I have been describing, and, on the other, the relation thereto of hon. gentlemen opposite. Both situations he had described with perfect clearness; they are depicted in the official communication sent the Prime Minister in June of last year, and which the Government has had before it ever since. Here is the situation as respects the favoured interests.

Referring to the preliminary investigations of the Board of Commerce, and the necessity for some governmental machinery to protect the consumers and producers of the country against the kind of protection my right hon. friend has been advocating, Mr. Murdock says:

(a) Business men living together under the protection of the tariff have got to know each other so well that price-fixing agreements and arrangements are the rule, rather than the exception. The board has already on file evidence in some scores of cases of such agreements. Not all of these are reasonable or proper. It should not be left to the unfettered will of the businesses interested to fix prices on necessaries of life. . .

(b) Combines which have fastened themselves on the production and distribution of certain essential articles of food, such as canned fruits have introduced systems of merchandising which are injurious to trade and the consumer, and prevent fair competition. . . .

(c) The board has discovered that unfair and excessive profits are being taken by certain textile manufacturers, cement companies, and other large concerns. It is in the public interest that these investigations thus begun be not stopped at this point. . .

(d) There is reason to believe that sugar is not the only commodity in which speculation to the detriment of the public has taken place. . .

(e) Without a Board of Commerce the public has no organization to watch and protect its interests, while on the other side there is the most complete organization and cross-organization: Manufacturers' associations, retail associations, packers' associations and hundreds of other associations. The public, unorganized as the sands by the sea, requires a protector against the super-organization of modern business."

Now, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Murdock speaks of the need of protection, but it is not the protection of the members of the associations he has described, but the protection of the great body of consumers that are like the sands of the seashore, without any protection whatever against what he terms the super-organization of modern business. It is the few wealthy men responsible for this super-organization of modern business depicted by Mr. Murdock who constitute the ring that controls the Government of Canada to-day, that shackles its freedom of action, and compels the Government on pain of extinction to do its bidding. It is the favoured position of these privileged few that the Government is striving in all its measures to advance and to protect.

Let us see how, in this particular, the situation appeared from the vantage ground accorded Mr. Murdock while a member of the Board of Control. Here is what he has to say of the Government's attitude as he came to know it—and let the House remember that this was a statement issued to the Prime Minister of this country by Mr. Murdock, while Mr. Murdock was still a member of the board:

I am convinced—

1. That the majority of the Cabinet of which you are the honored leader are not, and have never been, in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the Board of Commerce Act and of the Combines and Fair Prices Act.

2. That your advisers only recommended to Parliament the passage of those Acts as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other strenuous demonstrations when the people demanded some means of controlling profiteers.

3. That as soon as the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act were made law by the Parliament of Canada, honourable gentlemen prominent in the councils of Canada and members of your Cabinet at once began to undertake to minimize, to as great an extent as possible, what they believed to be the unnecessary and unfair provisions of these two Acts when applied to the businesses of those for whom those honourable gentlemen no doubt had first regard.

4. That the chairman appointed by your Government to the Board of Commerce was regarded by certain interests as being safe and sane in conserving to Canadian manufacturers and other large financial and business

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interests the generally unrestricted leeway heretofore enjoyed by such interests in the taking of profits, determined alone by the so-called market price and governed by supply and demand. . . .

Then, with special reference to the chairman, in paragraph 10:

10. That during the entire term of service in which he and I were together connected with the board . . . . nothing was done which could in any way affect the business and financial interests, which, in his judgment, should be protected from encroachments upon or interference by the Board of Commerce of Canada.

11. That the general viewpoints and desires of the former chairman were well known by various honourable members connected with your Cabinet, and especially by the Hon. Mr. Calder.

12. That many of the honourable gentlemen composing your Cabient saw in the former chairman's resignation an opportunity almost beyond their expectations to minimize the activities of the Board of Commerce, and to prepare for its demise and that several of them repeatedly undertook to thwart the board's desired activities by quiet and hidden restrictive opposition since that time.

. . . . . .

14. That on January 28, 1920, when this board issued a declaration challenging the right of the Cabinet to interfere on behalf of the textile manufacturers in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (they having made representations to the Government that it would cost $1,500,000 to prepare the data asked for by a questionnaire of this board, and that it would take weeks to so prepare) certain of your honourable colleagues were prepared to concede the claim made by the textile manufacturers and relieve them from the necessity of complying with the board's requests for information, and that only the public challenge to your Cabinet placed in the newspapers by the Board of Commerce prevented the textile firms from being relieved of the requests for data made by this board.

15. That later records show that the textile manufacturers had ample reason to struggle desperately to prevent the true facts from being known to the board and that if this board could have secured the assistance desired, a statement of the facts and figures disclosed, followed by an order as the results of the analysis of the statements of affairs sent to this board, would have startled and incensed the Canadian public beyond anything that has developed in recent months.

Finally, as indicating beyond shadow of doubt his view of the Government's relationship to the super-organization of business interests he has described, Mr. Murdock concludes:

In connection with your suggestion that I continue as a commissioner of the Board of Commerce until the decision of the Privy Council, I feel that the people need, and are entitled to, some results now. The light should be let in. I believe your Cabinet will devise some means to prevent the Board of Commerce from functioning, even should the Privy Council give a favorable decision. My conscience will not permit me to become a high-salaried time-server.

Could anything be clearer, Mr. Speaker? There are the specially favoured duly protected interests on the one side; the Government, their protecting and willing servants, on the other; and the whole a matter of public disclosure and now of public knowledge.

Let me say, so that my words will not be capable of misconstruction, that in making these references to certain financial, manufacturing, distributing and other business interests I am making no attack on big business as such, I am making no attack on wealth as such, I am making no attack whatever on vast organization as such, for in these days of competition between industry and industry, between locality and locality, between nation and nation, between continent and continent, large organization is absolutely necessary, and vast accumulations of wealth in particular industries are absolutely necessary if the country is to hold its own in competition. So I am making no charge against the organization of business as it is carried on to-day, nor against the men to whom this country is, indeed, vastly indebted for their skilful organization of industry and the way it is carried on. But what I wish to do is this: I wish to distinguish between those men who are prepared to share in the government of industry and in the government of the country, and those men who wish to monopolize and dictate in matters of industrial policy and the control of political affairs. You have in every country the two types. You have the men who are willing to work with their fellows and to share with their fellows, and you have others who wish to dictate, who wish to control, who wish to monopolize, and it is these latter groups that have been brought into combination through the circumstances of the country being as I have described them, and who are controlling this country at the present time. Think of a Government permitting itself to lie under the shadow of such an indictment! Mr. Murdock's charges were made on the eve of prorogation a year ago; the Government has taken no steps to free itself from all that those representations imply. Why has Mr. Murdock not beeen summoned to appear before some committee of this House and prove the charges he has made? There is one reason, and one reason only: the Government knows the charges to be true, and that any attempt at investigation will mean the letting in of more light.



Actions speak louder than words, Mr. Speaker, and we have not only the failure of the Government to defend itself against these most serious of charges, but we have also the record of this Government with respect to legislation to protect consumers and producers against the exactions of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers that seek to enhance prices and restrict trade unduly. We know, too, its record with respect to profiteering and profiteers.

When the Borden Administration came to power, there was on the statutes an Act to provide for the investigation of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers. It was known as the Combines Investigation Act, assented to on May 4, 1910. That law may not have been all that could have been wished; like other legal enactments, it was capable of amendment, but it at least afforded some protection to the public against the unrestricted acts of these combinations.

Under that Act, large powers of inquiry were given the Board of Investigation instituted thereby. The consumers were permitted to name their own member of the board; the expense of investigation was borne by the Government; heavy penalties were imposed upon combines restricting manufacture, trade, or competition. The Act gave the Governor in Council power to direct that, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that, with regard to any article, there existed any combine to promote unduly the advantage of the manufacturers or dealers at the expense of the consumers, and that if it appeared to the Governor in Council that such disadvantage to the consumer was facilitated by the duties of customs, such article should be admitted into Canada free of duty or at a reduction in the duty.

This important Act was repealed by section 15 of the Combines and Fair Prices Act, passed in 1919. This Combines and Fair Prices Act was meaningless apart from the Board of Commerce Act, passed during the same year. The Acts were passed because at the time the people of Canada asked, yea, demanded that something should be done to check and pursue the profiteers. The fate of this legislation is well known. The truth respecting it has been told in the statements from Mr. Murdock which I have just read.

On February 23, Judge Robson, the chairman, resigned, admitting that he himself was not in sympathy with the Act. Then doubts arose as to the powers of the board, and the matter went to the Supreme Court of Canada, the court dividing itself on that question. In the meantime, the board issued its first report, dated May 1, 1920.

The report, amongst other things, says:

While the present commissioners had been aware that there was close association between the various manufacturers of and dealers in commodities, your commissioners express profound surprise at the extent to which such organization has proceeded.

And further, about packing houses:

These packing companies are beginning to exhibit a rather close association in their operations, and it would be quite undesirable to permit them to obtain in Canada anything like the impregnable position which, for a time, they had secured in the United States.

The interim report concludes with a minority report by Mr. Murdock, in which the following appears:

My belief is that it would be very much in the public interest for the public of Canada to know something more of the reasons that prevented the Board of Commerce of Canada from performing its functions in controlling profiteering and combines against the public interest as by law intended.

Here, early in 1920, was direct information to the Government by its own board of the extensive association between various manufacturers and dealers in commodities, of the combines existing among packing companies, and of profiteering against the public interest. And yet no action was taken by the Government. Instead, the board was allowed to die, or rather, because of its exposures, was strangled by the Government. On June 16, Mr. O'Connor resigned, and a few days later, on June 25, Mr. Murdock, its sole surviving member, resigned.

Then an amazing happening occurred. Some months later, notwithstanding the loss of its entire membership, the board for some reason or another, was resurrected and was reconstituted in a sort of fictitious fashion. Members of the Civil Service were taken from their important posts of duty, and loaned to the board so as to constitute a temporary tribunal. For some little time the public tried to fathom the Government's solicitude on its behalf. It was not long, however, before they were undeceived. It soon became plain that it was not the interests of consumers the Government had at heart. It was the wealthy friends of the Government again, those belonging to one of the specially favoured of the privileged groups, this time the sugar refiners. I shall not go into the details of what took place at

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the time, the conversations and interviews between the refiners and members of the Government on the one hand, and members of the Government and their temporary appointees on the board on the other. Suffice it to say that, to the amazement of the entire country, the board, on October 14, issued an order fixing the price of sugar to Canadian consumers at 21 cents per pound and virtually prohibiting the importation of sugar at a moment when sugar was selling in the United States and should have been selling in Canada, at from 12 to 14 cents a pound.

After all that had been made public of the board's doings and misdoings by Commissioner Murdock, this was the last straw. Public indignation has seldom been at a higher pitch. The Government had at last to choose between its friends. In vain the sugar refiners sought to retain for the Government the support of the press, by the distribution of costly explanations paid for at advertising rates. Public clamour could not be silenced, and the Government, for once obliged to heed the voice of the people, suspended the order and allowed the board again to dissolve by permitting the temporary appointees on the board to resign. From that day to this, nothing further has been heard of the Board of Commerce; the combines in almost every branch of commerce and trade have been permitted a free hand, and the consumers have been left absolutely without protection of any kind.

Little wonder is it that when Parliament assembled, the Prime Minister found it necessary to give some assurance to his followers that this intolerable situation would not be indefinitely prolonged, and that some protection would be granted the public during the course of the session Protection was promisel, and protection has been given, but it is not the protection that was asked for. More and more protection there has been for the trusts and combines, the super-organization of business, but none for the consumers.

I hold in my hand a despatch to the Montreal Gazette giving an account of the sessional programme as outlined to his supporters by the Prime Minister at the first Government caucus. It is dated Ottawa, February 18. After mentioning that the Government caucus "was informed to-day by the Prime Minister of the sessional programme and its details," it says:

> An important measure not yet before the House was indicated by the Prime Minister;

And it continues:

> "To the caucus the Prime Minister forecast legislation to control trusts and combines where the former Combines Act and the comatose Board of Commerce have failed. This legislation will probably be brought down before the Budget debate.

Hon. members opposite will be able to vouch for the accuracy of the representations contained in this despatch. But what, may I ask, has become of the promised legislation? You will observe, Mr. Speaker, no mention was made of this legislation in the speech from the Throne. That would have been too conspicuous. The friends of the Government would never have permitted that. The assurance of the Prime Minister was enough to silence agitation during the session, and once again we find the Government, with respect to its legislation on trusts and combines, just where it was with respect to promoting trade between Canada and the Mother Country and the sister Dominions, just where it was with its promises of tariff revision—absolutely fettered and manacled by its friends, the few wealthy men who are responsible for the super-organization of business which dictates the Government's policies and controls its actions.

Do you see now, Mr. Speaker, why this session has gone by, with nothing constructive in the way of legislation; why to every one in the House and in the country there appears to be something wanting, something lacking: why the word "reconstruction," of which we heard so much for a time, has virtually been dropped from the vocabulary of the ministry; why, in the two to three-hour speech of the Prime Minister a day or two ago, one will search in vain for a single expression revealing any human feeling or sympathy with the needs of the people; why, from beginning to end, it was one long plea for protection, not protection of the consumer, which is what is needed in Canada to-day, but more and more protection for these few wealthy men and the interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests with which they are associated.

Do you see also, Mr. Speaker, why it is, in the Budget which has just been presented by the Finance Minister (Sir Henry Drayton) that this year, as in former years no account whatever has been taken of profiteering; why another year has been allowed to pass without any effort whatever having been made by the Government to recover any of the war-time wealth; why, instead of the removal of any of the taxation that bears immediately upon the masses of the people, the duties upon the necessaries of life, it is the business profits taxes and the luxury taxes that have been abolished? The Prime Minister says we are all for protection. Let him have it so; but let me tell him that the protection for which we stand is the protection of the consumer against the exactions of combines, monopolies, and the super-organization of associated business, not the protection of these specially favoured organizations against the interests and well-being of the people at large.



At Six o'clock the House took recess.

## After Recess

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, when the House rose at six o'clock I was speaking of the protection afforded to special interests in their actual or attempted monopoly of Canadian trade and markets. Let me now come to the bestowal of favours in another direction. Mr. Murdock has exposed the manner in which, as respects the necessaries of life, the food, the clothing, the articles required for the shelter of the people, associated businesses, with their trade agreements, combines, and monopolies, have been permitted, with the assistance of a protective tariff, and to the detriment of consumers, to reap their excessive profits through unrestrained freedom of action. Let me now direct the attention of the House to the manner in which, through the interweaving of business associations and interlocking of directorates as respects a different class of enterprises, the Government has, at great cost to the taxpayers of Canada, accorded a privileged position to another few of its wealthy friends.

The two classes of expenditure most severely criticised in this House and throughout the country to-day are the expenditures on account of the Canadian National railways and the Government merchant marine. They are the two classes of expenditure about which the representatives of the people in this Parliament have been able to obtain the least information. The public know that freight and passenger rates have been increased; they know that last year there was a deficit on the national railways amounting to $48,242,536.65; that this year there is a further deficit estimated at $70,331,734.88; and that, despite the increase of rates, the deficit estimated for the ensuing year will in all probability be in the neighbourhood of $100,000,000. They know, too, that despite repeated protests, and without due regard for either the law or customary practice, $70,000,000 has been spent on the construction of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine. They are aware that, as respects the latter, contracts were awarded by the Government without calling for tender; that the work of construction was distributed by the Government among its friends from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that in many cases the contracts had been awarded, and the work permitted to get under way before the money for the purpose had been appropriated by Parliament.

The condition, however, of which the public is not as yet fully seized is the significance of the methods devised by the Government for permitting to a few of its wealthy friends a free hand in the awarding of contracts with public moneys, and claiming for itself immunity from all responsibility to Parliament and the people for enormous outlays of public moneys in the work of construction and operation of these vast systems of transportation by land and sea.

What have hon. gentlemen opposite attempted to do in the various discussions that have taken place in regard to these enormous deficits? They have talked about the increases that have been paid to the labour on the road, and throughout this country a great deal of publicity has been given to the wages that are being paid to the workingmen. Well, the Government talk about protecting labour. Let the people's representatives in this Parliament get the facts, let us find out the truth in respect of these contracts how they are being awarded, whom they are going to, and the prices paid, and labour will be able to take care of itself. We wish to protect labour just as much as hon. gentlemen opposite, but our methods are somewhat different. We believe the best protection that can be afforded any group of people in this country is the protection which comes from ample publicity in dealing with public affairs, not from concealment.

Talk of the super-organization of business, of the interweaving of financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests—I venture to say that never in the history of the world has a scheme been devised so well calculated to make interweaving and interlocking of private interests complete, or to permit, on so unlimited a scale, and in a manner so wholly

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indefensible, the use of public moneys to augment private fortunes at the expense of the state.

What is the method to which I allude? For clearness of understanding as to its significance, let me present, by way of contrast, the method that has hitherto obtained in the management, operation, and control of like enterprises by the Government of this country; the method, for example, that obtained formerly in the management of the Intercolonial railway and that obtains to-day under the Post Office Department. In both the latter instances, we have the doctrine of ministerial responsibility to Parliament for all that pertains to the management, operation, and control of a government enterprise, fully recognized and adhered to. In everything, the right to the fullest publicity is maintained. Contracts awarded are awarded in accordance with terms and conditions prescribed by law. Parliament looks to the minister, and the minister expects Parliament to look to him, for an accounting of every cent of public money expended under his direction, the names of the persons to whom the contracts have been awarded, the manner in which, and the terms on which, the awards have been made, the prices paid, and so forth and so forth. In other words, it is recognized that public moneys are being expended, that they are held in trust by the ministers of the departments concerned, and that the public is entitled to be satisfied in its mind both as to the necessity for, and the economies exercised in, the transactions pertaining thereto.

Compare this now with the methods devised by the present Administration in the expenditure of public moneys on those vast transportation systems. Both in the case of the Canadian National railway and the merchant marine, the Government has constituted boards of management. These boards are composed almost exclusively of the Government's own friends; almost without exception the gentlemen who compose these boards are associated with large industrial enterprises and businesses which are engaged in the manufacture, selling and distribution of the equipment and supplies required by these Government undertakings. In the awarding of contracts, they are given a perfectly free hand. They may award to whomever they please, in whatever quantities they please, and at whatever prices they please. That of itself one would think, where there was no personal liability, and where the moneys to meet the required payments were not coming out of the bank accounts of the parties concerned, but out of the public treasury, would be sufficient to encourage an all but unlimited degree of extravagance. But what is to be expected where, in addition to this opportunity of helping one's friends, an undertaking is given by the ministry that, no matter what the transaction, notwithstanding it is out of the taxes of the people that payments have ultimately to be made, the people's representatives in Parliament shall be denied all right of inquiry, all right of information, on the score that such right and knowledge are not in the public interest? And yet, Mr. Speaker, that is exactly the situation as it has existed for the past couple of years, and as it exists to-day. Is it any wonder there are huge expenditures and colossal deficits? The wonder of wonders would be how deficits could be avoided under such a system.

Now, Mr. Speaker, that it may not be said this is mere theorizing, let me give to the House the names of the members of the boards concerned, and the names of the companies with which these gentlemen are concerned. But, first of all, let me give a list of a few articles of commerce required in connection with the equipment and supplies of these transportation systems. It requires no understanding of human nature to believe that, unless the gentlemen who are directors of companies directly or indirectly concerned in furnishing such equipment and supplies are woefully neglectful of the business interests it is alike their duty and personal advantage to watch and further in every manner possible, the companies of which they are directors, or businesses associated with such companies, are not likely to be forgotten in the contracts awarded, and in the prices paid for the articles necessary to the equipment and supplies of these vast transportation systems.

But before I speak of the companies with which these gentlemen are connected in a business way as directors, let me refer to the classes of commodities which are likely to be required in large quantities as supplies and equipment for the Government railways and the Government merchant marine.

Iron and steel (locomotives, rails, cars, castings, couplers, bolts, bars, etc.).
Cement.
Oil; coal oil, white lead oil, boiled linseed oil.
Gasoline.
Lumber and timber, for car decking and roofing and for construction (fencing).



Paints..
Cotton and wool waste.
Uniforms for conductors and employees.
Coal.
Food of all kinds.
Ties.
Pullman and sleepers materials.
Electric materials.
Fuses.
Wheels.
Hose.
Air-brake materials.
Tie plates.
Hotel supplies.
Insurance.
Advertising.
Printing.

It requires only the mention of this list to show what enormous patronage is extended through this particular source,—a patronage running into millions of dollars; and all of it, mark you, under this arrangement is disposed of by the Government's friends just where they think best, and the people's representatives in this Parliament are denied all knowledge of where the contracts are placed. Now who are the members of the Board of Directors of the two companies? The personnel of the two directorates is the same, and is as follows:

Mr. D. B. Hanna, of Toronto.
Mr. A. J. Mitchell, of Toronto.
Mr. E. R. Wood, of Toronto.
Mr. R. Hobson, of Hamilton.
Major G. A. Bell, C.M.G., of Ottawa.
Sir Hormisdas Laporte, of Montreal.
Mr. A. F. Barnhill, K.C., D.C.L., of St. John, N.B.
Colonel Thomas Cantley, of New Glasgow, N.S.
Mr. R. T. Riley, of Winnipeg.

What are the companies with which these gentlemen are connected? Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish it distinctly understood that I make no reflection upon any of these gentlemen or their business integrity, I merely place the information before the House and let it speak for itself. This list is taken from the Annual Financial Review for June, 1920, and, by the way, it does not, I believe, begin to include the companies with which these gentlemen are connected in an indirect way, nor is it complete as regards the companies of which they are directors. Mr. D. B. Hanna, is president of the Canada Flour Mills and a director of Canada Steamship Lines, Limited; Electrical Development Company of Canada, Limited; Canada Mortgage Investment Company; British-American Assurance Company; Western Assurance Company; Canadian North Prairies Lands Company; Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company, Limited; Rio de Janeiro Light and Power Company; Sao Paulo Light and Power Company. Mr. A. J. Mitchell is a director of the Western Canada Flour Mills. Mr. R. T. Riley is vice-president of the Union Bank of Canada and of the Great West Life Assurance Company. Mr. Robert Hobson is president of the Steel Company of Canada, Limited, and a director of the Canadian Locomotive Company, Limited; Bank of Hamilton; Tuckett Tobacco Company, Limited; North Star Oil and Refining Company; Chartered Trusts and Executor Company; British Empire Trust Company; Dominion Power and Transmission Company; Toronto General Trusts Corporation. Sir Hormisdas Laporte is a director of Credit Foncier Franco-Canadian; Société d'Administration Générale; Frontenac Breweries, Limited; La Sauvegarde Life Assurance Company. Mr. A. P. Barnhill is president of the New Brunswick Electrical Company and the Acamac Land Company, Limited, and a director of the Eastern Trusts Company; St. John Iron Works, Limited; James Pender and Company, Limited; Telegraph Publishing Company; Fenton Land and Building Company; Westfield Land Company; Times Publishing Company. Colonel Thomas Cantley is a director of Eastern Car Company, Limited; Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, Limited; Brandram-Henderson Paints and Varnishes. Mr. E. R. Wood is president of the Central Canada Loan and Savings Company, vice-president of the Canada Life Assurance Company; National Trust Company; Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company, Limited, and director of British-American Assurance Company; Western Assurance Company; Canadian Bank of Commerce; Dominion Steel Corporation; Toronto Savings and Loan Company; Calgary Power Company; Mexico Northwestern Railway Company; Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Company, Limited; Rio de Janeiro Tramway, Light and Power Company; Sao Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company; Mexico Tramway Company; Mexico Electric Light Company; Toronto Railway Company; Toronto Power Company, Limited; Toronto Electric Light Company, Limited; Electrical Development Company of Canada, Limited; Dominion Securities Corporation, Limited.

Major Bell, being the Deputy Minister of the Department of Railways and Canals, is not included in the list of directors of any companies. I imagine that if he is doing his full duty as a deputy minister, which I believe he is, his whole time is

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taken up in the department and practically none of it can be given to the work of this Board of Management.

In this connection, Mr. Speaker, let me repeat that I do not for a moment desire to be considered as reflecting upon the honesty or business integrity of the gentlemen connected with these various boards. All I wish to say is that if these gentlemen are directors of a large number of business enterprises from which commodities in the nature of supplies and equipment for the railways and merchant marine can be or are being obtained, they are not true to their obligations as directors of those business concerns if with the inside knowledge they have of what is available in the way of contracts they do not go after those contracts and try to get them for the companies with which they are connected. That is their duty. The duty of a director is to watch the interests of the businesses with which he is connected, and I say that these gentlemen being on the board of directors of various companies, and having knowledge of large numbers of contracts running into millions of dollars, it is certain that they would not be doing their best by the companies of which they are directors if they did not look out for the interests of those companies.

Could interlocking of directorates be carried to a degree of greater perfection? Just think of it, Mr. Speaker, all these vast industrial concerns, and many more, to all intents and purposes represented by this little circle of favoured individuals who comprise the Board of Directors of the Government railways and merchant marine, who have a free hand in the disbursing of millions upon millions of the public moneys, with a guarantee that no information will be given to the people through their representatives in Parliament as to how or to whom the moneys were distributed. Need we look further, Mr. Speaker, for an explanation of the size of the deficits in these undertakings, and the vastly increased expenditures, and consequent increased taxation to which the people of Canada are being subjected. Could a more powerful combination of business interests be imagined? What government under such a system should not be able to keep itself in power indefinitely?

I wish now to refer to a somewhat parallel method of dealing with public moneys in a manner which ensures benefits to friends of the Government and not to friends only, but to supporters in this House. I shall not take up much time in referring to this parallel; it was referred to at some length last night by the hon. member for Chambly-Verchères (Mr. Archambault). I refer to the system of making loans of public money to foreign countries and then, through the agency of the Government or its friends, ensuring the placing of contracts with business concerns in this country, with which members of this House are associated as directors, the money, in settlement of these contracts, being paid out of these loans to foreign countries. Remember, Sir, that this money is the money of the taxpayers of Canada. The Government in thus loaning it and allowing it to be disbursed for the purchase of commodities to be sent to these different countries, has devised another scheme under which so far as any accounting for public funds is concerned, there is no way of finding out what opportunity there has been for freedom of competition or what opportunity there has been for anyone other than the immediate friends of the Government to secure contracts. Sir, as an indication of the way in which this system works, let me cite to the House some of the contracts which have been awarded and some of the orders given to industries with which some friends, not remote, but immediate friends of the Government, sitting on Government benches opposite, are concerned. I shall spare the House the possible pain of having to listen to the names of hon. members who are directors of these concerns.

Mr. SHEARD: Give the names. Let us have it all.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend is not one of them, so he is perfectly safe in calling for the names. But while he nods his head in one direction some of his neighbours are shaking theirs in another.

Mr. SHEARD: Let us have the names. Let us have the facts.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Take your medicine.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In order that the House may appreciate what this system amounts to, I may say that the Government have given to Roumania a credit of $25,000,000 and to Greece a credit of $25,000,000. It is extremely doubtful, as has already been pointed out, whether these amounts will ever be wholly re-



funded. Of these amounts $26,989,000 has already been advanced. Now, of the amount of $26,989,000 advanced to these countries, which since the war have been in great need of foodstuffs especially, $3,500,000 has gone for foodstuffs and some $23,460,000 and over has gone in the supplying of manufactured articles to these particular countries—manufactured articles for which we in Canada, according to my hon. friends need such great protection. Of the manufactured articles supplied, contracts have gone to the following concerns of which some hon. gentlemen on the opposite side and one or two Senators, friends of the Government, happen to be directors: Brantford Roofing Company, $65,000; Welland Vale Manufacturing Company, for edge tools, $137,234.87; Maritime Nail Company, nails, $77,304.95; Dominion Iron and Steel Company, $66,138.48; Sherwin-Williams Paint Company, $31,490 and $11,-332; Monarch Knitting Company, knitted goods, $293,295.80; Stanfields Limited woollens, $21,780; Renfrew Woollen Mills, woollens, $114,041; Massey-Harris Company, agricultural implements, $536,000; Peck's Rolling Mills, $26,694.96.

There, Mr. Speaker, are some of the contracts which run up, as I say, to somewhere around $23,000,000 of the money of the people of this country, which has been lent to these various countries and which has found its way back to companies of which hon. members of this Parliament, sitting opposite to me and listening to my remarks at this moment, and other friends of the Government are directors and managers. I do not know in what terms one can adequately describe such a use of the public moneys. Hon. gentlemen opposite think there is nothing irregular about it; that it is all perfectly right and proper. Well, I hope we are not losing altogether the British tradition that when a man takes a seat in Parliament he is at least supposed to be above reproach in the matter of contracts with which he and the concerns with which he is connected have to do in so far as they involve business relations with the Government. But, perhaps, it is a matter of little wonder that hon. members opposite should find it difficult to see anything wrong in this procedure, when we find the Prime Minister himself standing up and defending in this House the action of one of his colleagues in soliciting business from another government for his private firm and using as a means of getting that business the influence and prestige of his office as Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue. We are now beginning to see some of the reasons for the enormous expenditures to which the people of this country have been subjected and for the steady increase in the burden of taxation.

I have referred to the action of a minister of the Crown in soliciting business—the carrying of cargoes from France to Canada. I would point out that that minister is a member of a Government which is managing a merchant marine, a merchant marine which has not sufficient business to enable it to operate profitably; yet he uses his name as a minister of the Crown in order that he may enter into competition with the Government's own business; that he may take away that business from the Government and give it to his own firm. And the right hon. the Prime Minister stands up in this Parliament and defends that kind of thing. Well, Mr. Speaker, as long as my hon. friends opposite have that conception of public morality I see no hope of economy in public expenditures or that the taxes upon the people will be made less burdensome.

Now, Sir, in order to conceal these methods of doing business, in order to remove their possibilities from the arena of public discussion, to divert public attention and the public mind from any careful consideration of this stupendous situation, the one really menacing factor in our national life, the right hon. the Prime Minister is at great pains, whenever he speaks, whether on the platform or in this chamber, to misrepresent the position and the attitude of his opponents on the tariff, in the hope that their time will be spent in refuting his misleading statements. It is perhaps natural that he should adopt such a course. I regret that the Prime Minister is not in his seat this evening, and that he has not been in the chamber all afternoon; I should have preferred to address these remarks through you, Mr. Speaker, direct to him. However, he will, no doubt, have an opportunity of reading them, and I trust that he will pay particular attention to what I have to say in regard to the tariff. Having misrepresented, session after session, the intention of the Government itself with respect to tariff revision, it is not surprising that he should adopt the same tactics in dealing with the intention of his opponents. In the few remaining minutes that I desire to speak, may I attempt to show the nature of these misrepresentations, and at the same time restate the Liberal position as it is and as it is set

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forth in the amendment which is before the House? Hon members will recall that my right hon. friend, in his speech of a day or two ago, said he wished primarily to deal with the amendment. I shall endeavour to follow him in this particular, though in others I hope I may escape the ill effects of his bad example.

My right hon. friend has misrepresented the position of his opponents in three important essentials. My hon. friend, the leader of the Agrarian group (Mr. Crerar), has shown wherein this is true of himself, and hon. gentlemen with whom he is associated. May I be permitted to do the same as respects myself and the position of the Liberal party? In this matter of the tariff, we have been misrepresented by the Prime Minister and his colleagues as to principle, as to aim, and as to method.

First, as to principle. My right hon. friend has endeavoured to have it appear that the issue, as respects the tariff, is one of free trade versus protection. Over and over again, he has made this assertion. Sometimes, oddly enough, he has said that we of the Liberal party, like himself, believed in a tariff based on the principle of protection; at other times he has said that we believe in a tariff based on the principle of free trade; then again he has said that, as respects the tariff, we have no principles, or were without any principle. Quite obviously, all three statements are not correct. As a matter of truth, not one of them is correct. That I may do my right hon. friend no injustice, let me quote a sentence or two from one or two of his speeches. I shall give only one or two quotations, but they will have a familiar sound to hon. members of the House. Here is a quotation from a speech delivered by the Prime Minister at Sherbroke on September 21, 1920, as reported in the Montreal Gazette of September 22. My right hon. friend said then:

> What then is the issue? It is the old subject of trade policy.
>
> Back to the old question of free trade or protection the pendulum has swung again. Once more the people of Canada have had to decide whether one principle or the other is to prevail.

Elsewhere in the same address my right hon. friend used these words:

> We have, therefore, a clear-cut issue. Do we want free trade in this country or do we not? . . . . The majority of the opposition to the Government of the day is composed of free traders. . . .

There is a positive statement made by the Prime Minister of this country, although my right hon. friend knows as well as I do that the issue is not between protection and free trade. He knows that there is no free trade issue in this country at the present time.

An hon. MEMBER: Oh, oh.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend laughs. Let me repeat, Mr. Speaker, the issue is not between protection and free trade. If any one has any doubts on that score, let him read the second clause of the amendment which is before the House, and which will be supported unanimously, I believe, by hon. members on this side of the House. What is the first sentence of that clause? It is to the effect that existing financial requirements of the Dominion demand the maintenance of the customs tariff. So long as you recognize a customs tariff, you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as this amendment states, a tax. It is a tax on imports, and a tax on imports is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what it says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example, and when my right hon. friend says that the issue is between protection and free trade, he does not describe the situation aright. The minute a tax is imposed on trade, that moment trade is obstructed. The obstruction may be made to serve primarily one of two purposes: it may be made a means of raising revenue, or it may be made a means of affording protection to some industry within the country. Usually it serves both purposes in some measure. A tax imposed for purposes of protection will incidentally afford revenue, and a tax imposed for purposes of revenue will incidentally afford protection. The art of statesmanship in the imposition of taxation lies in making taxation as light as circumstances will permit, and in having regard for existing national needs in whatever taxation is imposed. The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is not and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue.

My right hon. friend says it is either free trade or protection; that there are only the two grounds: there is no middle ground between. Let me quote his exact words:

> I said a moment ago that any body of men framing a tariff must adopt one of two principles, the protective principle or the free trade principle, and I say that every public man owes it to the people to declare definitely on which of the two principles he stands.

That was a statement made at Winnipeg on October 25, 1920. The House will observe that my right hon. friend is choosing his own ground in making the alternative. He makes the assertion, and then he begins to argue from his own premises, but his premises are not right to begin with. He says:

> There is a free trade tariff, and there is a protective tariff.

He goes on to say:

> Is there a man or woman here who knows whether Mr. King stands for tariff on the free trade principle, or on the protection principle? You may keep on asking him, but you will never get an answer, yes or no.

My right hon. friend knows very well that I never give an answer, "yes" or "no," on premises that are entirely false. The question is not between protection and free trade. He says, in an issue between protection and free trade, there is no middle ground. In that I agree with him, if by protection he means tariff and by free trade absence of tariff. The one is the negation of the other. That issue may be fought out theoretically, but practically there is no such issue in this country, and never has been. My right hon. friend says: "You can have two kinds of tariff and only two; you can have a tariff founded on one principle, that of protection, or another principle, that of free trade." That, Mr. Speaker, is where my right hon. friend misstates the case. You cannot have a tariff on the principle of free trade, for the principle of free trade means the absence of all tariff. What my right hon. friend should have said, what he would have said had he not deliberately been trying to becloud the issue, when speaking of the only possible alternatives of a tariff, is that there are but two kinds, a tariff based on the principle of protection, and a tariff based on the principle of revenue. Had he stated the alternative in these words, he would have correctly described the issue.

In dealing with taxation, the aim should be, as the amendment before the House states, to make taxation fall as lightly as possible upon the people of the country. The art of statesmanship as respects taxation, and as respects anything else, consists in having as much regard for the interests of the country as possible. If, when you are framing your tariff with one object or another in view, you do not take into consideration all the other objects that are to be served, you do not do your full duty to the people whose representatives you are. Unless my hon. friends opposite, when they are framing a tariff for purposes of protection, say that they will give no consideration to the revenue that is to be raised they should not hurl a stone at us because in regard to a tariff designed primarily for revenue purposes, we have some regard for the interests and needs of the country in whatever direction those needs may present themselves. As regards the tariff, my right hon. friend has never once spoken of there being an issue between a tariff primarily for revenue and a tariff primarily for protection. He has tried to make an issue between free trade and protection, and speaking of the first alternative and omitting altogether the second, which must be as familiar to him as it is to every other hon. member of the House, he has shown that he has been trying to draw away the minds of the people from the real issue and cause them to think of something which is not the issue at all.

The position which I have just stated has been the position the Liberal party has taken in regard to the tariff since it has taken any practical interest in tariff matters. In the last speech he delivered on the Budget before the war, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated in the clearest possible terms the position of the Liberal party on the tariff. Here are Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words. They will be found in Hansard of April 23, 1914, page 2844:

> We have always contended, that the policy best suited to this country is not a protective tariff but a customs tariff for revenue purposes.

There is the statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. There is the statement of the Liberal party in the matter of the tariff. That is where Sir Wilfrid stood; that is where I stand; that is where our party stands and is prepared to stand when the day of reckoning with the electorate comes.

As to the aim of our fiscal policy, my right hon. friend states that we aim to destroy the industries of Canada, though here again he finds himself in a curiously contradictory position. He says that in the West, where he alleges they want Free Trade, we are free traders, and that in the East, where he alleges they want Protection, we are protectionists. That, Mr. Speaker, would look as though, instead of seeking to destroy, we were doing our utmost to conserve.



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My right hon. friend, if I may be permitted to say so, in this regard has done his utmost to misrepresent me personally, from one end of the country to the other. The other day, from his seat in the House, he could hardly wait until he had hurled across the floor at me that I particularly was being subjected to the criticism by the public that I stood in one place for one thing and in another for another; that I particularly had created throughout the country the impression that I was trying to be all things to all men. Here is a statement of my right hon. friend as given to the women of Toronto. I think my right hon. friend should have been a little more careful of the truth in talking to the ladies. This is from a report in the Ottawa Citizen of April 18 of a speech delivered by the Prime Minister at a meeting of the Women's Liberal-Conservative Association at Toronto on April 16:

> Touching on the tariff question, Premier Meighen said that in Eastern Canada the opposition had advocated moderate protection, and in Western Canada free trade.

Then as reported in the Mail and Empire's account of the same meeting:

> In Eastern Canada, the Opposition had advocated moderate protection, and in Western Canada, free trade. Everything their leaders had spoken had bound them to free trade.

I should like to say to the Prime Minister of this country—I do not know whether the rules of the House will permit it—but if the rules permit it I would say that he knew that was not true when he said it. If the rules of the House so permit, I will say that, but if they do not, I will not, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon member that the rules of the House would not permit him to say that any hon. member of the House wilfully made a mis-statement or told an untruth.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then, Mr. Speaker, I am prevented from saying what I should like to have said. However, I wish to say this: that statement is not true, and every hon. member of this House knows that it is not true. Then at a meeting of the Conservative Club, in Toronto, on April 16, 1921, the Prime Minister is reported in the Toronto Mail and Empire as saying::

> But is there any one knows where the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King stands? . . . . Mr. King was an advocate of ruthless tariff reduction out West, but in the East he stood for the adequate protection of industry.

I challenge the right hon. the Prime Minister to point to any utterance of mine in the West than can possibly be understood as meaning that I stood for ruthless tariff reduction. It is very easy to misrepresent, but it is another thing to undo the evils of misrepresentation. My right hon. friend has gone out of his way to have it appear that my attitude on the tariff has been one thing in one place and another in another. He says I have not been frank on the tariff issue. His example in that particular has been followed by his colleagues and many of his supporters, and has been enlarged upon, of course, by his party press. Indeed, the order has gone out from my right hon. friend's office, through his publicity office, that this is to be the line of attack upon myself and the Liberal party; that it is to be made so much of a barrage on all occasions that the public is not to have an opportunity of ever learning the truth that is being obscured by this policy of misrepresentation.

As I have said, some of the colleagues of my right hon. friend the Prime Minister have followed his tactics. I was somewhat surprised to find my hon. friend the Minister of Finance doing exactly the same thing. I have here a speech delivered by my hon. friend at Peterborough in which he said, as reported in the Ottawa Citizen of January 31, of this year:

> Now Mr. King comes into West Peterborough and tells the people that if the Liberals got into power tomorrow they would not make a single change in the tariff without first submitting it to the people.

Now that was not wholly true to begin with. I was referring to the by-election and the consequence of it, and I told the electors of Peterborough, what was true, that if on a vote of want of confidence in this House the Government opposite should be defeated, and we on this side of the House should be called upon to associate ourselves together in a Government, we would not do what hon. gentlemen opposite were then proposing to do, namely, revise the tariff, before there had been an appeal to the people, but that we would state to the people what our tariff policies and principles were, and that the people would be given a chance at a general election to pass upon them.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: That is what was said.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If that is now my hon. friend's interpretation, I am glad to have it But what about this? My



hon. friend went on to say, and this is in quotation marks:

> "Out on the prairies, Mr. King is one of the most marvellous free traders and tariff-smashers you could find anywhere."

Again, I ask my hon. friend to point to a single utterance of mine which justifies that remark. He cannot do it.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: No difficulty whatever about it. All that was necessary at that time was to read the newspaper reports of my hon. friend's utterances.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I challenge my hon. friend to bring into this House and read to hon. members any bona fide report of any utterance of mine that justifies a statement of that kind. Such statements, Mr. Speaker, I say are absolutely false and untrue. The speeches I made through the Canadian West were made in the hearing of thousands of persons; they were reported very fully in the western papers, and in despatches to the East; they were made within the hearing of several hon. members of this House, and I challenge both my hon. friends, or either of them, to point to a single sentence in all that I have said which will afford a shadow of justification for their allegations. I have looked through the press reports of the different speeches I made in the different cities, and I find that every one of them on this question of the tariff tallies, verbatim et literatim, with the policy of the Liberal party as I have already stated it in this House, and as it is known to the country. There is not a single item in any of those newspaper reports to justify any such statement as was made either by my hon. friend the Minister of Finance or the right hon. the Prime Minister.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I will be pleased to send a report of a speech to my hon. friend.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, read it to the House. My hon. friend knows that secret communications are not a desirable way of carrying on public business. That there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff during the western trip last fall, that there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff when I spoke in the Maritime Provinces a little over a year ago, that there may be no misunderstanding of my present attitude on the tariff may I read to the House from the account of a speech which I delivered in the city of Toronto on August 14, of last year, before starting for the West, and which appears under the conspicuous heading, "Mr. King on All-Important Tariff Issue —A tariff for consumers and producers" on the front page of the Toronto Globe of August 16. That statement, to all intents and purposes, is identical with the presentation of the Liberal attitude on the tariff as made at every meeting at which I have spoken on the tariff since the Liberal Convention of August, 1919. It is in all essential particulars true to the Liberal platform as laid down at that convention, and it is absolutely in accord with the aim of the Liberal party on fiscal policy as set forth in the amendment before the House. I challenge any man or woman in this country to show that I have anywhere, at any time, swerved from the views and opinions and statement of policy as set forth in this quotation, which is both clear and comprehensive. Before giving the quotation from the Globe—may I say this to my hon. friend from Centre Vancouver (Mr. Stevens) who I understand is to follow me, and with whom I see the Minister of Finance is at the moment conferring, that my hon. friend from Centre Vancouver, when he spoke in this House in the debate on the Address, made certain quotations from western papers which I have looked into since, and I find that my hon. friend quoted only part of what I said and never finished the sentences. I ask him when he speaks in this debate tonight, if he reads any extracts of my speeches, not simply to pick out the parts that suit his purpose, but to read the entire paragraph. This is the quotation which I wish to give from the Toronto Globe of August 16, 1920:

> Speaking on the all-important tariff question at the Liberal picnic Saturday, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, said:
>
> "We believe that the time has come, indeed that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life, in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. . . ."
>
> "In revising the tariff to this end care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country, but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies or of any special or privileged classes. . . ."

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"It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff. We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal party. And I shall say in regard to tariff policies exactly the same in the city of Toronto as I shall say in the Western Provinces. I have not one message for the city and another message for the country—one message for the employer and another for the employee."

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Will my hon. friend be good enough to tell the House if he stands by the policy of the Liberal party, as outlined at the Convention of 1919, favouring a British preference of 50 per cent?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The statement I have just read to the House is intelligible to every hon. member, and I think my hon. friend has quite enough intelligence to see whether there is anything that is inconsistent, in what I have just read, with the platform laid down by the Liberal party at the Liberal convention. Now, Sir, my hon. friend the other day, in the course of his address, quoted from a speech of mine in Victoria, and from an article contributed by me to Maclean's Magazine in January last. I have no doubt that the hon. gentleman made a thorough search in every direction before he got hold of that speech and that article, and they may be presumed to be the best examples he could obtain for the purposes of his argument. I do not know whether his reading of them supplemented by his tone and gesture, served his purpose, but if he will compare that speech and the article in Maclean's Magazine with what I have just read to the House, he will find that they not only accord with each other, but are almost identical in language with the speech in Toronto from which I have quoted. In one or two respects, it is true, the article in Maclean's Magazine contained matter not there stated. For example, I find this clause.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Nothing about preference.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Just wait a minute. I do not know whether my hon. friend is the one who is responsible for getting his party to strike out that clause in regard to promoting trade between the Mother Country and the Dominions. It seems to me, from the nature of his remarks in the House, that he is acting as the special agent for those who were desirous to delete that clause from the party platform. Now, in the Maclean Magazine article of January 15, there is this additional sentence:

In this revision, we believe that the home and its needs should be a first consideration.

I want to emphasize that fact. I want to make it clear that in revising the tariff of this country we are going to consider first, foremost, and always, the needs of the homes of the people of the country. Then there is the further statement:

With the Liberal party, the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection; it is revenue, and the simultaneous development of industry in such manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people. . . There will be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which, of necessity, will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff.

Now, I think I have perhaps said enough to make clear the position which we, on this side of the House, and which I myself, take in regard to the tariff and the principle on which it should be framed. The aim we seek in a revision of the tariff has been well set out in the amendment which is before the House. The Prime Minister (Mr. Meighen) would have the country believe that our aim is to destroy industries throughout the country, as though any political party would seek in any way to destroy the industries of a nation, and its consequent prosperity. What we aim at is well set out in these two clauses of the amendment:

That the aim of the fiscal policy of Canada should be the encouragement of industries based on the natural resources of the country, the development of which may reasonably be expected to create healthy enterprises giving promise of enduring success;

4. That such changes should be made in the customs duties as may be expected to reduce the cost of living, and to reduce also the cost of implements of production required for the efficient development of the natural resources of the Dominion.

That aim, I contend, is in
9 p.m. accordance with the needs of Government, in accordance with the needs of the country, and in accordance with the needs of the great body of consumers in this Dominion.

Now, finally, a word as to the method by which, if entrusted with the duty of tariff revision, we should wish to proceed. My right hon. friend the leader of the Government, when on the public hustings, has a way of describing those who disagree with him in any particular as Bolshevists, nation wreckers, I.W.Ws., O.B.Us., and by any other epithet that denotes destruction and revolution. The right hon. gentlemen should be somewhat more careful of the language he uses. Let me say that the only aim we have is to do things in an orderly and decent manner, and that aim is well set out in paragraph 5 of the amendment:



5. That, while keeping this aim clearly in mind, the House recognizes that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place, regard must be had to existing conditions of trade, and changes made in such a manner as will cause the least possible disturbance of business.

When the language of this amendment is used or when in speaking I say that in revising the tariff some regard should be had to the position and needs of industry, immediately my right. friend gets up and says that we are in exactly the same boat as he is and out for protection. Well, I know that my hon. friend is fond of monopolies, but when has he ever had the right to a monopoly for doing things in an orderly fashion? We on this side believe, as respects the tariff, and as respects everything else of national importance, in proceeding along evolutionary, not along revolutionary, lines, and, if the opportunity is given to us, anything that we do shall be done exactly as described in the spirit of this amendment.

Did time permit, Mr. Speaker, I should like to refer at some length to the last clause of the amendment.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Go on.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, I will not. With regard to the last clause of the amendment, I desire to say only a word or two. In many respects, it is its most important part. My right hon. friend said that he intended to address himself to the amendment, but I observe that, although he spoke for two hours and a half, he omitted altogether reference to this particular clause. No doubt he felt that reference of any kind would prove embarrassing. Let me read this final clause:

6. That the House, while recognizing that the obligations arising from the war must be met, and declaring its readiness to make all necessary provision for that purpose, regrets that the financial proposals of the Government are not made with due regard to the economy that is so urgently needed, and expresses the opinion that, before resorting to new taxation, the Government should make a subtantial reduction in the proposed expenditure.

This clause, Mr. Speaker, goes to the root of the matter. As I have said, unless we can keep down expenditures through economy and retrenchment, tariff revision will be of little service in any respect. I might repeat what has been so truly said by hon. members as to the many ways in which economy and retrenchment might be exercised with respect to the Estimates that have been presented to the House—as to how economy might be effected as regards the railways, the Merchant Marine, the foreign credits of doubtful nature, of which I have spoken, as regards the building of dry docks and piers, and as regards certain matters in respect of which the provinces are associated with the Federal Government and which might well be left for the present to the provinces alone, such for example, as questions of technical education, housing, and the making of roads; and, also, as to how economy might be effected with respect to military, naval, and police expenditures, all expenditure which we might in very large measure considerably curtail, for a while at least.

Now, Sir, with all these statements I am in entire accord, but what I wish to say is this: With a situation such as we have, and such as we know exists, economies effected in the directions suggested mean simply the lopping off so many branches here and there while the tree itself is decayed at the heart and rotten at the roots. We must go deeper than these surface indications and deal with the vitals and crux of the situation. It will avail but little to discuss the Budget in its details when we have a super-organization of business interests controlling the Government and dictating its policies; when we have an interweaving of financial, manufacturing, distributing and selling interests with some of their more ambitious members associated with hon. members who hold their positions in the Government against the will of the people; when we have groups of special friends helped by means of loans and foreign credits such as I have already described. When you have that kind of situation, what can be accomplished in the way of small economies here and there will have very little effect indeed in meeting the real issue. What is needed most in this country to-day is to break this selfish combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats which has grown and developed during the war and fastened itself like an octopus on the people of Canada. That, Mr. Speaker, is a task which is too large to be performed by this House; it is a task which the people alone can successfully undertake. We of the Opposition may do our best, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of the closure the minute, on matters of public expenditure, we try to let in light. The only way in which that combination can be broken is to give to the people of this country their right to have a Parlia-

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ment composed of their own representatives chosen in their own way. Until that right is granted we will never know what the assets or liabilities of this country are. What is the good of discussing the Budget of my hon. friend in its few details when we have this great combination at work using public funds in all directions to further the interests of a few specially favoured groups? We may make the best effort we can—we have been doing that—but we are powerless in the face of the weapons that hon. gentlemen opposite are prepared to use on behalf of the interests that are sustaining and keeping them in power. But we do ask—and ask in the name of the people of this country—that for the sake of Canada's present condition and for the sake of her future need, the people be granted the right—the constitutional right which is theirs—of electing a Parliament of their own choosing, and of breaking without further delay a combination which is so inimical to the public weal.

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20 May 1921

D 5105
House of Commons

THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR

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Speaker's Chair,
20th May 1921

The constituent elements of Parliament here assembled do right in regarding the present moment as one of historic significance. There are under British parliamentary institutions two symbols of authority - the Crown, which speaks of the sovereignty of royalty; the Speaker's Chair, which speaks of the sovereignty of the people. That under the aegis of the British flag these two sovereignties have blended into one is ~~not less~~ a tribute not less to the character and devotion to duty of the occupantsof the British throne than to the genius of the British peoples in the art and science of government.

On this occasion, we have these sovereignties not only represented in the symbols I have mentioned; we have them personified in the distinguished presence of His Excellency the Governor General and the presence of the eminent statesman who has crossed the seas to make to this Parliament and the people of Canada the gracious gift from our brother parliamentarians at Westminster, which by you, Mr. Speaker, has just been accepted in terms so adequate and appropriate.

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It was said of our illustrious Queen Victoria that

"Statesmen at her council met
Who knew the seasons when to take
Occasion by the hand, and make
The bounds of freedom wider yet."

We of this Parliament of Canada, reverencing British lore, and schooled in British parliamentary tradition, recognize in this moment such an occasion. We recognize in our parliamentary institutions, fashioned as they are upon the British model, the greatest guarantee of freedom which a people can possess. We recognize that in the preservation and extension of the principles of government underlying our free parliamentary institutions lies the possibility of our largest contribution to the freedom of mankind. Further, we recognize that it is around the Speaker's chair that in the Mother of Parliaments the battles of political freedom have been waged, and in appeals to the authority of the Chair, as the symbol of a people's sovereignty, that British political liberties have been won.

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We accept, therefore, this gift with a full appreciation of all that it signifies of what we owe of freedom to the Parliament at Westminster, and of courtesy and goodwill on the part of the members of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association; and we ask you, Mr. Lowther, in conveying the thanks of this Parliament and of the Canadian people, at the same time also to convey the assurance that it will be our high privilege to seek to preserve, with due regard to its rightful dignity and authority, and its ancient and honourable tradition, this noble expression of the freedom and unity of the British peoples so generously committed to our charge.

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20th May — 2.30 p.m. Presentation of Chair

21st — 7.30 p.m. Dinner to be given in Parliamentary restaurant by Government of Canada (in the name of the Empire Parliamentary Association, Canadian Branch) to be attended by members of the Senate and of the House of Commons, and by Privy Councillors not of the Cabinet: To be presided over by the Prime Minister.

CEREMONY OF PRESENTATION

Members to assemble at 2.30.

1. Presentation by Rt Hon J. W. Lowther
2. Acceptance by Mr. Speaker
3. Remarks by (a) Prime Minister
   (b) Rt. Hon. Sir R. L. Borden
   (c) Hon W. L. M. King
   (d) Hon. T. A Crerar
   (e) Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux (in French)
   (f) His Excellency the Governor General

NOTE: As galleries will be occupied when presentation is made, prayers will be dispensed with, and House opened by being called to order.

On the Order "Motions", Prime Minister will move, seconded by Hon. W. L. M. King the following motions,-

1. Thanks to the Empire Parliamentary Association for gift:
2. Thanks to Mr. Lowther for making the presentation
3. That the proceedings, including speeches made at the presentation of the Chair, be printed in "Hansard" as a prefix to the proceedings of the day.

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3 June 1921 House of Commons

FAREWELL TO THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

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FAREWELL

to His Excellency the

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

House of Commons

June 3rd, 1921.

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I feel it a privilege to have the honour of seconding the motion which has just been made by the Right Hon. the Prime Minister.

There is something peculiarly fitting, and indeed very happily appropriate, in that the birthday of His Majesty the King should be the day on which this Parliament, through the circumstance of chance, should express to His Majesty's representative in Canada those feelings of high regard with which, through the circumspect and faithful exercise of his high responsibilities, His Excellency has inspired the Canadian people during the critical years of his official connection with Canada.

As with the Crown, so with the Crown's representatives, it is not, under our British parliamentary institutions, the privileged rank or the exalted position that invites our admiration or wins our affection, but the degree to which and the manner in which place and power are made a directing force in all that pertains to justice, order, and law, and in all that ministers most nobly to human need. Judged by this

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exacting standard, the sojourn of His Excellency the Duke of Devonshire in Canada will find a recorded place in our country's history second to none of those of his illustrious predecessors in the high office of Governor General of this Dominion.

Perhaps nothing truer, certainly nothing worthier, could be said of him than that he has discharged the manysided responsibilities of his high office, alike in private and in public life, with due regard to the best of British traditions and the strictest adherence to British constitutional practice and procedure.

In the words, therefore, of the Address, it is with no mere formal expression of regret, but with feelings of genuine appreciation of the service he has rendered alike to Crown and Country, to the ties which bind the one to the other, and this new land to the old, that on behalf of the Canadian people we bid him an official farewell, with all the attendant good-will which that word is capable of conveying.

To Her Excellency the Duchess of Devonshire and to the members of Their Excellencies' family, we would express equal measure the appreciation we feel of all they have so generously accorded and left in remembrance, through hospitality as in many other ways, of what is best in English political, social and family life.

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29 June 1921

D 5113
Ottawa: visit of
Marshall Fayolle

APPRECIATION OF FRANCE'S GIFT
TO CANADA OF RODIN'S BUST
"VICTOIRE"

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1921 Speeches Marshall Fayolle etc
Presentation to Canada
of Rodin's Bust "Victoire"

D 5114

Wednesday,
June 29, 1921

Speech by the Honourable W. L.
Mackenzie King on the occasion of the
visit to Canada of Marshal Fayolle and
other citizens of France, and the pres-
entation to the people of Canada of
Rodin's Bust "Victoire".

I very much appreciate the honour accorded me by the Right Honourable the Acting Prime Minister of being permitted to join with him in expressing to you, Marshal Fayolle, and your distinguished compatriots, and through you to the President and the people of the French Republic, the appreciation felt by the citizens of our Dominion of the visit of the French Mission to our country; and, in particular, on this occasion, the thanks and gratitude of the Government and people of Canada for the gift which you have just made to Canada in the name of France.

It is pleasing to recall at this time that the history of our country begins with the story of the early French missions. They were for the purpose of exploration and of discovery, but more particularly for the promotion of trade and the yet higher purpose of the spread of Christian teaching and Christian civilization in the New World. Now, after the lapse of over three centuries,

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History repeats itself, under conditions that are vastly changed. Another French mission visits our shores, exploring our country from ocean to ocean. Like the earliest missions from France, it comes for the purpose of fostering and promoting trade, but it comes also with the still loftier aim of exemplifying, in the name of France, that spirit of brotherhood and Christian love which is the fruit of noble aims and valiant deeds.

I wish it were possible adequately to convey to you just what the gift you have presented to our country, in itself such a noble expression of the highest artistic genius of France, will ever mean to the Canadian people. I wonder if ever before in the history of the world a gift has symbolized or expressed so much!

In the reconstruction of these Halls of Parliament, destroyed by fire during the period of the War, we have sought, in sculptured pillar and monumental tower, to commemorate the sacrifices of our heroic dead; but nowhere in or about these buildings, nowhere among our monuments or other records, nowhere in the archives of the nation itself, will be found words so meaningful, so soul stirring, so immortal, as those which find expression

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in the inscription which this gift so chivalrously bears: "To Canada, which has poured out the blood of her sons for the liberty of the world, from grateful France." In so far as it is within the power of language to put into words what is most noble, most heroic, and most enduring, it has found expression here.

"To Canada, from grateful France." Think of all that is implied and expressed in these five words. Canada, at one time the possession of France, for a century and a half her lost possession! France, that proud and illustrious nation bending, in the bestowal of her gift, in an attitude of humility, to write, in loving sincerity, to thedescendants of conqueror and conquered alike, the word "grateful" before her immortal name! Has the whole of history anything more beautiful, more inspiring, more hopeful, to express? When we realize that it is not an individual, but a nation, that is thus revealing its highest and tenderest emotions, we rise in thought and feeling to the very summits of the sublime.

And what of the words she has chosen wherewith to express her gratitude. To Canada, "which has poured out the blood of her sons for the liberty of the world".

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These words, "liberty" and "the world", are words large in meaning. "Poured out the blood of her sons"! What extent of sacrifice is not expressed here! We would scarcely have dared so to express what in our hearts we feel belongs to our heroic dead. It has remained for France to give these words a place within our nation's Hall of Fame. And yet not one word of her own colossal sacrifice; not one word of the last drop of her life's blood she was ever ready to give for the freedom of mankind; only this expression of gratitude to her conquered child. Chivalrous! France was ever chivalrous! But I doubt if the whole annals of French chivalry hold anything comparable to this.

And what shall we say of the gift itself - this priceless treasure of art, not less inspiring and meaningful in its symbolism, its strength, and its beauty, than the inscription it bears. It is impossible to say with what feelings of profound emotion we shall ever behold, and with what deep reverence we shall ever cherish, the possession of this exquisite expression of what is best in the unsurpassed artistic genius of the French race. We recognize that the name of Rodin connotes not only what is finest in

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French sculpture, but that it speaks of what is highest in the creative art of modern times. In thus associating the work of this great artist with your gift, you have paid our country a compliment parallelsdonly by that which you have so delicately conveyed through the distinction which attaches to the personnel of your Mission, and that of the group of illustrious and able men who are shortly to accompany the industrial exhibition.

We welcome this exhibition also as an evidence of French genius and of the unconquerable spirit of France. We trust that in the extended intercourse of commerce and trade which we believe it will promote, it may be as successful in advancing the material interests of our two countries as your present mission is certain to prove in advancing what is most to be desired in reciprocal affection and regard.

The bust you have presented to the people of Canada is symbolic of France after her victory. You have sought in this gift to remind us of the gratitude of France to Canada for what her sons have sacrificed in the cause of the liberty of the world. For that we are profoundly grateful. There is, however, a further thought to which

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I should like to give expression, in supplementing the thanks of the Acting Prime Minister on behalf of the Government and people of Canada, and which I trust you will find not unworthy of being conveyed to your Government and fellow countrymen. We shall never look upon this gift without feeling in our hearts something of the gratitude which Canada would like to be able to express to France for what she has contributed, at a sacrifice that is wholly unparalleled, in her determination to preserve the liberties of mankind.

That out of anything so cold, so hard, so barren, so unattractive, as metal or stone, a spirit can be revealed with such perfection that its message never dies, is surely the greatest evidence of the all but infinite possibilities of human genius. That through anything so destructive, so desolating, so hideous, as war, a spirit of a people can be revealed, so unconquerable, so immortal, that its message remains a lasting inspiration to mankind, is surely the evidence of the celestial fire that inspires the human race.

Where better than in the words of one of our own Canadian poets, the late William Wilfred Campbell, can we

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express what we feel of the part played by France in the Great War:

> "She hath taught us by this splendid deed
> That under all the brutish mask of life
> And dulled intention of ignoble ends,
> Man's soul is not all sordid; that behind
> This tragedy of ills and hates that seem
> There lurks a god-like impulse in the world
> And men are greater than they idly dream."

It is this unconquerable, this immortal spirit of France, that we shall ever behold as we look upon this gift, expressive as it is of what is highest and best in human genius and in the genius of a race.

In the three centuries and more of historic association which have served to unite, to divide, and to reunite, the fortunes of Old France with those of the New World, there have been two great epochs of almost equal duration. The one opened with French discovery, French settlement and possession, and closed with British conquest. The other opened with British rule; it was followed by British possession and settlement, but also by the spread of British law and institutions and British conceptions of human freedom. Until but yesterday, that epoch was still in the making. It closes to-day, not with the conquest of our territories by force of British arms, but by

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the conquest of our hearts by this expression of the gratitude of France.

Henceforth, we enter upon a new epoch, an epoch, not of separation, but of nobler union of the descendants of the British and French races who vied in conquest in bygone years. A union of French and English, not in Canada alone, but wherever throughout this wide world there float the tricolour and the Union Jack, a union of minds and hearts and purpose au service de la Liberte, de l'Egalite, et de la Fraternite, pour les nations aussi bien que pour les hommes.

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1 July 1921

Brome Corners, P.Q.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT WITHOUT A MANDATE

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Speech
at
DOMINION DAY CELEBRATION
BROME CORNERS
July 1st, 1921.

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We are assembled to-day to celebrate the fifty-fourth anniversary of the birthday of our nation. I doubt if anywhere in Canada a more appropriate spot could be found for this celebration. The Eastern Townships are favoured by Nature, by Geography, and by History for just such an occasion. This is not to say that other portions of our vast Dominion are wanting in attractiveness or historic interest. Go where you will from the Atlantic to the Pacific, you will find a benevolence and prodigality on the part of Nature which make the several provinces rivals of each other in natural wealth and natural beauty. Go where you will, there is something of special interest possessed by each locality and its environments which others fail to afford in equal measure. Go where you will, and above all you will find the same pioneering ventures and struggles, the same conquest of adversity in its many forms, the same permeation of vast wooded or open, or mountainous regions by the arts and blessings of the highest civilization. This record of initiative and enterprises, of intrepid daring and dauntless courage, of strong purpose and sturdy character,

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constitutes the common background of our country's story. It is not that each and every part of our country may not with peculiar fitness celebrate all that is signified in this anniversary. It is only that few other parts, if any, combine to a like degree what, as a symbol of the unity and harmony of the whole, Nature, Geography and History have contributed to the Eastern Townships.

Let me pause for a moment to glance at these contributions to the Eastern Townships on the part of Nature, Geography, and History, and to point out wherein what they suggest of this unity and harmony to be wrought out of the diversity and variety of the constituent elements of our country is the most appropriate of all the gifts which it is possible for us to bring to our country on this the day of her natal anniversary.

Let us look, first of all, at Nature's contribution. Where could anything be found more lovely than the landscape which spreads itself before the traveller's view as he journeys through these townships from one to the other. Lake and field and mountain, no one to the exlusion of the other, but all combined in a most perfect harmony. It is Nature's great lesson

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of the beauty which lies in a unity born not of uniformity but of diversity, and likewise of a harmony which is the expression, not of monotony, but of variety.

Where, within so small a compass, could we find a picture equally suggestive of the richness and variety of our country's natural beauty and natural resources? If, instead of townships, we seek to visualize our provinces in their physical aspects, for lakes we shall catch glimpses of our ocean borders and inland seas; for the enclosures of fields, the limitless horizons of the prairies, and for the mountains round about, the vast ranges that stretch away with their hidden stores of wealth into regions as yet unexplored. Does not the whole present one vast picture of unparalleled variety and diversity; but is it not also a picture of perfect unity and harmony? Let us recognize in this Nature's gift to our Dominion.

Let us look next at the contribution of Geography. Has she not, with a note of exactness scarcely to be equalled elsewhere throughout the Dominion, made this scene of great natural beauty the place of union of the original and central provinces which divide, but at the same time unite our East and West? The Maritime Provinces and British Columbia, have

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their special interests and charm, their scenes of unparalleled natural grandeur. Ontario has its Niagara and Quebec its Montmorency, with their fertile fields and gardens round about; but they belong to these provinces alone, they lie apart from the rest. The Eastern Townships lie at the very heart of the Dominion. True, they are within the borders of the Province of Quebec. One, however, has only to look at the map to see that had the arm of Ontario but been stretched around them with a protection such as the arm of Quebec affords, they would be equally the special care of the sister province.

Not alone are the Eastern Townships thus related in proximity to the oldest and most central of the provinces of the Dominion, they are related geographically with equal closeness to the great country to the South. They touch as well the borders of her vast domain.

Soan Geography for an expression of the unity and harmony she would proclaim as the one great objective of our national life in its interprovincial and international relations, and nowhere will you find anything to surpass the the security and the seclusion within which lie embraced the

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beauty and the charm of the Eastern Townships.

Again, however, it is the unity born, not of uniformity, but of diversity; and the harmony born, not of monotony, but of variety. What could be more diversified or more varied than the confines accorded by Geography to the Eastern Townships? There is nothing of the uniformity or monotony of a single line, nor even of lines of like character. One stretch of boundary marks in part the confines of a sister province, another the confines of a foreign nation; the remainder, the open gateway to adjoining counties! It is Nature's great lesson repeated in Geography, of the unity which delights in variety.

Let us expand our thought from townships to provinces and contemplate the different boundaries of our vast territory; on the East and West are the borders of limitless ocean separating us on the one side from Europe and on the other from the Orient; to the South four thousand miles partly of invisible lines of latitude partly of rivers and inland seas, separating us from the Great Republic to the South; to the North, unknown and unexplored regions boundless and boundaryless, but all making our country one. It is again the unity that delights

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in diversity, the harmony that comes from variety. It is the gift of Geography to our national life.

We come now to the contribution of History. Where in equal measure to the Eastern Townships, will be found that nearness to the early origins of our national life, and to the sources of those streams of racial and religious influence which throughout our country's history have served so largely to determine the activities and to mould the thoughts, the lives, of the Canadian people? Go to the other provinces of Canada, or to other parts of the province of Quebec, and you will find French and English, Catholic and Protestant alike representative of the great races and the great religious faiths that have helped to fashion our national growth and to shape our national destiny. In some parts, however, the representatives of the one race or of the one religion will be found to exist practically to the exclusion of the other. Here in the Eastern Townships, on the other hand, they are in many parts intermingled, and combined in numbers and influence with a marked approach to equality. To what effect? With the result, I think I am right in so stating it, that nowhere in the

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Dominion will there be found more in the way of unity or harmony amongst the diverse elements that go to make up the population. Here again, the teachings of History would seem to parallel those of Nature and Geography. It is the unity bred of diversity in which she delights, not the unity born of uniformity; it is the harmony bred of variety, not of monotony, which she seeks to exemplify and to cause to endure. This is History's gift to our country.

The gift of Nature, of Geography and of History is surely the greatest of all the gifts which as a people it is possible for us to bring to our Dominion on this the anniversary of her natal day; the high resolve henceforth to follow their example and to seek our national unity, not in a striving after uniformity in the manners, the customs and the habits of our people, but in a frank recognition of the richness of national life which may be bred of diversity and of the finer harmony which may be the creation of an infinite variety.

The unity and the harmony thus effected had no more splendid product than the moderation and the toleration

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which it helps to bring into being and exhibit in every relationship of life. Did time permit, many examples of the outcome of this spirit might be cited from the history of the Eastern Townships, examples in which its citizens may well cherish a justified pride.

Fisher
McMaster

I shall mention only one of great national significance. It is the number of English-speaking Protestants which these Eastern Townships, in the French Roman Catholic Province of Quebec, send to our Federal Parliament. I think I am right when I say that they are not less than five, possibly six in number, and I know I am right when I say that the five or six members composed in this group are not surpassed, if indeed they are equalled, in character, ability, and useful public service, by any group of equal size selected from any corresponding area in the Dominion.

It would be a pleasure, did time permit, to refer to the parliamentary services and the public record of each of these honourable members of our House of Commons, I shall

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have to take advantage, however, of some other occasion for that opportunity. It is fitting, however, that I should take advantage of the moment, addressing more particularly as I am the constituents of the riding of Brome, to make some slight public acknowledgement of the services to our Parliament and to our country being rendered by the gentleman whom they have chosen to represent them, my friend Mr. Andrew McMaster. Were Mr. McMaster not present it would be less embarassing to speak of his many splendid qualities and of his many private and public virtues. These fortunately must be self-evident to all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance, and are known to none better, I am sure, than to the electors of Brome, who have honoured him as their representative. I shall omit, therefore, much that I otherwise would be tempted to say. He will perhaps pardon me if I venture to repeat before his face what I never hesitate to say when his back is turned, that the Parliament of Canada has no more upright and fearless tribune of the people, no abler exponent of the cause of justice and freedom, no better guardian of the country's liberties, than the honourable member for Brome. He is ever

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faithful in the discharge of his public duties, ever ready in debate and public controversy, ever willing to assume a burden if thereby he can relieve the shoulders of another. We have in the public life of Canada to-day no man more worthy of the proud distinction of "honourable member" than Mr. McMaster.

Speaking for myself, and what I feel I owe to Mr. McMaster for the loyalty of his support, and the helpful counsel he has been ever ready to accord me, may I say that were there such an office in the gift of the Leader of Opposition as in olden times was described as the "Keeper of the King's Conscience", I know of no member of the party to whom I would more eagerly entrust that responsibility. Having regard to Canada's great need for men of the highest integrity, industry, and ability, to solve her present problems and to safeguard her future destiny, I cannot express too earnestly to the electors of Brome - indeed, may I not say to the electors of the Eastern Townships, irrespective of any particular constituency, for we do not know what changes the present Government may effect in the redistribution they are holding on to office to make - that, come what may, I hope they will

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make sure of having Mr. McMaster returned to Parliament at the next and succeeding general elections, and that with a majority so pronounced as to be an inducement to men of his high character and calibre, wherever they may be found, to enter public life and take an increasing part in the administration of our nation's affairs.

I cannot leave this brief reference to the contribution made by the Eastern Townships to the public life of our Dominion without a mention of the lifelong public service of that distinguished and good man who for many years represented the county of Brome in the Parliament of Canada, with such credit to himself, his constituency, and his country, the late Hon. Sydney Fisher.

Few men in the history of our country have left a more honourable or finer record of useful service. None have left a name more universally respected. Mr. Fisher exemplified in his life one of the finest of political traditions, that, namely, of noblesse oblige, as applied to the man of talent, of leisure, of superior endowments, Having the advantage of an old world university education, of private means sufficient to guarantee him a personal independence, of qualities of

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heart and mind which would have made the path of life pleasant in almost any walk, he chose to consecrate these gifts and inheritances to the service of his country and to the social well-being of his fellow-men. The result was an active association of over forty years with the policies of the Dominion, during which time, as a legislator and an administrator, he brought great distinction to himself, to this constituency and to our country. As you all well know, there was scarcely a phase of the country's higher development in which he was not sincerely interested. Agriculture, education, art, letters, were all liberally aided and advanced by his public advocacy and assistance. I shall not attempt to review his public career; it is a part of the history of our country well known to you all. There is one aspect of it, however, which on this occasion I should like to call in remembrance, as a manifestation of that spirit to which I have already alluded, and which it seems to me the Eastern Townships so admirably exemplify. It is that of broad and generous sympathy with peoples of all classes and conditions, that spirit of understanding sympathy which

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seeks to reveal the unity and harmony which ought to exist amid great diversity and variety. I need not say what in this respect his services in the interpretation and harmonising of Protestant and Catholic, French and English opinion meant to the unity and harmony and to the national solidarity of our Dominion. Were all our public men possessed of the moderation and toleration of spirit of the late Mr. Fisher, we would have an end to racial and religious discord in Canada. We would be Canadians and Canadians only, without discrimination as to origin or belief.

But it is to Mr. Fisher's exemplification of this spirit in the still wider arena of world politics that I wish more especially to refer. It was in his constant efforts to promote a better understanding a friendlier intercourse, between the people of Canada and the peoples of Europe, on the one side, and the people of Canada and the people of the Orient on the other, that he disclosed what was farseeing in his political vision. Whether it was in connection with the law of copyright, or the promotion of international exhibitions, the

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conservation of natural resources, or other like purpose, he constantly sought to emphasize the wisdom of an appreciation of the merits and virtues of institutions and peoples different from ourselves, and to reveal the underlying unity and harmony of interest in all great world undertakings. He read the secret of unity and harmony in international, as of national, relations, not in terms of uniformity and monotony, but in terms of diversity and variety, in a just appreciation of the contribution made by differences, not less than by similarities, to the richness of international life.

In imperial relations, he was always the enemy of any scheme of centralization, a frank advocate of the fullest autonomy for the self-governing Dominions. In our dealings with the peoples of the Orient, he was an advocate of closer relations in trade, in ideas and in social intercourse. It was by this catholicity of spirit and interest that I imagine our friend would most desire that he would be remembered. We will do well to seek to emulate his example and hold his memory in great reverence and regard.

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It is the spirit of moderation and of toleration, of mutual understanding of differences, of appreciation of the unity and harmony which may be wrought out of diversity and variety, that is most needed to make our country great and our people contented and happy. That spirit is necessary at all times, but is is more needed in Canada to-day than at any time in the history of the Dominion; and that for a wholly obvious reason. We have come through a period of war - a war unparalleled in the history of the world. The spirit of war is the very opposite of the spirit of peace. For moderation, war breeds arrogance, and defiance; for toleration, it breeds intolerance and arbitrariness. Moreover, there is nothing of which the militarist spirit is more impatient than diversity and variety. It delights in uniformity and monotony. It would reduce every member of the State to a common mould. It would make all act, and if possible all think and speak alike. It would afford little or no room for individual expression. It seeks to separate, not to unite, men and nations; it seeks to disrupt, not to harmonize, the many possible helpful opportunities of co-operation in national and international relations. It is the antithesis of liberal; it is essentially Tory. It advances Toryism; it retards and destroys Liberalism.

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Toryism is the ill from which our country is suffering in Government today. Liberalism is the need of the present and the future. Believing this to be the most important of all the national problems and considerations of our day, I should like, with your permission, to shed the light of an historical perspective upon the political situation as it at present exists, in order that, as Canadians, we may not despair of the ills and evils to which we have grown accustomed, but rather take courage and hope with respect to our country's future and the ultimate triumph of our Liberal principles.

Let me say by way of justice, and to avoid all possibility of misunderstanding. It is the nature of the hideousness of the war spirit that, when it breeds actual war on the part of any one nation it forces the nations to which it is opposed to adopt tactics similar to its own in order to combat and overthrow it. The war spirit created in our midst by the recent world war was not of Canada's making, it was of Germany's making. It was the Prussian spirit forced upon the free countries of the world in an effort to defeat Prussianism. With the free countries, it

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was Prussianism plus freedom, and freedom won, as she always will. But now that the war is over, it is freedom minus Prussianism that we must aim at, that the world must aim at. It is the perpetuation of militarist spirit that, at all hazards, we must seek to avoid.

There is a remarkable and at the same time most illuminating parallel between the political conditions of Great Britain in the period of and immediately succeeding the Napoleonic Wars, and political conditions as we have experienced and now find them in our country as a consequence of the world war through which, in common with others, our nation has just passed.

The people of the British Isles, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were, like ourselves, liberty loving; their political institutions, though not comparable in freedom to what in the course of time they became, were nevertheless regarded as the most enlightened in Europe. Then came the wars with France, when for a time the might of Napoleon, which had filled Europe with terror, threatened the peace and security of Britain. The stern necessities of war made themselves felt, the hand of authority became increasingly

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assertive. Little by little, Englishmen through their representatives in Parliament, yielded to the few men comprising the nation's executive, rights and powers the exercise of which only by the immediate sanction of the Commons had been among the most dearly bought and highly cherished of popular liberties. Little by little, they were obliged, at the increasing dictation of the Executive, to submit to measures more and more restrictive and repressive, until the England which succeeded the Napoleonic wars, though having come triumphant through that great conflict, was an England shorn of much of the freedom which her people hitherto had enjoyed.

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The dangers and necessities of war, during the years of the Napoleonic struggles, served to obscure, and in considerable measure to destroy, the foundations of popular freedom. The horrors of the reign of Terror in Paris, the dread of Napolonic power in its attempts to subdue the world, the military expeditions sent across the Channel to fight with allied forces on the battlefields of Europe, the naval exploits of the still more powerful fleets upon the high seas; their military and naval victories, the glories of the Nile, Trafalgar, of Torres Vedras and Waterloo: all these, accompanied as they were by colossal expenditures and bestowals of patronage:and, combined as they were with restrictive and repressive measures, served to bring into, and for the time being to keep the majority of Englishman in, the Tory ranks. As a political party, the Whigs, the Liberals of that period, found themselves at the close of the war at a low point of their power.

With Toryism in control, there followed for a time a period of political reaction. Business for a while was thrown into confusion. But with the change from war to peace, Englishmen began to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed had been parted with to a degree they had never supposed. Measures of state control voluntarily accepted or acquiesced in, in times of imminent danger and national peril, became abhorrent as these dangers ceased to be felt. The law's delays, the severity of the

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criminal code, the disfranchisement of certain classes, the control of the House of Commons by nobles and great landowners, the usurpation of the executive, the enormity and inequality of taxation, the injustice and ill effects of all these became more and more apparent as the months and years slipped by. They became still more apparent as the dangers once feared became wholly dispelled. With Napoleon at St. Helena, with the Holy alliance guaranteeing the Peace of Europe the sober thought of England became more and more impatient of the perpetuation of the militarist and reactionary spirit. It sought a return to the industrial and progressive. The nation had had enough of war; it sought not merely the restoration of peace, but the restoration also of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of freer thought and wider liberties. It had seen enough of the work of destruction; it longed now for something constructive to take its place.

With the change in popular sentiment came inevitably the turn in the political tide. The fortunes of the Whig Party, at their lowest ebb when the war was ended, began rapidly to mount higher and higher. Threatened they often were by divisions within their own ranks, but consolidated they became in time in the face of the spirit of reaction by which they were unitedly faced. Liberalism in England soon came again into its own. The liberalizing power of Whig

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thought and influence was supplemented by the liberalising effect of the mechanical inventions of the time, and above all the extended introduction of steam. Everywhere old restraints were broken, English manufacturers at home, English commerce abroad, entered upon a new era of expansion, and with the revival of industrial and commercial greatness came the era of industrial fiscal and electoral reform.

Here, surely, is a chapter of British history which should bring courage to every man and woman who cherishes a love for liberal and progressive principles and ideals. It is a common place to say that history repeats itself; but where in the whole of history is a repitition comparable to what we have seen in the condition of Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the condition we have witnessed and in which we have shared, at this, the beginning of the twentieth? A century ago, a European ruler sought to subdue the world by power of might. A century ago, the possibilities of unlimited revolution spread terror everywhere. A century ago, the forces of freedom triumphed; the proudest throne in Europe was shattered, and the Government of the country changed from a monarchy to a republic, its occupant sent into exile. A century ago, the nations set themselves to the task of forming an alliance which would guarantee the peace of Europe. In our own day, all these mighty events have found a parallel that is

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amazing beyond words. We who are assembled here have witnessed the attempt at world conquest by a European monarch. We have had pictured before our eyes the world menace of Bolshevism. Our armies have shared the triumph of the forces of freedom. We have beheld the shattering of the proudest throne in Europe, witnessed the exile of its monarch, and the change of his empire from a monarchy to a republic. Finally, we have joined with the allied powers in the formation of a League of Nations which we hope may prove an agency for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

But it is not here that the parallel ceases. Under the fears and stress of war, we too have witnessed within the borders of our own Dominion, in the procedure the practice of our own free parliamentary institutions, the same gradual yielding up to the few men comprising the Executive of rights and liberties exercisable theretofore only under the immediate control of the Commons; the same submission under pressure and dictation of the Executive to restrictive and repressive measures; in other words, the same loss, during the period of war, of liberties hardly won and dearly cherished.

The causes and the consequences find their parallel throughout. The dangers and necessities of war have served in Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century as a century earlier they did in Britain, to obscure, and in considerable to destroy, the foundations of popular freedom. The dread of Prussian might in its attempt to conquer the world, the horrors of Bolshevism, the armies

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raised within our borders, the expeditions sent overseas, the conflicts on the battlefields of Europe, the manoeuvres and triumphs of the British fleet in all quarters of the world, the hard-won but decisive victories; all these over a period of years occupied the thoughts of our fellow countrymen to the exclusion of other things. Accompanied, as these events of world significance were, by colossal expenditures

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of public monies, and no end of restrictive and repressive legislation, including the complete subversion of all our electoral laws and machinery, it is little wonder that the close of the war found Toryism in the ascendant in Canada, and the political power of the Liberal Party at a correspondingly low ebb.

But the end is not yet. "The mills of the gods grind slowly; but they grind exceeding small". The parallel continues to unfold. The change from war to peace had come, and with the change the Canadian men and women have begun to discover where in the liberties they had previously enjoyed have been parted with to a degree never dreamed of before. Political reaction stands revealed in all its arrogance. The people see themselves deprived of the rights of a representative parliament and a responsible ministry; they see the functions of government carried on by a usurper who exercises his authority, not in virtue of any power derived from the people, but solely as the outcome of arbitrary enactments and political might. They see in the House of Commons, among the members and supporters of the Administration, men who have not hesitated to ignore the most solemn pledges ever given an electorate, and who do not hesitate to aid an arbitrary ministry in its continued disfranchisement of British subjects. They see this usurpation of the authority of government maintained through a combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy brought into being through war conditions.

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and fostered through war necessities. But with the removal of all apparent danger, such methods of government are becoming more and more abhorrent, as are also what remain of arbitrary and expensive measures of state control reluctantly accepted or acquiesced in during the war.

With all danger of aggression wholly removed, the sober though of Canada is becoming more and more impatient of this reactionary spirit and the perpetuation of the militarist spirit by which it seeks to support itself. The hation has had enough of war, it seeks not merely the restoration of peace, but a restoration also of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of greater freedom of thought and a wider measure of personal liberty. As to this, the results of the recent elections in Yamaska in this Province, the results of the still more recent elections in Medicine Hat, are the decisive force of the electors of Canada.

But needless to say, that change cannot come so long as those who have usurped the powers of government continue to exercise them. In countries other than those accustomed to free parliamentary institutions, men who attempted so to rule would be regarded as belonging to an anti-social caste. It would matter little by what designation they were called, they would quickly be recognized as something apart from the rest of society, and wholly unworthy of its admiration or support. The present Government may not be aware of the fact; but it is in the light of an arrogant

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and unscrupulous casts that its ministers and more active supporters are coming to be viewed by the Canadian people. They may receive for the hour the seeming obeisance of a section of the press and of the public that is ever ready to accord its homage to any ruler; but their doom is as certain as the setting of the sun. The by-elections show that the spirit of freedom which has helped to overthrow autocracy and arrogance abroad is not likely to suffer its long continuance in our midst. It needs but the opportunity for the Liberal and Progressive forces of our country speedily to restore the foundations of our free parliamentary institution, to give once again to Canada a representative parliament and a responsible ministry; to remove what remains of unwarranted restrictive and repressive measures and unjustifiable control of industrial enterprise.

With the new freedom which but awaits the opportunity for its expression, history will also repeat itself. The period of reaction in Canada will give way, as in Britain it did, to a period of genuine reconstruction. Liberalism will come once again into its own, and with Liberalism revived and restored, we may await with confidence an era of wise industrial, fiscal and electoral reform.

Having regard to the circumstance that this is a national, holiday, and the occasion not less in the nature of a national than a political celebration, I have thought it appropriate to confine my remarks to the political situation viewed in a large way, and to omit special reference to the record of the present

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Administration at Ottawa, as it might well be reviewed at this time. I shall take occasion, in speaking in Missisquoi tomorrow, to deal with the political situation from that point of view.

However, I should not like the present occasion to pass without at least one reference to the presence, at the moment of the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister at the Conference of Premiers of the British Empire, which is being held in London, I notice that the inspired despatches sent to the Canadian press by the special correspondent who accompanied Mr. Meighen abroad intimated that, busy as he was with Imperial affairs, he was nevertheless able to keep a diligent eye upon the situation in Medicine Hat. This was before Monday night. The despatches have said nothing of the condition in the Prime Minister's eye since the announcement of the 8,000 majority by which his candidate in Medicine Hat was defeated through the combination of the Progressive and Liberal electors in the constituency.

It is not, however, to the voice of the Canadian people, as thus expressed, in practically all of the by-elections which have been held since the war, that I wish to make particular reference. It is rather to the circumstance, which I fear Mr. Meighen has not announced to his colleagues at the Conference, that of all the Premiers there assembled, he is the only one who has come without any authority from the people of his country, but rather in virtue of an authority he himself has assumed and usurped against the will and wishes of the Canadian people. Canada is the only country among

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the nations which comprise the British Empire, the electors of which have been denied the right, since the termination of the War, of choosing a representative government to deal with post-war conditions and problems.

Since the War, Mr. Lloyd George has appealed to the British people and has been returned. General Smuts, who represents South Africa, comes as the Prime Minister of a country which has had two general elections since the War. Mr. Hughes, of Australia, is able to say that he was returned as Prime Minister of Australia in a general election which was held subsequent to the war. Premier Massey, of New Zealand, is in a similar position. Had the Prime Minister of Newfoundland been able to be present, he also would have been able to make a like declaration. Is it not a humiliating spectacle to Mr. Meighen, and one which should rightly arouse the indignation of the citizens of Canada, that we, at the present moment, should be represented at an important inter-imperial gathering by the head of a government which in no particular is representative of Canadian thought or opinion, and which may even be said to have stolen its authority from those it pretends to represent.

Hardly less interesting is the change of attitude toward the rights of the people which Mr. Meighen has assumed abroad, from that for which he has stood with so much arrogance at home. We read in the press that he has been the advocate of publicity with respect to the proceedings of the Conference. He has pretended to say that

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the people have a right to know all about what is transpiring. But what was Mr. Meighen's attitude before he left for London, with respect to the affairs of the Conference itself? Believing that the people of Canada were entitled to the fullest knowledge with respect to all imperial questions before being committed in any manner to the results of any conferences, I moved the following very safe and sound resolution, in the interests of a proper publicity.

> "That, the House, while recognizing the propriety of Canada being represented at any Imperial Conference or Conferences of the Prime Ministers of the Empire that may be called, desires to record its opinion that at the coming conference no step should be taken in any way involving any change in the relations of Canada to other parts of the Empire; and that, in view of the present financial position of Canada, no action should be taken implying any obligation on the part of Canada to undertake new expenditures for naval or military purposes."

April 27, 1921
Yeas, 64; Nays, 96.Majority,32.

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Will you believe it, this resolution was opposed by Mr.Meighen himself, and by all of his following in the House. It was defeated, in virtue of the Government's power of numbers, by a majority of 32, and yet, in the face of a stand such as this at home, Mr. Meighen does not hesitate to pose abroad as the champion of fair publicity.

But here is another resolution which, at an earlier period of the session,I ventured to move, a resolution respecting the rights of the Canadian people to the fullest publicity on all matters of public expenditure. There is no single question in which the electors, irrespective of party, are as much concerned as those questions which involve vast expenditures of public monies and consequently enormous taxation. Notwithstanding this, at the instance of the Prime Minister, who poses abroad as the champion of publicity, this resolution also was defeated in virtue of the Government's power of numbers. Here are its exact terms:

"That.... subject to the reservation that in ex-
"ceptional cases there may be documents of a confidential
character which, in the public interest, may properly be
"withheld from publication, the House declares that it is
"the undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive
"copies of all reports, accounts, correspondence and papers
"in relation to the management of every department of the
"public service including the affairs of the Canadian
"National Railways, whether operating directly under the
"control of the Department, or under corporate form".

March 22, 1921.
Yeas,79;Nays,117.Majority,38.

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In view of Mr.Meighen's known attitude in his own country, it would, to say the least, be better taste on his part to preserve a befitting silence with respect to the rights of the people, to full information while he is abroad. The difference of course is this: publicity with respect to what is transpiring at the Imperial Conference cannot affect Mr.Meighen or his Administration one way or the other. Publicity, on the other hand, with respect to the manner in which Canadian public funds have been and are being expended by the present Administration would result in an exposure so great that even the Government would be unable to retain the following it now has for the period for which, by alleged legal right, it purposes to continue to hold the reins of power in this country.

But I shall say nothing further of Mr. Meighen or the Administration at the moment. But of the subjects being considered at the Imperial Conference at the present time, there is one concerning which I should like to express a further thought. It will be the concluding one of these already too lengthy remarks.

There is no question throughout the world which is occasioning more discussion and demanding more attention at the present moment than the great question of Disarmament. Every Nation and every thoughtful person has his contribution to make to

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this discussion. May I say that I believe that our own country has an example to give to the world which, more than any other, holds the secret of an enduring peace. This being the anniversary of the birthday of our Dominion, I wish to present it for the careful consideration of the statesmen assembled at the Imperial Conference to-day, as affording the key to the greatest contribution which it is possible for them to make to the cause of Peace and of world civilization.

I have referred to the Napoleonic Wars and to the spirit of reaction and also of truer Liberalism which came after their termination. You will recall that during the War of 1812-13-14, this country and its great neighbour to the south were drawn into the world conflict. There was little in the way of naval warfare on our Great Lakes, and the vast St.Lawrence; but it became apparent, once the War was over, that one of two courses must necessarily be followed; either the course of competitive arming in naval equipment on the Great Lakes and the River St.Lawrence; or the course of disarmament by mutual agreement. Fortunately for the continent of North America, and equally fortunately for the world, Liberal opinion triumphed. An agreement, known as the Rush-Bagot Agreement, was drawn up between the statesmen of the United States and the statesmen of Great Britain, with respect to the limitation of armaments on our Great Lakes.

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It was provided that in all but six vessels, carrying, each of them, not more than one eighteen-pounder, were to be permitted on our Great Lakes. The Agreement was not in the nature of a treaty; it was simply a self-denying ordinance voluntarily entered into, to be continued only by the common consent of both countries, but subject to termination on six months' notice. That Agreement has served, over a period of one hundred years, to prevent the increase of armaments between the United States and Canada, to keep unfortified a boundary line of some four thousand of miles of international frontier, and to preserve international peace for over a century.

What I wish to suggest - and I would suggest it as Canada's birthday gift to the British Empire, and her ally in Japan, and our great neighbour to the south - is that at this moment following the great World War, these peoples -the British, the Americans, and the Japanese- consider solemnly the advisability of putting an end to competitive arming on the Pacific Ocean, and adopt the policy, the wise and forseeing policy of limiting armaments, of limiting the naval equipment of all these powers on that great ocean.

If on the Pacific they will agree to do what we a century ago did so successfully on our Great Lakes and Rivers, Europe and Asia alike may look forward to the disappearance of all dread of future wars between these great powers. They may

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They may count, instead, upon another century of peace, peace not only for all parts of the British Empire, and the great American Republic, but peace, I believe, for all nations of the world. Is this ideal too great to hope for its realization? I believe the statesmanship of the countries mentioned is equal to so great a task. To this great effort, let us hope that the nations will now bound themselves, in their own interests and in the common interests of mankind.

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Speech at Bronze Boulder
1st July Celebrations
1921

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We are assembled to-day to celebrate the fifty-fourth anniversary of the birthday of our nation. I doubt if anywhere in Canada a more appropriate spot could be found for this celebration. The Eastern Townships are favoured by Nature, by Geography, and by History for just such an occasion. This is not to say that other portions of our vast Dominion are wanting in attractiveness or historic interest. Go where you will from the Atlantic to the Pacific, you will find a benevolence and prodigality on the part of Nature which make the several provinces rivals of each other in natural wealth and natural beauty. Go where you will, there is something of special interest possessed by each locality and its environments which others fail to afford in equal measure. Go where you will, and above all you will find the same pioneering ventures and struggles, the same conquest of adversity in its many forms, the same permeation of vast wooded or open, or mountainous regions by the arts and blessings of the highest civilization. This record of initiative and enterprise, of intrepid daring and dauntless courage, of strong purpose and sturdy character, constitutes the common background of our country's story. It is not that each and every part of our country may not with peculiar fitness celebrate all that is signified in this anniversary. It is only that few other parts, if any, combine to a like degree what, as a symbol of the unity and harmony of the whole, Nature Geography and History have contributed to the Eastern Townships.

Let me pause for a moment to glance at these contributions to the Eastern Townships on the part of Nature, Geography, and History, and to point out wherein what they suggest of this unity and harmony to be wrought out of the diversity and variety of the constituent elements of our country is the most appropriate of all the gifts which it is possible for us to bring to our country on this the day of her natal anniversary.

Let us look, first of all, at Nature's contribution. Where could anything be found more lovely than the landscape which spreads itself before the traveller's view as he journeys through these townships from one to the other. Lake and field and mountain, no one to the exclusion of the other, but all combined in a most perfect harmony. It is Nature's great lesson of the beauty which lies in a unity born not of uniformity but of diversity, and likewise, of a harmony which is the expression, not of monotony, but of variety.

Where, within so small a compass, could we find a picture equally suggestive of the richness and variety of our country's natural beauty and natural resources? If, instead of townships, we seek to visualize our provinces in their physical aspects, for lakes we shall catch glimpses of our ocean borders and inland

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seas;for the enclosures of fields,the limitless horizons of the prairies,and for the mountains round about,the vast ranges that stretch away with their hidden stores of wealth into regions as yet unexplored. Does not the whole present one vast picture of unparalleled variety and diversity;but is it not also a picture of perfect unity and harmony ? Let us recognize in this Nature's gift to our Dominion.

Let us look next at the contribution of Geography. Has she not,with a note of exactness scarcely to be equalled elsewhere throughout the Dominion,made this scene of great natural beauty the place of union of the original and central provinces which divide,but at the same time unite our East and West? The Maritime Provinces,the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, have their special interests and charm,their scenes of unparalleled natural grandeur.Ontario has its Niagara and Quebec its Montmorency,with their fertile fields and gardens round about; but they belong to these provinces alone,they lie apart from the rest. The Eastern Townships lie at the very heart of the Dominion. True,they are within the borders of the Province of Quebec. One, however,has only to look at the map to see that had the arm of Ontario but been stretched around them with a protection such as the arm of Quebec affords,they would be equally the special care of the sister province.

Not alone are the Eastern Townships thus related in proximity to the oldest and most central of the provinces of the Dominion, they are related geographically with equal closeness to the great country to the South.They touch as well the borders of her vast domain.

Scan Geography for an expression of the unity and harmony she would proclaim as the one great objective of our national life in its interprovincial and international relations,and nowhere will you find anything to surpass the security and the seclusion within which lie embraced the beauty and the charm of the Eastern Townships.

Again,however,it is the unity born,not of uniformity,but of diversity;and the harmony born,not of monotony,but of variety. What could be more diversified or more varied than the confines accorded by Geography to the Eastern Townships? There is nothing of the uniformity or monotony of a single line,nor even of lines of like character. One stretch of boundary marks in part the confines of a sister province,another the confines of a foreign nation;the remainder, the open gateway to adjoining counties! It is Nature's great lesson repeated in Geography,of the unity which delights in variety.

Let us expand our thought from townships to provinces and contemplate the different boundaries of our vast territory; on the East and West are the borders of limitless ocean separating us on the one side from Europe and on the other from the Orient; to the South four thousand miles partly of invisible lines of latitude partly of rivers and inland seas,separating us from the Great

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Republic to the South; to the North, unknown and unexplored regions boundless and boundaryless, but all making our country one. It is again the unity that delights in diversity, the harmony that comes from variety. It is the gift of Geography to our national life.

We come now to the contribution of History. Where in equal measure to the Eastern Townships, will be found that nearness to the early origins of our national life, and to the sources of those streams of racial dn religious influence which throughout our country's history have served so largely to determine the activities and to mould the thoughts, the lives, of the Canadian people? Go to the other provinces of Canada, or to other parts of the province of Quebec, and you will find French and English, Catholic and Protestant alike representative of the great races and the great religious faiths that have helped to fashion our national growth and to shape our national destiny. In some parts, however, the representatives of the one race or of the one religion will be found to exist practically to the exclusion of the other. Here in the Eastern Townships, on the other hand, they are in many parts intermingled, and combined in numbers and influence with a marked approach to equality. To what effect? With the result, I think I am right in so stating it, that nowhere in the Dominion will there be found more in the way of unity or harmony amongst the diverse elements that go to make up the population. Here again, the teachings of History would seem to parallel those of Nature and Geography. It is the unity bred of diversity in which she delights, not the unity born of uniformity; it is the harmony bred of variety, not of monotony, which she seeks to exemplify and to cause to endure. This is History's gift to our country.

The gifts of Nature, of Geography and of History is surely the greatest of all the gifts which as a people it is possible for us to bring to our Dominion on this the anniversary of her natal day; the high resolve henceforth to follow their example and to seek our national unity, not in a striving after uniformity in the manners, the customs and the habits of our people, but in a frank recognition of the richness of national life which may be bred of diversity and of the finer harmony which may be the creation of an infinite variety.

The unity and the harmony thus effected has no more splendid product than the moderation and the toleration which it helps to bring into being and exhibit in every relationship of life. Did time permit, many examples of the outcome of this spirit might be cited from the history of the Eastern Townships, examples in which its citizens may well cherish a justified pride.

Fisher
McMaster

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I shall mention only one of great national significance. It is the number of English-speaking Protestants which these Eastern Townships, in the French Roman Catholic Province of Quebec, send to our Federal Parliament. I think I am right when I say that they are not less than five, possibly sixin number, and I know I am right when I say that the five or six members composed in this group are not surpassed, if indeed they are equalled, in character, ability, and useful public service, by any group of equal size selected from any corresponding area in the Dominion.

It would be a pleasure, did time permit, to refer to the parliamentary services and the public record of each of these honourable members of our House of Commons. I shall have to take advantage, however, of some other occasion for that opportunity. It is fitting, however, that I should take advantage of the moment, addressing more particularly as I am the constituents of the riding of Brome, to make some slight public acknowledgement of the services to our Parliament and to our country being rendered by the gentleman whomthey have chosen to represent them, my friend Mr. Andrew McMaster. Were Mr. McMaster not present it would be less embarrassing to speak of his many splendid qualities and of his many private and public virtues. These fortunately must be self-evident to all who have the pleqsure of his acquaintance, and are known to none better, I am sure, than to the electors of Brome, who have honoured him as their representative. I shall omit therefore much that I otherwise would be tempted to say. He will perhaps pardon me if I venture to repeat before his face what I never hesitate to say when his back is turned, that the Parliament of Canada has no more upright and fearless tribune of the people, no abler exponent of the cause of justice and freedom, no better guardian of the country's liberties, than the honourable member for Brome. He is ever faithful in the discharge of his public duties, ever ready in debate and public controversy, ever willing to assume a burden if thereby he can relieve the shoulders of another. We have in the public life of Canada to-day no man more worthy of the proud distinction of "honourable member" than Mr. McMaster.

Speaking for myself, and what I feel I owe to Mr. McMaster for the loyalty of his support, and the helpful counsel he has been ever ready to accord me, may I say that were there such an office in the gift of the Leader of the Opposition as in olden times was described as the "Keeper of the King's Conscience", I know of no member of the party to whom I would more eagerly entrust that responsibility. Having regard to Canada's great need for men of the highest integrity, industry, and ability, to solve her present problems and to safeguard her future destiny, I cannot express too earnestly to the electors of Brome- indeed, may I not say to the electors of the Eastern Townships, irrespective of any particular constituency, for we do not know what changes the present Government may effect in the redistribution they are holding on to office to make-that, come what may, I hope they will make sure of having Mr. McMaster returned to Parliament at the next

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and succeeding general elections,and that with a majority so pronounced as to be an inducement to men of his high character and calibre,wherever they may be found,to enter public life and take an increasing part in the administration of our nation's affairs.

I cannot leave this brief reference to the contribution made by the Eastern Townships to the public life of our Dominion without a mention of the lifelong public service of that distinguished and good man who for many years represented the county of Brome in the Parliament of Canada,with such credit to himself,his constituency,and his country,the late Hon. Sydney Fisher.

Few men in the history of our country have left a more honourable or finer record of useful service. None have left a name more universally respected. Mr. Fisher exemplified in his life one of the finest of political traditions,that,namely, of noblesse oblige,as applied to the man of talent,of leisure,of superior endowments. Having the advantage of an old world university education,of private means sufficient to guarantee him a personal independence,of qualities of heart and mind which would have made the path of life pleasant in almost any walk, he chose to consecrate these gifts and inheritances to the service of his country and to the social well-being of his fellow-men. The result was an active association of over forty years with the policies of the Dominion,during which time,as a legislator and an administrator,he brought great distinction to himself, to this constituency and to our country. As you all well know, there was scarcely a phase of the country's higher development in which he was not sincerely interested.Agriculture,education, art,letters,were all liberally aided and advanced by his public advocacy and assistance.I shall not attempt to review his public career;it is a part of the history of our country well known to you all. There is one aspect of it,however, which on this occasion I should like to call in remembrance,as a manifestation of that spirit to which I have already alluded,and which it seems to me the Eastern Townships so admirably exemplify. It is that of broad and generous sympathy with peoples of all classes and conditions,that spirit of understanding sympathy which seeks to reveal// the unity and harmony which ought to exist amid great diversity and variety.I need not say what in this respect his services in the interpretation and harmonising of Protestant and Catholic,French and English opinion meant to the unity and harmony and to the national solidarity of our Dominion. Were all our public men possessed of the moderation and toleration of spirit of the late Mr. Fisher,we would have an end to racial and religious discord in Canada. We would be Canadians and Canadians only,without discrimination as to origin or belief.

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But it is to Mr. Fisher's exemplification of this spirit in the still wider arena of world politics that I wish more particularly especially to refer. It was in his constant efforts to promote a better understanding & friendlier intercourse, between the people of Canada and the peoples of Europe, on the one side, and the people of Canada and the people of the Orient on the other, that he disclosed what was farseeing in his political vision. Whether it was in connection with the law of copyright, or the promotion of international exhibitions, the conservation of natural resources, or other like purpose, he constantly sought to emphasize the wisdom of an appreciation of the merits and virtues of institutions and peoples different from ourselves, and to reveal the underlying unity and harmony of interest in all great world undertakings. He read the secret of unity and harmony in international, as of national, relations, not in terms of uniformity and monotony, but in terms of diversity and variety, in a just appreciation of the contribution made by differences, not less than by similarities, to the richness of international life.

In imperial relations, he was always the enemy of any scheme of centralization, a frank advocate of the fullest autonomy for the self-governing Dominions. In our dealings with the peoples of the Orient, he was an advocate of closer relations in trade, in ideas, and in social intercourse. It was by this catholicity of spirit and interest that I imagine our friend would most desire that he would be remembered. We will do well to seek to emulate his example and hold his memory in great reverence and regard.

It is the spirit of moderation and of toleration, of mutual understanding of differences, of appreciation of the unity and harmony which may be wrought out of diversity and variety, that is most needed to make our country great and our people contented and happy. That spirit is necessary at all times, but it is more needed in Canada to-day than at any time in the history of the Dominion; and that for a wholly obvious reason. We have come through a period of war- a war unparalleled in the history of the world. The spirit of war is the very opposite of the spirit of peace. For moderation, war breeds arrogance, and defiance; for toleration, it breeds intolerance and arbitrariness. Moreover, there is nothing of which the militarist spirit is more impatient than diversity and variety. It delights in uniformity and monotony. It would reduce every member of the State to a common mould. It would make all act, and if possible all think and speak, alike. It would afford little or no room for individual expression. It seeks to separate, not to unite, men and nations; it seeks to disrupt, not to harmonize, the many possible helpful opportunities of co-operation in national and international relations. It is the antithesis of liberal; it is essentially Tory. It advances Toryism; it retards and destroys Liberalism.

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Toryism is the ill from which our country is suffering in Government to-day. Liberalism is the need of the present and the future. Believing this to be the most important of all the national problems and considerations of our day, I should like, with your permission, to shed the light of an historical ~~xxxxxx~~ perspective upon the political situation as it at present exists, in order that, as Canadians, we may not despair of the ills and evils to which we have grown accustomed, but rather take courage and hope with respect to our country's future and the ultimate triumph of our Liberal principles.

Let me say by way of justice, and to avoid all possiblity of misunderstanding. It is the nature of the hideousness of the war spirit that, when it breeds actual war on the part of any one nation it forces the nations to which it is opposed to adopt tactics similar to its own in order to combat and overthrow it. The war spirit created in our midst by the recent world war was not of Canada's making, it was of Germany's making. It was the Prussian spirit forced upon the free countries of the world in an effort to defeat Prussianism. With the free countries, it was Prussianism plus freedom, and freedom won, as she always will. But now that the war is over, it is freedom minus Prussianism that we must aim at, that the world must aim at. It is the perpetuation of militarist spirit that, at all hazards, we must seek to avoid.

There is a remarkable and at the same time most illuminating parallel between the political conditions of Great Britain in the period of and immediately succeeding the Napoleonic Wars, and political conditions as we have experienced and now find them in our country as a consequence of the world war through which, in common with others, our nation has just passed.

The people of the British Isles, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were, like ourselves, liberty loving; their political institutions, though not comparable in freedom to what in the course of time they became, were nevertheless regarded as the most enlightened in Europe. Then came the wars with France, when for a time the might of Napoleon, which had filled Europe with terror, threatened the peace and security of Britain. The stern necessities of war made themselves felt, the hand of authority became increasingly assertive. Little by little, Englishmen through their representatives in Parliament, yielded to the few men comprising the nation's executive, rights and powers the exercise of which only by the immediate sanction of the Commons had been among the most dearly bought and highly cherished of popular liberties. Little by little, they were obliged, at the increasing dictation of the Executive, to submit to measures more and more restrictive and repressive, until the England which succeeded the Napoleonic wars, though having come triumphant through that great conflict, was an England shorn of much of the freedom which her people hitherto had enjoyed.

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The dangers and necessities of war, during the years of the Napoleonic struggles, served to obscure, and in considerable measure to destroy, the foundations of popular freedom. The horrors of the reign of Terror in Paris, the dread of Napoleonic power in its attempts to subdue the world, the military expeditions sent across the Channel to fight with allied forces on the battlefields of Europe, the naval exploits of the still more powerful fleets upon the high seas; their military and naval victories, the glories of the Nile, Trafalgar, of Torres Vedras and Waterloo; all these, accompanied as they were by colossal expenditures and bestowals of patronage; and, combined as they were with restrictive and repressive measures, served to bring into, and for the time being to keep the majority of Englishmen in, the Tory ranks. As a political party, the Whigs, the Liberals of that period, found themselves at the close of the war at a low point of their power.

With Toryism in control, there followed for a ptime a period of political reaction. Business for a while was thrown into confusion. But with the change from war to peace, Englishmen began to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed had been parted with to a degree they had never supposed. Measures of state control voluntarily accepted or acquiesced in, in times of imminent danger and national peril, became abhorrent as these dangers ceased to be felt. The law's delays, the severity of the criminal code, the disfranchisement of certain classes, the control of the House of Commons by nobles and great landowners, the usurpation of the executive, the enormity and inequality of taxation, the injustice and ill effects of all these became more and more apparent as the months and years slipped by. They became still more apparent as the dangers once feared became wholly dispelled. With Napoleon at St Helena, with the Holy alliance guaranteeing the Peace of Europe, the sober thought of England became more and more impatient of the perpetuation of the militarist and reactionary spirit. It sought a return to the industrial and progressive. The nation had had enough of war; it sought not merely the restoration of peace, but the restoration also of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of freer thought and wider liberties. It had seen enough of the work of destruction; it longed now for something constructive to take its place.

With the change in popular sentiment came inevitably the turn in the political tide. The fortunes of the Whig Party, at their lowest ebb when the war was ended, began rapidly to mount higher and higher. Threatened they often were by divisions within their own ranks, but consolidated they became in time in the face of the spirit of reaction by which they were unitedly faced. Liberalism in England soon came again into its own. The liberalizing power of Whig thought and influence was supplemented by the liberalizing effect of the mechanical inventions of the time, and above all the extended introduction of steam. Everywhere old restraints were broken. English manufacturers at home, English commerce abroad, entered upon a new era

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of expansion,and with the revival of industrial and commercial greatness came the era of industrial,fiscal and electoral reform.

Here,surely,is a chapter of British history which should bring courage to every man and woman who cherishes a love for liberal and progressive principles and ideals. It is a common place to say that history repeats itself; but where in the whole of history is a repitition comparable to what we have seen in the condition of Europe at the beginning of the ninsteenth century and the condition we have witnessed and in which we have shared, at this, the beginning of the twentieth? A century ago, a European ruler sought to subdue the world by power of might.A century ago, the possiblities of unlimited revolution spread terror everywhere. A century ago,the forces of freedom triumphed;the proudest throne in Europe was shattered,and the Government of the country changed from a monarchy to a republic,its occupant sent into exile.
A century ago,the nations set themselves to the task of forming an alliance which would guarantee the peace of Europe.In our own day,all these mighty events have found a parallel that is amazing beyond words. We who are assembled here have witnessed the attempt at world conquest by a European monarch. We have had pictured before our eyes the world menace of Bolshevism.Our armies have shared the triumph of the forces of freedom. We have beheld the shattering of the proudest throne in Europe,witnessed the exile of its monarch,and the change of his empire from a monarchy to a republic. Finally, we have joined with the allied powers in the formation of a League of Nations which we hope may prove an agency for the preservation of peace throughtout the world.

But it is not here that the parallel ceases. Under the fears and stress of war, we too have witnessed within the borders of our own Dominion,in the procedure and practice of our own free parliamentary institutions,the same gradual yielding up to the few men comprising the Executive of rights and liberties exercisable theretofore only under the immediate control of the Commons;the same submission under pressure and dictation of the Executive to restrictive and repressive measures;in other words,the same loss,during the period of war ,of liberties hardly won and dearly cherished.

The causes and the consequences find their parallel throughout. The dangers and necessities of war have served in Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century, as a century earlier they did in Britain,to obscure,and in considerable to destroy,the foundations of popular freedom. The dread of Prussian might in its attempt to conquer the world,the horrors of Bolshevism,the armies raised within our borders ,the expeditions sent overseas,the conflicts on the battlefields of Europe,the manoeuvres and triumphs of the British fleet in all quarters of the world,the hard-won but decisive victories; all these over a period of years occupied the thoughts of our fellow countrymen to the exclusion of other things. Accompanied,as these events of world significance were, by colossal expenditures

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of public monies,and no end of restrictive and repressive legislation,including the complete subversion of all our electoral laws and machinery,it is little wonder that the close of the war found Toryism in the ascendant in Canada, and the political power of the Liberal Party at a correspondingly low ebb.

But the end is not yet. "The mills of the gods grind slowly;but they grind exceeding small". The parallel continues to unfold. The change from war to peace has come, and with the change the Canadian men and women have begun to discover where in the libertise they had previously enjoyed have been parted with to a degree never dreamed of before. Political reaction stands revealed in all its arrogance.The people see themselves deprived of the rights of a representative parliament and a responsible ministry;they see the functions of government carried on by a usurper who exercises his authority,not in virtue of any power derived from the people,but solely as the outcome of arbitrary enactments and political might.They see in the House of Commons,among the members and supporters of the Agninistration,men who have not hesitated to ignore the most solemn pledges ever given an electorate,and who do not hesitate to aid an arbitrary ministry in its continued disfranchisement of British subjects.They see this usurpation of the authority of government maintained through a combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy brought into being through war conditions,and fostered through war necessities. But with the removal of all apparent danger, such methods of government are becoming more and more abhorrent,as are also what remain of arbitrary abd expensive measures of state control reluctantly accepted or acquiesced in during the period of the War .

With all danger of aggression wholly removed, the sober thought of Canada is becoming more and more impatient of this reactionary spirit and the perpetuation of the militarist spirit by which it seeks to support itself. The nation has had enough of war,it seeks not merely the restoration of peace, but a restoration also of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration,of thrift and enterprise ,of greater freedom of thgouth and a wider measure of personal liberty.As to this,the results of the recent elections in Yamaska in this Province,the results of the still more recent elections in Medecine Hat,are the decisive force of the electors of Canada .

But needless to say,that change cannot come so long as those who have usurped the powers of government continue to exercise them. In countries other those accustomed to free parliamentary institutions,men who attempted so to rule would be regarded as belonging to an anti-social caste. It would matter little by what designation they were called,they would quickly be recognized as something apart from the rest of society,and wholly unworthy of its admiration or support. The present Government may not be aware of the fact; but it is in the light of an arrogant and unscrupulous caste that its ministers and more

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active supporters are coming to be viewed by the Canadian people. They may receive for the hour the seeming obeisance of a section of the press and of the public that is ever ready to accord its homage to any ruler; but their doom is as certain as the setting of the sun. The by-elections show that the spirit of freedom which has helped to overthrow autocracy and arrogance abroad is not likely to suffer its long continuance in our midst. It needs but the opportunity for the Liberal and Progressive forces of our country speedily to restore the foundations of our free parliamentary institutions, to give once again to Canada a representative parliament and a responsible ministry; to remove what remains of unwarranted restrictive and repressive measures and unjustifiable control of industrial enterprise.

With the new freedom which but awaits the opportunity for its expression, history will also repeat itself. The period of reaction in Canada will give way, as in Britain it did, to a period of genuine reconstruction. Liberalism will come once again into its own, and with Liberalism revived and restored, we may await with confidence an era of wise industrial, fiscal and electoral reform.

Having regard to the circumstance that this is a national holiday, and the occasion not less in the nature of a national than a political celebration, I have thought it appropriate to confine my remarks to the political situation viewed in a large way, and to omit special reference to the record of the present Administration at Ottawa, as it might well be reviewed at this time. I shall take occasion, in speaking in Missisquoi tomorrow, to deal with the political situation from that point of view.

However, I should not like the present occasion to pass without at least one reference to the presence, at the moment of the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister at the Conference of Premiers of the British Empire, which is being held in London. I notice that the inspired despatches sent to the Canadian press by the special correspondent who accompanied Mr. Meighen abroad intimated that, busy as he was with Imperial affairs, he was nevertheless able to keep a diligent eye upon the situation in Medecine Hat. This was before Monday night. The despatches have said nothing of the condition in the Prime Minister's eye since the announcement of the 8,000 majority by which his candidate in Medecine Hat was defeated through the combination of the Progressive and Liberal electors in the constituency.

It is not, however, to the voice of the Canadian people, as thus expressed, in practically all of the by-elections which have been held since the War, that I wish to make particular reference. It is rather to the circumstance, which I fear Mr. Meighen has not announced to his colleagues at the Conference, that of all the Premiers there assembled, he is the only one who has come without any authority from the people of his country, but rather in virtue of an authority he himself has assumed and usurped against the will

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and wishes of the Canadian people. Canada is the only country among the nations which comprise the British Empire, the electors of which have been denied the right, since the termination of the War, of choosing a representative government to deal with post-war conditions and problems.

Since the War, Mr. Lloyd George has appealed to the British people and has been returned. General Smuts, who represents South Africa, comes as the Prime Minister of a country which has had two general elections since the War. Mr. Hughes, of Australia, is able to say that he was returned as Prime Minister of Australia in a general election which was held subsequent to the War. Premier Massey, of New Zealand, is in a similar position. Had the Prime Minister of Newfoundland been able to be present, he also would have been able to make a like declaration. Is it not a humiliating spectacle to Mr. Meighen, and one which should rightly arouse the indignation of the citizens of Canada, that we, at the present moment, should be represented at an important inter-imperial gathering by the head of a government which in no particular is representative of Canadian thought or opinion, and which may even be said to have stolen its authority from those it pretends to represent.

Hardly less interesting is the change of attitude toward the rights of the people which Mr. Meighen has assumed abroad, from that ~~shinx~~ for which he has stood with so much arrogance at home. We read in the press that he has been the advocate of publicity with respect to the proceedings of the Conference. He has pretended to say that the people have a right to know all about what is transpiring. But what was Mr. Meighen's attitude before he left for London, with respect to the affairs of the Conference itself? Believing that the people of Canada were entitled to the fullest knowledge with respect to all imperial questions before being committed in any manner to the results of any conferences, I moved the following very safe and sound resolution in the interests of a proper publicity:

> "That, the House, while recognizing the propriety of Canada being represented at any Imperial Conference or Conferences of the Prime Ministers of the Empire that may be called, desires to record its opinion that at the coming conference no step should be taken in any way involving any change in the relations of Canada to other parts of the Empire; and that, in view of the present financial position of Canada, no action should be taken implying any obligation on the part of Canada to undertake new expenditures for naval or military purposes."

April 27, 1921
Yeas, 64; Nays, 96. Majority, 32.

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Will you believe it, this resolution was opposed by Mr. Meighen himself, and by all of his following in the House. It was defeated, in virtue of the Government's power of numbers, by a majority of 32, and yet, in the face of a stand such as this at home, Mr. Meighen does not hesitate to pose abroad as the champion of fair publicity.

But here is another resolution which, at an earlier period of the session, I ventured to move, a resolution respecting the rights of the Canadian people to the fullest publicity on all matters of public expenditure. There is no single question in which the electors, irrespective of party, are as much concerned as those questions which involve vast expenditures of public monies and consequently enormous taxation. Notwithstanding this, at the instance of the Prime Minister, who poses abroad as the champion of publicity, this resolution also was defeated in virtue of the Government 's power of numbers. Here are its exact terms:

"That.... subject to the reservation that in in exceptional "cases there may be documents of a confidential character "which, in the public interest, may properly be withheld "from publication, the House declares that it is the "undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive copies of "all reports, accounts, correspondence and papers in relation "to the managment of every department of the public "service including the affairs of the Canadian National "Railways, whether operating directly under the control "of the Department, or under corporate form".

March 22, 1921.
Yeas, 79; Nays, 117. Majority, 38.

In view of Mr. Meighen's known attitude in his own country, it would, to say the least, be better taste on his part to preserve a befitting silence with respect to the rights of the people to full information while he is abroad. The difference of course is this: publicity with respect to what is transpiring at the Imperial Conference cannot affect Mr. Meighen or his Administration one way or the other. Publicity, on the other hand, with respect to the manner in which Canadian public funds have been and are being expended by the present Administration would result in an exposure so great that even the Government would be unable to retain the following it now has for the period for which, by alleged legal right, it purposes to continue to hold the reins of power in this country.

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But I shall say nothing further of Mr. Meighen or the Administration at the moment. But of the subjects being considered at the Imperial Conference at the present time, there is one concerning which I should like to express a further thought. It will be the concluding one of these already two lengthy remarks.

There is no question throughout the world which is occasioning more discussion and demanding more attention at the present moment than the great question of Disarmament. Every Nation and every thoughtful person has his contribution to make to this discussion. May I say that I believe that our own country has an example to give to the world which, more than any other, holds the secret of an enduring peace. This being the anniversary of the birthday of our Dominion, I wish to present it for the careful consideration of the statesmen assembled at the Imperial Conference to-day, as affording the key to the greatest contribution which it is possible for them to make to the cause of Peace and of world civilization.

I have referred to the Napoleonic Wars and to the spirit of reaction and also of truer Liberalism which came after their termination. You will recall that during the War of 1812-13-14, this country and its great neighbour to the south were drawn into the world conflict. There was little in the way of naval warfare on our Great Lakes, and the vast St Lawrence; but it became apparent, once the War was over, that one of two courses must necessarily be followed; either the course of competitive arming in naval equipment on the Great Lakes and the River St Lawrence; or the course of disarmament by mutual agreement. Fortunately for the continent of ~~America~~ North America, and equally fortunately for the world, Liberal opinion triumphed. An agreement, known as the Rush-Bagot Agreement, was drawn up between the statesmen of the United States and the statesmen of Great Britain, with respect to the limitation of armaments on our Great Lakes. It was provided that in all but six vessels, carrying, each of them, not more than one eighteen-pounder, were to be permitted on our Great Lakes. The Agreement was not in the nature of a treaty; it was simply a self-denying ordinance voluntarily entered into, to be continued only by the common consent of both countries, but subject to termination on six months' notice. That Agreement has served, over a period of one hundred years, to prevent the increase of armaments between the United States and Canada, to keep unfortified a boundary of line of some four thousand of miles of international frontier, and to preserve international peace for over a century.

What I wish to suggest- and I would suggest it as Canada's birthday gift to the British Empire, and her ally in Japan, and our great neighbour to the south- is that at this moment ~~###~~ following the great World War, these peoples-the British, the Americans, and the Japanese--consider solemnly the advisability of

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of putting an end to competitive arming on the Pacific Ocean, and adopt the policy, the wise and farseeing policy of limiting armaments, of limiting the naval equipment of all thes powers on that great ocean.

If on the Pacific they will agree to do what we a century ago did so successfully on our Great Lakes and Rivers, Europe and Asia alike may look forward to the disappearance of all dread of future wars between these great powers. They may count, instead, upon another century of peace, peace not only for all parts of the British Empire, and the great american Republic, but peace, I believe, for all nations of the world. Is this ideal too great to hope for its realization? I believe the statesmanship of the countries mentioned is equal to so great a task. To this great effort, let us hope that the nations will now bound themselves, in their own interests and in the common interests of mankind.

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Quebec Telegraph
July 2 1921

D 5172

# Says Meighenites Cling To Office As A Doomed Man To Hope On Eve Of Hanging

## Hon. MacKenzie-King Addresses Dominion Day Celebration in Brome—Meighen Only Delegate to Imperial Conference Without Mandate of His People—Mr Lapointe Speaks

Brome, Que., July 1—Speaking here today at the Dominion Day celebrations, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie-King, Leader of the Liberal Opposition at Ottawa, said that of all the Premiers at the Imperial Conference now sitting in London, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen was the only one who had come there without any authority from the people of his country and he added that Canada was the only country among the nations, which comprise the British Empire, the electors of which had been denied the right, since the termination of the war, of choosing a representative government to deal with postwar conditions.

Mr. Meighen had been quoted, in despatches from the Conference, said Mr. King, as being desirous that fullest publicity should be given to its proceedings. But he placed against this attitude of the Canadian Premier in London, the attitude taken in the House at Ottawa when Mr. Meighen and his party had defeated the resolutions introduced by the Opposition; one asking that no change should be made at the Conference in Canada's relations with other parts of the Empire and no expense incurred for naval and military purposes; and a second calling for fullest publicity on all matters of public expenditure.

**To Solve Jap Issue**

In conclusion Mr. King urged upon the attention of the London Conference the relations that had existed for the past hundred years between the United States and Canada and he strongly advocated a similar solution of the question of armaments in the Pacific should be adopted by the United States, Great Britain and Japan.

Hon. Mr. King discussed at some length the natural geographical and historical aspects of the Eastern Townships. He pointed out one example of great national significance in the number of English-speaking Protestants which the Eastern Townships supplied to the Federal Parliament, and commented that five or six members composed in this group were not surpassed if indeed equalled in character, ability and useful public service. Particularizing, he spoke in high terms of the member for the constituency, Andrew McMaster, and pronounced a eulogy of the late Hon. Sydney Fisher.

**Add Personals** 1111

Master Oscar and Patrick Sunderland have returned from Mount St. Louis College to spend the summer holidays with their parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Sunderland, 95 Claire Fontaine St.

Miss Madeleine Cinq-Mars, of Outremont, is in town a guest of her grandfather Mr. A. J. Auger.

**The Blight of Toryism.**

Continuing Mr. King said Toryism was the ill from which Canada was suffering in government to-day and that Liberalism was the need of the present and the future. The perpetuation of the militarist spirit must be avoided at all hazards and he illustrated the intrusion of Prussianism into Canadian affairs by parallels drawn from England after the Napoleonic wars. The great war had, he said, as in the case of England a hundred years ago, inevitably led to the ascendancy of Toryism in Canada and at its close, the political power of the Liberal party was at a comparatively low ebb.

Developing his parallel Mr. King said Canadians were beginning to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed had been parted with to a degree never dreamed of before. The people saw themselves deprived of the rights of a representative parliament and a responsible ministry. They saw the functions of government "carried on by a usurper who exercises his authority, not in virtue of any power derived from the people but solely as the outcome of arbitrary enactments and political might. They see this usurpation of the authority of government maintained through a combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy brought into being by war conditions and fostered through war necessities."

**Canada Impatient**

Canada, he said, was becoming more and more impatient of this reactionary spirit and the perpetuation of the militarist spirit by which it seeks to support itself and he pointed to the results of the elections in Yamaska and Medicine Hat as the decisive voice of the electors of Canada.

Speaking of the Conference of Overseas Premiers in London, Mr. King gave it as his view that of all the Premiers there assembled, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen was the only one who had come without any authority from the people of his country, and he added that Canada was the only country among the nations which comprise the British Empire, the electors of which had been denied the right since the termination of the war, to choosing a representative government to deal with postwar conditions.

**Suggests Reserve.**

He cited two resolutions moved by him in parliament, the first urging that there should be no change in the relations of Canada to other parts of the Empire and no action taken at the conference implying any obligation on the part of Canada to undertake new expenditures for naval or military purposes. This was defeated by Mr. Meighen and his following. The second resolution asking the fullest publicity on all matters of public expenditure was also defeated. In view of these facts, Mr. King claimed that Mr. Meighen should have preserved a befitting silence with respect to the rights of the people to full information when he was abroad.

In conclusion he said that the Imperial Conference might well take as a model in the matter of world disarmament the relations that had existed for a hundred years between the United States and Canada and he urged that solution upon the attention of the United States, Great Britain and Japan in regard to the limitation of armament on the Pacific Ocean.

**Feeble Government**

Ernest Lapointe, M.P., made a vigorous attack on the Government which he declared was the feeblest since Confederation. He claimed that after the Medicine Hat election, Quebec Province was less isolated than formerly and then strongly scored the use of the word isolation in that connection. He said in part:

"We do not want isolation. We are holding out the hand to all who want progress and reform. We are members of a party that knows no distinction of race or religion, and the chief of whom, Mr. King, to whom we owe our allegiance, is an English Protestant whom we are proud to folllow."

Mr. Lapointe declared that most of the members of the House of Commons who support the Government cannot be re-elected and therefore want the elections held back in the "hope of a man about to be hanged that the rope will break."

Discussing the overseas Premier's Conference, Mr. Lapointe said Mr. Meighen had four points which were "four points too many." He further charged that an attempt was being made to raise the people of Eastern Canada against the West.

It would be for the Liberal Party to keep the United between all Provinces.

A. R. McMaster, M.P. for Brome, confined himself to introducing the speakers and to general laudations.

W. R. Oliver, M.L.A., for Brome, spoke briefly.

Toronto Globe
July 2/1921

D 5173 - 1403-1

# LIBERALISM IS NEED OF FUTURE, SAYS MR. KING

## Toryism, He Declares, is Ill Canada Suffers From in Government

## CELEBRATION AT BROME

## Opposition Leader Pays High Tribute to Eastern Townships

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

**Brome, Que., July 1.**—Speaking at the Dominion Day celebration here this afternoon, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Opposition in the House of Commons, discussed at some length the natural, geographical and historical aspects of the Eastern Townships. He pointed out one example of great national significance in the number of English-speaking Protestants which the Eastern Townships supplied to the Federal Parliament, and commented that five or six members included in this group were not surpassed, if, indeed, equalled, in character, ability and useful public service. Particularizing, he spoke in high terms of the member of the constituency, Andrew McMaster, and pronounced a eulogy of the late Hon. Sydney Fisher.

**Suffering From Toryism.**

Continuing, Mr. King said Toryism was the ill from which Canada was suffering in the Government, and that Liberalism was the need of the present and the future. The perpetuation of the militarist spirit must be avoided at all hazards, he said, and he illustrated the intrusion of Prussianism into Canadian affairs by parallels drawn from England after the Napoleonic wars. The great war had, he said, as in the case of England 100 years ago, inevitably led to the ascendancy of Toryism in Canada, and at its close the political power of the Liberal party was at a comparatively low ebb.

**Says Liberties Parted With.**

Developing his parallel, Mr. King said Canadians were beginning to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed had been parted with to a degree never dreamed of before. The people saw themselves deprived of the rights of a representative Parliament and a responsible Ministry. They saw the functions of Government "carried on by a usurper, who exercises his authority, not in virtue of any power derived from the people, but solely as the outcome of arbitrary enactments and political might. They see this usurpation of the authority of Government maintained through a combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy brought into being by war conditions and fostered through war necessities."

**Electors' Decisive Voice.**

Canada, he said, was becoming more and more impatient of this reactionary spirit and the perpetuation of the militarist spirit by which it seeks to support itself, and he pointed to the results of the elections in Yamaska and Medicine Hat as the decisive voice of the electors of Canada.

**Criticizes Premier's Position.**

Speaking of the Conference of overseas Premiers in London, Mr. King gave it as his view that, of all the Premiers there assembled, Right Hon. Arthur Meighen was the only one who had come without any authority from the people of his country, and he added that Canada was the only country among the nations which comprise the British Empire the electors of which had been denied the right, since the termination of the war, of choosing a representative Government to deal with post-war conditions. He cited two resolutions moved by him in Parliament, the first urging that there should be no change in the relations of Canada to other parts of the Empire and no action taken at the Conference implying any obligation on the part of Canada to undertake new expenditures for naval or military purposes. This was defeated by Mr. Meighen and his following. The second resolution, asking the fullest publicity on all matters of public expenditure, was also defeated. In view of these facts, Mr. King claimed that Mr. Meighen should have preserved a befitting silence with respect to the rights of the people to full information when he was abroad.

**A Good Model for Disarmament.**

In conclusion, he said that the Imperial Conference might well take as a model, in the matter of world disarmament, the relations that had existed for a hundred years between the United States and Canada, and he urged that solution upon the attention of the United States, Great Britain and Japan in regard to the limitation of armaments on the Pacific Ocean.

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Montreal Gazette July 2, 1921 X-1403-1

D 5174

# MACKENZIE KING HAS ADVICE FOR PACIFIC POWERS

## Calls for Cessation of Competition in Armaments

## LIBERAL POLITICAL VIEW

## Ernest Lapointe Reiterates That Meighen Government Has No Mandate

Special to The Gazette.

Brome, July 1.—A birthday gift to the British Empire, the United States and Japan was offered by Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in speaking here today on the question of world peace. This took the shape of advice to the Empire and the other two countries to "consider solemnly the advisability of putting an end to competitive arming on the Pacific Ocean, and adopt the policy of limiting armaments of all these powers on that ocean." "If on the Pacific they will agree to do what we did a century ago so successfully on our Great Lakes and rivers, Europe and Asia alike may look forward to the disappearance of all dread of future wars between these great powers. They may count, indeed, upon another century of peace, peace not only for all parts of the British Empire, the Japanese Empire and the great American republic, but peace, I believe, for all the nations of the world. Is this ideal too great to hope for its realization?"

Mr. King said, it being the National holiday, he would not talk politics, but would take up political matters at the meeting in Bedford tomorrow. He talked in a general way, however, urging that a change was needed in Canada so that we might get back to Liberal ideas, and touched also on the presence of the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen in England. The Prime Minister, alone of all the premiers, did not represent his country, said Mr. King.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., was not so reticent as regards politics, and was very vigorous in his attacks on the Government. Mr. Lapointe made the speech of the day, getting rounds of applause.

### LAPOINTE VS. MEIGHEN.

Mr. Lapointe was against Mr. Meighen's four points, enunciated at the conference of the premiers in England, and insisted that Canada did not want to be consulted on the foreign affairs of the Empire, because, he argued, if Canada gave its advice, it would be committed to aid in any troubles which might arise, and thereby lose its liberty to take part or not, as it wished. Mr. Meighen had no mandate to discuss such questions at all, insisted Mr. Lapointe.

A. R. McMaster, M.P. for Brome, confined himself to introducing the speakers. W. R. Oliver, M.L.A. for Brome, spoke briefly, and among others present were W. S. Bullock, M.L.A. for Shefford; Fred Kay, M.P. for Missisquoi; Hon. W. F. Vilas and Miss Carrie Derick. Miss Derick made a speech for the benefit of the women.

### DRAWS PARALLEL.

Introduced by Mr. McMaster as the future prime minister for Canada, Mr. King went back into history to find a parallel for the present times in Canada, and took the situation in England during and after the Napoleonic wars as a perfect parallel. During the war when the minds of the English people were filled with thoughts of invasion, of war generally, of the glories gained by the armies and fleets, there was a growth of Toryism due to the fact that more and more power was given into the hands of the executive, and more and more cherished rights given up by the people under stress of the times. When the Napoleonic wars were over, there had come a great Liberal revival, and industrial growth. Mr. King thought this suited the case of Canada during the war and at present.

"Toryism is the ill from which our country is suffering in government today," said Mr. King. "Liberalism is the need of the present and the future. With the change from war to peace, Canadian men and women have begun to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed have been parted with to a degree never dreamed of before. Political reaction stands revealed in all its arrogance. The people see themselves deprived of the rights of a representative Parliament and a responsible ministry; they see the functions of Government carried on by a usurper who exercises his authority, not in virtue of any power derived from the people, but merely as the outcome of arbitrary enactments and political might. They see in the House of Comomns, among the members and supporters of the administration, men who have not hesitated to ignore the most solemn peldges given an electorate, and who do not hesitate to aid an arbitrary ministry in its continued disfranchisement of British subjects. They see this usurption of the authority of government maintained through a combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy, brought into being through war conditions, and fostered through war necessities.

### THE BYE-ELECTIONS.

"With all danger of aggression wholly removed, the sober thought of Canada is becoming more and more impatient of this reactionary spirit, and the perpetration of the militarist spirit by which it seeks to support itself. The nation has had enough of war. It seeks not merely the restoration of peace, but a restoration also of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of greater freedom of thought and a wider measure of personal liberty. As to this, the result of the recent bye-election in Yamaska, and the results of the still more recent Medicine Hat election, are the decisive voice of the electors of Canada.

"With the new freedom which but awaits the opportunity for its expression, history will also repeat itself. The period of reaction in Canada will give way, as in Britain it did, to a period of genuine reconstruction. Liberalism will come once again into its own, and, with Liberalism revived and restored, we may await with confidence an era of wise industrial, fiscal and electoral reform." The premier had stolen his present authority, said Mr. King.

Referring to the Prime Minister's presence in England, Mr. King said he noted "the inspired despatches sent to the Canadian Press by the special correspondent, who accompanied Mr. Meighen," intimated that Mr. Meighen, though busy with Imperial affairs, had been keeping an eye on Medicine Hat.

### NO MANDATE CHARGE.

"I wonder how that eye is now since the announcement that his candidate was defeated by a majority of 8,000 through the combination of the Progressive and Liberal electors in the constituency." Mr. King objected that, of all the premiers who are at the conference, Mr. Meighen had no mandate from the people of his country because there had not been a general election since the war, as had occurred in every other Dominion. Mr. King found it strange also that Mr. Meighen was the advocate of publicity in England as regards the proceedings of the conference. That had not been his attitude in the House of Commons when information was wanted on the railway question, nor to the resolution which he, Mr. King, had moved in the House objecting to any commitments being made by the Premier while abroad.

Hon. Mr. King concluded with a reference to the late Hon. Sydney Fisher, and praised the present member for Brome, Mr. McMaster, very highly.

### MISS DERICK'S CONVERSION.

Miss Carrie Derick admitted that she was a convert to the Liberal party, but blamed her early environment and upbringing for her original errors. She wanted women to take an interest in politics, and remarked the women on the other side of politics were doing so in order to aid Mr. Meighen.

"I do not know," added Miss Derick, "if you Canadian women know that at the last elections the Canadian women were outvoted by newcomers, those who had little interest in Canada, but happened to have a relative in the Canadian army. They will vote again, as is quite proper, but are the women who are not yet true Canadians to exercise the franchise and those of us who have a long history in the new world, and

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who stand for what our ancestors struggled for, to do nothing? We want to return Mr. King as Prime Minister because he represents the spirit of Liberalism."

Miss Derick was glad that women have the vote in federal affairs, and recalled that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had told her once that if he were returned to power he meant to bring in a measure to give women the vote. Miss Derick regretted women did not have the vote in the province of Quebec in provincial affairs, but hoped this would come later.

Women had special interest in political questions, said Mr. Lapointe, especially as regards the question of disarmament. Women knew the value of human life.

MR. LAPOINTE'S ATTACK.

The present Government, said Mr. Lapointe, was the most feeble Government since Confederation. It had no mandate, he insisted. It was not just to the soldiers who had voted while in the trenches for men they could not know, that the Government should cling to office. Mr. Lapointe did not believe in Union Government, not believing it possible for Liberals and Conservatives to unite any more than vice and virtue could be united. They simply did not mix. The men elected to run the country in 1917 were not the same men as those running it now. It had been said in 1917 that the Cabinet was one of brains, and yet The Gazette on Wednesday had said that only Mr. Meighen was worth anything, and the others were no good.

Talking of the question of isolation of Quebec, Mr. Lapointe said that surely it would be admitted that Quebec was a little less isolated than formerly, for after the Medicine Hat election a Montreal newspaper had said that it was the West which was isolated.

"Isolated?" demanded Mr. Lapointe, with fiery gesture, "from whom; from what? Isolated? Why, everyone in the country thinks the same as we do. Isolated from the Government? Yes, and so is everybody else. Isolated when the Government has to change its name and dress the baby with a new dress. Who is isolated, Mr. Blondin or myself? Let the Government give us general elections, and we will see who is isolated. We do not want isolation. We are holding out the hand to all who want progress and reform. We are members of a party that knows no distinction of race or religion, and the chief of whom, Mr. King, to whom we owe allegiance, is an English Protestant, whom we are proud to follow. The word race exists in the Tory vocabulary. We don't know the word. It is a principle of the Christian religion that we should forgive and love everybody. All right, we forgive and love everybody, but there is nothing in Christianity or commonsense to make us have confidence in everybody."

Most of the members of the House of Commons who support the Government cannot be re-elected, said Mr. Lapointe, and therefore they want the elections held back. They knew they were beaten, but in holding back the elections they have a little hope, "the hope of a man to be hanged that the rope will break."

Sir Henry Drayton, at the close of his budget speech, went on Mr. Lapointe, had asked wherein were things wrong, saying that the rivers and lakes were still beautiful, the mountains still with their masses of minerals, the fields fertile, and the forests broad. Mr. Lapointe was willing to admit these facts, but the Government was a bad one, and that was the whole trouble.

"Is it not humiliating for Canada to have a government that cannot get men elected, and looks for recruits among the ranks of its adversaries?" demanded Mr. Lapointe. "It is with pride that I can tell you that all refused the ministerial apple the tempter wanted them to eat. All possible seductions were used."

Turning to the conference of premiers in England, Mr. Lapointe commented:

"Mr. Wilson had fourteen points, Mr. Meighen has four points, and that is four points too many." It had been understood in Parliament, said Mr. Lapointe, that there were to be no questions as to changes in our constitution. Mr. Meighen had no mandate to raise four points, the Parliament of Canada had given him no authority to ask that Canada be kept advised of the foreign relations of the Empire. Laurier had always taken the stand that Canada should not be consulted, because he said that if we gave advice we would be obliged to be behind the decision taken when troubles came, and would not be able to decide whether we would take part or not.

IMPERIALISM BOGIE.

"Mr. Meighen wants us to be consulted on all occasions. That is Imperialism of the purest kind ever preached, because if we are consulted at all times we will have to take part in any troubles, and we want to keep our liberty. No matter, however, what the merits of the case may be, Mr. Meighen has no right to discuss it. That is a matter for your representatives in Parliament to deal with. It is for Parliament to say what Canada is to do in Imperial matters, and in all other matters."

Mr. Lapointe begged the people not to think that Mr. King was anxious for power for the mere glory of it, for the estate which Mr. Meighen would leave would not be a good one, and offered no attractions, but the Liberals, for the sake of peace and harmony in Canada, and to cure the economic ills of the country, wanted to turn Mr. Meighen out.

Mr. Lapointe said that an attempt is being made now to raise the people of Eastern Canada against the West. That was most nefarious work, he declared, and was ever the way the Tory party worked. Today they find that the race and religious cry will not work, and so seek to split the country, east and west. It would be for the Liberal party to keep the unity between all provinces, and hold the East and West united.

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Le Canada

MONTREAL, Samedi, 2 Juillet 1921.

# Le mal dont nous souffrons

Dans son discours d'hier, à Brome Corners, l'hon. M. King, chef du parti libéral, a déclaré que le mal dont nous souffrons aujourd'hui est le torysme au sein du gouvernement.

Le gouvernement tory en effet a tout bouleversé ici ; d'un gouvernement honnête et prospère, il nous a donné un gouvernement où chacun est entaché d'un scandale et où tous cherchent leur intérêt avant celui du pays.

Le torysme est le mal du jour, rien n'est plus vrai.

On n'a qu'à jeter un coup d'oeil sur le pays tout entier pour constater que le régime tory ne répond pas aux besoins du présent et qu'il nous porte vers la ruine plutôt que vers la prospérité et la paix.

Chacune des mesures importantes qu'a présentées le gouvernement Meighen a été pour nous une source de déficits considérables.

On n'a qu'à rappeler la nationalisation des chemins de fer, de la marine pour en donner une preuve, et ce ne sont là que deux des projets du gouvernement fédéral.

Le torysme est le mal dont nous souffrons ! Oui, c'est sûr, et chaque jour nous en apporte le témoignage.

Le peuple canadien, fatigué de ce régime, le condamne et le répudie à chaque élection partielle, dans des comtés que le gouvernement Meighen détenait ; et quand viendront les élections générales, que retarde intentionnellement ce gouvernement, le peuple canadien se débarrassera d'un tel régime.

Le libéralisme est le besoin du présent et de l'avenir, disait M. King.

En 1896, le libéralisme a pris le pouvoir et on sait les quinze années qui se sont succédé, quinze années de paix, de prospérité et de bonheur pour chacun des citoyens de ce pays.

Le libéralisme est encore appelé à jouer le même rôle aujourd'hui. Comme en 1896, alors qu'il relevait le pays de sa ruine, aujourd'hui encore, il devra imposer ses solides principes de paix et de développement.

Seul le parti libéral saura nous ramener la paix et la prospérité dont nous avons bénéficié sous le régime de Laurier.

Oui, quoi que l'on dise, le régime tory est le mal dont nous souffrons ; le peuple ne demande que la première occasion possible de s'en débarrasser et de lui substituer un gouvernement honnête, progressif, qui saura donner au Canada le développement auquel il est destiné, le bonheur qui doit être son partage.

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Le Soleil

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QUEBEC 4 JUILLET 1921

# Nos chefs à Brome

Des discours prononcés à Brome, vendredi, par l'hon. M. King, chef du parti libéral et par M. Ernest Lapointe, député de Québec-Est, il faut retenir deux grandes idées générale qui devront servir à toute la campagne électorale prochaine, c'est à savoir : premièrement, comme M. King l'a déclaré, que M. Meighen gouverne en usurpateur, et secondement que c'est à tort, comme l'a démontré M. Lapointe, qu'on parle de l'isolement de Québec.

C'est sans autorité aucune que M. Meighen dirige les destinées du pays. Il n'est pas l'élu de son parti, puisque c'est ni le parti unioniste, ni le parti conservateur qui l'ont appelé au poste de premier ministre. La preuve, c'est que c'est un parti nouveau qui a été formé à l'avénement de M. Meighen, parti qui s'est vu abandonné par tous les libéraux et les fermiers qui avaient consenti à entrer dans la coalition.

Jamais même M. Meighen ne fut choisi par une convention, et c'est de son propre chef, avec la connivence de trois ou quatre de ses anciens collègues, qu'il s'est empré du pouvoir.

Et c'est fort à propos que l'hon. M. King a fait remarquer que M. Meighen n'avait pas le droit d'être à la conférence des premiers ministres à Londres, et de parler au nom du Canada.

Les choses eussent été tout autrement si avant de prendre les rênes du gouvernement M. Meighen était venu devant le peuple faire confirmer le mandat qu'il s'appropriait. Si le peuple eut voté cette confirmatiop, alors M. Meighen eut vraiment été son chef, et eut pu parler en son nom.

Pourquoi M. Meighen a-t-il tojours refusé d'en appeler au peuple ? Pour la simple raison que le peuple n'eut pas consenti à lui confier le gouvernement du pays, et la preuve en est dans les sept défaites que ce gouvernement a essuyées depuis un an et dans la diminution des majorités de ses candidats qui ont eut la chance de se faire élire.

D'ailleurs, comme le rappelait à Brome M. King, le Canada est le seul pays de l'empire dont l'électorat n'a pas eu l'avantage d'élire un gouvernement de son choix. C'est encore le ministère de guerre, élu en 1917 par la fraude et les fausses représentations, qui se cramponne au pouvoir, quoique sa majorité soit tombé de 70 à 18, avec cinq vacances à remplir au ment.

Voilà bien ce que l'électorat de notre province ne doit pas perdre de vue, que M. Meighen gouverne sans mandat, en usurpateur et en autocrate.

L'autre pensée à retenir de cette réunion, la première de la série dans notre province, c'est qu'il ne faut plus prler de l'isolement du Québec.

M. Ernest Lapointe l'a fort bien démontré, tout le pays a du gouvernement Meighen la même opinion que Québec ; dans Ontario aussi bien que dans l'ouest, on a fait savoir à M. Meighen qu'on ne voulait plus de son régime.

A plus d'un millier de milles d'Yamaska, l'électorat de Medecine Hat vient de rendre le même verdict, repoussant le candidat du gouvernement et pour les mêmes motifs.

Oh non! Québec n'est plus isolé, et ne forme un bloc qu'avec tout le pays, et si le gouvernement Meighen en doute encore que dès demain il convoque le peuple aux urnes..

C'est un sentiment unanime dans tout le pays : M. Meighen est un usurpateur et il faut qu'il cède sa place. Le peuple veux reprendre ses droits ; il veut un régime nouveau, avec une politique nouvelle.

C'est ce que M. King et nos chefs [illegible] venus prêcher dans notre provinc[illegible] et no[illegible]ames assurés que leurs discours v[illegible]t trou[illegible]écho dans le cœur de nos compatr[illegible]s.

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2 July 1921 Bedford, P.Q.

MEIGHEN AS A USURPER OF AUTHORITY

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Montreal Gazette
July 4/1921

D 5179

# MACKENZIE KING PREDICTS VICTORY FOR HIS PARTY

## Repeats Charge That Premier Meighen is Usurper With No Mandate

## WANTS TARIFF REFORM

### Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux Bitterly Assails Government and Harks Back to Stirring Days of 1837

(Special to The Gazette.)

Bedford, Missisquoi, July 2.—Denunciation of the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen as a usurper of authority without any right to talk for Canada at the Imperial Conference on Imperial or foreign matters, was the line along which Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King spoke in addressing a meeting here this afternoon.

Mr. King predicted that when the federal elections came there would be a change in the political complexion of the House of Commons such as was never before seen. Tariff and fiscal reform was essential, he declared.

Mr. King was given a good reception, and was lauded by Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who saw in him the leader who took up the torch from Laurier's hands. Laurier had received it from Macdonald, Macdonald from Cartier, Cartier from Lafontaine, Lafontaine from Baldwin, and Baldwin, had received the succession of Liberal thought and ideas from William Lyon Mackenzie, grandfather of Hon. Mr. King, and the man who had joined with Papineau in Lower Canada in the fight for constitutional rights. Mr. Lemieux said he was a great believer in heredity.

Mr. Lemieux was in fighting form, despite the hot weather. He attacked the Government vigorously for instilling the idea of nationalization of railways in Canada. He was against the vote for women, though now that they have the vote he wanted them to vote Liberal. He fiercely attacked an article in a Montreal English paper, and promised to do his utmost to bring to light what he claimed had been suppressed in the Atholstan-Tarte case. He dealt also with the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the charges he made in Parliament as regards a proposed payment of $60,000 to the St. Charles Park Company of Quebec. Mr. Lemieux said he would examine the extent of the commission given Mr. Justice Panneton before accepting that commission. He believed a Parliamentary Committee was the procedure to be adopted when statements were made in Parliament.

Mr. Lemieux asked that the weak-kneed Liberals of Parliament be punished, and was not very ready to take back stray Liberals.

Joseph Demers, M.P. for St. Johns-Iberville, attacked the principle of a farmers' party, and did not believe it could last, but must return to its source, and that was the Liberal party.

Fred. Kay, M.P. for Missisquoi, spoke briefly, welcoming the visitors to the county.

Tribute was paid by Mr. King and Mr. Lemieux to the work of the late Sydney Fisher.

Mr. King commenced in French, making a good effort in that language.

"I regret very much that my knowledge of the French language does not permit me as yet to make a speech in that language," he explained. "I understand your language, but under the circumstances do not want to risk making a speech in it, but can assure you of my efforts to learn the language properly."

### CONTEMPT OF PEOPLE.

Turning to English, Mr. King remarked that as it was just about one year since the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen had been called on to form a Government, he thought it fitting to review the work of the Government during his leadership, so that Mr. Meighen's characteristics and tendencies could be examined. The session of Parliament just completed was the first to be examined, as it was the first under Mr. Meighen's administration. Mr. King felt it fitting to review the circumstances under whch Mr. Meighen had taken office, and, going back to 1917, told of the formation of the Union Government for war purposes, and recalled the fact that such men as Crerar, Maclean, Rowell and Mewburn had left the Government because they felt their mandate was completed. That was the time for general elections, contended Mr. King, but Sir Robert Borden had remained in power still longer. When he resigned, the Governor-General had called Sir Thomas White to take office, and the latter had refused. If Sir Thomas White had formed a Government, Mr. King believed that he would have appealed to the people, for he believed that the conception of public duty Sir Thomas entertains would have made him do so. Mr. Meighen had then been called on to form a Government at a time when there were few men ready to do so. Surely Mr. Meighen should have gone to the people with his new Government, for he had never had the same measure of confidence bestowed in him as had been given to Sir Robert Borden, and to Sir Thomas White. Mr. Meighen had never even been acting prime minister, like Sir George Foster, Sir Thomas White or the Right Hon. C. J. Doherty.

In the decision of Mr. Meighen not to go to the country, Mr. King found evidence of the nature and characteristics of the new prime minister. His first official act had been to show indifference to the fundamental rights of the people, and to usurp power, and it was, therefore, no wonder that his acts thereafter should show this indifference to the rights of the people.

Mr. King dealt with this point at some length, telling of what the Liberals had done towards urging a general election, and pointing out that all other countries had elections after the war. Canada was on a par with Russia, inasmuch as the people had been given no chance to select their representatives. "You begin to see how far we have got from representative institutions, for which our fathers fought, when we are in the same class with Russia."

The reason for the Government not going to the country was apparent in Mr. King's mind. It was that in every provincial election since the war the verdict had gone in favor of Liberalism and strong progressive government, and against Toryism.

The Liberal leader complained that at the beginning of last session the attention of the Government had been called to the fact that there were six vacancies in the House of Commons, and had urged in a resolution that these be filled. It was easy to see why bye-elections had been staved off as long as possible.

"You can see it in Yamaska and in Medicine Hat," he explained.

The next right of the people was to be given all necessary information as to public expenditure, and Mr. King complained that the Government last session had refused to give facts as to expenditure on railways. This was despite the fact that the railways last year had a deficit of forty-seven millions. This year it was something like 78 millions, and probably next year it would be a deficit of 100 millions. Refusing to give the information as to this deficit, and the causes leading thereto, was not government according to British institutions. It was extreme autocratic government.

### WANTS TARIFF REFORM.

"The people also expect a government to devise methods of helping to relieve conditions," went on Mr. King. "We have a tariff that needs revision in many ways. The Government said it would revise the tariff, and this year they announced that intention in the speech from the throne, but before the session was over there was no revision and nothing has been done towards reducing taxation or lowering the duties on the necessities of life and instruments of production, as advocated by the Liberal party. The Government have removed the business taxes and removed the luxury taxes, but made no taxation of war wealth. They looked after their own special interests, but the interests of the great body of the people were not cared for. We say that the time has come

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when there should be a Government free to carry out the wishes of the people with respect to these great changes necessary at the present time."

Mr. King did not expect any reforms from this Government. His reason was that during the war business men had had to work with the Government in times when a great deal of money was being spent. When the war was over some of the members of the Government retired, and many business men ceased their relations with the Government, but there had remained other members of the Government clinging to office and allied with them were business men of great wealth who kept in touch with the Government, so today, said Mr. King, there is a combination of a few men with autocratic political power and some men who are industrial plutocrats. With such a combination in power it was impossible to look for reforms.

Mr. King complained that at the last session estimates had been rushed through by means of the closure. In conclusion he found that the manner in which the country is governed can be summed up in four points: First, that authority was usurped; secondly, that the representatives of the people are denied information; third, different constituencies are denied representations, and fourthly, there is the closure.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Turning to Imperial affairs, Mr. King reviewed the stand taken by his party last session, and the refusal of the Government to be guided thereby. The reason for this was now known. According to the news despatches, Mr. Meighen is laying down certain demands in the name of Canada.

"No one has given him authority to do that," exclaimed Mr. King. "No one has given him the right to express any opinion at this conference in regard to matters of policy in respect to foreign affairs. We are told that we have four points. Evidently he has been trying to imitate President Wilson, who had fourteen points, but it was said that Wilson had too many in having fourteen when Moses had only ten points, and it is evident that Mr. Meighen is trying to outdo both Wilson and Moses and reduce his points to four.

"I ask Mr. Meighen who gave him the authority to lay down any four points in the name of the people of Canada. He is a usurper, and is representing Canada in England by right of no authority. He has stolen the authority he is exercising, and has no right in the name of Canada to lay down any rule or any policy with respect to international and Imperial affairs. That is a right that must be left to the people's representatives in Parliament, newly and freshly elected by the people of Canada."

Mr. King went on in this strain, but took comfort in the fact that elections must soon come, when there would be "a change in the political complexion of Parliament greater than ever before witnessed."

A FAUX PAS.

Following Mr. King's speech, announcement was made by one of the chairmen that Carpentier was victor at the great fight, knocking Dempsey out in the fourth round. The information had been misinterpreted to be exactly opposite. The crowd set up a cheer for Carpentier, and Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who followed Mr. King, took advantage of the occasion.

"It is hot today," said he, "and it is still more hot at Ottawa, since the Carpentier of the Liberal party, "pointing to Mr. King," put the Government out in two rounds, Medicine Hat and Yamaska."

Mr. Lemieux immediately turned to the Liberal defeat of 1911, and bewailed the defeat of Laurier, "so cruelly treated by the people of Canada, and by what means we will soon know, for, if God permits me, I will expose what has been suppressed in the case of Lord Atholstan against Tarte, and it is there that we will find something of the reason for 1911."

Mr. Lemieux talked of the Laurier regime, of his own twenty-five years public service, and said that when tempted to leave politics the thought of the Liberal cause, and the fact that he was above all a Canadian kept him in harness. Men like Joe Demers encouraged him to remain in politics. It was not to men of integrity like Demers to whom portfolios were offered.

WANTS PUNISHMENTS.

"I hope," said Mr. Lemieux, speaking shamply, "that at the next federal elections, which will come probably before you electors think, the people will ask explanations of those members who last session developed weakness of the legs. You have a right to be represented by patriots raised in the Laurier school."

Mr. Lemieux here turned to a eulogy of Mr. King, "a fine young man with only one weakness, and that was being a bachelor." This led Mr. Lemieux to develop his views on feminine suffrage. "I voted against it in the House of Commons. I will make public confession. I was opposed to the principle, and am still opposed, that the mother of a family should be dragged into electoral agitations. I was opposed, as were many fine women at the head of their sex. I was opposed with the head of my church, and with many distinguished Protestant clergymen, writers and others. I believed, and still believe, that the place of the women is at home in the family, and her role there is the most noble in the world. I was opposed, and still think that we will regret giving the vote, but since women have the vote they should exercise it, and there is one matter on which they can specially speak, as I told the women of Yamaska. Women should vote to protest against the anti-Christian vote of Parliament two years ago, when a law was passed which placed the adulterous women with the honest mothers of families. I will be glad that at the next elections the honest women will have at least a chance to stigmatize by their votes this anti-Christian legislation of the Borden Government."

Mr. Lemieux felt that we are in Canada today passing through a revolution following the war. There was a government in power which was nothing but a combination of appetites and interests. He had no respect for the Government, though ordinarily would be good enough of a sport to accept a verdict, but under the circumstances would not accept the 1917 verdict. We had passed through a revolution, and were living through a revolution, he reiterated, and the country which Laurier had left prosperous and rich was two doors from bankruptcy. A wave of folly had passed, and was passing through the country.

FOR PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

"What right had the Government to instil the principle of nationalization of railways in our country?" he demanded. "Perhaps in some sections of the country they will say I am the friend of the capitalists, but I am a friend of commonsense, and I say that railways administered by the State can only produce deficits and scandals, as we have seen on the I.C.R. and elsewhere. A railway administered by a Beatty, a Shaughnessy and a Van Horne, where there is private initiative, will produce a surplus, and bring prosperity wherever its rails are laid. The Government had an example of public ownership in England and the United States. It should have known better."

What necessity was there of spending twenty millions for military purposes and two and a half millions for a navy when there is no foe? Why encourage those who trail their sabres in peace time to the extent of twenty millions? Look at Mr. Ballantyne's little ships lying idle in the harbor of Montreal, Halifax and Quebec, with no freight or passengers, and that would show how the country's money was being spent.

Mr. Lemieux then referred to the matter of the St. Charles Park Company and the vote for it of $60,000, which the Government had brought down on the last day of the session, his opposition to it, and the appointment of Mr. Justice Panneton as Royal Commissioner to investigate the charges he had made in the matter. The Government had wanted to pay $60,000, which was not owed, and he had saved that money, said Mr. Lemieux, but instead of being grateful to him the Government had denounced him, had become very angry and then decided on a Royal Commission.

Mr. Lemieux dealt with some of the details of the matter as he had laid them down in Parliament, and remarked that if every member of the House saved $60,000, the total would be big. He had stopped the Government from paying $223,000 to a gentleman in Quebec some years ago, and had not even been thanked for that.

"Before accepting this Royal Commission I will study the terms of the commission given to Mr. Justice Panneton, and if he does not get instructions to go after the facts on merits, they will not get my skin. Parliament, above all, is the great investigator. You elect representatives to watch the Government bookkeepers and to be the great investigators of the nation, and when I make an accusation on the floor of the House itself, it is a parliamentary committee that I want. I do not want to drag judges into politics, as Hon. Mr. Doherty wishes. They will not drag me into the St. Charles River."

Turning to Imperial affairs, Mr. Lemieux said that the sessions held are in secret, but Mr. Meighen later gives his impressions to the journalists.

"I have reason to believe, and think, that we do not know what is going on," added Mr. Lemieux. "In any case we only know a little. We know that Mr. Meighen wants to get

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into the negotiations of the treaty between Japan and Britain, and we know that he wants certain conditions. We know by this morning's papers that the Government of Britain has gone beyond him, and politely let him know that he is the fly in the ointment. We are told the treaty will be continued, because it is not denounced, and perhaps later on it will be taken into consideration. Mr. Meighen's objections are made for the gallery."

Mr. Lemieux talked against the "danger of being dragged into Imperialism," and of losing constitutional rights fought for on the fields of St. Charles and St. Denis. Canada is near ruin, and it was time to stop thinking of European and world problems and think of home with all our attention.

"I speak with emotion because of something I read the other day in an Imperial paper, an Imperialist organ bought and paid for being Imperialist, for Lord Atholstan was paid with a title; he had no right to his title. This paper preaches the Impenialist doctrine, and wants to lead us into the vortex of Imperialism."

NO BOLSHEVISTS WANTED.

Mr. Lemieux referred to an article entitled: "Repudiation, annexation or population," an example of false patriotism and vulgar materialism, he described it. The question was badly put, and he would reply in the name of his fellow French-Canadian citizens at least, that they were not the kind of people to repudiate legitimate debts, and French-Canadians have no intention of abandoning the flag which protects them and being annexed to the United States. As to population, Mr. Lemieux was willing to have a good kind of immigration, but did not want the Bolshevists of the kind who had shown themselves in Winnipeg when the citizens had to arm themselves with rifle and bayonet to drive back the group which knows neither God nor faith, which recognizes no country, nor frontiers, but preaches the Internationale.

"We don't want that immigration. As to the French-Canadians, we don't need immigration. Our familes are big enough. We don't want the demagogues of Europe, or even of England, where I am told that the most dangerous come from. We want good farmers, peaceable citizens who will respect our laws and learn in our country what tolerance and justice and true liberty is."

DEMERS PRAISES KING.

Mr. Demers said that a Liberal Bible had been drawn up at the convention of Canadian Liberals held in Ottawa, and at the same time the representatives of all classes of Canada had chosen a leader in Mackenzie King, who was fit for the heritage of Laurier. The Liberal party, said Mr. Demers, had nothing to fear in putting its confidence and destiny in Mr. King's hands. Mr. King was a man of great eloquence, of honor in all senses of the word, and the flag put in his hands would be carried with pride and in the right direction. Mr. King was a man of the Laurier school, large and tolerant, and not subject to petty influences, which some people use in politics for the exploitation of race and religion. Like his old chief, Mr. King, said Mr. Demers, was a Canadian above all, and the secret of that was to make Canada a great country.

"Our adversaries do not like us," explained Mr. Demers. "It is true that we are hard towards them, and accuse them of being usurpers. They don't mind that, and laugh cynically." He talked of the 1917 elections after the usual manner, and said that it had been shown that the people were held in contempt, but ultimately there would have to be elections and the Government would suffer an ignominious defeat. He talked of the C.N.R. and G.T.R. expropriations at a time when nationalization of railways had been proven to be a failure elsewhere, and also condemned the granting of credits to Rumania and Greece. Canada's contribution to the cost of the League of Nations meant that we are paying $250,000 as a first rate power, and yet Canada was not consulted when Germany pays millions and millions of gold marks in indemnities. Canada did not even see the color of that money, he complained, and was not even consulted, but asked to pay just the same. Mr. Demers felt that when the general elections came the people would be told that to defeat the Government meant the chimneys would no longer belch forth smoke, but they had been told the same thing in 1896 and had not believed such dire prophesies and would not do so this time. The Liberal party would return, and then would be seen the magic of Liberal methods.

AGAINST AGRARIANS.

Mr. Demers turned to the Farmers' party. "I know of the talk, but I do not think that the existence of these new parties will hurt the Liberal party in any way. I believe in the success of my party, because I believe in the common sense of the people. I am sure that our people do not want a government of class. Look at the Farmers' party which exists in Ontario. I say that it is a party of class and anti-democratic, because they want privileges for certain people, and want the people to judge men not by their tolerance and justice, but by their profession or occupation. The principle is false, and a party of that kind cannot live except by making appeals to classes. The existence of a Farmers' party is ephemeral. Its birth was accidental, and it does not meet the needs, and its survival cannot be guaranteed. It must come back to its base, and that is the Liberal party. Why should a new party be formed for the same purpose as the Liberal party? The West will fuse with us, for a party to be great must be national and not of class or caste."

Mr. A. Saurette, M.L.A. for Missisquoi, closed the meeting.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE D 5182

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# M. MEIGHEN S'EST CONDUIT EN VERITABLE USURPATEUR

**L'honorable W.-L. Mackenzie King, chef du parti libéral, fait, samedi, à Bedford, en présence d'une foule enthousiaste de près de quatre mille personnes, une critique très serrée du gouvernement sous l'administration Meighen. — M. Meighen a affiché un mépris absolu des droits du peuple, dit-il. — Un gouvernement crampon à renverser.**

## ELOQUENT DISCOURS DE L'HONORABLE LEMIEUX

**Seul le parlement a le droit d'enquêter dans l'affaire de la rivière Saint-Charles, déclare l'honorable M. Lemieux. — Il ne se laissera intimider par la commission que veut imposer M. Doherty. — Y a-t-il eu un autre scandale dans l'affaire des chantiers Davies?. — MM. Jos. Demers, M. P., Fred. Kay, M.P. et A. Saurette, M.P.P., adressent également la parole. — L'honorable M. King, reçoit une chaleureuse ovation.**

(De notre envoyé spécial)

Bedford, 2. — Une grande manifestation libérale des plus enthousiastes a eu lieu, ici, aujourd'hui, à l'occasion de la visite dans le comté de Missisiquoi, de l'honorable M. Lyon Mackenzie King, chef de l'opposition libérale. M. King était accompagné de l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux, de M. Joseph Demers, député de Saint-Jean-Iberville, de M. Fred Kay, député du comté de Missisquoi aux Communes, et de M. Alexandre Saurette, député du même comté à la Législature.

Les succès remportés par l'honorable M. King et ceux qui l'accompagnaient en cette occasion ont été une véritable répétition de ceux qu'il avait remportés la journée précédente à Brôme. La foule a manifesté le plus grand enthousiasme du commencement à la fin de l'assemblée ; on ne s'est pas lassé d'entendre les orateurs. Il s'agissait du procès de l'administration Meighen, et chacun tenait à connaître les activités malheureuses de M. Meighen et de son cabinet.

Trois à quatre mille personnes au bas mot assistaient à l'assemblée. Un grand nombre s'étaient rendus à Bedford la veille afin de ne pas marquer cet événement. Plusieurs sont accourus des parties les plus éloignées du comté ; d'autres étaient venus des comtés environnants. On pouvait même remarquer des gens de Montréal qui, n'ayant pu se rendre à l'assemblée précédente, avaient tenu à assister à celle-ci. M. Andrew McMaster, député du comté de Brôme aux Communes, était aussi présent.

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L'assemblée fut tenue sous la présidence de M. H. H. Rocheleau, président de l'Association Libérale du comté de Missisquoi. M. Fred Kay a présenté les orateurs à la foule, puis M. Joseph Demers, l'honorable M. Mackenzie King, l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux et M. A. Saurette ont adressé la parole à tour de rôle. Tous les orateurs ont remporté un vif succès et, en particulier, les honorables MM. King et Lemieux, et toutes les personnes présentes, après l'assemblée, n'auraient pas donné cher pour les quelques espérances qu'il reste à M. Meighen de remporter une victoire dans ce comté. M. Meighen et les membres de son administration ont subi un procès en règle. Les orateurs ont fait voir la manière dont le Canada est gouverné. Ils ont fait un exposé de ses méthodes autocrates, de sa conduite tyrannique et arbitraire et des malheurs qu'il avait fait fondre sur le pays.

L'honorable M. King s'est tout simplement surpassé et s'est attiré, à maintes reprises, des applaudissements prolongés dans sa critique du gouvernement Meighen, dont il a passé en revue les principaux actes, dans une argumentation très serrée.

L'honorable M. Lemieux a fait un bel éloge de sir Wilfrid Laureir, dont la mémoire restera gravée à jamais dans le coeur de tous les véritables Canadiens, et de l'honorable M. King, le petit-fils d'Alexander Mackenzie. La foule l'a beaucoup applaudi, ainsi que M. Joseph Demers.

L'assemblée a pris fin tard dans l'après-midi. Les orateurs se retirèrent aux applaudissements prolongés de l'auditoire qui ne savait trop comment manifester son enthousiasme, à celui qui nous débarrassera dans un avenir très rapproché du gouvernement Meighen. L'honorable M. King pourra dire qu'il a remporté un beau succès dans les deux assemblées qu'il vient de tenir. C'est un signe précurseur du grand triomphe qui s'annonce pour les prochaines élections, alors que le gouvernement Meihen sera chassé du pouvoir par le peuple canadien en bloc.

M. Fred Kay, qui a parlé le premier, n'a dit que quelques mots. Il s'est contenté de présenter les autres orateurs, dont il a fait l'éloge, les remerciant en même temps d'être venus rendre visite au comté. Il a peu parlé de l'administration Meighen, mais il est convaincu qu'elle ne pourra pas plus longtemps faire peser son fardeau sur le Canada, et qu'elle sera culbutée aux prochaines élections.

**L'HONORABLE MACKENZIE KING**

Voici maintenant un an dit M. King, que l'honorable M. Meighen fut appelé par Son Excellence, le gouverneur-général à former une nouvelle administration. Le moment serait donc tout à fait opportun de faire connaître les principaux traits et les principales caractéristiques du premier ministre, qui sont pour le peuple des raisons suffisantes de ne plus le garder à la tête du pays. La première session qu'a dirig e M. Meighen est celle qui fut tenue du mois de f.vrier 1921 au commencement du mois de juin dernier. En considérant quelque peu ce qui s'est passé pendant cette session, il sera facile de s'imaginer ensuite ce que l'on pourra attendre du gouvernement tant que M. Meighen sera à sa tête.

En premier lieu, M. Meighen et les membres de son administration ont affiché le plus grand mépris des droits du peuple. C'est ce qu'ils nous ont démontré dès le premier acte officiel important qu'ils ont accompli, et cette attitude ils ont affecté de la conserver sans cesse dans la direction des affaires nationales au parlement.

L'honorable M. King rappelle en passant les circonstances qui ont amené l'avènement de M. Meighen. Peu de temps avant les élections g,énérales, on avait formé ce que l'on a appelé le uogvernement d'Union, sous la direction de sir Robert Borden. Des membres des deux partis existant alors s'étaient unis pour former un gouvernement de coalition pour "gagner la guerre." Ce gouvernement ne devait durer que le temps de la guerre; plusieurs l'avaient déclaré catégoriquement en public. M. Meighen fut appelé par sir Robert Borden, à faire partie de ce gouvernement, tout comme sir Thomas White, l'honorable Crerar, l'honorable Frank Carvell, l'honorable Sydney Mewburn, l'honorable N. W. Rowell et l'honorable A. K. MacLean. Ceci se passait en décembre 1917. En novembre de l'année suivante, les hostilités cessèrent, et en juin 1919, la paix était déclarée d'une manière formelle.

On avait commencé la démobilisation des troupes militaires et navales presque aussitôt après la signature de l'armistice. D'après les termes même de la constitution, le peuple du Canada avait droit à une élection générale dès 1919, ou au moins avant la session de 1920. Il y avait eu trois sessions depuis les élections générales. Les membres du parlement avaient reçu trois indemnités chacun. La troisième session fut convoquée dans l'automne de 1919 ostensiblement dans le but de faire approuver par le parlement du Canada les termes du traité de paix.

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C'était alors le devoir de sir Robert Borden de considérer le terme de son administration échu et de faire dissoudre le parlement. Il préféra conserver le pouvoir en dépit de la volonté du peuple et des protestations de la presse conservatrice. Un par un ses ministres démissionnèrent, à l'exception de M. Meighen. Sir Robert Borden suivit leur exemple peu de temps plus tard, en recommandant, a-t-on dit, au gouverneur de le faire remplacer par sir Thomas White. La démission encourrait aussi celle des ses autres ministres, celle de M. Meighen incluse. Il aurait fallu recourir à de nouvelles élections. C'était sans doute ce que pensait sir Robert Borden, et ce qu'aurait fait sir Thomas White s'il avait accepté de former un cabinet, mais ce dernier refusa, pour des raisons que l'on ignore. L'on sait seulement qu'il refusa et que quelques jours plus tard le gouverneur général s'adressait à M. Meighen. Ce seul acte ne justifie pas M. Meighen de croire que lui et son administration ont la confiance du peuple. Ce fut un acte tout à fait formel et simple, mais M. Meighen l'a accepté d'une manière qui est tout à fait inconstitutionnelle et qui n'a pas son précédent dans l'histoire politique de ce Dominion. Ce gouvernement ne peut être la continuation du gouvernement Borden de 1917. Le gouvernement Meighen n'a eu rien à faire avec la guerre. On pourrait le décrire comme étant une aggrégation, mais on ne pourrait pas à son endroit se servir du terme "coalition". On pourrait peut-être en donner une idée exacte en disant que c'est un gouvernement tory réactionnaire et incompétent.

M. Meighen devait donc recourir aux élections générales sans délai. Il ne possédait pas la confiance du public. Il n'avait rien dans sa vie publique ou politique pouvant plaider en sa faveur. Il n'avait pas même été choisi par une convention. Il n'avait été que le second choix de sir Robert Borden. Et en agissant comme il l'a fait, en refusant de recourir aux élections, en refusant au peuple le droit d'avoir un gouvernement représentatif et un ministère responsable, il s'est conduit non pas en homme d'Etat, mais comme un usurpateur, et on le reconnaîtra comme tel dans l'Histoire de notre pays.

Et maintenant le gouvernement se cramponne comme il a toujours fait. Pour garder le pouvoir, tous les moyens lui sont bons. Il s'est fait une spécialité d'attenter aux droits d'un peuple qui se trouve dans un pays libre, et ce en dépit de l'opposition faite par le parti libéral qui a même tenté de faire passer une résolution à l'effet que le pays n'avait plus confiance en ce gouvernement. Le gouvernement passa outre, malgré l'exemple des autres pays. A l'heure actuelle, il y a eu des élections en Angleterre, en Australie, en Nouvelle-Zélande, dans le Sud-Africain; la Chine elle-même a recouru aux élections. Seul, le Canada a fait exception, malgré que chacune des provinces se soient prononcées vis-à-vis de leur gouvernement respectif.

Est-il possible, se demande l'honorable M. King, de trouver quelque chose de plus arbitraire ? Il s'ensuit que le peuple ne veut plus des tories, mais des libéraux.

Quand on considère ce gouvernement, l'on constate qu'il occupe une position d'usurpateur, appuyé sur le pouvoir et la force brutale. Nous n'avons plus de gouvernement représentatif.

Le peuple le sait et s'est chargé de le prouver. On en a eu la preuve dans le comté de Yamaska. Il est facile de voir que le peuple ne veut plus de ce gouvernement, ne veut plus de ce gouvernement abhorré et honni.

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L'honorable M. King parle ensuite des charges que nous a imposées ce même gouvernement : des taxes multiples qu'il a établies. L'administration Meighen, dit-il, a fait des dépenses incalculables. Il s'en est suivi une augmentation dans les impôts, augmentation qui est à charge à tous les citoyens du pays qui se demandent avec angoisse quand elle disparaîtra. Non content de cela, le gouvernement a inauguré sa politique des chemins de fer et de la marine marchande du Canada.

Il a dépensé, pour les chemins de fer, $47,000,000 l'an dernier ; $78,000,000 cette année. Nous avons dénoncé cette politique funeste. Nous avons demandé des explications, mais le croiriez-vous ? Le gouvernement a refusé de nous donner les renseignements demandés. Pour nous enlever le seul moyen que nous avions de nous opposer à cela, il a passé la loi du baillon. Il usait de ses pouvoirs et de la force

$3,500 par chaque famille de dix personnes. Cependant, ce n'était pas assez pour le gouvernement actuel Il lui a fallu ajouter l'achat du Nord Canadien et du Grand-Tronc, qui vont ajouter à notre dette des centaines de millions, et au moment même où la nationalisation des chemins de fer avait fait faillite en Angleterre, et aux Etats-Unis. Il y a eu dans ces transactions des choses épouvantables. Le gouvernement partage la dette de ces compagnies insolvables. La nationalisation des deux chemins de fer a donné lieu à des spéculations inavouables.

M. Demers cite encore un autre scandale; nous sommes dans l'obligation d'emprunter, et cependant nous avons prêté de l'argent à la Grèce et à la Roumanie qui est un pays ruiné et qui ne nous a pas remboursé un seul sou d'intérêt depuis quatre ans. Ceci lui a permis d'acheter ici pour vingt-cinq millions, et ce qu'elle a acheté, le gouvernement l'a payé à des compagnies dont les directeurs et les actionnaires sont des sénateurs, des députés et des amis du gouvernement. L'accusation fut lancée par M. Joseph Archambault lui-même. Seul M. Cockshutt a tenté de regimber, mail il n'a pas donné d'explications.

M. Demers aborde ensuite le sujet de la marine: Nous dépensons des millions en ce sens, dit-il; nous sommes devenus des constructeurs de navires dont le coût est quatre fois plus élevé qu'en Angleterre.

A propos de la milice, la guerre est terminée et l'on porte notre budget de la milice à 12 millions par année.

Le maintien de la société des Nations nous coûte $250000 annuellement. Un fait ressort de tout cela. C'est que quand il s'agit de recevoir des indemnités, le Canada ne compte pas; et on n'ignore pas qu'il existe, mais quand il s'agit de débourser alors on s'aperçoit de son existence.

Il établit un rapprochement entre l'histoire du Canada de 1896 et celle actuelle. Le Canada, en 1896, était aux portes de la banqueroute. Le peuple renversa alors du pouvoir une administration qui avait malheureusement duré 18 ans. Laurier fut porté au pouvoir et avec son énergie se mit à l'oeuvre. Après quelques années, la transformation était complète. Notre pays devint l'un des plus prospères du monde.

La situation est encore pire aujourd'hui, dit-il, et je suis convaincu que le peuple ne se laissera pas duper par ces farceurs. Le gouvernement sera renversé et l'ère de prospérité reprendra.

M. Demers a touché quelques mots du nouveau parti des fermiers dont il n'attend rien de bon absolument, parce qu'il donne lieu à des distinctions de classes et établit la division dans le pays. Un parti pour être durable doit renfermer toutes les classes, tous les groupes et donner des droits égaux à tous les citoyens sans distinction. C'est ce à quoi le parti agraire est destiné prochainement.

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Et alors, déclara-t-il en terminant, nous les retrouverons dans le parti libéral qui est devenu l'admiration de tout le pays, qui a su rencontrer tous les désirs de la population, et qui a porté notre pays à un tel degré de prospérité qu'il n'y a pas un seul patriote qui ne voudra pas voir revenir les jours glorieux d'autrefois.

Le discours de M. Demers a remporté un grand succès si l'on en juge d'après la manifestation faite par la foule. Non seulement, on l'a fort applaudi chaleureusement à l'assemblée mais il fut ensuite l'objet d'une magnifique ovation quand il arriva à l'hôtel pour se retirer à ses appartements.

M. M. A. Saurette, député de Missisquoi à la Législature, a parlé après M. Demers. Il n'a adressé que quelques mots. Il a parlé de l'administration du pays, un peu de celle de la province qui est à la tête du Dominion à tous les points de vue, puis il a terminé par un éloge de l'honorable M. Mackenzie King, qui, il en est sûr, saura conduire son parti à la victoire aux prochaines élections.

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Ottawa Citizen
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# HON. W. L. M. KING GIVES ADDRESS AT BEDFORD, QUEBEC

## When Premier Borden Resigned Was the Time to Call a General Election.

## REVIEWS ACTION AT THE CONFERENCE

## Premier Meighen Assuming Powers Not Granted by Parliament.

(Canadian Press).

MONTREAL, July 3. — Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal opposition, speaking at Bedford, Missisquoi County, Quebec, Saturday, said that the time when such men as Crerar, McLean, Rowell and Mewburn had left the government, was the time for calling general elections. When Premier Borden resigned, he had called on Sir Thomas White to take office, but he had refused. If he had accepted, Mr. King thought he would have appealed to the people. Finally, Mr. Meighen had taken the reins of power and then again was an opportunity for going to the country. In not doing so, Mr. King maintained he found evidence of the nature and characteristics of the new prime minister. His first official act had been to show indifference to the fundamental rights of the people and to usurp power and it was therefore no wonder that his acts thereafter should show this indifference to the rights of the people.

Mr. King repeated what he had said at Brome, that Canada unlike all other nations in the British Empire, was the only country that had not held post-war general elections. In this, he said, Canada was on a par with Russia, inasmuch as the people had been given no chance to select their representatives. The reason was plain, said Mr. King, and had been shown in the results of by-elections at Yamaska and Medicine Hat.

**Railway Situation.**

Mr. King also complained that the government had refused to give facts as to expenditure of railways. Last year the railway deficit was $47,000,000; this year it was about $78,000,000, and next year it would likely be $100,000,000. Further, the government had promised revision of the tariff in the speech from the throne this year, but nothing had been done, nor had anything been done towards reducing taxation or lowering duties on necessities and the instruments of production.

There is today, said Mr. King, a combination of a few men with autocratic political power and some men who are industrial plutocrats. With such a combination in power it is impossible to look for reform. He summed up his conclusion in four points. First, that authority was usurped; second, that the representatives of the people are being denied information; third, representation of different constituencies is being refused; fourth, objection to the closure.

**Imperial Conference.**

Discussing Mr. Meighen's position at the Imperial conference, he said that no one had given the premier authority to lay down any opinion in respect to Canada's participation or non-participation in foreign affairs of the Empire. "He has stolen the authority he is exercising and has no right in the name of Canada to lay down any rule or any policy with respect to international and imperial affairs."

Mr. King commenced his speech in French, stating in that language that he regretted very much that his knowledge did not permit him as yet to make in French a speech in that tongue and assuring his audience of his efforts to learn the language properly.

**Fight Result Twisted.**

Mr. King's speech was followed by an announcement by the chairman that Carpenti[er] had knocked out Dempsey in the fourth round, the exact opposite of the facts having in some way been brought to the meeting.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux thereupon took advantage of the news to say that "the Carpentier of the Liberal party (pointing to Mr. King), had put the government out in two rounds, Medicine Hat and Yamaska."

Mr. Lemieux denounced nationalization of the railways on the ground that when administered by the state they could only produce deficits and scandals.

Jos. Demers, M.P. for St. John-d'Iberville, also spoke at the meeting.

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Montreal Gazette
July 4 1921

D 5189

MONTREAL, MONDAY, JULY 4.

## MR. KING'S COMBINATION.

Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, is carrying his message into the Eastern Townships. Exactly what that message is does not appear, unless it be that the Government and party which stand for a definite and clean-cut tariff policy of protection for the industries of this province is to be put out of office and replaced by an administration headed—perhaps—by Mr. King and having as its principal policy something or other which the Liberal leader describes as "the new freedom." Translated according to the official programme of the convention which selected Mr. King as leader of his party, this new freedom means a substantial reduction in customs duties with a corresponding loss of revenue and a progressive abandonment of the protection which the National Policy affords to the hard-pressed industries of this country. This wise and prudent proposal is put forward at a moment when the United States, the nearest customer and greatest competitor of Canada, is materially enhancing, as a permanent measure, its customs duties against Canadian exports. The new freedom, apparently, is to be enjoyed by foreign capital and foreign labor at the expense of Canadian industry and every interest dependent upon Canadian industry, including Canadian labor. Moreover, it is to be an even wider measure of freedom than is promised in the official platform of the Liberal party; it is as wide as the policy of the so-called Progressive party, which is free trade and has been proclaimed as such without the equivocation which invariably characterizes the utterances of Liberal leaders in dealing with tariff matters. Mr. King has, a little thoughtlessly, perhaps, admitted this to be so. In the course of his address to the electors of Brome, he took occasion to refer to the result of the recent by-election in Medicine Hat. His own contribution to that result consisted of keeping out of the constituency and refraining from putting a Liberal candidate in the field. Without dwelling at all upon this aspect of the case, Mr. King explained to the electors of this province that the Government candidate in Medicine Hat had been defeated "through the combination of the Progressive and Liberal electors in the constituency." The example thus set before the people of this province is one to which they would do well to heed. The "combination" referred to by Mr. King repays analysis, particularly from the standpoint of this province and its interests. The constituency of Medicine Hat is very largely rural and is dominated politically by the farmers' organization, a well-constructed and thoroughly efficient machine. The Liberals of the riding not only left the field to the farmers' nominee, but gave him their active support by voting for him, in doing which they, with the approval of their leaders, endorsed the platform upon which he stood. That platform was free trade, and it will be helpful to remember that in this constituency a free trade candidate was elected by "the combination of the Progressive and Liberal electors."

Nobody possessing the least understanding of what took place in Medicine Hat will pretend that the support given by the Liberals to the Progressive candidate accounted for more than a fraction of the strength which the latter possessed as the representative of the farmers and their organization; the Liberals merely hooked on behind. The "combination," therefore, does not and cannot imply a compromise of political principles. The triumph of Mr. Gardiner was a triumph for the organized farmers and for the platform which is the basis of their movement; the Liberals who figured in the combination abandoned their own platform for that of Mr. Crerar and Dr. Clark. Mr. Mackenzie King has been for some months bending his political steps in the direction of this sort of one-sided "combination." He has asserted more than once that the principles of the Liberals and of the Farmers are identical. Mr. Crerar and his associates, however, have made no similar overtures, but have consistently gone their own way, playing their own hand and leaving Mr. King to make his own choice of accepting the Progressive platform or remaining a poor third in the field; he has made the choice. The Farmers' party will not modify its platform or cloud its principles to suit the convenience of Mr. King, because it does not have to. It is strong enough, as compared with the party led by Mr. King, to say to the latter: "This is our policy, take it or leave it," and Mr. King, vide Medicine Hat, takes it.

There is no reason to suppose that this attitude, as revealed by the Liberal leader in his speech at Brome, will not be of general application. On the contrary, there is every reason to assume that the same course will be followed during—and after—the next general election. It has been followed already in other ridings than Medicine Hat. The conclusion which must be drawn is that, for the sake of obtaining office, Mr. King and his followers are prepared to accept fully the platform of the stronger party and assist that party to impose free trade upon the whole of Canada, including the province of Quebec and the other great industrial provinces. They see no other means of obtaining office and believe that a "combination of Liberals and Progressives" will be effective. The province of Quebec is invited to sanction and support that combination, knowing that the tail cannot hope to wag the dog, and that the result of such a union being successful would be the destruction of the protective policy and the substitution of free trade.

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THE EXISTING POLITICAL SITUATION

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For release D 5130
Thursday morning
July 28

Aurora, July 27. 1921

In the series of meetings which I am about to address in this Province, it is my purpose to discuss the existing political situation in Canada from the point of view of Liberal policy, which is without fear or favour toward any class or interests in the country and has regard only for the common well-being of the people as a whole.

It is not possible in a single address to deal intelligently with so vast a subject, nor, indeed, even to attempt to disclose its magnitude. I purpose, therefore, to review in a series of addresses, some of the most important phases which seem particularly to merit thoughtful consideration on the part of the Canadian electorate.

## EXISTING POLITICAL SITUATION
## RESULT OF AUTOCRATIC AND PLUTOCRATIC CONTROL.

A situation such as exists in Canada today has not come into being over night. It is the result of forces which have been operating within the body politics for some years past and to which the War and the exigencies of War have afforded favourable and exceptional opportunities
W
Were I to express the situation in a word, it would be that the political industrial, and to a considerable extent, the social life of our country today lies enthralled under the subtle and malignant influence of combined autocratic and plutocratic control, which seeks the aggrandizement of a few individuals at the expense of the State and is regardless wholly of the well-being of the people at large.

Theresis today scarcely a branch of public administration but serves to reavel the evil workings of this powerful and baneful combination. Its efforts are particularly apparent when we stop to consider the reactionary proceedings of Parliament, the condition of the country's finances, the present position of the tariff and the railway situation.

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ADDRESSES TO BE DELIVERED.

Obviously it would be unwise and impossible to attempt in a single address to deal in any comprehensive manner with these all-important aspects of the present political situation. Instead, therefore, of attempting anything of the kind, I purpose to make my address today in the nature of an introduction to the series of addresses into which I intendto divide a consideration of the national situation.

I shall speak today of the reactionary note which has characterized the proceedings of Parliament ever since the terminationof the War. At Brampton tomorrow, I shall deal more particularly with the problem of the country's finances. At Tillsonburg, in the county of Oxford, I shall speak on Friday, more especially of the tariff, and in Hamilton, on Saturday, evening, D.V., as the parsons say, I shall deal with the railway situation. At Picton, Prince Edward County, on Monday, of the following week, I shall attempt a brief review of the situation as a whole. In this manner, shall the essential featuresof these several addresses find their way into the Press of our Province, the people will have before them, a sort of bird's eye view of the political situation as seen from the point of view of Liberal outlook, purpose and policy.

WAR NOT WHOLLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDITIONS.

It is a chracteristic of our political opponents, and particularly of those who would conceal and profit by the real features of the situation to tell us that the war is responsible for existing conditions and, in particular, for the condition of our finances, the

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position of the tariff and the railway situation. The War is, indeed, responsible fn a large part for the existing situation, but not altogether in the manner in which our opponents would lead the public to believe, It is certainly not the spirit of sacrifice which the War served so splendidly to reveal, nor the spirit of disinterested patriotism, which was not less manifest, that is responsible for conditions as they are. Rather is it to the reactionary spirit which, in official circles, War inevitably begets; and the selfishness of a class of individuals to whose desire for wealth and self-aggrandizement the exigencies of war afford exceptional opportunities, that it is possible to trace the regrettable features of the political situation as it exists today.

PARALLEL WITH CONDITIONS AFTER NAPOLEONIC WARS.

There is a remarkable and, at the same time, most illuminating parallel between the political conditions of Great Britain in the period of, and immediately succeeding the Napoleonic Wars and the political conditions as we have experienced and now find them in our country as a consequence of the World War through which in common with others our nation has just passed.

The people of the British Isles, at the beginning of the 19th century, were like ourselves liberty-loving. Their political institutions,

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though not comparable in freedom to what in the course of time they became, were nevertheless regarded as the most enlightened of Europe. Then came the Wars with France, and, for the time, the might of Napoleon, which filled Europe with terror, and threatened the peace and security of Britain. The stern necessities of ~~the~~ War made themselves felt. The hand of authority became increasingly assertive. Little by little, Englishmen, through their reprrsentatives in Parliament, yielded to the few men comprising the nation's Executive, rights and powers the exercise of which onlyby the immediate sanction of the Commons had been amongst the most dearly bought and highly cherished of popular liberties. Little by little, the country was obliged, at the increasing dictation of the Executive, to submit to measures more and more restrictive and oppressive, until the England which succeeded the Napoleonic Wars, though having come triumphant through the great ~~xxxxifixx~~ conflict, was an England shorn of much of the freedom which her people hitherto had enjoyed.

LOSS OF POPULAR LIBERTIES OBSCURED.

The dangers and necessities of war, during the years of the Napoleonic struggle, served not less to obscure than in considerable measure to destroy the foundations of popular freedom. The horrors of the Reigh of Terror in Paris.

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thedread of Napoleonic power in its attempt to subdue the world, the equipment, vicissitudes and fortunes of the military expeditions sent across the channel to fight with the allied forces on the battlefields of Europe, the naval exploits of the still more powerful fleets upon the high seas, the military and naval victories, the glories of the Nile, Trafalgar, of Torres Vedras and Waterloo, all these, accompanied, as they were, by colossal expenditures and bestowals of patronage, and combined, as they were, with restrictive and oppressive measures, served for the time being to place Toryism in the ascendant, to bring into and, for the time being, to keep, the majority of Englishmen in the Tory ranks. As a political party, the Whigs, the Liberals of that period, found themselves at the close of the war at a low period of their power.

## REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT FOLLOWS ASCENDANCY OF TORYISM.

With Liberals crushed and Toryism in Control there necessarily followed, notwithstanding the triumphant close of the war, a period of reactionary Government. Political might and industrial power, having combined during the period of the War to accomplish the defeat of the enemy, retained the alliance thus formed for the furtherance of their own private ends rather than for the public service of the state. Though there was some relaxing of therestrictive and oppresive measures, which had become general during the period of war, the Executive remained autocratic, it maintained an attitude of indifference to the customary usages and practices of parliament, and to the rights of the people, and in this was supported by the nobles and great landowners, the plutocrats of their day, who had come irrespective of their former political allegiance to control the House of Commons. Instead of seeking to devise wise and progressive legislation looking to a prompt

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and complete restoration of the people's rights and liberties, the energies of the Executive appear to have been directed to discovering ways and means of keeping themselves in office through a retention of the support of the powerful interests with whom during the period of the wary they had become so intimately associated. Reaction, not reconstruction, became the dominating characteristic of the Ministery of the day.

## LOSS OF POLITICAL FREEDOM IN CANDA DURING THE WAR PERIOD.

How striking the parallel is with conditions as they have developed in our own country, will be apparent upon a moment's reflection. The people of this country have witnessed a sequence of developments paralleled in almost every particular. They have witnessed the hand of authority become increasingly assertive under the stern necessities of war. They have seen the people's representatives yield to the few men comprising the nation's Executive, rights and powers the exercise of which only by the immediate sanction of the Commons had been among the most dearly prized of all popular rights and liberties, Little by little they have seen themselves obliged, at the increasing dictation of the Executive, to submit to measures more and more restrictive and oppressive, until the Canada which has susceeded the great war, though having come triumphant through the conflict, finds itself a Canada shorn of much of the political freedom which its people hitherto enjoyed.

As during the Napoleonic Wars, so with the war against the Central powers, the necessities and dangers of the period have served to obscure and in considerable ways also to destroy the foundations of our popular liberties.

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The dread of Prussian might, in its attempt to conquer the World, the vicissitudes and fortunes of the expeditionary forces, equipped and sent across the seas to fight with the allied forces on the battlefields of Europe, the naval achievements upon the high seas, the ultimate victories of the allied armies; all these, accompanied as they have been, by colossasl expenditures and bestowals of patronage, and combined as they have been with restrictive and oppressive measures, have served to obscure the change in the spirit in our political institutions and to place Toryism, for the time being, in the ascendant in the administration of the affairs of our country. It was inevitable that, under such arbitrary and outrageous enactments as the War-Time Elections Act and the Military Voters' Act, and the manner in which they were administered, Liberalism and the spirit of Liberalism should appear to have been crushed during the period of the war and that its close found the fortunes of the Liberal party. to appearances, considerably impaired.

COMBINATION OF POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL INTERESTS DURING THE WAR AND AFTER.

With Toryism in the ascendant, there has followed , for the time being, the inevitable period of political reaction, a reactionary spirit traceable in Canada today, as in Great Britain a century ago, to the combination of powerful political and industrial interests which, during the period of the war, were brought through patriotic reasons into intimate association, but which now continue, in large measure, to exercise this relationship for the furtherance of private ends rather than public. It was inevitable that during the period of the War, there should be the closest kind of association between certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests and between these several interests and the Government and its members. That association between members

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of both groups was interrupted, and, indeed, necessarily intimate over the greater part of the entire period. They were linked the one to the other by the most powerful of bonds. There was the bond of disinterested public service at the moment of the greatest crisis in the world's affairs, and there was the bond wholly different in character, it is true, but to some individuals even more powerful, of personal and private self-interest at a moment of opportunity such as has presented itself but once in the history of this world.

During these four years, a sum amounting to something like two billions of dollars was loaned by the country to the Government, and under Government direction was disbursed among thse financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests. The Government was permitted a free hand; in the loans thus subscribed, the sacrifices present or future were never questioned; in the spending of these vast sums, little or no check was exercised by Parliament; Orders in Council at the caprice of the Ministry, were permitted to replace legislative enactments by both Houses of parliament. It was an era of unparalleled opportunity both for the exercises of autocratic power and for thebestowel of favours. Strange, indeed, it would be, had not the closest kind of relationship been formed between the controlling factors on both sides. That they were so formed, every Canadian citizen is well aware.

UNION OF AUTOCRACY AND PLUTOCRACY AFTER THE WAR.

With the termination of the war and the demobilization of the military forces, this era of unlimited expenditures and unparalleled contracting came to an end. Not, however, the association between certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, among themselves or with the Government. In considerable measure, it is true the compelling force of the bonds which had united theee

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interests with the Government was lessened. Hon. members of the Government who read their obligations to the country in terms of disinterested public service, recallingthe pledges on which the Government was returned to power, one by one retired from the ministry. Others of their colleagues for reasons best known to themselves, continued in office. Similarly, it is to be presumed, among the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests were numbers of influential and prominent men, who were quick to sever the intimacy of the relations formed with members of the Government during the period of stress and strain, and to give their thought to their particular business interests regardless altogether of Government favours or action.

Unfortunately for our Dominion, all the men of great wealth and power have not been of thisclass. The same self-interest which caused members of the Government to cling to office despite honourable obligations and constitutional right, has operated in like manner to cause certain members of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests to continue to look to the Government for special favours and special privileges and in return to support the administration direct methods, as well as indirect, in its retention of office against the will of the people as a whole. Thus, we have come to have in Canada, on the one hand a Prime Minister and a Ministry to whom usurpation of office and the exercise of autocratic methods in Government belong as a sort of natural right, and, on the other, a small circle a sort of little oligarchy of interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, prepared, in return for a continuation of favour and special privilege, to use their wealth and influence to keep the Administration in power, thereby constituting in a very true sense the real, though invisible Government of this country

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THE VISIBLE AND THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY.

We have, in other words, political power united with the power of wealth in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the State. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behaviour, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of a few wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry, and the State, but wish to dominate both. For the time being they are able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its exercise to their influence and its continuance in office to the control which, in a multtitude of directions, they are able to exert. There is the real situation with which this country is faced at the present time. That is the danger to Canada at the moment, that her Government has ceased to be a Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, and that we have on the one side the selfish groups united together working for their joint ambitions, and on the other, the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

REVIEW OF PREMIER MEIGHEN'S ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

I shall not attempt to disclose the workings of this combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy during the last years of the Administration of Sir Robert Borden. It is now a little over a year since the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen was called upon by His Excellency, the Governor-General, to form a new Administration. The session of Parliament which opened during the month of February and concluded in the early

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part of the month of June, was the first under Mr. Meighen's leadership. The present, therefore, would seem a particularly appropriate moment in which to form an estimate of the characteristics and tendencies of the new Prime Minister in the discharge of public duties and of what the country may expect in matters of government, so long as Mr. Meighen continues to occupy the office of the Prime Minister.

REACTION NOT RECONSTRUCTION THE OUTSTANDING CHARACTERISTIC.

During the period of the War, we heard much of the reconstruction of our political, industrial and social order which was to follow at its close and which was tobe expressive of the new freedom achieved for our fellow-men through the sacrifice of the War. Instead, however, of reconstruction, we have met only with reaction at every turn. Reconstruction would have demanded a new Parliament and a new Ministry at the termination of the war, It certainly demanded recognition of these fundamental rights of the people upon the retirement of Sir Robert Borden and the resignation of his entire ministry, Instead of reconstruction, se have had the most glaring example of usurpation of the rights of the people in matters of government which it would have been possible for the combined forces of reaction to afford.

EXEMPLIFIED IN PREMIER MEIGHEN'S ACCESSION TO OFFICE.

Let me recall the circumstances of Mr. Meighen's accession to office. Shortly before the general elections in 1917, there was formed what was known as a Unionist Administration under the Leadership of Sir Robert Borden. Certain members of both of the then existing political parties united to form a coalition for the purpose, as they termed it, of"winning the war". It was a War Administration pure and simple, with no other excuse and no other purpose. Its appeal to the country was made on that pretext and that pretext alone. At the instance of Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Meighen

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was made a memner of that Administration, just as Sir Robert White was, just as the Hon. Mr. Crerar was, jst as the Hon. Frank Carvell, the Hon. Sydney Mewburn, the Hon. A. K. McLean, the Hon. N. W. Rowell were. The groundson which Mr. Meighen appealed to the ~~xxxxxxy~~ Canadian people for support af the Unionist Administration were the same as those on which these other ministers appealed, namely, that it was a Unionist Government, a Coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, a "fifty fifty" sort of Administration for the purpose solely of helping to win the war.

ADVANTAGE TAKEN OF PATRIOTIC APPEAL DURING WAR.

On this appeal, with the aid of the War-Time Election Act and the Military Voters' Act, both war measures, neither ever justified, but both excused by the Administration as necessary War measures, each in considerable part the work of Mr. Meighen himself, the Administration of Sir Robert Borden was returned. This was in December, 1917, In November of the following year, hostilities ceased. In June of 1919, peace was formally declared. The demobilization of the military and naval forces had commenced almost immediately after the signing of the Armistice, by all the tenets of constitutional rights and procedure, the people of Canada were entitled to a general election in 1919. At thevery latest, they were entitled to this fundamental right before the session of 1920. There have been three sessions since the general election, Members of Parliament had received three separate indemnities. The third was a special session called in the Fall of 1919, ostensibly for the purpose of having the Parliament of Canada approve the terms of the Treaty of Peace. It was Sir Robert Borden's duty, when that approval was given by Parliament, to have regarded his Administration as at an end, and to have dissolved Parliament. He chose, however, to hold on to o ffice much against the

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will of the people and despite the protestations of his own Press. One by one his Ministers began to tender their resignations on the ground that they could no longer retain office and respect the pledges of the election of 1917. Every one of the Ministers I have mentioned, save Mr. Meighen, read his obligation to the Canadian Electorate in that light. Finally, on July the 1st, 1920, after an absence from the country for practically the whole of the session of 1920, Sir Robert Borden himself resigned and we, are told, advised his Excellency to call upon Sir Thomas White to form an Administration.

CARRYING ON OF GOVERNMENT UN-WARRANTED USURPATION.

With the resignation of Sir Robert Borden went also the resignation of every one of his ministers, that of Mr. Meighen included. Had Sir Thomas White accepted the office of Prime Minister, there is little doubt that he would, as soon as he had formed a new Administration, have asked His Excellency to declare a dissolution of Parliament and have gone to the country for an expression of its confidence. We are not concerned here with the reasons which caused Sir Thomas White to decline this important office and grave responsibility. We know that he did decline and that some days later His Excellency called upon Mr. Meighen. Is there any one in Canada who will assert that the act of His Excellency in calling upon Mr. Meighen to form an Administration constitued on the part of the Canadian people any expression of confidence in him or in the Administration he subsequently formed? It was purely an official and formal act discharged in a manner wholly constitutional so far as His Excellency the Governor-General, was concerned, but accepted by Mr. Meighen in a manner that was wholly unconstitutional and without precedent in the history of politics in this Dominion. Can it be claimed that the Government of Mr. Meighen is in

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any sense a continuation of the Government formed by Sir Robert Borden in 1917? The Government of Sir Robert Borden was a War Government formed for war purposes, and war only. Mr. Meighen's Government, by the wildest stretch of imagination, cannot be related to the winning of the war. It is a Government of office-grabbers and office-holders existing primarily for the purpose of holding on to office for the benefit of themselves and their friends.

If it was the duty of Sir Robert Borden to have asked His Excellency to dissolve Parliament at the very latest before the session of 1920, if after the session of 1920 when Sir Robert Borden resigned it would havebeen the duty and in all probability would have been the first act of Sir Thomas White, to have sought this dissolution immediately upon the formation of a ministry after accession to office had he so succeeded, it was many times more the duty of Mr. Meighen to have taken that course without delay. He had never occupied in the public mind nor in the public confidence, the place held by Sir Robert Borden or Sir Thomas White. Neither his public record, nor his political personality, were a factor in the elections which returned the Unionist Administration to power. He was not even the choice of any representative convention or gathering of his own party in or out of Parliament. He was the second choice of Sir Robert Borden after Sir Robert had reason to know that the public had lost ~~the~~ confidence in himself and his administration. To have assured to carry on the Government of Canada under such circumstances without seeking from the electors any expression of their confidence, but on the contrary denying the people a constitutional right already withheld too long, a right to a representative Parliament and a responsible ministry, was the act, not of a statesman, but of a usurper, and as such it will ever remain in the history of our country.

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CANADIANS DENIED ELECTORAL RIGHTS.

To what length the new Prime Minister has not hesitated to go in usurping the most fundamental of all the rights of a free and supposedly self-governing people, will be apparent when it is recalled that Canada alone of all the countries of the British Empire, not excepting Great Britain herself and including Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, is the only one which has denied to her people the right of a general election since the termination of the War.

Not only are the Canadian people the only people within self-governing Dominions which have been denied this right, But Canada is the only country of all the countries concerned in the Great War, with the exception alone of Russia, whose people have been denied the right of a general election since the termination of the War. France, Belgium, Italy, the United States, Japan, China and Mexico have had their general elections. Even in enemy countries, not excepting Germany, the people have been accorded this right.

Moreover, there is not a Province of the Dominion of Canada which has not had itsprovincial elections since the war. Perhaps the fact that, in everyprovince, the voice of the people have declared for reconstruction and against reaction, the fact that wherever the people's voice has been heard. Toryism has been crushed before the onrush of liberal and progressive forces, is the reason why, defiant together of the popular will, the Prime Minister and his colleagues persist in holding onto office, not for the public good, but for personal ends and the special interest which they xxxx are seeking to serve.

RE-ACTION NOT RECONSTRUCTION CHARACTERIZES PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT.

The record of the session of Parliament just concluded is on all fours with the first act of its Prime Minister. Reaction, not reconstruction, has been in evidence

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evidence at every turn. Instead of wise and progressive legislation, the Government has presented scarcely any legislation at all, and where legislation has been introduced it has been almost wholly of an unprogressive and reactionary character. By amendment and resolution, the Opposition have striven with all their might to secure from the ministry and its obsequious following a recognition of the most elementary of the fundamental rights of the people, but to no avail. The restrictive and repressive instinct so strongly engendered during the war, has continued to direct the hand of authority with consequences which are only too apparent.

REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF MINISTRY TOWARDS REPRESENTATION OF CONSTITUENCIES IN PARLIAMENT.

Having denied the people the right of a general election whereby to secure a parliament representative of the will of the people, it is not surprising that Mr. Meighen has sought to avoid, as far as lay within his power, any change whatever in the complexion of the present House of Commons. When Parliament assembled in February of this year, or almost immediately after its assembling, there was no less than six vacancies in the House of Commons. To insure as complete a representation of Parliament as might be possible for all the constituencies, I moved, at an early stage of the session that, representation in Parliament being a fundamental right of the people, writs should be forthwith issued to fill the existing vacancies in the House of Commons, Surely, this was in accordance, not only with constitutional right, but also with the spirit ofreconstruction. The resolution received the support of every Liberal member in the House of Commons. It met with the determined opposition of the Prime Minister and his colleagues and of all their following in the House. The Agrarian Group, presumably from a desire to maintain an attitude of independence of either of the political parties, voted eight with the Government and three with the Liberal Opposition. Surely, full and complete representation at any

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snd all times, but specially at the present time, ought to be a aprt of the progressive policy. There is no doubt that it will ever be a part of Liberal policy.

POWER, NOT THE PEOPLE, PREMIER'S CONCERN.

The attitude of the Government towards this resoultion was what was to be expected of a reactionary Tory, It had not taken Mr. Meighen much above a fortnight after his accession to power to bring on by-elections in St. John and Colchester, though no vacancies existed in either of these constituencies until he himself created ~~xhejm~~, them, but it was himself and not the people that he was thinking of. He wanted ministers to help him retain power, and so he created vacancies in the strongest of Tory strongholds and re-elected their members as members of his Ministry. Elsewhere, throughout the Dominion, he could not be induced on any pretext to allow the people the right of returning one of their own number as a menber of the House of Commons. The result was that throughout the whole of the session, with the exception of the constituency of Peterborough where the by-election could be no longer postponed, the seats which were vacant at the beginning of Parliament remained vacant throughout the session. The results of the by-elections in Yamaska, Quebec, and Medicine Hat, Alberta, two of the constituencies concerned which came at the close of the session and the results of which are still within our memories, will explain the reason of the Prime Minister's refusal.# It is power for himself and privilege for his friends, with which he is alone concerned, not the voice and the will of the people.. Reaction, notre-

# The Liberals won in Peterboro against four opponents by over 1600 votes and in Yamaska, against a Government candidate by over 1400 votes. In Medicine Hat the Government was again defeated by a Farmer, the Liberals not having anyone in the field.

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REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF MINISTRY TOWARDS
INFORMATION DUE THE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENT.

In nothing have the people of Canada so great cause to be concerned as in the truth respecting the railway situation in this country. Millions upon millions of public funds have been spent by the Government on railway account and on account of the Government Merchant Marine, a system of Government-owned or controlled transportstion by sea which the Government has created without any reference to the people as a supplement to the Government-owned or controlled system by land whichhave also been taken over under Government control without any reference to the electorate. About all that the people have been told respecting railway administration and the administration of the Government Merchant Marine is that on the latter something like seventy millions of dollars has been spent since the termination of the war, and that in the operation of the former, railway rates and charges have been increased to travellers and shippers and deficits incurred amounting in the year before last to some fifty millons of dollars, last year to some $70,000,000 with promise of a further deficit amounting to $100,000,000 at the termination of the present year. If there is one right above another to which, under a system of representative Government, the people through their representative in Parliament are entitled, it is the right to the fullest information respecting the expenditures of public moneys.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY REPUDIATED.

Faced with the colossal outlays on Government Merchant Marine and the Government-owned railway accounts and the enormous deficits mentioned, the Liberal Opposition inthe House of Commons, during the past session, vigorously strove to obtain from the Government particulars respecting the use to which public moneys had been put in connection with these

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vast systems of transportation by land and sea. Incredible as it may sound, the Government by almost every device would be conceived sought to withhold from the people's representatives in Parliament any and all information respecting these expenditures. First, the Prime Minister and his colleagues resorted to evasions and circumlocutions as a means of withholding the information demanded. It was stated that answers would be forthcoming as soon as the information could be obtained. Later, when the matter became one of debate during the discussion of the estimates, the Government silenced debate and ended discussion by the introduction by the closure. Finally, as a matter of definite policy, the Prime Minister and his colleagues laid down the doctrines that not only would information not be forthcoming, but that the time-honoured fundamental principle of ministerial responsibility should no longer apply with respect to these branches of public service. With an ingenuity and cunning wholly subversive of responsible methods of conducting public business, the Ministry hit upon the device of alleging that, as the affairs of these transportation systems had been transferred to what they termed an incorporated company, they no longer were responsible for their administration, nor were they in a position to give, to the people through their representatives in Parliament information respecting the manner in which public moneys were being applied in the management and operation of these systems. What they failed to assert, or rather what they wilfully ignored, and deliberately sought to conceal, was the fact that the so-called company and its board of directors were of the Government's own creation that the whole scheme was a mere deputizing of authority in the matter of control. What they seemed to forget or rather were unwilling to admit was that the moneys involved were the moneys of the people of Canada taken out of the treasury of the country, and that, because of this, the people

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were entitled to a strict accounting for every dollar expended.

RIGHTS OF PARLIAMENT TO INFORMATION DENIED.

Realizing that the right to the fullest information in all matters of public expenditure was amongst the very first of rights of the people in matters of public administration, I moved in the House of Commons, that subject to the reservation that in exceptional cases there may be documents of a confidential character which, in the public interest, may properly be withheld from publication, it was the undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive copies of all reports, accounts, correspondence, and papers in relation to every department of the public service, including the affairs of the Canadian Railways whether operating directly ~~directing~~ under the control of the department or under corporate form. Surely this resolution was along the lines and in accordance with the spirit of reconstruction. Astounding as it may appear, it met precisely the same reception in the House of Commons as ~~the~~ the resolution on the right of constituencies to representation in Parliament to which I have just referred. Every member of the Liberal Party supported the resolution. Every member on the Government side of the House opposed it. The Agrarian Group divided, one half of the number voting with the Liberal Opposition, the other half with the reactionary Tory Government.

Later, in the session, when the Prime Minister, as a blind to his action refusing all information, agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into what information, if any, respecting the railways and the Government Merchant Marine, it might be proper to give, I moved that the Committee so appointed should have power to inquire into all matters in any way relating to the railways owned or controlled by the Government, whether under the direction of the department of railways and canals or under any

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corporation in which the Government are stock-holders, and similarly to inquire intoall matters in any way connected with the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, and that such Committee should have power to send for papers, persons and records, to engage counsel and transportation experts and to make such reports and recommendations from time to time, as, in their judgment, would be calculated to promote the public interest. It was, however, not the public interest, but the interest of its powerful financial friends which the Government was seeking to protect. As a consequence, this amendment, obviously just and fair and right in its demand, was voted down. I am happy to say that, in connection with that particular vote, our farmer friends, without exception stood shoulder to shoulder with the Liberal opposition, and the Government's majority was left at the figure of 17, just a reversal of the figures which were claimed by the Government as its majority after the return to power of the Unionist Administration.

I shall reserve for a subsequent address any further observations or comments upon the railway situation or upon the revelations made before the Select Standing Committee of Parliament respecting the manner in which, under the system the Government has devised, millions of dollars of public money are finding their way into business concerns, the directors or officers of which are also directors and officers of the corporation the Government has appointed to control and operate the Government-owned transportation system by land and sea. In its substitution of a policy of secrecy for one of publicity, the Government is surely in full accord with the spirit of reaction, but equally out of accord with the first essential of effective reconstruction.

REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF MINISTRY TOWARD PATRONAGE AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

We have heard much in by-gone years of civil service reform and the need for the abolition of patronage

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in appointments to the public service. The first step in this great movement was taken by the Government of Sir Wilfred Laurier, when it brought the entire inside xxx civil Service under the administration of a civil service commission. Very much was heard fromevery platform in Canada of the alleged extension by the Unionist administration of this reform so as to include members of the outside civil service, It was not spoken of as reform, but as reconstruction which was so all-important after the War. Hardly, however, had the voice of self-praise died away, after the enactment of the extension referred to, then the forces of reaction began to gather in all their might to secure the abolition of the civil service commission and to restore the old system of Government patronage. The new onslaught was heralded by the appoint/ment with utter disregard of any civil service requirements of an army of census enumerators to the number of over 20,000.

REACTION, NOT RECONSTRUCTION ESSENCE OF T THE SPINNEY BILL.

Having tasted the blood of patronage afresh, the Prime Minister and his colleagues, with the prpspect of a general election ahead, found the temptation too inviting to resist. Out of their number they selected the most innocent, the one who, since his appointment as Minister without portfolio, had not spoken above a dozen words in Parliament, and had him introduce a Bill opening wide the door to a restoration pf patronage in the making of appointments to the public service, From complete obscurity, the hon. Mr. Spinney suddenly loomed/ into notoriety with the storm of protests which arose immediately upon the introduction of the Spinney Bill. It was in vain he protested that it did not contain what its clauses purported to that the intention of the Government was to refer it to a Committee and that Parliament would have ample opportunity of carefully scrutinizing its provisions before any part of them was

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enacted. The Government's intention was as plain as the nose on the Minister's face. If the Bill came back from the committee in a form that was scarcely recognizable, the thanks are not owing to the Government or its supporters, but to the fight which the combined Liberal opposition and the Farmers opposition offered to this particular measure. The Government found itself in the extraordinary position of having its measure vigorously opposed by the very member who had introduced, whilst a member of the Unionist administration, the extension of the civil service reform to the outside service. The speech was made by the Hon. A. K. MacLean, was one of the ablest of any delivered in Parliament, during the session. The day for civil service reform was saved in some measure, but not without a breach having been made in the rampart by which appointments to the public service has hitherto been surrounded. Here is another evidence of reaction taking the place of reconstruction in the policies of the Meighen administration.

REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF MINISTRY TOWARDS REVISION OF TARIFF.

Time forbids more than a mention of the important subject of the tariff. Session after session, parliament has been promised an immediate revision of our customs' tariff, The war, in the first instance, was made the occasion of the delay, then the distrubed conditions arising out of the war, subsequently the need for a Cabinet Committee of Investigation, then where, at great cost and after much publicity, the committee had conducred its hearings from the Pacific to the Atlantic, there came at last, in a formal declaration in the Speech from the Throne, the announcement that the need for tariff revision being so great and apparent, this all-important matter would form the main work of the session. Here, if ever, was promise of reconstruction. It looked too good to be true, and it turned out just as it looked. The announcement in the speech from the Throne served to avoid the questions and silence the demands which would otherwise have been made throughout

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the course of the session. Almost at its very close came the announcement that the Government had decided against any revision. Had the Government's decision ended there, matters would not have been quite so bad as they were subsequently made.

SPECIAL INTERESTS, NOT THE INTERESTS OF CONSUMBERS CONSIDERED.

When the Minister of Finance introduced his Budget, it became apparent that what its provision contained of a new basis, upon which the valuation of goods imported from foreign countries was to be made, because of alleged possibilities of dumping and depreciations in foreign currencies, meant not the maintenance of the tariff at its existing rates, but a revision upwards in the nature of additional protection to special interests, instead of a revision downwards in the interests of consumers. The same indifference to the well-being of consumers with special concerns for the interest of the well-to-do has been apparent in the changes in the methods of taxation. While duties on not a few of the necessaries of life have been increased, no tax has ever been imposed upon war wealth or the profits of profiteers. While the business profits tax has been dropped, and the so-called luxury taxes abolished, there has been an increase made in the rate of the sales' tax, both on domestic transactions and on articles imported.

On every side is evidence that it is not the interest of the great body of consumbers, but the interest of special interests that the Government is seeking to serve. The Board of Commerce, framed for the alleged purpose of protecting the consumers against the exactions of profiteers at a time when the combines Investigation Act, enacted during the days of Laurier's Administration, was repealed, has been allowed to go out of existence after a thoroughly discredited career, and nothing has been enacted to take its place. Reaction, not re-construction, has been the guiding principle of the Ministry

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in respect to the needs of consumers in the prices of their food as in all else.

## REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF MINISTRY IN MATTERS OF EXPENDITURES AND TAXATION.

It would be imprudent to conclude this reference to the reactionary methods of the present Administration without some reference to the all-important question of expenditures and taxation. After the vast outlays necessitated during the years of war, in the face of an accumulation of public debt amounting to over $2,000,000, in the face of an enormous railway deficit and the very high cost of living, the time surely has at last arrived when economy rather than extravagance should characterize the management of our public affairs.

I shall have to reserve for special consideration in a subsequent address the matter of the present position of our country's finances and the attitude of the present Administration towards them. Suffice it for the moment to say that, instead of a reduction in the many millions asked for in the annual appropriations, we have an increase in the appropriations of the present year, over the amount ~~xxxxx appropriations of the present year, over the amount spent for last year~~ spent last year. Instead of current revenue balancing current expenditures, to say nothing of something in addition being set to one side as a means of paying off our public debt, we have had added to the public debt within the last year a sum exceeding $100,000,000. Instead of taxation being lessened, it has been increased and instead of having the freest and fullest discussion of public expenditures and means of effecting economy, we have had the closure again introduced in Parliament as a means of silencing all discussion.

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THE CLOSURE USED AS A WEAPON TO LOOT THE TREASURY.

Incredible as it may appear, the first act of the New Prime Minister with respect to theestimates he presented to Parliament was to demand that one sixth of the total estimates, between seventy and eighty millions of dollars, should be voted without agreement of any kind between the Opposition and the Government, without evan opportunity for appreciable discussion, and when refused this peremptory request, to take the money out of the public treasury by the instrument of the closure, thereby completely silencing the enquiries and protestations of the people's representatives in the House. His second act, with respect to the estimates presented to Parliament, incredible as it may appear, was to sanction the same course of procedure with respect to eight millions of dollars being demanded for the further reconstruction of the Government Merchant Marine. In other words the closure was used as a weapon to loot the Treasury. It must never be forgotten that it was a Tory Administration which inaugurated the application of the closure to debates in our Parliament. One would have assumed that a young and inexperienced Prime Minister would have hesitated to have applied this weapon in the first days of his accession of office and within the first few hours of his dealings with Parliament in Committee of Supply. That he has not hestitated to"go the limit" in reactionary behaviour is pretty good evidence of what the people of Canada may expect from a continuation of his Administration of our public affairs. especially where the people's representatives in Parliament hesitate to bow to his imperious will.

REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF THE MINISTRY TOWARDS IMPERIAL AFFAIRS.

May I conclude what I have had to say of the proceedings of the last session of Parliament by a reference to one other resolution which I had the honour of introducing in the House of Commons and which appears to me to be wholly

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in accord with the will and wishes of the Canadian people. It has relation to inter-imperial and international policy with which at the present time our Prime Minister is busily engaging himself. The resolution was to the effect that the House of Commons, while recognizing the propriety of Canada being represented at any conference or conference of the Prime Ministers of the Empire that might be called, desire toaccord itsopinion that, at the coming conference no steps should be taken in any way involving any change in the relations of Canada to other parts of the Empire, and that inview of the present financial condition of Canada noaction should be taken implying any obligation on the part of Canada to undertake new expenditures for naval or military purposes.

This surely was a safe and sound resolution. It voices what I believe Canadians, irrespective of party, regard as both wise and necessary at the present time. If it contains an expressionof view contrary to that which is held by the Prime Minister himself, he should not be representing Canada at any conference of Prime Ministers in Britain at the present time. If, on the other hand, it is expressive of an opinion which he, in common with other Canadian citizens, may be expected to hold, he should have welcomed it as an expression of opinion from the Canadian Parliament calculated to enforce his own attitude as a representative -allbeit self-appointed - of the Canadian people.

PREMIER OVERRIDES PARLIAMENT IN MATTERS OF FOREIGN POLICY.

Instead, however, of accepting the resolution in the spitir in which it was framed and introduced in Parliament, the Prime Minister professed to regard it as an endeavour to shackle his freedom of action. His will, not the will of the people's representatives in Parliament, was the only one which in his opinion should govern at the conference overseas, and so, at the specail request, the members of his Government and his obsequious following in the House voted down this resolution.

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And we witness our Prime Minister at the present time laying down in a series of points the conditions upon which Canada will proceed in matters of foreignpolicy, though he has derived neither from the people nor from the Parliament any authority whatever to speak with reference to foreign policy on behalf of our country. It is bad enough for Mr. Meighen to have usurped authority in matters of domestic affairs, but when he proceeded to deal with foreign policy regardless altogether of the will or wishes of the Canadian people and Parliament he is carrying his act of usurpation to limits that know no bounds.

MEIGHEN'S GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE ENTRUSTED WITH REDISTRIBUTION.

There are those who, notwithstanding all that has been witnessed in a departure from constitutional usage and practice would nevertheless countenane another session of Parliament under the Meighen Administration in order that a redistribution of the constituencies might be made as, in accordance with law, it must efery ten years be made, before a general election. To my way of thinking, and the way of thinking, I believe, of all who regard the will of the people as superior to the will of any individual or ruler, the circumstances that we are rapidly approaching a time when a redistribution Act must be passed, which will determine in no inconsiderable measure the complexion of at least the next two if not three or more ensuing Parliaments, is the strongest of reasons why Mr. Meighen's Government should not be entrusted with the framing of any such measure, but rather why this important public duty should be assigned to a Parliament representative of the will and opinion of the people.

On no pretext whatever and by no stretch of imagination can it be asserted that Mr. Meighen's Government has received from any source under heaven any mandate to undertake the

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redistribution of our electoral constituencies. He and his friends have already framed a Franchise Act which is to their own liking. Give them a free hand in the matter of redistributing the constituencies, with the closure as a weapon wherewith to effect their purpose, and there is no saying to what further date the day of reconstruction of our political affairs would be postponed, nor how long reaction instead of reconstruction would continue to hold sway in all branches of public administration.

REACTIONARY ATTITUDE OF CANADIAN PARLIAMENT PARALLELS SITUATION 100 YEARS AGO.

I spoke at the beginning of this address of the parallel between the conditions of England during ~~xxx~~ and immediately subsequenty to the Napoleonic Wars and the political conditions as we have witnessed them in our country during and since the Great War. I spoke of the ascendancy of Toryism in Great Britain at the close of the Napoleonic Wars and of the reactionary spirit which, under combined autocratic and plutocratic rule appeared, for the time being, to render prostrate all revival of Liberal and progressive principles. The review I have made of the proceedings of our own Parliament would indicate that, as respects this period of reaction, the parallel is working itself out in our own country at the present time.

LIBERALIZING FORCES IN ENGLAND.

Fortunately for Britain, a hundred years ago, the forces of reaction were unable to withstand the liberalizing impulse which in their determination to withstand and to overthrow the efforts at world conquest by a foreign power had found a place in the breast of the English people

IN ENGLAND CHANGE FROM WAR TO PEACE REVEALED EXTENT OF REACTIONARY MEASURES.

With the cmage from war to peace, Englishmen began to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed had been parted with to a degree they had never supposed. Measures of state control voluntarily accepted or acquiesced in time of danger and national peril became apparent as these dangers

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ceased to be felt. The law's delays, the severity of the Criminal Code, the disfranchisement of certain classes, the control of the House of Commons by nobles and great land-owners the usurpation of the Executive, the enormity and unequality of taxation, the injustice and ill-effects of all these became more and more apparent and the months and years slipped by. They became still more apparent as the dangers once felt became wholly dispelled. With Napoleon /// at St. Helena, with the Holy Alliance guaranteeing the peace of Europe, the sober thought of England became more and more impatient of the perpetuation of the militarist and the reactionary spirit. It sought a return to the industrial and progressive. The nation had had enough of war. It sought, not merely, the restoration of peace, but the restoration also of the spirit of peace, the spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of freer thought and wider liberties. The nation had seen enough of the work of destruction. It longed now for something constructive to take its place.

IN ENGLAND LIBERALISM CAME AGAIN INTO ITS OWN.

With the change in popular sentiment came inevitably the turn in the political tide. The fortunes of the Whig Party at their lowest ebb when thewar was ended began to mount higher and higher. Threatened they often were by divisions within their own ranks, but consolidated they became in time in opposition to the spirit of reaction by which they were unitedly faced. Liberalism in England soon came again into its own. The liberalizing power of Whig thought and influence was supplemented by the liberalizing effects of the mechanical inventions of the time, and above all by the introduction of steel. Everywhere old restraints were broken, English manufacturers at home, English commerce abroad entered upon a new era of expansion, and with the revival of commercial and industrial greatness came the era of industrial, fiscal and electoral feforms. Here surely is a chapter of British history which despite all we have witnessed of reaction, should bring

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courage to every man and woman in our country who cherished a love for liberal and progressive principles and ideals.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF IN AN AMAZING PARALLEL.

It is a commonplace to say that History repeats itself. But where in the whole of history is a parallel comparable to what we have seen in the conditions of Europe at the beginning of the 19th century and the conditions we have witnessed and in which we have shared at this the beginning of the 20th century. A century ago a European ruler sought to subdue the world by power of might. A century ago, the possibilities of unlimited revolution spread terror everywhere. The proudest throne in Europe was shattered. Its occupant was sent into exile and the Government of the country changed from a monarchy to a republic. A century ago, the nations set themselves to the task of forming an alliance which would guarantee the peace of Europe. In our own day, all these mighty events have found a parallel that is amazing beyond words. We who are assembled here have witnessed the attempt at world conquest by a European monarch. We have had pictured before our eyes the world menace of Bolshevism. Our armies have shared the triumph of the forces of freedom. We have beheld the shattering of the proudest throne of Europe, witnessed the exile of its monarch and the change of his empire from a monarchy to a republic. Finally we have joined with the allied powers in the formation of a league of nations which we hope may prove an agency for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

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## IN CANADA CHANGE FROM WAR TO PEACE REVEALS EXTENT OF POLITICAL REACTION.

Here, in Canada, as in Britain a century ago, the period of political reaction has followed the change from war to peace. But here also as in Britain a century ago, with the change from war to peace, men and women have began to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed have been parted with to a degree never dreamed of before. Political reaction stands revealed in all its arrogance. The people see themselves deprived of the right of a responsible Government and a responsible ministry and are beginning to understand what this means, They see the functions of government carried on by a usurper who exercices his authority not in virtue of a power derived from the prople but solely as the outcome of arbitrary enactment and political might, They see, in the House of Commons, among the members and supporters of the Administration, men to have not hesitated to ignore the most solemn pledges ever given an electorate, and who do not hesitate, to aid an arbitrary ministry in its continued disfranchisement of British subjects. They see the usurpation of the authority of government maintained through a combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats brought into being through war conditions and fostered through war necessities.

But with the removal of all apparent danger, such methods of government are becoming more and more ~~abherent~~ abhorrent as are also what remains of arbitrary and expensive measures of state control reluctantly accepted or acquiesced in during the period of the war. With all dangers of agression wholly removed, the sober thought of Canada is becoming more and more impatient of the reactionary spirit and the perpetuation of the military spirit by which it seeks to aupport itself. The nation has had enough of war. It seeks, not merely the restoration of peace, but a restoration of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of greater freedom of thought and a wider measure of personal liberty.

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TORYISM DOOMED. LIBERALISM AGAIN IN THE ASCENDANT.

As to this, the results of the by-elections held since the termination of the war is all conclusive. Everywhere, in the federal arena, as in the several provincial arenas, Toryism has met its doom. The spirit of freedom which has helped to overthrow autocracy and arrogance abroad is not likely long to suffer its continuance in our midst. It needs but the opportunity for the liberal and progressive forces of our country speedily to restore the foundations of our free parliamentary institutions, to give once again to Canada a representative Parliament and a representative ministry, to remove what remains of unwarranted restrictive and repressive measures and unjustifiable control of industrial enterprise.

With the new freedom which but awaits the opportunity for its expression, history will also repeat itself. The period of reaction in Canada will give way, as in Britain it did, to a period of genuine reconstruction. Liberalism once again will come into its own, and with Liberalism revived and restored, we may await with confidence an era of wise industrial, fiscal and electoral reform.

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Aurora Banner, July 29/21

# Liberal Leader addresses Electors of North York at Aurora

Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, opened his Ontario tour here on Wednesday afternoon when he addressed about 1,500 voters of this riding in the town park.

Hon. Mr. King said that he did not propose to quit the contest in the riding simply because Mr. R. W. E. Burnaby, President of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, happened to be in the field.

He made this declaration in touching upon the result of a three-cornered contest, which he had reminded his audience might result in the return of the candidate of the Meighen Government if the forces of Liberalism and Progress were divided. Hon. Mr. King remarked that he had been nominated to contest the seat before the formation of the U.F.O., and stated that he was prepared to leave to his friends and those of Mr. Burnaby as to who had prior claim to the nomination.

"But I do not propose to leave the contest now simply because he is in the field, declared the Liberal Leader.

Mr. King made a slashing attack on the Meighan Government, declaring that at the first opportunity the Canadian people would see that it was overthrown. In Canada history must repeat itself, and the forces of progress would triumph over Toryism and self-interest and work for the benefit of the whole people and not the privileged few. He described the policy of the Government as one of "reaction, not reconstruction."

He told the history of the usurpation of office, their fear to do what was demanded by good government, their failure to enact legislation of a progressive nature, their attempt to bring back the evil patronage system, their obscuring of the manner in which money was spent, their promise but failure to revise the tariff generally, their legislation in favor of the interests and **against the ordinary people.** He pointed out that it was the only Government in Canada which had not gone to the people, and declared that the fate of other Tory unprogressive Administrations at the hands of the people was one of the reasons for not holding an election.

"The situation to-day is that the political, industrial, and to a considerable extent also the social life of Canada lies enthralled under the subtle and malignant influences of combined autocratic and plutocratic control, which seeks only the aggrandizement of a few individuals at the expense of the State and is regardless of the well-being of the people at large," declared Mr. King.

"There is to-day scarcely a branch of public administration but serves to reveal the evil workings of this powerful and baneful combination. Its effects are particularly apparent when we stop to consider the reactionary proceedings of Parliament, the condition of the country's finances, the present position of the tariff and the railway situation.

"We have political power united with the power of wealth in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the State. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behaviour, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of a few wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry and the State, but wish to dominate both.

For the time being they are able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its existence to their influence and its continuance in office to the control which, in a multitude of directions, they are able to exert. There is the real situation with which this country is faced at the present time.

"That is the danger to Canada at the moment: that her Government has ceased to be a Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, and that we have on the one side the selfish groups united together working for their joint ambitions, and on the other the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

"The war is, indeed, responsible in a large part for the existing situation, but not altogether in the manner in which our opponents would lead the public to believe. It is certainly not the spirit of sacrifice which the war served so splendidly to reveal, nor the spirit of disinterested patriotism which was not less manifest, that is responsible for conditions as they are. Rather is it to the reactionary spirit which, in official circles, war inevitably begets, and the selfishness of a class of individuals to whose desire for wealth and self-aggradinizement the exigencies of war afford exceptional opportunities, that it is possible to trace the regretable features of

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the political situation as it exists to-day.

"During the period of the war we heard much of the reconstruction of our political, industrial and social order which was to follow at its close and which was to be expressive of the new freedom achieved for our fellowmen through the sacrifices of the war Instead, however, of reconstruction we have met only with reaction at every turn. Reconstruction would have demanded a new Parliament and a new Ministry at the termination of the war. It certainly demanded recognition of these fundamental rights of the people upon the retirement of Sir Robert Borden and the resignation of his entire Ministry. Instead of reconstruction we have had the most glaring usurpation of the rights of the people in matters of government which it would have been possible for the combined forces of reaction to afford."

Mr. King reviewed the history of the formation of the preseent Government, pointing out that it was usurping power. He gave strong reasons why an election should have been held when Mr. Meighen took power. He pointed out that all the Provinces in Canada had had elections since the war, and in the results of these he saw a reason why the Meighen Administration would not go to the people.

"Perhaps the fact that in every Province the voice of the people has declared for reconstruction and against reaction ,the fact that wherever the people's voice has been heard Toryism has been crushed before the onrush of Liberal and Progressive forces is the reason why, defiant altogether of the popular will, the Prime Minister and his colleagues persist in holding on to office, not for the public good, but for personal ends and the special interests which they are seeking to serve," said Mr. King.

"Reaction, not reconstruction, has been in evidence at every turn. Instead of wise and progressive legislation, the Government has presented scarcely any legislation at all, and where legislation has been introduced it has been almost wholly of an unprogressive and reactionary character. By amendment and resolution the Opposition have striven with all their might to secure from the Ministry and its obsequious following a recognition of the most elementary of the fundamental rights of the people, but to no avail. The restrictive and repressive instinct so strongly engendered during the period of the war has continuel to direct the hand of authority with consequences which are only too apparent."

Mr. King traced this personal safety and greed "statesmanship" even into the by-elections, where the Government stood off as long as it could because frightened of defeat. It all went to show that the Government was out for "power, not the people." He declared the Government had failed in its duty to give the people an accounting of the expenditure of public money. This, he maintained was particularly true of railroad expenditures.

Mr. King dealt with the danger of the return of patronage under the Meighen Administration, pointing out that steps had already been taken to bring this blight back on public service. The first great reform carried out by a Liberal Government under Laurier was in danger of being lost.

"Having tasted the blood of patronage afresh, the Prime Minister and his colleagues with the prospect of a general election ahead, found the temptation too inviting to resist. Out of their number they selected the most innocent, the one who, since his appointment as Minister without portfolio, had not spoken above a dozen words in Parliament, and had him introduce a bill opening wide the door to a restoration of patronage in the making of appointments to the public service. From complete obscurity the Hon. Mr. Spinney suddenly loomed into notoriety with the storm of protests which arose immediately upon the introduction of the Spinney Bill. It was in vain he protested.

"The Government's intention was as plain as the nose on the Minister's face. If the bill came back from the committee in a form that was scarcely recognizable, the thanks are not owing to the Government or its supporters, but to the fight which the combined Liberal Opposition and the Farmers' Opposition offered to this particular measure. The Government found itself in the extraordinary position of having its measure vigorously opposed by the very member who had introduced, while a member of the Unionist Administration, the extension of the Civil Service reform to the Outside Service. The speech made by the Hon. A. K. Maclean was one of the ablest of any delivered in Parliament during the session. The day for Civil Service reform was saved in some measure, but not without a breach having been made in the rampart by which appointments to the public service has hitherto been surrounded."

Speaking of the tariff, Mr. King said: "Session after session Parliament has been promised an immediate revision of our customs tariff. The war, in the first instance, was made the occasion of delay, then the disturbed conditions arising out of the war; subsequently the need for a Cabinet Committee of Investigation; then, when, at great cost and after much publicity, the committee had conducted its hearing from the Pacific to the Atlantic, there came at last, in a formal declaration in the Speech from the Throne, the announcement that, the need for tariff revision being so great, this all-important matter would form the main work of the session. Here, if ever, was promise of reconstruction. It looked too good to be true, and it turned out just as it looked. The announcement in the Speech from the Throne served to avoid the questions and silence the de-

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mands which would have been made throughout the course of the session. Almost at its very close came the announcement that the Government had decided against any revision. Had the Government's decision ended there, matters would not have been quite so bad as they were subsequently made.

"When the Minister of Finance introduced his Budget, it became apparent that what its provisions contained of a new basis, upon which the valuation of goods imported from foreign countries was to be made because of alleged possibilities of dumping and depreciations in foreign currencies, meant, not the maintenance of the tariff at its existing rates, but a revision upward in the nature of additional protection to special interests, instead of a revision downward in the interest of consumers. The same indifference to the well being of consumers, with special concern for the interest of the well-to-do, has been apparent in the changes in the methods of taxation. While duties on not a few of the necessaries of life have been increased, no tax has ever been imposed upon war wealth or the profits of profiteers. While the business profits tax has been dropped, and the so called luxury taxes abolished, there has been an increase made in the rate of the sales tax, both on domestic transactions and on articles imported.

"On every side is evidence that it is not the interest of the great body of consumers, but the interest of the special interests, that the Government is seeking to serve."

Mr. King went on to point out the growing expenditure. He referred to the closure in Parliament as peculiarly a Tory device.

Mr. King contended that the Meighen Government should not be trusted with the framing of the redistribution, but that it should be left to a representative Parliament.

Mr. Pardee referred to the number of distinguished Parliamentarians which the riding had sent to the Commons. He asked ed members of the U.F.O. who might be in the gathering what complaint they had against the Liberal party of to-day or yesterday.

"What policy of the U.F.O. has the Liberal party refused to carry out?" asked Mr. Pardee. "Didn't the Liberal party under Sir Wilfrid Laurier go down to defeat in the interests of the Farmers' on the question of reciprocity? Are the members of the U.F.O. so short-minded that they forget this? I want to know why two groups should travel down the same road obstructing the people and allowing the forces of reaction to be returned to office."

Mr. Kennedy criticized Liberals who were still members of the Union Government. One of them from Ontario was Hon. Hugh Guthrie, he said, who would remain in office as long as possible. A private car, annual trips to Europe, a salary of $15,000 a year were plums he would not relinquish until he was forced to do so. . . .

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Montreal Gazette, July 28/21

# ELECTION CRY IS AGAIN RAISED BY MACKENZIE KING

## Charges Government With Being Reactionary

## SELFISH GROUP CONTROLS

## Well-Being of People at Large Disregarded, Declares Liberal Leader

By Canadian Press.

Aurora, Ont., July 27.—"The situation today is that the political, industrial, and, to a considerable extent also, the social life of Canada, lies enthralled under the subtle and malignant influences of combined autocratic and political control, which seeks only the aggrandisement of a few individuals at the expense of the State, and is regardless of the well-being of the people at large." Thus declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, who was the chief speaker at today's gathering of the Liberals of North York constituency.

Mr. King declared that the attitude of the Meighen Government since its accession to office had been one of reaction, when one of reconstruction was needed. The war had been blamed for many of the conditions which existed today, but instead it was a fact that the governments of Sir Robert Borden and Right Hon. Arthur Meighen had profited by war conditions to deny the people of Canada liberties and rights which they had cheerfully given up during the war period, imbued as they were with a spirit of sacrifice and patriotism. The Meighen Government, Mr. King asserted, had seized the reins of office without having a right to do so, and it continued to hang on despite the people's expressel wish to the contrary.

"The danger to Canada at the present time," said Mr. King, "is that her Government has ceased to be a government carried on in the interests of the people as a whole. There is on one hand a selfish group working for its joint ambitions, and on the other, the great body of the people left to look after themselves."

Instead of reconstruction, as promised at the termination of the war, Canada had been treated to a spectacle of usurpation of power, Mr. King asserted. The members of the Borden Government had been returned as a war government, with the aid of the War-Time Elections Act and the Military Voters' Act. The Borden Government appealed to the country as a war administration, pure and simple.

As it was the duty of Sir Robert to have dissolved Parliament and gone to the country, Mr. King declared it was many more times the duty of Mr. Meighen to have done so, since his Government could not, by the wildest stretch of imagination, be called the successor to that of Sir Robert Borden. His course, in carrying on in the face of public opinion, had been that of a usurper and not that of a statesman.

### "TORYISM CRUSHED."

Canada had been denied a general election, but wherever the voice of the people had been heard, Toryism in Canada had been crushed before the onrush of Liberal and Progressive forces.

The record of the recent session of Parliament, said Mr. King, was on all fours with the first act of Premier Meighen. Where the Government had introduced legislation it had been reactionary and unprogressive in its tendency. The efforts of the Opposition to secure the fundamental rights of the people had been overridden by autocratic methods on the part of the Government, aided by its obsequious following.

"Tariff revision had been often promised and as often delayed," said Mr. King. "The Speech from the Throne, in February, had declared that it would be the chief legislation of the recent session. However, almost at the close the Government announced that again it had decided against any revision. The changes which had been made were for the benefit of the protected industries to the disadvantage of the consumer.

"There was urgent need of economy in public moneys at present, but the Government continued its wild spending," said Mr. King.

The Liberal leader dealt also with the Premier's visit to the Conference of Prime Ministers in London. The will of Mr. Meighen, apparently, was the only one which he admitted should be consulted in regard to matters of foreign policy. He had derived his authority neither from the people nor from Parliament.

History, Mr. King said, would repeat itself. One hundred years ago, a reactionary Tory rule had been overthrown in England and Liberalism had come into its own. The people of Canada had already shown that they were averse to further Toryism in either federal or provincial governments, and when the time came for a general federal election it would result in the revival and restoration of Liberalism and the dawn of an era of wise industrial, fiscal and electoral reform.

A feature of the Liberal address was an invitation to R. W. E. Burnaby, president of the United Farmers' organization, and Farmer candidate in North York, to back out of the riding, Mr. King pointed out that he had been nominated in North York in advance of the Farmer leader.

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28 July 1921 Brampton

"THE FINANCIAL SITUATION"

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SPEECH

on

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION

Brampton, Ontario,

July 28th, 1921.

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There is no question in which the people of the Dominion are so vitally interested as that of the country's financial condition, and this for the reason that it affects directly the financial position of every man, woman, and child in the country, as respects both the present and the future. A nations prosperity is that of its people. We are accustomed to speak of the prosperity of the country, and its development. In the last analysis, the country's prosperity is only that of the prosperity of the men and women whose numbers make up its population. We talk of good times and of hard times; but the times are good or hard as the people find it easy or difficult to live. We talk of a nation's rise or its decline; but a nation rises only as the condition of its people improves, and declines as they find it increasingly difficult to live in a happy and contented manner. If people are obliged to pay more for everything they buy, for the enjoyments they seek, and the opportunities they crave, their condition of living is rendered more difficult. If out of their total earnings they have to hand over to the State, in one form or another, very

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considerable percentate, from which there is no escape, of course their freedom and their opportunities alike are by so much circumscribed. As the people find themselves handicapped in this way, so the nation itself comes to be handicapped.

The affairs of a nation are carried on by its government or governments. As governments are prudent and economical in their administration, the burdens which they impose upon the people are easily borne and lightly felt. As they are unwise in their policies and neglectful or extravagant in their expenditures, the burdens they impose will be come increasingly heavy and increasingly irksome and difficult to bear.

All expenditures by governments may be divided into two classes: those which, through one cause or another, are absolutely necessary and unavoidable ; and those which are either altogether unnecessary or might be avoided were the Administration willing and determined to have it so. Where the necessary and unavoidable expenses are very great, common prudence and commonsense alike demand that every means shall be taken to limit the unnecessary and avoidable expenditures.

The only way in which governments obtain the money necessary wherewith to make the necessary, as well as the unnecessary or avoidable expenditures, is by taxation. Some people think that because they do not pay out taxes to a collector in dollars and cents, that somebody else must be paying the tax, and that it therefore

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increasing the price of coal per ton, or increasing the rates paid for passenger travel, for freight, or for express. The man or woman who has to buy coal or wishes to travel, in other words, the consumer, would be the one who in the last analyses, and in reality, would be paying the tax. There is no question so complicated as this one of tracing the ultimate payment of a tax, or what is known as the incidence of taxation.

On the other hand, there is nothing more important for every man, woman, and child to grasp, in connection with the affairs of his country, than the truth that no one escapes contributing, in one form or another, to the payments which are necessary to the carrying on of government.

In previous years, the men of the country were the only part of the population who were given the right to vote; or, in other words, to decide who were to compose the Government of the country. To-day the women of the country as well as the men have that right. It is most important, therefore, that they, not less than the men, should clearly comprehend the problems of government, and in particular whatever relates to taxation, the means by which government is carried on. It may be that, because some women do not pay direct taxes to

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the State, many of them may think that it matters little to them who are in control of the Government or how its affairs are administered. If, however, they once come to realise that all that we mean by the cost of living is bound up in the most intimate way with the expenditures of government, they will see how closely all questions of public expenditure and taxation relate themselves to their own happiness and opportunities.

A woman, for example, when she reads that the Government is spending ten or twelve millions of dollars each year on the militia, and an equal amount on combined naval and merchant marine service, apart altogether from the munitions spent and being spent on obligations arising out of war, may think that this expenditure is too remote to be of much concern to her. But for a population of less than ten millions to spend over twenty millions on current military, naval and merchant marine account means an average of a little over $2.00 per individual. If she would stop to reflect, she would discover that, if it were possible to trace this payment to the one who finally makes it, she in all probability is paying her $2.00 on this account, if indeed not very much more. The money has to be raised either through direct or through indirect taxation. If raised in part out of large incomes, it will be passed on, in the price of commodities or services, to the persons of

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lesser incomes; if raised in the form of indirect taxation, it will be paid for out of the increased cost of commodities purchased.

When a woman purchases a new dress or a hat, the kind of dress or hat she can purchase will depend on its price. She may not think, when asked more than she ever paid before, that the reason is that part of the price is going to keep up the outlays on the militia, the navy, and the merchant marine, but such is nevertheless the case.

A man or a woman may read in the newspaper that Parliament has voted $165,000,000 on account of Railway expenditures, and imagine that, that amount being so large, it must necessarily come out of the large incomes. There could be no greater mistake. Every pound of coffee purchased, ever pair of shoes bought, every loaf of bread, every kitchen utensil, every bit of house furnishing, practically everyghing in the way of food consumed, one way or another, is carrying in its price a part of that $165,000,000; and the man or woman who makes the purchase is helping to pay it.

How, then, when we come to consider the total expenditures of government? Five or six hundred millions of dollars is a very large sum of money; but that is what

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our Parliament was called upon to vote at the last session as the amount to be spent during the present year. Assuming that our population was ten millions - which in all probability it is not - that would mean an outlay per individual of from $50 to $60, and an outlay per faimly of five, of $250 to $300. One is almost frightened to contemplate what it would mean for a family of twelve; the figures are, however, $600 to $720.

These are the taxes which the Government at Ottawa alone are at present imposing upon the people of Canada. They do not include the taxes levied by the Provincial Governments or municipalities . When we recall the circumstance that for the most part the entire population under 14 years of age is dependent on others over that age; and that most of the population under 21 years of age is dependent in some measure upon the men and women who are over 21 years of age, it will be seen that what is allotted to them in per capita tax should in reality have been placed upon those who are electors; so that the amount which each man and woman will necessarily be contributing to the State is considerably greater than the figures I have indicated.

If each single man and woman who is paying no direct tax whatever, and thinks he or she is thereby escaping taxation altogether, will stop to think what it means to be contributing

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probably double of $50 or $60 per year in taxes. and each head of a family of five will think what it means to be contributing probably double $250 to $300 per year, whether they are paying income tax or not, he or she will see why, among other reasons, the manner in which Government is carried on is to him or her a matter of immediate concern.

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Let me now endeavour to give you some idea of the position of Canada's finances at the present time. This, after all, is the most important of all the problems of government. Remembering that it is bound up not less with the question of the cost of living than with the matter of taxation, each individual will realize how completely every figure quoted is of concern to himself.

up to the present we have been dealing with tens and hundreds and thousands of dollars. So long as we keep in the thousands, it is more or less possible for most of us to understand the meaning and significance of the figures. When, however, we get beyond tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars, into millions, the amounts seem so vast that even our imagination fails to grasp their real meaning: and when we talk of billions, I imagine that to most of us it is like contemplating the stars in the sky, or the grains of sand on the seashore; they pass completely beyond our comprehension. And yet it is at this point that we must take our beginning in a consideration of Canada's finances.

I have distinguished between expenditure that is necessary and unavoidable, and expenditure that is unnecessary or that may be avoided. It will do little good for any of us

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at the present time to discuss, in more than a passing way, whether there was or was not great unnecessary waste in the vast expenditures made by the Government during the period of the War. If one wished to do so, it might be readily shown that millions upon millions of dollars were spent at that time which might well have been saved. There is, however, little use in crying over spilt milk. What concerns us to-day is the fact that the money spent during the war for war purposes was almost exclusively all borrowed money, money for which we to-day are still accountable, and the interest on which we shall be obliged to pay year by year until the whole amount is written off.

If there is one thing above another for which the Government in office during the war was to blame, it was in not seeking to meet some of the expensesof the war out of current revenue, in not seeking to get back for the State, through taxation of war fortunes, some of the vast sums of public money which were helping to make millionaires in one direction while men were sacrificing their lives in another. Neither the Government of Sir Robert Borden before 1917, nor the Unionist Government after, nor the Government of Mr. Meighen, has made the slightest effort to tax war wealth. Had this very proper course been followed, the public debt of Canada to-day would not be what it is.

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As already said, however, it can serve no useful purpose at the moment to distinguish between the avoidable and the unavoidable expenditure of that period. The point that is of vital concern to us to-day, and which will be of concern to every man and woman for this generation at least, is that during and since the war a sum amounting to some $2,000,000,000 was borrowed by the Government and spent by the Government, and now is owing by the Government to those who made advances at the time. This vast amount has been added to the public debt of Canada. Till it is all paid off interest must be paid on this amount, and the interest thus paid is a necessary first charge upon the taxes of the Canadian people.

So far as our finances are concerned, Canada is a wholly different country to-day than she was prior to the war. The enormous increase of public debt occasioned by the war has given us an entirely new problem with respect to all branches of the public administration. What it was possible and advisable for Canada to do and to spend when she had a public debt of some $336,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt of some $13,000,000, is very different from what it is possible or advisable for her to do and expend when she has a public debt, as at the present time she has,

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of $2,350,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt amounting to $140,000,000, which amount must be paid before any other items of expenditure can be taken into consideration.

I have already said that when we begin to deal with millions, the figures begin to tax somewhat the scope of our imagination; their real significance is difficult to understand. For this reason, it is perhaps desirable to resort to comparisons, and to attempt to estimate how we stand to-day by recalling what seemed to many in the country great extravagance at an earlier period.

You will recall, when the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to the country on the Reciprocity issue in 1911, just ten years ago, that one of the charges made against Sir Wilfrid's Government was that it had been unduly extravagant. It was said that the public debt and interest thereon had reached proportions wholly unjustifiable, and that as a consequence the burden upon the Canadian tax payer was far and away too heavy, and should be decreased. What was the total net public debt of Canada at that time? It was, in round figures, $340,000,000, the annual interest charge on which was $12,500,000, To-day the net public debt is not $340,000,000, but $2,350,000,000. The annual interest charge is not $12,500,000 but over $140,000,000.

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That you may realise what these figures mean, let me point out that the amount which to-day this country has to raise in taxation, solely to pay the interest on its public debt, is considerably more than the total amount expended on ordinary and capital expenditures, including subsidies to railways, by the Laurier Government in the last or any year of its administration. The total public expenditure of Canada on all accounts, just ten years ago, was $123,000,000, and this was the largest amount which the total expenditure had reached in any year up to that time. The interest charge on the net public debt of Canada to-day is over $140,000,000. Ten years ago the amount spent for current expenditure on ordinary account, to run all of the several departments of the Government; in other words, the amount spent out of the Consolidated Fund, was between $87,000,000 and $88,000,000; that is, some $53,000,000 less than must be spent to-day on interest on public debt alone.

As I have said, this interest on the public debt constitutes a first charge upon the revenues of the country. Should this interest fail of payment, the country would be regarded as having become bankrupt. But there are other charges, which did not exist in 1911, that must be met to-day,

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Having regard to the billions of dollars spent during the period of the war and the vastly increased public debt with which the country is faced in consequence; having regard to the existing high cost of living; and having regard also to the resulting necessary and unavoidable heavy taxation, we of the Liberal Party have resolutely maintained that the greatest need in Canada to-day is the exercise of the most rigid retrenchment in expenditure and economy in the administration of public affairs. We have made honesty and economy the basis of all our policies. We believe that to-day, as never before in the history of Canada, honesty and economy in public administration are essential to the present good and future prosperity of the Dominion. It is for that reason, and for that reason only, that, as the people's representatives in Parliament, we have fought vigorously and strenously for the right of the people to have the fullest information on all matters pertaining to expenditure, and have opposed the spending of public monies in a number of directions which we have felt at the present time to be unnecessary and easily avoidable.

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I have spoken of the $165,000,000 which Parliament has voted to be spent on account of Railways this year. You may recall that for the year 1919-20 there was a deficit of nearly $50,000,000 on the Railways; that this last year the deficit was about $70,000,000. It is generally estimated that this year there will be a deficit of over $100,000,000. All these deficits have to be met out of the taxes of the people. Faced with these deficits on railway account, and with the appropriations asked for totalling $165,000,000, we naturally sought to obtain as full information as might be available respecting expenditures on these accounts, in order that we might see just how the public monies were being spent. At first the Government tried to circumvent our efforts and to put us off by saying that the information was not available at the moment but would be given in due course. When it was not forthcoming and we pressed still harder for information, the Government grew more and more defiant. Finally they assumed the attitude of refusing altogether to give answers to the questions asked in Parliament, or to produce the documents called for on behalf of the opposition. Motion for information defeated by request of Prime Minister. I, then introduced into the House the following resolution expressive of what the Liberal Party believed to be the rights of the people in the matter of

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information with respect to the use made of monies from the public treasury:

> "Subject to the reservation that in exceptional cases there may be documents of a confidential character which, in the public interest, may properly be withheld from publication, the House declares that it is the undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive copies of all reports, accounts, correspondence, and papers in relation to the management of every department of the public service, including the affairs of the Canadian National Railways, whether operationg directly under the control of the Department or under corporate form."
>
> (March 22, 1921)

The motion was defeated, having been opposed by the Prime Minister and his colleagues and his entire following in the House. Without exception every member of the Liberal Opposition supported the resolution. Three of the members of the Agrarian Party in the House supported the resolution; wight voted with the Government.

As a consequence we have been unable, notwithstanding the millions of dollars which have been spent on the National Railway account, to get any information which will enable us properly to decide what course it is wisest to take with respect to this branch of the public administration.

When we had before us an item of $7,000,000 for the Merchant Marine, another enterprise upon which the Government has embarked and will very shortly have spent some $70,000,000 of the people's money, and were seeking to obtain detailed information about this branch of the service, our discussions were cut short by the Government giving notice of the introduction

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very well; but where the money is the people's money, it is all wrong to deny the people's representatives in Parliament the fullest information respecting its use.

Though denied the information on the floor of Parliament, one or two of the Liberal members of the House were able, in an investigation before a select committee of Parliament, to show how some at least of the money was being spent. It was disclosed, for example, that insurance to an amount of over $100,000,000 had been placed on the railroad property. Further investigation revealed the fact that two of the directors of the Canadian National Railways, both appointees of the Government, were also directors of the insurance company through which practically the whole amount of this insurance had been placed. Similarly, it was disclosed that contracts amounting to $11,000,000 had been given to one car company for the construction of cars. Here again, further inquiry revealed that one of the directors of that Company was also a director of the Government Railways, an appointee of the Government.

What was the reason for denying Parliament information on these matters, which were the subject of questions in the House of Commons, if there was nothing about them to conceal? Do they not suggest a method of transacting business with public funds likely to be more in the interest of private individuals than in the public interest?

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ships to form a part of the Government Merchant Marine. There may have been an excuse, and possibly even some justification, for this undertaking so long as the war continued; but once the war was over, and it became apparent that there were likely to be upon the high seas more ships than were necessary to carry the trade of the world, it was the height of stupidity, to say nothing of folly, for the Government to have proceeded with its programme. Nevertheless, as if the public monies were of no consideration whatever, additional millions were spent. Contracts were awarded without even calling for tenders, as required by the law. At all costs, the Government's friends had to be financially supported no doubt in anticipation of political support. The result is that Canada has on her hands to-day a fleet of ships that threaten to become a public charge. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries has tried to make it appear that these ships were paying their way. It was shown, however, by investigation in committee, that the Minister had not made the usual allowances for interest charges and depreciation, and that with account being duly taken on these scores, the vessels were operating at a loss rather than a profit. What justification can there possibly have been for a venture such as this at the present time?

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This leads me to refer to the most exasperating feature of the whole financial situation; - the country is being driven deeper and deeper into debt; the taxes of the people are being yearly and yearly increased by an administration that has usurped the power it is exercising and is holding on to office in open defiance of the will and wishes of the people.

It was bad enough to be adding to the public debt of Canada by billions of dollars during the period of the war, on war account. It was unpardonable to be adding as well to the public debt on current account during the period of war. But it is little short of criminal for the Governments that have retained office since the war to have financed so recklessly and expended so extravagantly that, despite the vast increase in taxation, they have continued also to add to the principal of our public debt.

The war ended in November 1918. I shall make no reference to the addition to the public debt of that fiscal year, which ended in March 1919. For the fiscal year 1919-20, however, the enormous sum of $674,337,591 was added to the public debt, notwithstanding that $349,746,335 was raised as revenue. This amount of $674,337,591, it should be mentioned, includes an amount of $284,015,005 which was in the nature of railway outlays hitherto included among the active investments of the country, but in 1919-20 written off by the Minister of Finance as non-active investments, and therefore added to our public debt.

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Toronto Globe July 29th 1921 D 5247

# KING CRITICIZES ECONOMY LACK IN GOVERNMENT

## Points Out Failure to Tax Profiteers and Big Interests

## SPEAKS AT BRAMPTON

## Huge Audience From Town and Country Gives Fine Reception

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Brampton, July 28. — The flower town of the Province gave Hon. Mackenzie King a magnificent reception here tonight. The Armories, where the Liberal Leader delivered an address, was crowded to overflowing with a thoroughly representative audience, included in which were many people from outside points, not only in Peel county, but from all the surrounding counties.

Hon. Mr. King, who was accompanied by Mr. H. H. Dewart, K.C., the Provincial Leader, and by Mr. J. A. Robb, M.P., of Huntingdon, Que., was met on his arrival at the G.T.R. Station by many of the leading Liberals of the locality, and, headed by the local band, the party proceeded in automobiles to the place of meeting, which was already well filled before the speakers arrived.

**Speaks on Finances.**

Hon. Mr. King had a great ovation both on entering the hall and when he rose subsequently to speak. His address was devoted almost entirely to the broad question of the Dominion's finances. He gave some strengthening figures showing the enormous growth of the country's debt in recent years, and made some striking comparisons between present-day expenditures and the expenditures of the last years of the Laurier Administration. He insisted on the necessity for the exercise of the most rigid retrenchment in expenditure, and economy in the administration of public affairs, and showed in telling language how the huge expenditures concern every man and woman in the country, reminding his hearers that either directly or indirectly they help to carry the burden of taxation.

**No Wealth Taxed.**

The Liberal Leader blamed the Government in office during the war for not seeking to meet some of the expenses of the war out of current revenue, for not seeking to get back for the State through the taxation of war fortunes some of the vast sums of public money which were helping to make millionaires in one direction while men were sacrificing their lives in another. Instead of seeking to economize in the several departments of the Government during the war, there was not a department in which the ordinary expenditures did not exceed those of previous years, notwithstanding that in many of the departments, such as that of immigration, the possible scope of their efforts was materially circumscribed.

On guarantees and loans to railways, to the Canadian Northern Railway alone the Government paid during the period of the war, between 100 and 200 million dollars. If ever there was a time when over-expansion in railway construction should have been curtailed it was certainly throughout the war period, Mr. King declared.

A point which was of vital importance to all today was that during and since a sum amounting to some $200,000,000 was borrowed by the Government, and was now owing by the Government to those who made advances at the time. The enormous increase of public debt occasioned by the war had given Canada an entirey new problem with respect to all branches of public administration.

**Comparison of Administrations.**

What it was possible for the Dominion to do and to spend when she had a public debt of some $336,000,000 and an annual interest charge on that debt of some $13,000,000 was very different from what it is possible or advisable for her to do and expend when she has a public debt, as at the present time, of $2,350,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt amounting to $140,000,000. "You will recall," said Mr. King, "when the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to the country on the reciprocity issue in 1911, just ten years ago, that one of the charges made against Sir Wilfrid's Government was that it had been unduly extravagant.

"It was said that the public debt and interest thereon had reached proportions wholly unjustifiable, and that as a consequence the burden

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2.)

# KING CRITICIZES ECONOMY LACK

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 5.)

upon the Canadian taxpayer was away too heavy and should have been decreased. The total public debt at that time was, in round figures, $340,000,000, the annual interest charge on which was $12,500,000. Today the net public debt is not $340,000,000, but $2,350,000,000. The annual interest charge is, not $12,500,000, but more than $140,000,000."

**Interest Payment Enormous.**

Hon. Mr. King pointed out that the amount which the country has now to raise in taxation solely to pay the interest on its public debt is considerably more than the total amount expended on ordinary and capital expenditures, including subsidies to railways, by the Laurier Government in the last or any year of its administration.

Ten years ago the total public expenditure of Canada on all accounts was $123,000,000, and that was the largest amount which the total expenditure had reached in any year up to that time. The interest charge on the public debt of Canada today is more than $140,000,000.

Ten years ago the amount spent for current expenditure on ordinary account to run all the several departments of Government, in other words, the amount spent out of the consolidated fund, was between $87,000,000 and $88,000,000, which was some $53,000,000 less than must be spent today on interest on public debt alone.

**War Expense.**

In addition to interest on the public debt were the amounts due in consequence of the war to those who participated in the war, or were the dependents of those whose lives were sacrificed, or who suffered bodily injury or impairment of health. These obligations should be payable out of current revenue. Taken collectively, they total up to the present year $130,000,000, a sum nearly equal to the interest on the public debt. They included, of course, the amounts payable on account of pensions, Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, Land Settlement Board and demobilization.

Adding together the annual interest on the public debt and this amount in the nature of obligations arising directly out of the war, it would be found that a sum of about $270,000,000 has to be set aside and marked for these two accounts alone before a single cent is available for meeting the other necessary expenditures of Government.

**Railways Costly.**

Proceeding to discuss the enormous annual outlays on railways, the Liberal Leader pointed out that the amount voted this year by Parliament reached a total of $165,000,000, which was larger by $25,000,000 than the amount required to be paid in interest on our colossal public debt, larger by $35,000,000 than the amount required to be paid on account of the obligations arising out of the war, and larger by $43,000,000 than the total amount expended on all accounts of the Government of Canada in the last year of the Liberal Administration, and practically double the amount that was spent on ordinary current account to carry on the business of all the Government departments in 1911.

**This Year's Expenditure.**

The total amount which the Government estimated would be required to meet the total expenditures of Government for the present year was $561,000,000, and it must be remembered that this sum did not include a single dollar of repayment of the principal of the war debt, amounting to nearly $2,000,000,000.

**$62.16 Per Person.**

That meant that for every man woman and child in Canada there would have to be raised in taxation to meet current expenditure an amount of $62.16. In 1911 the total expenditure involved a charge per individual of $17.05, which was thought to be an enormous amount at that time. Yet today it had been increased to $62.16. In 1911 the head of a family of five got off with a proportional share of $85.25; today his proportional share was $310.80.

"Today," remarked Mr. King, "a man has to think twice before he gets married. The Liberal party resolutely maintain that the greatest need in Canada today is the exercise of the most rigid retrenchment in expenditure, and economy in the administration of public affairs. We have made honesty and economy the basis of all our policies," said the speaker.

**Friends Spend Money.**

Hon. Mr. King went on to explain the efforts of the Liberals to secure publicity with respect to the expenditures of public monies and the tactics the Government had adopted to prevent information being supplied. He showed how the closure had been used to prevent the disclosure of information on public accounts with regard to expenditure on railways.

He said he thought it could be shown that both our public debt and our current taxation had been enormously increased by the method the Government had deliberately devised of giving to a small circle of its intimate friends a perfectly free hand in the expenditure of public money.

Surrounding their transactions with a cloak of secrecy, he described the Government merchant marine expenditure as unnecessary and avoidable, and said it should never have been incurred at a time like the present. Even more unjustifiable were the expenditures on military, naval, air and police accounts. "Canada has had enough of war and the war spirit, and what the country craves for now is not alone peace, but the spirit of peace."

**No Hope in Present Cabinet.**

Mr. King also deprecated the appropriation of $4,000,000 for the naval service. "We may look in vain," he said, "today to a Government, or to the members of any Government, who have had to do with war expenditures and the reactionary methods which war periods beget, for any substantial change or reform. They have acquired a habit of mind as regards both the value of money and public responsibility which is wholly foreign to the sober and responsible attitude which the administration of the country's affairs at present demands."

Mr. James Martin, President of the Liberal Association, occupied the chair, and brief addresses were delivered by Mr. W. J. Lowell, the Liberal candidate in the riding, and Mr. H. H. Dewart, M.P.P., Mr. J. A. Robb, M.P., in a effective address referred to the general dissatisfaction with the present Administration, and also urged a better understanding between Ontario and his own Province of Quebec.

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D 5248

Montreal Gazette, 29th July/21

# C.N.R. AND TAXES ARE DISCUSSED BY MACKENZIE KING

## Government Accused of Making No Effort to Tax War Wealth

## RAILWAYS AND SHIPS

### Policy Regarding Transportation Criticized as Extravagant — Deficits Piling Up

(By Canadian Press.)

Brampton, Ont., July 28.—That the problems of taxation should be clearly understood by every woman in Canada as well as every man, was insisted upon tonight by Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Opposition. Mr. King accused the federal Government of extravagant and unjustifiable expenditures, and told his hearers that, in one way or another, everyone in Canada has to dig down into his pocket and pay his share.

A nation's prosperity, said Mr. King, was a reflection of the contented condition of its people. If people are obliged to pay excessive prices for everything they need, for their enjoyments and their opportunities, their condition of life is rendered more difficult.

"If there was one thing above another for which the Government in office during the war was to blame," asserted the speaker, it was in not seeking to meet some of the war expense out of current revenue, in not seeking to get back for the state through taxation of war fortunes some of the vast sums of public money which were helping to make millionaires in one direction while men were sacrificing their lives in another." Neither the Government of Sir Robert Borden prior to 1917 nor the Unionist Government since had made the slightest effort to tax war wealth, said Mr. King.

Loans and subsidies to the railways during the war should have been curtailed. The 100 to 200 millions expended in this direction was, said Mr. King, most unwarranted.

BIG RAILWAY DEFICIT.

Since 1911, said Mr. King, the Government of Canada had taken into its possession and control, without ever consulting the people, the entire railway system of the Dominion, excepting only the Canadian Pacific, and the yearly deficit, ever-increasing, would probably be over $100,000,000 this year. And notwithstanding the millions of dollars spent on the National Railways, the Government, the speaker charged, had consistently declined to give out such information as would enable the best course to be decided upon in this branch of public administration. Mr. King said he had again and again insisted upon the right of Parliament to scrutinize every dollar which was being spent out of the public treasury. He believed, he said, that the public debt and current taxation had been enormously increased by the Government's deliberate method of giving to a small circle of its friends an all but perfectly free hand in spending of public moneys.

"Though denied the information on the floor of Parliament," continued Mr. King, "one or two of the Liberal members of the House were able, in an investigation before a select committee of Parliament, to show how certain of the money was being spent. It was disclosed, for example, that insurance to an amount over $100,000,000 had been placed on the railroad property. Further investigation revealed the fact that one of the directors of the Canadian National Railways, an appointee of the Government, was also a director of the insurance company through which practically the whole of this insurance had been placed."

Mr. King claimed that while the Canadian Merchant Marine project might have been justified at first by war emergencies, the $70,000,000 which had been spent in this direction since the war was without justification. Once the war was over it was "the height of stupidity" for the Government to proceed with its programme.

ELEVEN HOUSES BURNED

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D 5249

Toronto Globe, July 29/21

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Hon. Mr. King, who was accompanied by Mr. H. H. Dewart, K.C., the Provincial Leader, and by Mr. J. A. Robb, M.P., of Huntingdon, Que., was met on his arrival at the G.T.R. Station by many of the leading Liberals of the locality, and, headed by the local band, the party proceeded in automobiles to the place of meeting, which was already well filled before the speakers arrived.

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29 July 1921 Tillsonburg

"THE TARIFF"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

SPEECH
on
THE TARIFF
at
Tillsonburg, Ontario, - July 29, 1921.

In speaking of the Tariff, the first consideration to keep in mind is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low.

Some people believe that because they do not see the tax that is being imposed, because they do not pay out taxes as an amount by itself to some tax collector, they are therefore escaping taxation altogether. There could be no greater mistake. It must ever be remembered that taxes are divisible into two classes, according to the method of their imposition; direct taxes, which are paid immediately and with the knowledge of the person making payment, as, for example, the income tax; and indirect taxes, which are collected from one person, but payment of which is passed on to another, of which the tariff is the outstanding example. The Customs Tariff, is simply a tax imposed by the state on goods and commodities coming into a country, whether they be in the nature of food, or clothing, or furniture, or anything else, and collected, in the first instance, by the tax collector

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from the importer at the customs house through which they pass, but paid ultimately by the persons who buy the goods in the extra price paid.

From this it will be apparent that, so long as the state is in need of taxation, and has a customs tariff as a means of raising taxes, or what is spoken of as revenue, every person who buys any of the commodities on the list included in the customs tariff will in all probability be paying some portion of the tax. Once this is rightly understood, every man and woman, and for that matter every boy or girl who has a dollar to spend, will see why it is of immediate and direct interest to themselves to keep down the expenses of government, and to have in office only such a government as may be expected to exercise the most rigid economy in all matters of expenditure.

When amounts to be raised by taxation are not very considerable, it may matter but little how they are raised, whether by direct or by indirect means. When, however, they are large, it is a matter of great consequence to everyone. There is this also to be remembered, that because part of the taxes may be raised by direct taxation, the burden of which falls mostly upon the wealthy and the well-to-do, it by no means follows that the tax rests there. The chances are a

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thousand to one the tax, or some part of it, will be passed on to someone else, and that the poor man or woman in the last analysis will bear more than his or her share. The wealthy landlord, for example, who has a big income tax to pay passes it on in a raise of rent to his tenants; if he is the owner of a coal mine, he may pass it on in the price of coal; if the owner of a railway, in the rate of fares and freight; and so on and so on. It is said that

"Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em;
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
and so ad infinitum."

It is much the same with the passing on of taxation from the fellows of big incomes to those of lesser ones -

"Big bugs have little bugs
To whom they pass their taxes;
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind their axes."

It is well that all should remember this, because there are two things which no one, no matter how poor he may be, is likely ever to escape. One is the Day of Judgment, which, however, belongs to the Hereafter; the other is taxation in one form or another, which is here and now every day in the week.

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In previous years, the men of the country were the only part of the population who were given the right to vote; or, in other words, to decide who were to compose the Government of the country. To-day, the women of the country as well as the men have that right. It is most important, therefore, that they, not less than the men, should clearly comprehend the problems of government, and in particular whatever relates to taxation, the means by which government is carried on. It may be that, because some women do not pay direct taxes to the State, many of them may think that it matters little to them who are in control of the Government, or how its affairs are administered. If, however, they once come to realize that all that we mean by the cost of living is bound up in the most intimate way with the expenditures of government, they will see how closely all questions of public expenditure and taxation relate themselves to their own happiness and opportunities.

A woman, for example, when she reads that the Government is spending ten or twelve millions of dollars each year on the militia, and an equal amount on combined naval and merchant marine service, may think that this expenditure is too remote to be of much concern to her.

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But for a population of less than ten millions to spend over twenty millions of military, naval, and merchant marine account, means an average of a little over $2.00 per individual. If she would stop to reflect, she would discover that, if it were possible to trace this payment to the one who finally makes it, she in all probability is paying her $2.00 on this account, if indeed not very much more. The money has to be raised either through direct or through indirect taxation. If raised in part out of large income, it will be passed on, in the price of commodities or services, to the persons of lesser incomes; if raised in the form of indirect taxation, it will be paid for out of the increased cost of commodities purchased.

When a woman purchases a new dress or a hat, the kind of dress or hat she can purchase will depend on its price. She may not think, when asked more than she ever paid before, that the reason is that part of the price is going to keep up the outlays on the militia, the navy, and the merchant marine, but such is nevertheless the case. A man or a woman may read in the newspaper that Parliament has voted $165,000,000 on account of Railway expenditures, and imagine that, that amount being so large, it must

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necessarily come out of the large incomes. There could be no greater mistake. Every pound of coffee purchased, every pair of shoes bought, every loaf of bread, every kitchen utensil, every bit of house furnishing, practically everything in the way of food consumed, one way or another, is carrying in its price a part of that $165,000,000; and the man or woman who makes the purchase is helping to pay it.

How, then, when we come to consider the total expenditures of government? Five or six hundred millions of dollars is a very large sum of money; but that is what our Parliament was called upon to vote at the last session as the amount to be spent during the present year. Assuming that our population was ten millions - which in all probability it is not - that would mean an outlay per individual of from $50 to $60, and an outlay per family of five, of $250 to $300. One is almost frightened to contemplate what it would mean for a family of twelve: the figures are, however, $600 to $720.

These are the taxes which the Government at Ottawa alone are at present imposing upon the people of

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Canada. When we recall the circumstance that for the most part the entire population under 14 years of age is dependent on others over that age; and that most of the population under 21 years of age is dependent in some measure upon the men and women who are over 21 years of age, it will be seen that what is allotted to them in per capita tax should in reality have been placed upon those who are electors; so that the amount which each man and woman will necessarily be contributing to the State is considerably greater than the figures I have indicated.

If each single man and woman who is paying no direct tax whatever, and thinks he or she is thereby escaping taxation altogether, will stop to think what it means to be contributing not less than $50 or $60 per year in taxes; and each head of a family of five will think what it means to be contributing from $250 to $300 per year, whether they are paying income tax or not, he or she will see why, among other reasons, the manner in which Government is carried on is to him or her a matter of immediate concern.

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If you have clearly grasped what a customs tariff is, and how and by whom it is ultimately paid, we may go on to consider the different kinds of customs tariff, and also their possible and probable effects.

Mr. Meighen, the Prime Minister, has been saying that there are only two kinds of tariff; a Protective Tariff and a Free Trade Tariff. With this statement I take direct issue. I go further, and say that there is no such thing in the world as a Free Trade Tariff, and that no one knows that better than Mr. Meighen himself. Why, then, does he say it? I can only surmise the reason. I regret to say that our Prime Minister is not always wholly candid; he has a perfect genius for twisting and turning and misrepresenting situations and facts, and like most contortionists is fond at times of displaying his ability in this unfortunate direction. He does it always for a purpose. The acrobat in a circus performs his tricks to make people laugh. Mr. Meighen performs his in a manner which should make the nation weep. And this for the reason that his twists and turns are so wholly misleading, and are made, not with a view of playing upon the good nature of his audiences, but upon their prejudices, which he knows sometimes go very deep.

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In this matter, for example, he knows that in many parts of the country, and especially in the cities and towns to which he is looking for support, there is a strong prejudice against Free Trade; and so he says the issue on the Tariff is between Protection and Free Trade; that he is for Protection and the Farmers and the Liberals are for Free Trade. Well, I must leave the Leaders of the Farmers Party to speak for themselves. So far as the Liberal Party is concerned, I should like to say here, what I have said on every platform from which I have spoken in Canada on the subject of the Tariff, and what I have said in Parliament on more than one occasion, that the Liberal Party is not to-day, and has not been since we have had a tariff in Canada, for Free Trade. That the issue is not one between Protection and Free Trade; or, as Mr. Meighen expresses it, a Protective Tariff and a Free Trade Tariff. It is between a Tariff imposed primarily for purposes of Revenue; between a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue if you will, but not between a protective tariff and no tariff at all, which is the meaning of Free Trade.

It is not honest to say that we can do away altogether with the Customs Tariff in Canada at the present time.

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If we do, how are we to raise the immense sums that are required to pay off our public debt, and meanwhile to pay the interest on it? How are we to raise the monies required to meet the obligations growing out of the war; the pensions to returned soldiers, to those who are suffering from impairment of health or bodily injury, or to the dependents of those who were killed? How are we to finance our railways, and how meet the other expenses of government amounting, as I have said, for the present year to between five and six hundred million dollars; and this with the setting aside of nothing in payment of our public debt, which amounts to over two billion, three hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars? No, we cannot change from a system of indirect to one of direct taxation all in a day, even if that were to be deemed the wisest course. What might have been possible before the war, when the total expenditure of government was between one and one and a half millions of dollars, is not so easily achieved to-day, where the total expenditures of government are four times that amount. The highest point public expenditure ever reached during the Liberal regime was $126,000,000, al told; that is to say, on ordinary and capital account, including subsidies to

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railways, $87,000,000 on ordinaly expenditure alone. To-day the figures stand at $563,000,000, with a public debt in addition which has jumped from $340,000,000 to over $2,350,000.

Let me repeat, existing financial requirements of the Dominion demand the maintenance of a Customs Tariff. This the Liberal Party put forward as the first clause in a resolution on the Tariff which was moved in the House of Commons by the Hon. Mr. Fielding and seconded by myself, and which received the unanimous support of the Liberal Opposition and of the Agrarian group during the debate on the Budget in the session of Parliament which has just ended.

So long as you recognize a customs tariff, you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as I have stated, a tax. It is a tax on imports, and a tax on imports is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what it says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example; and when the Prime Minister and his following say that the issue is between protection and free trade, they do not describe the situation aright. The minute a tax is imposed on trade, that moment trade is obstructed. The obstruction may be made to serve primarily

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one of two purposes; it may be made a means of raising revenue, or it may be made a means of affording protection to some industry within the country. Usually it serves both purposes in some measure. A tax imposed for purposes of protection may be so framed as incidentally to afford revenue, and a tax imposed for purposes of revenue may be so framed as incidentally to afford protection. The art of statesmanship in the imposition of taxation lies in making taxation as light as circumstances will permit, and in having regard for existing national needs in whatever taxation may be imposed. The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is not and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarilly for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue.

The Prime Minister says it is either free trade or protection; that there are only the two grounds; there is no middle ground between them. That is in order to divert the public mind from the middle ground, and to centre it upon the one extreme or the other. Let me quote his exact words:

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"I said a moment ago that any body of men framing a tariff must adopt one of two principles, the protective principle or the free trade principle, and I say that every public man owes it to the people to declare definitely on which of the two principles he stands."

That was a statement made at Winnipeg on October 25, 1920. You will observe that Mr. Meighen is choosing his own promises in making presenting the alternative. He makes the assertion, and then he begins to argue from his own promises, but his promises are not right to begin with. He says:

"There is a free trade tariff, and there is a protective tariff."

He goes on to say:

"Is there a man or woman here who knows whether Mr. King stands for tariff on the free trade principle, or on the protection principle? You may keep on asking him, but you will never get an answer, yes or no."

You might as well expect the answer "Yes"or "No" from a man to whom you might address the query as to whether or not he had stopped beating his wife, when as a matter of fact he had always been kind to her. This is political trickery, not statesmanship.

Mr. Meighen knows very well that I will never give an answer "Yes" or "No" to a question based on promises that are entirely false. The question is not between protection

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and free trade. He says, in an issue between protection and free trade, there is no middle ground. In that I agree with him, if by protection he means tariff and by free trade absence of tariff. The one is the negation of the other. That issue may be fought out theoretically, but practically there is no such issue in this country, and never has been. Mr. Meighen says: "You can have two kinds of tariff and only two; you can have a tariff founded on one principle, that of protection, or another principle, that of free trade." That is where he mistakes the case. You cannot have a tariff on the principle of free trade, for the principle of free trade means the absence of all tariff. What Mr. Meighen should have said, what he would have said had he not been trying deliberately to becloud the issue, when speaking of the only possible alternatives of a tariff, is that there are but two kinds, a tariff based on the principle of protection, and a tariff based on the principle of revenue. Had he stated the alternative in these words, he would have correctly described the issue.

In dealing with taxation, whether it be the tariff or any other form of taxation, the aim should be to make

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taxation fall as lightly as possible upon the people of the country. The art of statesmanship as respects taxation, as respects everything else pertaining to public administration, consists in having as much regard doe all the interests of the country as possible. If, when a Government is framing its tariff with one object or another in view, it does not take into consideration all the other objects of which account should be taken that are to be served, it will not be doing its full duty by the people whose representative it is. Unless Mr. Meighen, when framing a tariff for purposes of protection, is prepared to say that he will give no consideration to the revenue that is to be raised, he should not hurl a stone at us because in regard to a tariff designed primarily for revenue purposes, we declare that we intend to have regard for the interests and needs of the country and its industries in whatever direction these needs may present themselves. The Prime Minister has never once spoken of there being an issue between a tariff primarily for revenue and a tariff primarily for protection. He has tried to make an issue between free trade and protection. Speaking of Free Trade or Protection, and omitting altogether reference to a tariff primarily for protection or a tariff

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primarily for revenue, which must be as familiar to him as it is to any person in the country, he has shown that he has been trying to draw away the minds of the people from the real issue and cause them to give him their support on something which is not the issue at all.

The position which I have just stated has been the position the Liberal Party has taken all along in regard to the tariff. In the last speech he delivered on the Budget, before the war, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated in the clearest possible terms the position of the Liberal Party on the tariff. Here are Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words. They will be found in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons, of April 23, 1914, page 2844:

> "We have always contended, that the policy best suited to this country is not a protective tariff but a customs tariff for revenue purposes."

There is the statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. There is the statement of the Liberal Party in the matter of the tariff. That is where Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood; that is where I stand; and that is where I shall continue to stand irrespective of all the twists and turns the Prime Minister may seek to make.

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If I may be permitted to say so, the Prime Minister has gone out of his way to misrepresent to the public the attitude of the Liberal Party on the tariff, and to misrepresent me personally from one end of the country to the other. He has led the way in having his press and his following in Parliament and the country assert that I stood in one place for one thing and in another for another; that I particularly had created throughout the country the impression that I was trying to be all things to all men. I might quote many of his utterances. I shall mention only one or two. Mr. Meighen is reported to have said, in addressing a meeting of the Ladies at the Women's Liberal-Conservative Association, at Toronto, on April 16 of this very year:

> "In Eastern Canada, the Opposition had advocated moderate protection, and in Western Canada, free trade. Everything their leaders had spoken had bound them to free trade."

Then, at a meeting of the Conservative Club, in Toronto, on the same day, the Prime Minister is reported in the Toronto Mail and Empire as having said:

> "But id there any one knows where the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King stands? Mr King was an advocate of ruthless tariff reduction out west, but in the east he stood for the adequate protection of industry.

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So he told the same story both to the ladies and to the men, and yet in both cases he must have known that what he was saying was not true.

I challenged the Right Hon. the Prime Minister, on the floor of Parliament, to point to any utterance of mine in the West that can possibly be understood as meaning that I stood for Free Trade, or as he in a more modified form expressed it, ruthless tariff reduction. He was unable to accept the challenge and yet he has never retracted his words. It is a very easy thing to misrepresent an opponent. It is quite another thing to undo the evils of misrepresentation. I regret to say that I fear one can look as little for chivalry as for truth from the Prime Minister, where it serves his purpose to take a different attitude.

The speeches I made through the Canadian West last year were made in the hearing of thousands of persons; they were reported very fully in the western papers, and in despatches to the East; they were made within the hearing of many persons from this Province and from Eastern Canada, and I challenge anyone to point to a single sentence in all that I have said which will afford a shadow of justification for allegations of the kind that have been wilfully made.

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I have looked through the press reports of the different speeches I made in the different cities, and I find that every one of them on this question of the tariff tallies, verbatim et literatim, with the policy of the Liberal Party as I stated it in the House of Commons, both at the last session and the session previous.

That there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff during the western trip last fall, that there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff when I spoke in the Maritime Provinces a little over a year ago, that there may be no misunderstanding of my present attitude on the tariff, may I repeat what I said in a speech which I delivered in the city of Toronto on Saturday, August 14 of last year, and which will be found reported on the front page of the Toronto "Globe" of the Monday following. The report there contained is, to all intents and purposes, identical with the presentation of the Liberal attitude on the tariff as made at every meeting at which I have spoken on the tariff since the Liberal Convention of August, 1919. It is in all essential particulars true to the Liberal platform as laid down at that convention, and it is absolutely in accord with the aim of the Liberal Party on fiscal policy as set forth in the

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resolutions we have moved in Parliament since that time. I challenge any man or woman in this country to show that I have anywhere, at any time, swerved from the views and opinions and statement of policy as set forth in that report, which is both clear and comprehensive. The "Globe" says:

> "Speaking on the all-important tariff question at the Liberal picnic Saturday, Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, said:
>
> '"We believe that the time has come, indeed that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life, in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection . . .
>
> " 'In revising the tariff to this end care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country, but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes. . . . .
>
> " 'It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff. We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal Party. And I shall say in regard to tariff policies exactly the same in the city of Toronto as I shall say in the Western Provinces. I have not one message for the city and another message for the country- one message for the employer and another for the employee.' "

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You will observe the Liberal policy is a policy of tariff revision, of revision downwards, not upwards, of revision in the interests of producers and consumers, not of special interests and privileged classes.

With the Liberal Party, the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection; it is revenue; it is the needs and well-being of the home, and the development of our industries in such manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people. I want to emphasize the fact that if called upon, as I believe we will be, to revise the tariff, in any revision we may make it will be the home and its needs that will receive first consideration; that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place, regard will be had to existing conditions of trade, and changes made in such a manner as will cause the least possible disturbance of business. As respects the tariff, as with everything else of national importance, the Liberal Party believes in proceeding along evolutionary, not along revolutionary, lines.

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This brings me to the reason why, as respects the tariff, we as Liberals stand on the principle of a tariff primarily for revenue, rather than on the principle of a tariff primarily for protection. We believe that a tariff primarily for protection is certain to be a tariff for special interests, whereas a tariff primarily for revenue comes as near as any tariff can to being a tariff for the people.

Mr. Meighen and his friends profess to be in favour of a revision of the tariff. Over and over again, the Government, both of Sir Robert Borden and of Mr. Meighen, have emphasized the need for revision. Sir Thomas White, when Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech of June 5, 1919, said that a general revision was "long overdue", but owing to the war unavoidably overdue. It was urged that, because of the unsettled condition of international trade, still hampered by war restrictions and prohibitions, and by exchange conditions, it would not be practicable to make a sound general revision of the tariff at that time. The hope, however, was expressed that within a year conditions would have become so stabilized as to permit of a general revision of the tariff. The Finance Minister urged that, proceeding the revision, a thorough inquiry should be conducted by the Minister of Finance and two or more of his colleagues,

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and gave it as his view that this inquiry might well be commenced about the autumn of that year. It was stated that the result of such an inquiry should be "a body of information which would enable the Government to effect a general revision of the tariff fair to all parts of the community and effectually promoting the national welfare of Canada". This pronouncement served the purpose of the avoidance of any tariff revision during the session of 1919.

The autumn of 1919 came and went, but the inquiry foreshadowed for the fall of 1919 was not proceeded with. This occasioned a second official declaration. It was made, not by Sir Thomas White, but by his successor in office, the present Minister of Finance, Sir Henry Drayton. In a remarkable utterance, issued in December of that year, not only the time of general revision, but the time also of the inquiry which was to precede it, was further postponed. It was urged that international and economic conditions were in many respects worse than they were six months previous, or at any time during the war. Whilst this might serve as an excuse, if not as a reason, for delaying the general revision, it was evidently recognized that it would not serve with like effectiveness as a reason for abandoning the promised general inquiry which was to precede it. Accordingly the Government

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hit upon the rather unprecedented device of reversing the order of procedure with respect to inquiry, and instead of having the ministers confer with consumers and producers in a series of public hearings throughout the Dominion, announced its intention of having interested parties present their views and opinions in the form of written statements, which could be "systematically analyzed and classified for the purpose of making them a basis of general public inquiry to be held throughout the country."

The written statements were made to do duty for the session of 1920. Parliament was informed, in the Budget speech of May 10 of that year, that though unfortunately trade and economic conditions were yet unstable, the tariff investigation had commenced, and public sittings would be held throughout Canada after prorogation. The Minister of Finance went further than promising the prosecution of the inquiry; he told the House that to make the inquiry thorough the Department of Finance would have the assistance of expert and other advisers, and he went on to say, "I am further of the opinion that not only should the investigation proceed, but that information should now be given of the principles and policies of the Government in the light of which effect will be given in the tariff revision to follow to the evidence and facts developed in the inquiry."

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Then followed a somewhat pretentious and high-sounding enumeration of principles and policies, preceded by the declaration, "Our policy calls for a thorough revision of the tariff", and concluding with a reiteration of the affirmation that "a general revision of the Canadian tariff based upon the foregoing considerations was due". This statement of the hon. the Minister of Finance was limited only by the condition that the revision should not be undertaken "until a thorough inquiry is made to ascertain the essential facts upon which tariff provisions must necessarily be based."

That brought us to the end of the session of 1920. Before the summer of 1920 was over, the Minister of Finance and certain of his colleagues, together with their experts and other advisers, entered upon the public sittings of the investig ation, which was announced as having commenced when the statements of consumers and producers were called for. Across this continent, from ocean to ocean, at most of the important centres throughout the Dominion, and at great expense to the country, the Committee of the Cabinet conducted its hearings. Nothing was omitted in the way of press propaganda to have it appear that the committee was doing a great public work. When the public hearings were over, the country was given to understand that the delay in the summoning of Parliament was due to

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the time required by the committee to get its information in shape for the tariff revision which was to be the main feature of the present session. Finally, on February 14, Parliament reassembled, and with the opening of Parliament came the pronouncement, in the Speech from the Throne, respecting tariff revision.

"My advisers", said His Excellency, "are convinced of the necessity for revision of the customs tariff." There was no uncertainty there. "conviction" and "necessity" are strong words, and both find a place in this terse and emphatic sentence. His Excellency continued: "In order to secure the most complete information, a committee has conducted an extensive and thorough inquiry." Here again were clear and emphatic words. Not only had the inquiry been conducted, but the inquiry had been extensive and thorough. The pronouncement continued: "The hearings necessary for this purpose have now been completed, and the conclusions founded thereon will be submitted to you in due course." It is unnecessary to quote further. No declaration could be clearer. It only remained for the Budget to be brought down for the House to enter upon the important work of the session.

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What was our surprise, and the surprise of the country, when on Monday the 9th of June, the Minister of Finance, in presenting his Budget to the House, instead of submitting the conclusions founded upon the hearings of the committee of investigation, and outlining the measure of revision of the customs tariff promised by His Excellency in the speech from the Throne, calmly informed the House that it was "not proposed to put into effect now a general revision of the tariff schedules."

But one of two alternatives is possible; either the Government, despite all its professions, had never had any real intention of revising the tariff; or, having such an intention, it was frustrated in the carrying out of its intention the moment advance had been made to the point where definite action became necessary. It matters very little which of these alternatives we take; the one really significant fact is apparent, the Government was not a free agent, in the matter of either intention or action. It is not a free agent at the present time. Its members in truth do not constitute the real Government of Canada to-day. In word and act, it is but the visible expression of influence and forces which dictate the policies, aye, and in large measure are controlling the destinies of Canada to-day - forces and influences which constitute the real though the invisible government of this Dominion.

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The failure of the Government, at this time of high living-costs, and much needed increase of production, to give any relief from burdensome taxation to either consumers or producers, is not due, as professed, to any legislation of the United States. The stock in trade argument of the Tory Oarty has all along been that in tariff legislation we should act altogether independently of the United States. It is due to a deliberate and determined effort to thwart trade and to restrict competition in every direction, with the Mother Country and our sister dominions even more than with the United States, in order that a few wealthy men and their immediate friends and associates may reap still larger fortunes through obtaining, not a much-needed home market, as they would have us believe, but a monopoly of the Canadian market, in addition to markets abroad secured for them through Government action in a variety of directions and at enormous expense to the taxpayers of this country.

I have referred to the combined power of a few special interests, as constituting the real, albeit an invisible, government, compared with which the Government we see personified in Mr. Meighen and his colleagues is but as form and shadow. Perhaps the time would be well spent

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if we paused for a moment to look behind the shadow, and discern what we can of the reality. A moment's reflection will enable us to see how this original power came into being, and how menacing its existence is to the social and industrial well-being of our country.

I need not remind you that for four years the energies of this country, the energies of its Government, of its industries, as well as of its people, were strained to the one herculean task, the winning of the war. It was inevitable that during that period there should be the closest kind of association between certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, and between these several interests and the Government and its members. That association between the more active and prominent members of both groups was uninterrupted, and indeed necessarily intimate, over the greater part of the entire period. They were linked the one to the other by the most powerful of bonds. There was the bond of disinterested public service at the moment of the greatest crisis in the world's affairs, and there was the bond, wholly different in character it is true, but to some individuals even more powerful, of personal and private self-interest at a moment of opportunity such as has presented itself but once in the history of this world.

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During those four years, a sum amounting to something like two billions of dollars was loaned by the country to the Government, and under Government direction was disbursed among these financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests. The Government was permitted a free hand; in the loans thus subscribed, the sacrifices present or future were never questioned; in the spending of these vast sums little or no check was exercised by Parliament; Orders-in-Council, at the caprice of the ministry, were permitted to replace legislative enactments of both Houses of Parliament. It was an era of unparalled opportunity both for the exercise of autocratic power and for the bestowal of favours. Strange indeed it would be had not the closest kind of relationship been formed between the controlling factors on both sides. That they were so formed, every Canadian citizen is well aware.

With the termination of the war and the demobilization of the military forces, this era of unlimited expenditures and unparalled contracting came to an end. Not, however, the association between the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, among themselves, or with the Government. In considerable measure, it is true,

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the compelling force of the bonds which had united these interests with the Government were lessened. Members of the Government who read their obligation to the country in terms of disinterested public service, recalling the pledges on which the Government was returned to power, one by one retired from the ministry. Others of their colleagues, for reasons best known to themselves, continued in office, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, were numbers of influential and prominent men who were quick to sever the intimacy of the relations formed with members of the Government during the period of stress and strain, and to give their thought to their particular business interests regardless altogether of Government favours or action.

Unfortunately for our Dominion, all the men of great wealth and power have not been of this class. The same self-interest which caused members of the Government to cling to office despite honourable obligation and constitutional right, has operated in like manner to cause certain members of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests to continue to look to Government for special favours and special privilege, and

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in return to support the administration by direct methods as well as indirect in its retention of power against the will of the people as a whole. Thus we have come to have in Canada, on the one hand, a Prime Minister and a ministry to whom usurpation of office and the exercise of autocratic methods in Government belong as a sort of natural right; and on the other, a small circle, a sort of little oligarchy of interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, prepared, in return for a continuation of favour and special privilege, to use their wealth and influence to keep the Administration in power, and thereby constituting in a very true sense the real though invisible Government of this country.

We have, in other words, political power united with plutocracy in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the State. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behaviour, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests mentioned, who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry

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and the State, but wish to dominate both. They are for the time being able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its existence to their dictation and its continuance in office to the powerful influence which in a multitude of directions they are able to exert. There is the real situation with which the country is faced at the present time. That is the danger to Canada at the moment. It is not that her Government is not a Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, but rather that we have the selfish groups united together, working for their joint ambitions, and the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

This is the explanation of the failure of the Government thus far to revise the tariff. It was not fear of the consequences of American emergency legislation - that really was a ground for action - it was the maintenance by the favoured few of their privileged position as it has come to be in consequence of the war and conditions as they have grown out of the war. It is the explanation of the declaration made by the Prime Minister in the course of his speech on the Budget in Parliament.

> "This Government stands for the tariff that is in existence to-day, and in any adjustment that will be made we will admit the principle of protection and we will apply it."

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Protection, yes, but protection for whom? Protection for these favoured interests, not for the great masses of the people. The invisible government has decreed that thus he must stand, and so the day of tariff revision in the interests of either producers or consumers has been indefinitely postponed.

It is because of this combination, the combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, by which all Liberal and progressive forces will be opposed at the General Elections, whenever they are held, that it would be disastrous to the well-being of the people as a whole for Mr. Meighen and his colleagues to be returned to power and entrusted with any revision of the tariff. It would never be a tariff framed in the interest of producers and consumers, but a tariff for the benefit of a few wealthy men and their friends. What folly it is in the face of so great a danger for the forces of progress to be divided at this time. Autocracy has ever sought to win its victory by keeping divided the forces by which it is opposed. For any group calling itself progressive to seek isolation, and to fail actively to co-operate with every other liberal group, is to help to accomplish its own ultimate defeat, and to deliver the day of victory to a common enemy.

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Fortunately, I need not ask the people of Canada to accept my analysis of the situation as a last word. Did time permit, I might cite an abundance of evidence as proof of its accuracy. We have, however, the evidence of one who has been on the inside, one of the Government's own supporters who was permitted a peep behind the scene, in a position of exceptional opportunity, who was appointed to office by the Government itself, and who has given to the public a description of what he has seen, in an official report to the Government itself. I refer to the report of Mr. James Murdock, presented at the time of his resignation from the Board of Commerce.

Having been a member of the Board from the time of its inception, Mr. Murdock came at once into a specially favoured position. Indeed, strategically, he was in the best of positions; he was where he could view, on the one side, the organization of the specially favoured interests I have been describing, and, on the other, the relation thereto of members of the Administration. Both situations he has described with perfect clearness; they are depicted in the official communication sent the Prime Minister in June of last year, and which the Government has had before it ever since. Here is the situation as respects the favoured interests.

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Referring to the preliminary investigations of the Board of Commerce, and the necessity for some governmental machinery to protect the consumers and producers of the country against the kind of protection Mr. Meighen and his associates have been advocating, Mr. Murdock says:

> "(a) Business men living together under the protection of the tariff have got to know each other so well that price-fixing agreements and arangements are the rule, rather than the exception. The Board has already on file evidence in some scores of cases of such agreements. Not all of those are reasonable or proper. It should not be left to the unfettered will of the businesses interested to fix prices on necessaries of life. . . .
>
> "(b) Combines which have fastened themselves on the production and distribution of certain essential articles of food, such as canned fruits, have introduced systems of merchandizing which are injurious to trade and the consumer, and prevent fair competition. . . .
>
> "(c) The Board has discovered that unfair and excessive profits are being taken by certain textile manufacturers, cement companies, and other large concerns. It is in the public interest that these investigations thus begun be not stopped at this point. . . .
>
> "(d) There is reason to believe that sugar is not the only commodity in which speculation to the detriment of the public has taken place. . . .
>
> "(e) Without a Board of Commerce, the public has no organization to watch and protect its interests, while on the other side there is the most complete organization and cross-organization; Manufacturers' associations, retail associations, packers' associations, and hundreds of other associations. The public, unorganized as the sands by the sea, requires a protector against the super-organization of modern business."

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Mr. Murdock, you see, speaks of the need of protection, but it is not the protection of the members of the associations he has described, but the protection of the great body of consumers that are like the sands of the seashore, without any protection whatever against what he terms the super-organization of modern business. It is the few wealthy men responsible for this super-organization of modern business depicted by Mr. Murdock who constitute the ring that controls the Government of Canada to-day, that shackles its freedom of action, and compels the Government on pain of extinction to do its bidding. It is the favoured position of these privileged few that the Government is striving in all its measures to advance and to protect.

Then Mr. Murdock goes on to speak of the Government's attitude as he came to know it - and, be it remembered, this was a statement issued to the Prime Minister of this country by Mr. Murdock, while Mr. Murdock was still a member of the Board. The majority of the Cabinet, he declares, were never in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act, and only favoured the passage of those measures as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other demonstrations, when the people demanded some means

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of controlling profiteers. He points out, moreover, that certain Cabinet Ministers, and others prominent in the councils of Canada, had undertaken so far as possible to minimize the effects of these Acts, and had repeatedly tried to thwart the Board's activities by quiet and hidden restrictive opposition; and that the Chairman himself saw to it that nothing was done which could in any way affect the business and financial interests which, in his judgment, should be protected from interference by the Board of Commerce. Mr. Murdock cites another instance in which certain members of the Cabinet endeavoured to relieve the textile manufacturess of the necessity of furnishing information which the Board had called for, and this when later records show that the disclosures which could have been made had full information been furnished were such as "would have startled and incensed the Canadian public beyond anything that has developed in recent months."

Finally, as indicating beyond shadow of doubt his view of the Government's relationship to the super-organization of business interests he has described, Mr. Murdock concludes:

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"In connection with your suggestion that I continue as a commissioner of the Board of Commerce until the decision of the Privy Council, I feel that the people need, and are entitled to, some results now. The light should be let in. I believe your Cabinet will devise some means to prevent the Board of Commerce from functioning, even should the Privy Council give a favourable decision. My conscience will not permit me to become a high-salaried time-saver."

Could anything be clearer? There are the specially favoured duly protected interests on the one side; the Government, their protecting and willing servants, on the other; and the whole a matter of public disclosure and now of public knowledge.

Let me say, so that my words will not be capable of misconstruction, that in making these references to certain financial, manufacturing, distributing, and other business interests, I am making no attack on big business as such, I am making no attack on wealth as such, I am making no attack whatever on vast organization as such, for in these days of competition between industry and industry, between locality and locality, between nation and nation, between continent and continent, large organization is absolutely necessary, and vast accumulations of wealth in particular industries are absolutely necessary if the country is to hold its own in competition. So I am making no charge against the organization of business

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as it is carried on to-day, nor against the men to whom this country is, indeed, vastly indebted for their skilful organization of industry and the way it is carried on. But what I wish to do is this: I wish to distinguish between those men who are prepared to share in the government of industry and in the government of the country, and those men who wish to monopolise and dictate in matters of industrial policy and the control of political affairs. You have in every country the two types. You have the men who are willing to work with their fellows and to share with their fellows; and you have others who wish to dictate, who wish to control, who wish to monopolize, and it is these latter groups that have been brought into combination through the circumstances of the country being as I have described them, and who are controlling this country at the present time.

Why should a few men monopolize government and the patronage of government? Why should one bank, one railway group, one trust company, one insurance company, be favoured at the expense of others? Why certain industrial enterprises and not all? In a country like Canada, all should be permitted a share in government and

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government business? It is against monopoly in government business and government favours, as against monopoly in all else, that our attacks are directed.

Think of a Government permitting itself to lie under the shadow of such an indictment! Mr. Murdock's charges were made on the eve of prorogation a year ago; the Government has taken no steps to free itself from all that those representations imply. Why has Mr. Murdock not been summoned to appear before some committee of this House and prove the charges he has made? There is one reason, and one reason only, the Government knows the charges to be true, and that any attempt at investigation will mean the letting in of more light.

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OTHER EXAMPLES OF GOVERNMENT FAVOURS
TO SPECIAL INTERESTS

Did time permit, Mr. Murdock's charges might be duplicated many fold. I purpose at Hamilton, on Saturday night, to show how this baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats is operating to increase the fortunes of a few wealthy individuals at the expense of the public, through the manner in which public funds are permitted to be spent in connection with the administration of our railways, and those who are benefitting sheltered from all possibility of exposure by methods the Government has devised. I might go on to show how Canada's credid in the form of loans of public monies to foreign governments has been made an instrument of increasing the private fortunes of many wealthy individuals, some of whom are among the Government's own supporters in Parliament. I might show how legislation passed by a previous administration, designed to protect the consumers against the exactions of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers, has been repeated and nothing permitted to be enacted in its stead. I might go on to point out how this year, as in former years, no account whatever has been taken of profiteering; how another year has been allowed to pass without

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any effort whatever having been made by the Government to recover any of the war-time wealth; how, instead of the removal of any of the taxation that bears immediately upon the masses of the people, the duties upon the necessaries of life, it is the business profits taxes and the luxury taxes that have been abolished. The Prime Minister talks of Protection, of the need for protection, and says that we are all in favour of protection. Let him have it so; but let me tell him that the protection for which we stand is the protection of the consumer against the exactions of combines, monopolies, and the super-organization of associated business, not the protection of these specially favoured organizations against the interests and well-being of the people at large.

THE PEOPLE MUST BREAK POWERFUL COMBINATION
BY WHICH THEIR INTERESTS ARE OPPOSED

What is needed most in this country to-day is to break this selfish combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats which has grown and developed during the war and fastened itself like an octopus on the people of Canada. That is a task which is too large to be performed by the present Parliament; it is a task which

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the people alone can successfully undertake. We of the Opposition may do our best, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of the closure when, on matters of public expenditure, we try to let in light. The only way in which that combination can be broken is to give to the people of this country their right to have a Parliament composed of their own representatives chosen in their own way. Until that right is granted we will never know what the assets or liabilities of this country are. We of the Opposition in Parliament may make the best effort we can - we have been doing that - but we are powerless as I have said in the face of weapons, such as the closure which the Prime Minister and his following are prepared to use on behalf of the interests that are sustaining and keeping them in power. We do demand, however, and shall continue to demand, in the name of the people of this country - that for the sake of Canada's present condition and for the sake of her future need, the people be granted the right, the constitutional right which is theirs, of electing a Parliament of their own choosing, and of breaking without further delay a combination which is so inimical to the public weal.

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London advertiser, July 30/21

# LIBERAL LEADER OUTLINES HIS TARIFF POLICIES TO SOUTH OXFORD ELECTORS

## Declares Premier Meighen Has a Remarkable Genius For Deliberately Misrepresenting Situations and Facts and Throwing Dust In the Eyes of the People.

[By Staff Reporter.]

TILLSONBURG, July 29. — South Oxford gave the Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, a wonderful welcome tonight. Electors were here from all parts of the riding, and cheering crowds lined the station and streets and packed the opera house to capacity long before the hour for speaking arrived.

The Liberal leader was at his best, and drove home his points against the Meighen Government with telling effect, and was frequently interrupted by rounds of applause.

A resolution expressing complete confidence in the Liberal policies and in both the federal and provincial leaders, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Mr. Hartley Dewart, was carried amid enthusiasm and applause.

**Rousing Reception.**

Tillsonburg brass band played as the Liberal leader's train drew in at 7 o'clock and afterwards headed the procession about the principal streets of the town. The reception committee included Mayor M. G. Dean, G. H. Denton, Ex-Mayor W. C. Brown, Ira Trooper, Lieut.-Col. T. W. Mayberry, ex-M.P.P., of Ingersoll, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Hegler, K.C., of Ingersoll and W. J. Comiskey, also of Ingersoll, president of the South Oxford Reform Association.

President Comiskey in opening the meeting expressed the opinion that a general federal election was liable to be held at any time in all probability before another session of Parliament.

He explained to the Norwich and Otterville members that although this annual meeting ought to have been held in their district, it was not deemed likely that a hall large enough to accommodate a rally addressed by Hon. Mr. King could be secured in either of these places. Encouraging reports were presented by Secretary Denton.

**Elected Officers.**

After a largely increased membership had been enrolled, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Mayor M. G. Dean of Tillsonburg, president; Charles G. Hullett, Norwich, vice-president; C. H. Denton (re-elected), secretary-treasurer. Chairmen and secretaries for the various subdivisions were re-elected, the executive to fill vacancies occurring.

The address of welcome which followed the business session was tendered to Hon. Mr. King, J. A. Robb, M.P., of Huntington, the Liberal whip, and General Secretary Hayden of the Reform Association of Canada by Mayor Dean, who foresaw in the public experience and service of the Liberal leader during recent years splendid training to fit him for the duties of the future premiership of Canada.

Musical contributions to the program were made by Mrs. Wilfred McGuire and Miss Ethel Oatman, vocalists, and Miss Helen Trestain, pianist.

**Trying to Divide.**

Mr. Robb, beginning his address, congratulated the residents of South Oxford upon the splendid development of their farms and communities. Residents of the Eastern Counties of Quebec believed that they lived in the garden of Canada, but after seeing South Oxford he had to admit there was another garden of Canada.

He spoke strongly of the bon entente which had so long existed between Ontario and Quebec, although racially and religiously different. French and English speaking Canadians, Roman Catholics and Protestants, had united solidly to turn out the traitors of 1896.

The Conservative party with a view to dividing the Liberal party in Quebec, had sought to sow enmity between the two races and the two religions, but the Conservative efforts to sow discord had not met with much success.

Today as never before there was a solid Liberal block in Quebec. After 24 years of sane, solid Liberal representation, Quebec is one of the most progressive provinces in Canada and the home of the most contented people in Canada. Quebec remembers her annual deficits and her discontent in the days of Conservative administration, when her citizens by thousands were removing to the New England States. Today her people are returning home, and Quebec remembering, intends to continue her solid Liberal representation.

**Criticizes Meighen.**

Mr. Robb sharply criticized Premier Meighen and other cabinet members for galivanting from one foreign country to another at a time when Canada has so many important and serious problems of her own to settle.

The Government is growing bolder and bolder in corrupt deals as its term of office continued and as each session of parliament advanced. Much had been said about abolishing patronage, why then had patronage been revived in the appointment of the census commissioners and enumerators, why could

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not these appointments have been left to the civil service commission.

**Time For Unity.**

Referring to the wild extravagance of the Conservative party he asked could anyone wonder that the people in their discontent were breaking up into groups and new functions. The extreme versatility of the Conservative appeals was pointed out. First Quebec was told by the Conservative allies in Quebec that Laurier was too loyal to Britain. At the next election in 1917 Ontario was told that the Liberals were disloyal and the people of Quebec were slackers. Now Premier Meighen goes to Quebec and implores that province to save Canada from the Bolshevists of Ontario. This was a time for unity said Mr. Robb and Canada must not allow the discord sowers to divide her people, because of the reckless extravagance of the Borden and Meighen Governments. The next government must be pledged to the closest economy possible. Such a government would not be popular, but economy must be practiced to restore public confidence and reduce the public debt which the Conservative Government have allowed to accumulate.

**Great Reception.**

When Hon. Mackenzie King rose to speak the cheering was deafening and continued for some minutes. His address in part follows:

He was presented on behalf of the South Oxford Reform Association with a bouquet of roses by little Kathleen Jane Brown, daughter of W. C. Brown of Tillsonburg, former president of the association.

The Liberal leader expressed his deep appreciation of the splendid reception accorded him, and the resolution of unswerving support and fullest confidence which the association had passed at the beginning of the meeting.

**Different Problems.**

Today Canada's problems were not the same as they had been before the war. Restoration of popular liberty and free speech had been promised by the Conservative Government upon the expiration of the war, but instead it had grown more reactionary than ever in its legislation. Canada today was governed on the one hand by political autocrats, and on the other hand by industrial plutocrats.

A class of politicians was in power, which did not care what befell the country so long as they could retain power, and the moneyed men had but one thought of making more money, escaping as much as possible themselves from the burden of paying their share of public expenditure, said Mr. King, introducing his address on the tariff and taxation. Evolution, not revolution, he said, must be the method to supplant indirect by direct taxation.

**Must Go Slowly.**

Indirect taxation cannot be dropped all at once. It would be too burdensome if suddenly applied in view of the great national debt. But indirect taxation should not be used as a protection for one industry as against another.

In speaking of the tariff, the first consideration to keep in mind, is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low.

**No Escape From Effects.**

Some people believe that because they do not see the tax that is being imposed, because they do not pay out taxes as an amount by itself to some tax collector, they are therefore escaping taxation altogether. There could be no greater mistake. It must ever be remembered that taxes are divisible into two classes, according to the method of their imposition; direct taxes which are paid immediately and with the knowledge of the person making payment of which is passed on to another, of which the tariff is the outstanding example. The customs tariff, and that is simply a tax imposed by the state on goods and commodities coming into a country, whether they be in the nature of food, or clothing, or furniture, or anything else, and collected, in the first instance, by the tax collector from the importer at the customs house through which they pass, but paid ultimately by the persons who buy the goods, in the extra price paid.

From this it will be apparent that, so long as the state is in need of taxation, and has a customs tariff as a

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means of raising taxes, or what is spoken of as revenues, every person who buys any of the commodities on the list included in the customs tariff, will in all probability be paying some portion of the tax. Once this is rightly understood, every man and woman, and for that matter every boy or girl who has a dollar to spend will see why it is of immediate and direct interest to themselves to keep from the expenses of government, and to have in office only such a government as may be expected to exercise the most rigid economy in all matters of expenditure.

**Direct as Well as Indirect Taxes.**

When amounts to be raised by taxation are not very considerable, it may matter but little how they are raised, whether by direct or by indirect means. When, however, they are large, it is a matter of great consequence to everyone. There is this also to be remembered, that because part of the taxes may be raised by direct taxation, the burden of which falls mostly upon the wealthy and the well-to-do, it by no means follows that the tax rests there. The chances are a thousand to one the tax, or some part of it, will be passed on to someone else, and that the poor man or woman in the last analysis will bear more than his or her share. The wealthy landlord, for example, who has a big income tax to pay passes it on in a raise of rent to his tenants; if he is the owner of a coal mine, he may pass it on in the price of coal; if he is the owner of a railway, in the rate of fares and freight, and so on and so on. It is said that

"Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em;
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so ad infinitum."

It is much the same with the passing on of taxation from the fellows of big incomes to those of lesser ones:

"Big bugs have little bugs
To whom they pass their taxes;
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind their axes."

It is well that all should remember this, because there are two things which no one, no matter how poor he may be, is likely ever to escape. One is the Day of Judgment, which, however, belongs to the hereafter; the other is taxation in one form or another, which is here and now every day in the week.

**Women Specially Interested.**

In previous years the men of the country were the only part of the population who were given right to vote; or, in other words, to decide who were to compose the government of the country. Today the women of the country, as well as the men, have the right. It is most important, therefore, that they, not less than the men, should clearly comprehend the problems of government, and in particular whatever relates to taxation, the means by which government is carried on. It may be that, because some women do not pay direct taxes to the state, many of them think that it matters little to them who are in control of the government, or how its affairs are administered. If, however, they once come to realize that all that we mean by the cost of living is bound up in the most intimate way with the expenditures of government, they will see how closely all questions of public expenditure and taxation relate themselves to their own happiness and opportunities.

A woman, for example, when she reads that the government is spending ten or twelve millions of dollars each year on the militia, and an equal amount on combined naval and merchant marine service, may think that this expenditure is too remote to be of much concern to her. But for a population of less than ten millions to spend over twenty millions on military, naval and merchant marine account, means an average of a little over $2 per individual. If she would stop to reflect, she would discover that, if it were possible to trace this payment to the one who finally makes it, she in all probability is paying her $2 on this account, if indeed not very much more. The money has to be raised either through direct or through indirect taxation. If raised in part out of large incomes, it will be passed on, in the price of commodities or services, to the persons of lesser incomes; if raised in the form of indirect taxation, it will be paid for out of the increased cost of commodities purchased.

When a woman purchases a new dress or hat, the kind of dress and hat she can purchase will depend on its price. She may not think, when asked more than she ever paid before, that the reason is that part of the price is going to keep up the outlays on the militia, the navy, and the merchant marine, but such is nevertheless the case. A man or a woman may read in the newspaper that Parliament has voted $165,000,000 on account of railway expenditures, and imagine that, that amount being so large, it must necessarily come out of the large incomes. There could be no greater mistake. Every pound of coffee purchased, every pair of shoes bought, every loaf of bread, every kitchen utensil, every bit of house furnishing, practically everything in the way of food consumed, one way or another, is carrying in its price a part of that $165,000,000, and the man or woman who makes the purchase is helping to pay it.

**Cost to Individuals.**

How, then, when we come to consider the total expenditures of government. Fifty or sixty millions of dollars is a very large sum of money, but that is what our Parliament was called upon to vote at the last session as the amount to be spent during the present year. Assuming that our population was ten millions—which in all probability it is not—that would mean an outlay per individual of from $50 to $60, and an outlay per family of five of $250 to $300. One is almost frightened to contemplate what it would mean for a family of twelve; the figures are, however, $600 to $720.

These are the taxes which the Government at Ottawa alone are at present imposing upon the people of Canada. When we recall the circumstance that for the most part the entire population under 14 years of age is dependent on others over that age, and that most of the population under 21 years of age is dependent in some measure upon the men and women who are over 21 years of age, it will be seen that what is allotted to them in per capita tax should in reality have been placed upon those who are electors; so that the amount which each man and woman will necessarily be contributing to the state is considerably greater than the figures I have indicated.

If each single man and woman who is paying no direct tax whatever, and thinks he or she is thereby escaping taxation altogether, will stop to think what it means to be contributing not less than $50 or $60 per year in taxes,

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and each head of a family of five will think what it means to be contributing from $250 to $300 per year, whether they are paying income tax or not, he or she will see why, among other reasons, the manner in which the Government is carried on is to him or her a matter of immediate concern.

If you have clearly grasped what a customs tariff is, and how and by whom it is ultimately paid, we may go on to consider the different kinds of customs tariff, and also their possible and probable effects.

**Not Honestly Stated.**

Mr. Meighen, the prime minister, has been saying that there are only two kinds of tariff—a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. With this statement I take direct issue. I go further, and say that there is no such thing in the world as a free trade tariff, and that no one knows that better than Mr. Meighen himself. Why, then, does he say it? I can only surmise the reason. I regret to say that our prime minister is not always wholly candid; he has a perfect genius for twisting and turning and misrepresenting situations and facts, and like most contortionists is fond at times of displaying his ability in this fortunate direction. He does it always for a purpose. The acrobat in a circus performs his tricks to make people laugh. Mr. Meighen performs his in a manner which should make the nation weep. And this for the reason that his twists and turns are so wholly misleading, and are made, not with a view of playing upon the good nature of his audiences, but upon their prejudices, which he knows sometimes go very deep.

In this matter, for example, he knows that in many parts of the country, and especially in the cities and towns to which he is looking for support, there is a strong prejudice against free trade, and so he says the issue on the tariff is between protection and free trade; that he is for protection, and the Farmers and the Liberals are for free trade. I must leave the leaders of the Farmers' party to speak for themselves. So far as the Liberal party is concerned, I should like to say here, what I have said on every platform from which I have spoken in Canada on the subject of the tariff, and what I have said in Parliament on more than one occasion, that the Liberal party is not today and has not been since we have had a tariff in Canada for free trade. That the issue is not one between protection and free trade, or, as Mr. Meighen expresses it, a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. It is between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue; between a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue if you will, but not between a protective tariff and no tariff at all, which is the meaning of free trade.

**Existing Financial Requirements.**

It is not honest to say that we can do away altogether with the customs tariff in Canada at the present time. If we do, how are we to raise the immense sums that are required to pay off our public debt, and meanwhile to pay the interest on it? How are we to raise the moneys required to meet the obligations growing out of the war, the pensions to returned soldiers, to those who are suffering from impairment of health or bodily injury, or to the dependents of those who were killed? How are we to finance out railways, and how meet the other expenses of government amounting, as I have said, for the present year to between five and six hundred million dollars, and this with the setting aside of nothing in payment of our public debt, which amounts to over two billions, three hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars? No, we cannot change from a system of indirect to one of direct taxation all in a day, even if that were to be deemed the wisest course. What might have been possible before the war, when the total expenditure of government was between one and a half hundred millions of dollars, is not so easily achieved today, where the total expenditures of government are four times that amount. The highest point public expenditure ever reached during the Liberal regime was $136,000,000 all told; that is to say, on ordinary and capital account, including subsidies to railways, $87,000,000 on ordinary expenditure alone. Today the figures stand at $563,000,000, with a public debt in addition which has jumped from $340,000,000 to over $2,350,000,000.

Let me report, existing financial requirements of the Dominion demand the maintenance of a customs tariff. This the Liberal party put forward as the first clause in a resolution on the tariff, which was moved in the House of Commons by the Hon. Mr. Fielding, and seconded by myself, and which received the unanimous support of the Liberal Opposition and of the Agrarian group during the debate on the budget in the session of Parliament which has just ended.

So long as you recognize a customs tariff, you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as I have stated, a tax. It is a tax on imports, and a tax on import is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what it says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example, and when the prime minister and his following say that the issue is between protection and free trade, they do not describe the situation aright. The minute a tax is imposed on trade, that moment trade is obstructed. The obstruction may be made to serve primarily one of two purposes: It may be made a means of raising revenue, or it may be made a means of affording protection to some industry within the country. Usually it serves both purposes in some measure. A tax imposed for purposes of protection may be so framed as incidentally to afford revenue, and a tax imposed for purposes of revenue may be so framed as incidentally to afford protection. The art of statesmanship in the imposition of taxation lies in making taxation as light as circumstances will permit, and in having regard for existing national needs in whatever taxation may be imposed.

**The Real Issue.**

The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is not and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue.

The prime minister says it is either free trade or protection; that there are only the two grounds: there is no middle ground between them. That is in order to divert the public mind from the middle ground, and to centre it upon the one extreme or the other. Let me quote his exact words:

"I said a moment ago that any body of men framing a tariff must adopt one of two principles, the protective principle or the free trade principle, and I say that every public man owes it to the people to declare definitely on which of the two principles he stands."

That was a statement made at Winnipeg on October 25, 1920. You will observe that Mr. Meighen is choosing his own premises in presenting the alternative. He makes the assertion, and then he begins to argue from his own premises, but his premises are not right to begin with. He says:

"There is a free trade tariff, and there is a protective tariff."

He goes on to say:

"Is there a man or woman here who knows whether Mr. King stands for tariff on the free trade principle, or on the protection principle? You may keep on asking him, but you will never get an answer, yes or no."

You might as well expect the answer "Yes" or "No" from a man to whom you might address the query as to whether or not he had stopped beating his wife, when as a matter of fact he had always been kind to her. This is political trickery, not statesmanship.

Mr. Meighen knows very well that I will never give an answer "Yes" or "No" to a question based on promises that are entirely false. The question is not between protection and free trade. He says, in an issue between protection and free trade, there is no middle ground. In that I agree with him, if by protection he means tariff and by free trade absence of tariff. The one is the negation of the other. That issue may be fought out theoretically, but practically there is no such issue in this country, and never has been. Mr. Meighen says: "You can have two kinds of tariff and only two; you can have a tariff founded on one principle, that of protection, or another principle, that of free trade." That is where he misstates the case. You cannot have a tariff on the principle of free trade, for the principle of free trade means the absence of all tariff. What Mr. Meighen should have said, what he would have said had he not been trying deliberately to becloud the issue when speaking of the only possible alternatives of a tariff, is that there are but two kinds, a tariff based on the principle of protection, and a tariff based on the principle of revenue. Had he stated the alternative in these words, he would have correctly described the issue.

**Will Consider All.**

In dealing with taxation, whether it be the tariff or any other form of taxation, the aim should be to make taxation fall as lightly as possible upon the people of the country. The art of statesmanship as respects taxation, as respects everything else pertaining to public administration, consists in having as much regard for all the interests of the country as possible. If, when a Government is framing its tariff with one object or another in view, it does not take into consideration all the other objects of which account should be taken that are to be served, it will not be doing its full duty by the people whose representative it is. Unless Mr. Meighen, when framing a tariff for purposes of protection, is prepared to say that he will give no consideration to the revenue that is to be raised, he should not hurl a stone at us because in regard to a tariff designed primarily for revenue purposes, we declare that we intend to have regard for the interests and needs of the country and its industries in whatever direction these needs may present themselves. The prime minister has never once spoken of there being an issue between a tariff primarily for revenue and a tariff primarily for protection. He has tried to make an issue between free trade and protection. Speaking of free trade or protection, and omitting altogether reference to a tariff primarily for protection or a tariff primarily for revenue, which must be as familiar to him as it is to any person in the country, he has shown that he has been trying to draw away the minds of the people from the real issue and cause them to give him their support on something which is not the issue at all.

**Traditional Liberal Victory.**

The position which I have just stated has been the position the Liberal party has all along taken in regard to the tariff. In the last speech he delivered on the budget before the war, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated in the

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clearest possible terms the position of the Liberal party on the tariff. Here are Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words. They will be found in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons, of April 23, 1914, page 2844.

"We have always contended, that the policy best suited to this country is not a protective tariff, but a customs tariff for revenue purposes."

There is the statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. There is the statement of the Liberal party in the matter of the tariff. That is where Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood; that is where I stand; and that is where I shall continue to stand irrespective of all the twists and turns the prime minister may seek to make.

If I may be permitted to say so, the prime minister has gone out of his way to misrepresent to the public the attitude of the Liberal party on the tariff, and to misrepresent me personally from one end of the country to the other. He has led the way in having his press and his following in Parliament and the country assert that I stood in one place for one thing, and in another for another; that I particularly had created throughout the country the impression that I was trying to be all things to all men. I might quote many of his utterances. I shall mention only one or two. Mr. Meighen is reported to have said, in addressing a meeting of the ladies at the Women's Liberal-Conservative Association at Toronto on April 16 of this very year:

"In Eastern Canada, the Opposition has advocated moderate protection, and in Western Canada free trade. Everything their leaders had spoken had bound them to free trade."

Then at a meeting of the Conservative Club in Toronto, on the same day, the prime minister is reported in the Toronto Mail and Empire as having said:

"But is there anyone who knows where the Hon. Mackenzie King stands? Mr. King was an advocate of ruthless tariff reduction out west, but in the east he stood for the adequate protection of industry."

So he told the same story both to the ladies and to the men, and yet in both cases he must have known that what he was saying was not true.

### Challenges Meighen.

I challenged the right honorable the prime minister on the floor of Parliament to point to any utterance of mine in the west that can possibly be understood as meaning that I stood for free trade, or, as he in a more modified form expressed it, ruthless tariff reduction. He was unable to accept the challenge, and yet he has never retracted his words. It is a very easy thing to misrepresent an opponent. It quite another thing to undo the evils of misrepresentation. I regret to say that I fear one can look as little for chivalry as for truth from the prime minister where it serves his purpose to take a different attitude.

The speeches I made through the Canadian west last year were made in the hearing of thousands of persons; they were reported very fully in the western papers, and in dispatches to the east; they were made within the hearing of many persons from this province and from Eastern Canada; and I challenge anyone to point to a single sentence in all that I have said which will afford a shadow of justification for allegations of the kind that have been wilfully made. I have looked through the press reports of the different speeches I made in the different cities, and I find that every one of them on this question of the tariff tallies, verbatim et literatim, with the policy of the Liberal party as I stated it in the House of Commons, both at the last session and the session previous.

### Present Liberal Position.

That there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff during the western trip last fall, that there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff when I spoke in the Maritime Provinces a little over a year ago, that there may be no misunderstanding of my present attitude on the tariff, may I repeat what I said in a speech which I delivered in the city of Toronto on Saturday, August 14, of last year, and which will be found reported on the front page of the Toronto Globe of the Monday following. The report there contained is, to all intents and purposes, identical with the presentation of the Liberal attitude on the tariff as made at every meeting at which I have spoken on the tariff since the Liberal convention of August, 1919. It is in all essential particulars true to the Liberal platform as laid down at that convention, and it is absolutely in accord with the aim of the Liberal party on fiscal policy as set forth in the resolutions we have moved in Parliament since that time. I challenge any man or woman in this country to show that I have anywhere, at any time, swerved from the views and opinions and statement of policy as set forth in that report, which is both clear and comprehensive. The Globe says:

"Speaking on the all-important tariff question at the Liberal picnic Saturday, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, said:

"'We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. . . .

"'In revising the tariff to this end care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country, but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes. . . .

"'It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff. We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal party. And I shall say in regard to tariff policies exactly the same in the city of Toronto as I shall say in the western provinces. I have not one message for the city and another message for the country—one message for the employer and another for the employee.'"

### Tariff Revision Downwards.

You will observe the Liberal policy is a policy of tariff revision, of revision downwards, not upwards, of revision in the interests of producers and consumers, not of special interests and privileged classes.

With the Liberal party, the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection; it is revenue; it is the needs and well-being of the home, and the development of our industries in such manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people. I want to emphasize the fact that if called upon, as I believe we will be, to revise the tariff, in any revision we may make, it will be the home and its needs that will receive first consideration; that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place, regard will be had to existing conditions of trade, and changes made in such manner as will cause the least possible disturbance of business. As respects the tariff, as with everything else of national importance, the Liberal party believes in proceeding along evolutionary, not along revolutionary, lines.

This brings me to the reason why, as respects the tariff, we, as Liberals, stand on the principle of a tariff primarily for revenue, rather than on the principle of a tariff primarily for protection. We believe that a tariff primarily for protection is certain to be a tariff for special interests, whereas a tariff primarily for revenue comes as near as any tariff can to being a tariff for the people.

### Immediate Tariff Revision.

Mr. Meighen and his friends profess to be in favor of a revision of the tariff. Over and over again, the Government, both of Sir Robert Borden and of Mr. Meighen, have emphasized the need for revision. Sir Thomas White, when minister of finance, in his budget speech of June 5, 1919, said that a general revision was "long overdue," but owing to the war unavoidably overdue. It was urged that, because of the unsettled condition of international trade, still hampered by war restrictions and prohibitions, and by exchange conditions, it would not be practicable to make a sound general revision of the tariff at that time. The hope, however, was expressed that within a year conditions would have become so stabilized as to permit of a general revision of the tariff. The finance minister urged that, preceding the revision, a thorough inquiry should be conducted by the minister of finance and two or more of his colleagues, and gave it as his view that this inquiry might well be commenced about the autumn of that year. It was stated that the result of such an inquiry should be "a body of information which would enable the Government to effect a general revision of the tariff fair to all parts of the community and effectually promoting the national welfare of Canada." This pronouncement served the purpose of the avoidance of any tariff revision during the session of 1919.

### Delays in Carrying Out Revision.

The autumn of 1919 came and went, but the inquiry foreshadowed for the fall of 1919 was not proceeded with. This occasioned a second official declaration. It was made, not by Sir Thomas White, but by his successor in office, the present minister of finance, Sir Henry Drayton. In a remarkable utterance, issued in December of that year, not only the time of general revision, but the time also of the inquiry which was to precede it, was further postponed. It was urged that international and economic conditions were in many respects worse than they were six months previous, or at any time during the war. Whilst this might serve as an excuse, if not as a reason, for delaying the general revision, it was evidently recognized that it would not serve with like effectiveness as a reason for abandoning the promised general inquiry which was to precede it. Accordingly the Government hit upon the rather unprecedented device of reversing the order of procedure with respect to inquiry, and instead of having the ministers confer with consumers and producers in a series of public hearings throughout the Dominion, announced its intention of having interested parties present their views and opinions in the form of written statements, which could be "systematically analyzed and classified for the purpose of making them a basis of general public inquiry to be held throughout the country."

The written statements were made to do duty for the session of 1920. Parliament was informed, in the budget speech of May 18 of that year, that though unfortunately trade and economic conditions were yet unstable, the

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tariff investigation had commenced, and public sittings would be held throughou Canada after prorogation. The ministe. of finance went further than promising the prosecution of the inquiry; he told the House that to make the inquiry thorough the department of finance would have the assistance of experts and other advisers, and he went on to say, "I am further of the opinion that not only should the investigation proceed, but that information should now be given of the principles and policies of the Government in the light of which effect will be given in the tariff revision to follow to the evidence and facts developed in the inquiry."

Then followed a somewhat pretentious and high-sounding enumeration of principles and policies, proceeded by the declaration, "Our policy calls for a thorough revision of the tariff," and concluding with a reiteration of the affirmation that "a general revision of the Canadian tariff based upon the foregoing consideration was due." This statement of the Hon. the Minister of Finance was limited only by the condition that the revision should not be undertaken "until a thorough inquiry is made to ascertain the essential facts upon which the tariff provisions must necessarily be based."

**Long and Expensive Inquiry.**

That brought us to the end of the session of 1929. Before the summer of 1920 was over the minister of finance and certain of his colleagues, together with their experts and other advisers, entered upon the public sittings of the investigation, which was announced as having commenced when the statements of consumers and producers were called for. Across this continent, from ocean to ocean, at most of the important centers throughout the Dominion, and at great expense to the country, the committee of the cabinet conducted its hearings. Nothing was omitted in the way of press propaganda to have it appear that the committee was doing a great public work. When the public hearings were over, the country was given to understand that the delay in the summoning of Parliament was due to the time required by the committee to get its information in shape for the tariff revision, which was to be the main feature of the present session. Finally, on February 14, Parliament reassembled, and with the opening of Parliament came the pronouncement, in the speech from the throne, respecting tariff revision.

**Revision Promised for Session.**

"My advisers," said his excellency, "are convinced of the necessity for revision of the customs tariff." There was no uncertainty there. "Conviction" and "necessity" are strong words, and both find a place in this terse and emphatic sentence. His excellency continued: "In order to secure the most complete information a committee has conducted an extensive and thorough inquiry." Here again were clear and emphatic words. Not only had the inquiry been conducted, but the inquiry had been extensive and thorough. The pronouncement continued: "The hearings necessary for this purpose have now been completed, and the conclusions founded thereon will be submitted to you in due course." It is unnecessary to quote further. No declaration could be clearer. It only remained for the budget to be brought down for the House to enter upon the important work of the session.

What was our surprise, and the surprise of the country, when on Monday, the 9th of June, the minister of finance, in presenting his budget to the House, instead of submitting the conclusions founded upon the hearings of the committee of investigation, and outlining the measure of revision of the customs tariff promised by His Excellency in the speech from the throne, calmly informed the House that it was "not proposed to put into effect now a general revision of the tariff schedules."

**Government Not a Free Agent.**

But one of two alternatives is possible; either the Government, despite all its professions, had never had any real intention of revising the tariff; or, having such an intention, it was frustrated in the carrying out of its intention the moment advance had been made to the point where definite action became necessary. It matters very little which of these alternatives we take; the one really significant fact is apparent, the Government was not a free agent, in the matter of either intention or action. It is not a free agent at the present time. Its members in truth do not constitute the real Government of Canada today. In word and act, it is but the visible expression of influence and forces which dictate the policies, aye and in large measure are controlling the destinies of Canada today—forces and influences which constitute the real though the invisible Government of this Dominion.

The failure of the Government, at this time of high living costs and much needed increase of production, to give any relief from burdensome taxation to either consumers or producers, is not due, as professed, to any legislation of the United States. The stock in trade argument of the Tory party has all along been that in tariff legislation we should act altogether independently of the United States It is due to a deliberate and determined effort to thwart trade and to restrict competition in every direction, with the Mother Country and our sister dominions even more than with the United States,in order that a few wealthy men and their immediate friends and associates may reap still larger fortunes through obtaining, not a much-needed market, as they would have us believe, but a monopoly of the Canadian market, in addition to markets abroad secured for them through government action in a variety of directions and at enormous expense to the taxpayers of this country.

**Power of Interests.**

I have referred to the combined power of a few special interests as constituting the real, albeit an invisible, government, compared with which the government we see personified in Mr. Meighen and his associates is but form and shadow. Perhaps the time would be well spent if we paused for a moment to look behind the shadow and discern what we can of the reality. A moment's reflection will enable us to see how this organized power came into being, and how menacing its existence is to the social and industrial well-being of our country.

I need not remind you that for four years the energies of this country, the energies of its government, of its industries, as well as of its people, were strained to the one herculean task, the winning of the war. It was inevitable that during that period there should be the closest kind of association between certain financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, and between these several interests o fthe government and its members. That association between the more active and prominent members of both groups was interrupted, and indeed necessarily intimate, over the greater part of the entire period. They were linked the one to the other by the most powerful bonds. There was the bond of disinterested public service at the moment of the greatest crisis in the world's affairs, and there was the bond, wholly different in character it is true, but to some individuals even more powerful, of personal and private self-interest at a moment of opportunity such as had presented itself but once in the history of the world.

**Huge Sum Loaned.**

During those four years, a sum amounting to something like two billions of dollars was loaned by the country to the Government, and under Government direction was disbursed among these financial, manufacturing, transportation ad distributing interests. The Government was permitted a free hand; in the loans thus subscribed, the sacrifices present or future were never questioned; in the spending of these vast sums little or no check was exercised by Parliament; orders-in-council, at the caprice of the ministry, were permitted to replace legislative enactments of both houses of parliament. It was an era of unparalleled opportunity both for the exercise of autocratic power and for the bestowal of favors. Strange indeed it would be had not the closest kind of relationship been formed between the controlling factors on both aides. That they were so formed, every Canadian citizen is well aware.

**Self-Interest Prompts Combination After the War.**

With the termination of the war and the demobilization of the military forces this era of unlimited expenditures and unparalleled contracting came to an end. Not, however, the association between the financial, manufacturing transportation and distributing interests, among themselves or with the government. In considerable measure, it is true, the compelling force of the bonds which had united these interests with the government were lessened. Members of the government who read their obligation to the country in terms of disinterested public service, recalling the pledges on which the government was returned to power, one by one retired from the ministry. Others of their colleagues, for reasons best known to themselves, continued in office. Similarly, it is to be presumed, among the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, were numbers of influential and prominent men who were quick to sever the intimacy of the relations formed with members of the government during the period of stress and strain, and to give their thought to their particular business interests regardless altogether of government favors or action.

**Self-Interest Only.**

Unfortunately for our Dominion, all the men of great wealth and power have not been of this class. The same self-interest which caused members of the government to cling to office despite honorable obligation and constitutional right, has operated in the manner to cause certain members of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests to continue to look to government for special favors and special privileges, and in return to support the administration by direct methods as well as indirect in its retention of power against the will of the people as a whole. Thus we have come to have in Canada, on the one hand, a prime minister and a ministry to whom usurpation of office and the exercise of autocratic methods in government belong as a sort of natural right, and on the other a small circle, a sort of little oligarchy of interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, prepared, in return for a continuation of favor and special privilege, to use their wealth and influence to keep the Administration in power, and thereby constituting in a very true sense the real though invisible Government of this country.

**Political Autocrats.**

We have, in other words, political power united with plutocracy in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the state. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behavior, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests men-

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tioned, who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry and the state, but wish to dominate both. They are for the time being able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its existence to their dictation and its continuance in office to the powerful influence which is a multitude of directions they are able to exert. There is the eral situation with which the country is faced at the present time. That is the danger to Canada at the moment. It is not that her Government is not a Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, but rather that we have the selfish groups united together, working for their joint ambitions, and the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

**Seeking Undue Protection.**

This is the explanation of the failure of the Government thus far to revise the tariff. It was not fear of the consequences of American Emergency legislation—that really was a ground for action—it was the maintenance by the favored few of their privileged position as it has come to be in consequence of the war and conditions as they have grown out of the war. It is the explanation of the declaration made by the prime minister in the course of his speech on the budget in Parliament:

"This Government stands for the tariff that is in existence today, and in any adjustment that will be made we will admit the principle of protection and we will apply it."

Protection, yes, but protection for whom? Protection for these favored interests, not for the great masses of the people. The invisible Government has decreed that thus he must stand, and so the day of tariff revision in the interests of either producers or consumers has been indefinitely postponed.

**Defeat Selfish Combination.**

It is because of this combination, the combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, by which all Liberal and Progressive forces will be opposed at the general elections, whenever they are held, that it would be disastrous to the well-being of the people as a whole for Mr. Meighen and his colleagues to be returned to power and intrusted with any revision of the tariff. It would never be a tariff framed in the interest of producers and consumers, but a tariff for the benefit of a few wealthy men and their friends. What folly is it in the face of so great a danger for the forces of progress to be divided at this time. Autocracy has ever sought to win its victory by keeping divided the forces by which it is opposed. For any group calling itself progressive to seek isolation, and to fail actively to co-operate with every other Liberal group, is to help to accomplish its own ultimate defeat, and to deliver the day of victory to a common enemy.

**Workings of Combination.**

Fortunately I need not ask the people of Canada to accept my anaylsis of the situation as a last word. Did time permit I might cite an abundance of evidence as proof of the accuracy. We have, however, the evidence of one who has been on the inside, one of the Government's own supporters, who was permitted a peep behind the scene, in a position of exceptional opportunity, who was appointed to office by the Government itself, and who has given to the public a description of what he has seen, in an official report to the Government itself. I refer to the report of Mr. James Murdock, presented at the time of his resignation from the board of commerce.

Having been a member of the board from the time of its inception, Mr. Murdock came at once into a specially favored position. Indeed strategically, he was in the best of positions; he was where he could view, on the one side, the organization of the specially favored interests I have been describing, and on the other, the relation thereto of members of the Administra... Both situations he has described with perfect clearness, they are depicted in the official communication sent the prime minister in June of last year, and which the Government has had before it ever since. Here is the situation as respects the favored interests.

Mr. Murdock says:

"(a) Businessmen living together under the protection of the tariff have got to know each other so well that price-fixing agreements and arrangements are the rule, rather than the exception. The board has already on file evidence in some scores of cases of such agreements. Not all of these are reasonable or proper. It should not be left to the unfettered will of the businesses interested to fix prices on necessaries of life. . . .

"(b) Combines which have been fastened themselves on the production and distribution of certain essential articles of food, such as canned fruits, have introduced systems of merchandizing which are injurious to trade and the consumer, and prevent fair competition. . . .

"(c) The board has discovered that unfair and excessive profits are being taken by certain textile manufacturers, cement companies, and other large concerns. It is in the public interest that these investigations thus begun be not stopped at this point. . .

"(d) There is no reason to believe that sugar is not the only commodity in which speculation to the detriment of the public has taken place. . . .

"(e) Without a board of commerce the public has no organization to watch and protect its interests, while on the other side there is the most complete organization and cross-organization; manufacturers' associations, retail associations, packers' associations, and hundreds of other associations. The public, unorganized as the sands by the sea, requires a protector against the super-organization of modern business."

**Need of Consumers for Protection.**

Mr. Murdock, you see, speaks of the need of protection, but it is not the protection of the members of the associations he has described, but the protection of the great body of consumers that are like the sands of the seashore, without any protection whatever against what he terms the super-organization of modern business. It is the few wealthy men responsible for this super-organization of modern business depicted by Mr. Murdock who constitutes the ring that controls the Government of Canada today, that shackles its freedom of action, and compels the Government on pain of extinction to do its bidding. It is the favored position of these privileged few that the Government is striving in all its measures to advance and to protect.

Then, Mr. Murdock goes on to speak of the Government's attitude as he came to know it—and, be it remembered, this was a statement issued to the prime minister of this country by Mr. Murdock, while Mr. Murdock was still a member of the board. The majority of the cabinet, he declares, were never in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the board of commerce act and the combines and fair prices act, and only favored the passage of these measures as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other demonstrations, when the people demanded some means of controlling profiteers. He points out, moreover, that certain cabinet ministers, and others prominent in the councils of Canada, had undertaken so far as possible, to minimize the effects of these acts, and had repeatedly tried to thwart the board's activities by quiet and hidden restrictive opposition, and that the chairman himself saw to it that nothing was done which could in any way effect the business and financial interests which, in his judgment, should be protected from interference by the board of commerce. Mr. Murdock cites another instance in which certain members of the cabinet endeavored to relieve the textile manufacturers of the necessity of furnishing information which the board had called for, and this when later records show that the disclosures which could have been made had full information been furnished

**Price Fixing Agreement.**

Referring to the preliminary investigation of the board of commerce, and the necessity for some governmental machinery to protect the consumers and producers of the country against the kind of protection, Mr. Meighen and his associates have been ...vocating, were such as "would have startled and incensed the Canadian public beyond anything that has developed in recent months."

Finally, as indicating beyond shadow of doubt his view of the Government's relationship to the super-organization of business interests he has described, Mr. Murdock concludes:

"In connection with your suggestion that I contiue as a commissioner of the board of commerce until the decision of the Privy Council. I feel that the people need, and are entitled to, some results now. The light should be let in. I believe your cabinet will devise some means to prevent the board of commerce from functioning, even should the Privy Council give a favorable decision. My conscience will not permit me to become a high-salaried time-server."

Could anything be clearer? There are the specially-favored, duly-protected interests on the one side; the Government, their protecting and willing servants, on the other; and the whole a matter of public disclosure, and now of public knowledge.

**Not Attacking Busines.**

Let me say, so that my words will not be capable of misconstruction, that in making these references to certain financial, manufacturing, distributing, and other business interests, I am making no attack on big business as such I am making no attack whatever on vast organizations as such, for in these days of competition between industry and industry, between locality and locality, between nation and nation, between continent and continent, large organization is absolutely necessary, and vast accumulation of wealth in particular industries is absolutely necessary if the country is to hold its own in competition. So I am making no charge against the organization of business as it is carried on today, nor against the men to whom this country is, indeed, vastly indebted for their skilful organization of industry and the way it is carried on. But what I wish to do is this: I wish to distinguish between these men who are prepared to share in the government of industry, and in the government of the country, and those men who wish to monopolize and dictate in matters of industrial policy and the control of political affairs. You have in every country the two types. You have the men who are willing to work with their fellows, and to share with their fellows, and you have others who wish to dictate, who wish to control, who wish to monopolize, and it is these latter groups that have been brought into combination through the circumstances of the country as I have described them, and who are controlling this country at the present time.

**Should Be Shared, Not Monopolized.**

Why should a few men monopolize government and the patronage of government? Why should one bank, one railway group, one trust company, one insurance company, be favored at the expense of others? Why certain industrial enterprises and not all? In a country like Canada, all should be permitted a share in government and government business. It is against monopoly in government business and government favors, as against monopoly in all else, that our attacks are directed.

Think of a government permitting itself to lie under the shadow of such an indictment! Mr. Murdock's charges were made on the eve of prorogation a year ago; the Government has taken no steps to free itself from all that those representations imply. Why has Mr. Murdock not been summoned to appear before some committee of this House and prove the charges he has made? There is one reason, and one reason only: the Government knows the charges to be true, and that any at-

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tempt at investigation will mean the letting in of more light.

**Examples of Government Favors.**

Did time permit, Mr. Meighen's charges might be duplicated many fold. I purpose at Hamilton on Saturday night to show how this baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats is operating to increase the fortunes of a few wealthy individuals at the expense of the public, through the manner in which public funds are permitted to be spent in connection with the administration of our railways, and those who are benefiting sheltered from all possibility of exposure by methods the Government has devised. I might go on to show how Canada's credit in the form of loans of public moneys to foreign governments has been made an instrument of increasing the private fortunes of many wealthy individuals, some of whom are the Government's own supporters in Parliament. I might show how legislation passed by a previous administration, designed to protect the consumers against the exactions of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers, has been repealed, and nothing permitted to be enacted in its stead. I might go on to point out how this year, as in former years, no account whatever has been taken of profiteering; how another year has been allowed to pass without any effort whatever having been made by the Government to recover any of the war-time wealth; how, instead of the removal of any of the taxation that bears immediately upon the masses of the people, the duties upon the necessaries of life, it is the business profits taxes and the luxury taxes that have been abolished. The prime minister talks of protection, of the need for protection, and says that we are all in favor of protection. Let him have it so, but let me tell him that the protection for which we stand is the protection of the consumer against the exactions of combines, monopolies, and the super-organization of associated business, not the protection of those specially favored organizations against the interests and well-being of the people at large.

**Must Break Powerful Combination.**

What is needed most in this country today is to break this selfish combination of political autocrats and individual plutocrats which has grown and developed during the war and fastened itself like an octopus on the people of Canada. That is the task which is too large to be performed by the present Parliament; it is a task which the people alone can successively undertake. We of the Opposition may do our best, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of the closure when on matters of public expenditure we try to let in light. The only way in which that combination can be broken is to give to the people of this country their right to have a parliament composed of their own representatives chosen in their own way. Until that right is granted we will never know what the assets or liabilities of this country are.

We of the Opposition in Parliament may make the best effort we can—we have been doing that—but we are powerless, as I have said, in the face of weapons, such as the closure, which the prime minister and his followers are prepared to use on behalf of the interests that are sustaining and keeping them in power. We do demand, however, and shall continue to demand, in the name of the people of this country, that for the sake of Canada's present condition and for the sake of her future need, the people be granted the right, the constitutional right which is theirs, of electing a parliament of their own choosing, and of breaking without further delay a combination which is so inimical to the public weal.

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London Free Press
~~August~~ July 30, 1921

D 5302

# SOUTH OXFORD ELECTORS HEAR HON. MR. KING

## Opposition Leader Addresses Meeting at Tillsonburg; Touches on the Tariff

## TALKS OF "AUTOCRATS," "PLUTOCRATS," ETC.

## South Oxford Liberal Association to Call Convention Soon to Nominate Candidate

TILLSONBURG, July 29.—Hon. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie King, Liberal leader in the Commons, addressed a large audience in the opera house here tonight. An overflow meeting was held.

Prior to the meeting the South Oxford Liberal Association met and decided to hold a convention in the near future, at which to nominate a candidate for the Commons, which Secretary Goodman said was thought to be not more than three months away. It is not believed that the U. F. O. will actually put a candidate in the field.

Mr. King was given a fine reception on his arrival from Toronto on the 6.50 G. T. R. train this evening. A procession of decorated autos, led by the citizens' band, proceeded down Didwell street, across London street and up Broadway to the Arlington Hotel. Mr. King was accompanied by J. A. Robb, M. P., of Huntingdon, Quebec Liberal whip; Andrew Hayden, of Ottawa, general secretary of the Reform Association of Canada, and W. J. Comiskey, of Ingersoll, president of the South Oxford Reform Association. Mr. King was greeted with applause when he arose to address the audience at the opera house.

### THE TARIFF.

In speaking of the tariff, Mr. King said the first consideration to keep in mind is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low.

"Mr. Meighen, the prime minister, has been saying that there are only two kinds of tariff—a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. With this statement I take direct issue. I go further, and say that there is no such thing in the world as a free trade tariff, and that no one knows that better than Mr. Meighen himself. Why, then, does he say it? I can only surmise the reason. I regret to say that our prime minister is not always wholly candid; he has a perfect genius for twisting and turning and misrepresenitng situations and facts, and, like most contortionists, is fond at times of displaying his ability in this unfortunate direction. He does it always for a purpose. The acrobat in a circus performs his tricks to make people laugh. Mr. Meighen performs his in a manner which should make the nation weep. And this for the reason that his twists and turns are so wholly misleading, and are made, not with a view of playing upon the good nature of his audience, but upon their prejudices, which he knows sometimes go very deep.

"In this matter, for example, he knows that in many parts of the country, and especially in the cities and towns, to which he is looking for support, there is a strong prejudice against free trade, and so he says the issue on the tariff is between protection and free trade; that he is for protection and the Farmers and the Liberals are for free trade. I must leave the leaders of the Farmers' party to speak for themselves. So far as the Liberal party is concerned, I should like to say here, what I have said on every platform from which I have spoken in Canada on the subject of the tariff, and what I have said in Parliament on more than one occasion, that the Liberal party is not to-day, and has not been since we have had a tariff in Canada, for free trade. That the issue is not one between protection and free trade; or, as Mr. Meighen expreses it, a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. It is between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue; between a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue if you will, but not between a protective tariff and no tariff at all, which is the meaning of free trade.

### NEED CUSTOMS TARIFF.

"It is not honest to say that we can do away altogether with the customs tariff in Canada at the present time. If we do, how are we to raise the immense sums that are required to pay off our public debt and meanwhile to pay the interest on it? How are we to raise the moneys required to meet the obligations growing out of the war; the pensions to returned soldiers; to those who are suffering from impairment of health or bodily injury, or to the dependents of those who were killed? How are we to finance our railways, and how meet the other expenses of Government amounting, as I have said, for the present year to between five and six hundred million dollars, and this with the setting aside of nothing in payment of our public debt, which amounts to over two billion three and sixty-five millions of dollars? No, we cannot change from a system of indirect to one of direct taxation all in a day, even if that were to be deemed the wisest course. What might have been possible before the war, when the total expenditure of Government was between one and one and a half hundred millions of dollars, is not so easily achieved to-day.

"So long as you recognize a customs tariff, you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as I have stated, a tax. It is a tax on imports and a tax on imports is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what is says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example; and when the prime minister and his following say that the issue is between protection and free trade, they do not describe the situation aright. The minute a tax is imposed on trade, that moment trade is obstructed. The obstruction may be made to serve primarily one of two purposes: It may be made a means of raising revenue, or it may made a means of affording protection to some industry within the country. Usually it serves both purposes in some measure. A tax imposed for purposes of protection may be so framed as incidentally to afford revenue, and a tax imposed for purposes of revenue may be so framed as incidentally to afford protection. The art of statesmanship in the imposition of taxation lies in making taxation as light as circumstances will permit, and in having regard for existing national needs in whatever taxation may be imposed.

The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is not and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue.

"In dealing with taxation, whether it be the tariff or any other form of taxation, the aim should be to make taxation fall lightly as possible upon the people of the country. The art of statesmanship as respects taxation, as respects everything else pertaining to public administration, consists in having as much regard for all the interests of the country as possible. If, when a Government is framing its tariff with one object or another in view, it does not take into consideration all the other objects of which account should be taken that are to be served, it will not be doing its full duty by the people whose representative it is. Unless Mr. Meighen, when framing a tariff for purposes of protection, is prepared to say that he will give no consideration to the revenue that is to be raised, he should not hurl a stone at us because in regard to a tariff designed primarily for revenue purposes, we declare that we intend to have regard for the interests and needs of the country and its industries in whatever direction these needs may present themselves. The prime minister has never once spoken of there being an issue between a tariff primarily for revenue and a tariff primarily for protection. He has tried to make an issue between free trade and protection. Speaking of free trade or protection, and omitting altogether reference to a tariff primarily for protection or a tariff primarily for revenue, which must be as familiar to him as it is to any person in the country, he has shown that he has been trying to draw away the minds of the people from the real issue and cause them to give him their support on something which is not the issue at all.

### LIBERAL POLICY.

"The position which I have just stated has been the position the Liberal Party has all along taken in regard to the tariff. In the last speech he delivered on the budget, before the war,

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the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated in the clearest possible terms the position of the Liberal Party on the tariff. Here are Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words. They will be found in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons, of April 23, 1914, page 2844:

"We have always contended, that the policy best suited to this country is not a protective tariff but a customs tariff for revenue purposes."

There is the statement of Sir Wilfrid. There is the statement of the Liberal Party in the matter of the tariff. That is where Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood: that is where I stand; and that is where I shall continue to stand irrespective of all the twists and turns the prime minister may seek to make.

"If I may be permitted to say so, the prime minister has gone out of his way to misrepresent to the public the attitude of the Liberal Party on the tariff, and to misrepresent me personally from one end of the country to the other. He has led the way in having his press and his following in Parliament and the country assert that I stood in one place for one thing and in another for another; that I particularly had created throughout the country the impression that I was trying to be all things to all men.

"The speeches I made through the Canadian West last year were made in the hearing of thousands of persons; they were reported very fully in the Western papers, and in dispatches to the East; they were made within the hearing of many persons from this province and from Eastern Canada, and I challenge anyone to point to a single sentence in all that I have said which will afford a shadow of justification for allegations of the kind that have been wilfully made.

"You will observe the Liberal policy is a policy of tariff revision, of revision downwards, not upwards, of revision in the interests of producers and consumers, not of special interests and privileged classes.

"With the Liberal party the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection, it is revenue, it is the needs and well-being of the home, and the development of our industries in such manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people. I want to emphasize the fact that if called upon, as I believe we will be, to revise the tariff, in any revision we may make it will be the home and its needs that will receive first consideration; that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place, regard will be had to existing conditions of trade, and changes made in such a manner as will cause the least possible disturbance of business. As respects the tariff, as with everything else of national importance, the Liberal party believes in proceeding along evolutionary, not along revolutionary lines."

Charging the Government with unjustified delay in tariff revision, Mr. King continued.

"The failure of the Government at this time of high living costs and much needed increases of production, to give any relief from burdensome taxation to either consumers or producers, is not due, as professed, to any legislation of the United States. The stock in trade argument of the Tory party has all along been that in tariff legislation we should act altogether independently of the United States. It is due to a deliberate and determined effort to thwart trade and to restrict competition in every direction, with the mother country and our sister dominions even more than with the United States, in order that a few wealthy men and their immediate friends and associates may reap still larger fortunes through obtaining, not a much-needed home market, as they would have us believe, but a monopoly of the Canadian market, in addition to markets abroad secured for them through Government action in a variety of directions and at enormous expense to the taxpayers of this country.

"This is the explanation of the failure of the Government thus far to revise the tariff. It was not fear of the consequence of American emergency legislation—that really was a ground for action—it was the maintenance by the favored few of their privileged position as it has come to be in consequence of the war and conditions as they have grown out of the war. It is the explanation of the declaration made by the prime minister in the course of his speech on the budget in Parliament.

"This Government stands for the tariff that is in existence to-day, and in any adjustment that will be made we will admit the principle of protection and we will apply it."

Protection, yes, but protection for whom? Protection for these favored interests, not for the great masses of the people. The invisible Government has decreed that thus he must stand, and so the day of tariff revision in the interests of either producers or consumers has been indefinitely postponed.

**SUGGESTS COMBINATION.**

"It is because of this combination, the combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, by which all Liberal and Progressive forces will be opposed at the general election, whenever they are held, that it would be disastrous to the well-being of the people as a whole for Mr. Meighen and his colleagues to be returned to power and entrusted with any revision of the tariff. It would never be a tariff framed in the interest of producers and consumers, but a tariff for the benefit of a few wealthy men and their friends. What folly it is in the face of so great a danger for the forces of progress to be divided at this time. Autocracy has ever sought to win its victory by keeping divided the forces by which it is opposed. For any group calling itself progressive to seek isolation and to fail actively to co-operate with every other liberal group is to help to accomplish its own ultimate defeat and to deliver the day of victory to a common enemy."

After dealing at length with the Murdock incident of some months ago, Mr. King said:

"Did time permit, Mr. Murdock's charges might be duplicated many fold. I purpose at Hamilton, on Saturday night, to show how this baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats is operating to increase the fortunes of a few wealthy individuals at the expense of the public through the manner in which public funds are permitted to be spent in connection with the administration of our railways and those who are benefiting sheltered from all possibility of exposure by methods the Government has devised.

"What is needed most in this country to-day is to break this selfish combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats which has grown and developed during the war and fastened itself like an octopus on the people of Canada. That is a task which is too large to be performed by the present Parliament; it is a task which the people alone can successfully undertake. We of the Opposition may do our best, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of closure when, on matters of public expenditure, we try to let in light. The only way in which that combination can be broken is to give to the people of this country their right to have a Parliament composed of their own representatives, chosen in their own way. Until that right is granted we will never know what the assets or liabilities of this country are.

"We of the Opposition in Parliament may make the best effort we can—we have been doing that—but we are powerless, as I have said, in the face of weapons such as the closure, which the prime minister and his followers are prepared to use on behalf of the interests that are sustaining and keeping them in power. We do demand, however, and shall continue to demand, in the name of the people of this country, that for the sake of Canada's present condition and for the sake of her future need, the people be granted the right, the constitutional right, which is theirs, of electing a Parliament of their own choosing, and of breaking without further delay a combination which is so inimical to the public weal."

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London Advertiser, July 30/21

## LIBERALS AND THE TARIFF.

The Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in his speech at Tillsonburg, disposed of once and for all Premier Meighen's assertion that Mr. King was an advocate of ruthless tariff reduction out west, but in the east he stood for the adequate protection of industry. It is not Mr. King, but Mr. Meighen, who is guilty of political contortions and verbal gymnastics, and this statement can be substantiated by an examination of the utterances of the respective leaders.

In the last speech Sir Wilfrid Laurier delivered on the budget before the war he defined in the clearest possible terms the position of the Liberal party on the tariff question. He said on that occasion: "We have always contended that the policy best suited to this country is not a protective tariff, but a customs tariff for revenue purposes." This is where the Liberal party and the leader of the Liberal party stand today.

With respect to the tariff, as with everything else of importance to the nation, the Liberal party believes in proceeding along evolutionary and not revolutionary lines. They are builders up and not breakers down, and this is why they believe, as Mr. King points out, that a tariff primarily for revenue is as near as any tariff can be to being a tariff for the people. As he says: "With the Liberal party the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection; it is revenue; it is the needs and well-being of the home and the development of our industries in such a manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people."

It has been repeatedly stated by Mr. King, as well as by other exponents of Liberal policy, that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place regard will be had to existing conditions of trade and changes made in such a manner as will cause the least possible disturbance to business. It is only by the adoption of such methods that true reforms can be carried out, and that they can be made lasting and effective. In dealing with the tariff or any other form of taxation the primary idea should be to make the burden fall as lightly as possible on the shoulders of the people at large. This is the aim of the Liberal party; the building up of revenue upon a widely distributed and secure foundation; not the making of promises or the extension of favors in particular directions, but a policy in which the good of the whole it the first consideration.

On the basis of a population in the Dominion of ten millions the amount which each individual in the country is called upon to contribute in taxes is not less than from $50 to $60, and this makes the annual contribution for a family of five amount to from $250 to $300. These are the taxes which the Meighen Government is at present imposing on the people of Canada. As a matter of fact, the amount per capita that each man and woman has to contribute is much greater than these figures indicate, for it must be remembered that children and others unable to contribute toward their own living pay nothing.

The Meighen administration is doing nothing to lessen this burden or to distribute it in a fair and equitable manner. There is a vast field for their energies in the development of the natural resources of the country along proper lines, and the securing of all the advantages which these resources contain. At vilifying and misrepresenting their political opponents Mr. Meighen and his associates are adepts, but they are utterly unable to bring forward any policy of reconstruction which will relieve the present acute situation, and make for the restoration of the country to its normal state of prosperity. All that has been attempted are tinkering efforts to economize in directions that are of little or no advantage to the general welfare. So far as he finances of the country are concerned, there has been much straining at gnats and swallowing of camels among the members of the so-called Union cabinet, but no real progress has been made in alleviating the conditions which are at present unsettling the industries of the country, and piling up its expenditure. Pelion on Ossa has alone resulted from the recklessness and extravagance of Mr. Meighen and his conglomerate government.

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London Advertiser
July 30, 1921

# LIBERAL LEADER OUTLINES HIS TARIFF POLICIES TO SOUTH OXFORD ELECTORS

## Declares Premier Meighen Has a Remarkable Genius For Deliberately Misrepresenting Situations and Facts and Throwing Dust in the Eyes of the People.

[By Staff Reporter.]

TILLSONBURG, July 29.—South Oxford gave the Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, a wonderful welcome tonight. Electors were here from all parts of the riding, and cheering crowds lined the station and the streets and packed the opera house to capacity long before the hour for speaking arrived.

The Liberal leader was at his best and drove home his points against the Meighen Government with telling effect, and was frequently interrupted by rounds of applause.

A resolution expressing complete confidence in the Liberal policies and in both the federal and provincial leaders, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Hon. Hartley Dewart, was carried amid enthusiasm and applause.

**Rousing Reception.**

Tillsonburg brass band played as the Liberal leader's train drew in at 7 o'clock and afterwards headed the procession about the principal streets of the town. The reception committee included Mayor M. G. Dean, C. H. Denton, Ex-Mayor W. C. Brown, Ira Trooper, Lieut.-Col. T. W. Mayberry, ex-M.P.P., of Ingersoll, Lieut.-Col. J. C. Hegler, K.C., of Ingersoll and W. J. Comiskey, also of Ingersoll, president of the South Oxford Reform Association.

President Comiskey in opening the meeting expressed the opinion that a general federal election was liable to be held at any time in all probability before another session of Parliament.

He explained to the Norwich and Otterville members that although this annual meeting ought to have been held in their district, it was not deemed likely that a hall large enough to accommodate a rally addressed by Hon. Mr. King could be secured in either of these places. Encouraging reports were presented by Secretary Denton.

**Elected Officers.**

After a largely increased membership had been enrolled, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Mayor M. G. Dean of Tillsonburg, president; Charles G. Hullett, Norwich, vice-president; C. H. Denton (re-elected), secretary-treasurer. Chairmen and secretaries for the various subdivisions were re-elected, the executive to fill vacancies occurring.

The address of welcome which followed the business session was tendered to Hon. Mr. King, J. A. Robb, M.P., of Huntington, the Liberal whip, and General Secretary Hayden of the Reform Association of Canada by Mayor Dean, who foresaw in the public experience and service of the Liberal leader during recent years splendid training to fit him for the duties of the future premiership of Canada.

Musical contributions to the program were made by Mrs. Wilfred McGuire and Miss Ethel Oatman, vocalists, and Miss Helen Trestain, pianist.

**Trying to Divide.**

Mr. Robb, beginning his address, congratulated the residents of South Oxford upon the splendid development of their farms and communities. Residents of the Eastern Counties of Quebec believed that they lived in the garden of Canada, but after seeing South Oxford he had to admit there was another garden of Canada.

He spoke strongly of the bon entente which had so long existed between Ontario and Quebec, although racially and religiously different. French and English speaking Canadians, Roman Catholics and Protestants, had united solidly to turn out the traitors of 1896.

The Conservative party with a view to dividing the Liberal party in Quebec, had sought to sow enmity between the two races and the two religions, but the Conservative efforts to sow discord had not met with much success.

Today as never before there was a solid Liberal block in Quebec. After 24 years of sane, solid Liberal representation, Quebec is one of the most progressive provinces in Canada and the home of the most contented people in Canada. Quebec remembers her annual deficits and her discontent in the days of Conservative administration, when her citizens by thousands were removing to the New England States. Today her people are returning home, and Quebec remembering, intends to continue her solid Liberal representation.

**Criticizes Meighen.**

Mr. Robb sharply criticized Premier Meighen and other cabinet members for galivanting from one foreign country to another at a time when Canada has so many important and serious problems of her own to settle.

The Government is growing bolder and bolder in corrupt deals as its term of office continued and as each session of parliament advanced. Much had been said about abolishing patronage, why then had patronage been revived in the appointment of the census commissioners and enumerators, why could not these appointments have been left to the civil service commission.

**Time For Unity.**

Referring to the wild extravagance of the Conservative party he asked could anyone wonder that the people in their discontent were breaking up into groups and new functions. The extreme versatility of the Conservative appeals was pointed out. First Quebec was told by the Conservative allies in Quebec that Laurier was too loyal to Britain. At the next election in 1917 Ontario was told that the Liberals were disloyal and the people of Quebec were slackers. Now Premier Meighen goes to Quebec and implores that province to save Canada from the Bolshevists of Ontario. This was a time for unity said Mr. Robb and Canada must not allow the discord sowers to divide her people, because of the reckless extravagance of the Borden and Meighen Goxernments. The next government must be pledged to the closest economy possible. Such a government would not be popular, but economy must be practiced to restore public confidence and reduce the public debt which the Conservative Government have allowed to accumulate.

**Great Reception.**

When Hon. Mackenzie King rose to speak the cheering was deafening and continued for some minutes. His address in part follows:

He was presented on behalf of the South Oxford Reform Association with a bouquet of roses by little Kathleen Jane Brown, daughter of W. C. Brown of Tillsonburg, former president of the association.

The Liberal leader expressed his deep appreciation of the splendid reception accorded him, and the resolution of unswerving support and fullest confidence which the association had passed at the beginning of the meeting.

**Different Problems.**

Today Canada's problems were not the same as they had been before the war. Restoration of popular liberty

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and free speech had been promised by the Conservative Government upon the expiration of the war, but instead it had grown more reactionary than ever in its legislation. Canada today was governed on the one hand by political autocrats, and on the other hand by industrial plutocrats.

A class of politicians was in power, which did not care what befell the country so long as they could retain power, and the moneyed men had but one thought of making more money, escaping as much as possible themselves from the burden of paying their share of public expenditure, said Mr. King, introducing his address on the tariff and taxation. Evolution, not revolution, he said, must be the method to supplant indirect by direct taxation.

**Must Go Slowly.**

Indirect taxation cannot be dropped all at once. It would be too burdensome if suddenly applied in view of the great national debt. But indirect taxation should not be used as a protection for one industry as against another.

In speaking of the tariff, the first consideration to keep in mind, is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low.

**No Escape From Effects.**

Some people believe that because they do not see the tax that is being imposed, because they do not pay out taxes as an amount by itself to some tax collector, they are therefore escaping taxation altogether. There could be no greater mistake. It must ever be remembered that taxes are divisible into two classes, according to the method of their imposition; direct taxes which are paid immediately and with the knowledge of the person making payment of which is passed on to another, of which the tariff is the outstanding example. The customs tariff and that is simply a tax imposed by the state on goods and commodities coming into a country, whether they be in the nature of food, or clothing, or furniture, or anything else, and collected, in the first instance, by the tax collector from the importer at the customs house through which they pass, but paid ultimately by the persons who buy the goods, in the extra price paid.

From this it will be apparent that, so long as the state is in need of taxation, and has a customs tariff as a means of raising taxes, or what is spoken of as revenues, every person who buys any of the commodities on the list included in the customs tariff, will in all probability be paying some portion of the tax. Once this is rightly understood, every man and woman, and for that matter every boy or girl who has a dollar to spend will see why it is of immediate and direct interest to themselves to keep from the expenses of government, and to have in office only such a government as may be expected to exercise the most rigid economy in all matters of expenditure.

**Direct as Well as Indirect Taxes.**

When amounts to be raised by taxation are not very considerable, it may matter but little how they are raised, whether by direct or by indirect means. When, however, they are large, it is a matter of great consequence to everyone. There is this also to be remembered, that because part of the taxes may be raised by direct taxation, the burden of which falls mostly upon the wealthy and the well-to-do, it by no means follows that the tax rests there. The chances are a thousand to one the tax, or some part of it, will be passed on to someone else, and that the poor man or woman in the last analysis will bear more than his or her share. The wealthy landlord, for example, who has a big income tax to pay passes it on in a raise of rent to his tenants; if he is the owner of a coal mine, he may pass it on in the price of coal; if he is the owner of a railway, in the rate of fares and freight, and so on and so on. It is said that

"Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em;
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so ad infinitum."

It is much the same with the passing on of taxation from the fellows of big incomes to those of lesser ones:

"Big bugs have little bugs
To whom they pass their taxes;
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind their axes."

It is well that all should remember this, because there are two things which no one, no matter how poor he may be, is likely ever to escape. One is the Day of Judgment, which, however, belongs to the hereafter; the other is taxation in one form or another, which is here and now every day in the week.

**Women Specially Interested.**

In previous years the men of the country were the only part of the population who were given right to vote; or, in other words, to decide who were to compose the government of the country. Today the women of the country, as well as the men, have the right. It is most important, therefore, that they, not less than the men, should clearly comprehend the problems of government, and in particular whatever relates to taxation, the means by which government is carried on. It may be that, because some women do not pay direct taxes to the state, many of them think that it matters little to them who are in control of the government, or how its affairs are administered. If, however, they once come to realize that all that we mean by the cost of living is bound up in the most intimate way with the expenditures of government, they will see how closely all questions of public expenditure and taxation relate themselves to their own happiness and opportunities.

A woman, for example, when she reads that the government is spending ten or twelve millions of dollars each year on the militia, and an equal amount on combined naval and merchant marine service, may think that this expenditure is too remote to be of much concern to her. But for a population of less than ten millions to spend over twenty millions on military, naval and merchant marine account, means an average of a little over $2 per individual. If she would stop to reflect, she would discover that, if it were possible to trace this payment to the one who finally makes it, she in all probability is paying her $2 on this account, if indeed not very much more. The money has to be raised either through direct or through indirect taxation. If raised in part out of large incomes, it will be passed on, in the price of commodities or services, to the persons of lesser incomes; if raised in the form of indirect taxation, it will be paid for out of the increased cost of commodities purchased.

When a woman purchases a new dress or hat, the kind of dress and hat she can purchase will depend on its price. She may not think, when asked more than she ever paid before, that the reason is that part of the price is going to keep up the outlays on the militia, the navy, and the merchant marine, but such is nevertheless the case. A man or a woman may read in the newspaper that Parliament has voted $165,000,000 on account of railway expenditures, and imagine that, that amount being so large, it must necessarily come out of the large incomes. There could be no greater mistake. Every pound of coffee purchased, every pair of shoes bought, every loaf of bread, every kitchen utensil, every bit of house furnishing, practically everything in the way of food consumed, one way or another, is carrying in its price a part of that $165,000,000, and the man or woman who makes the purchase is helping to pay it.

**Cost to Individuals.**

How, then, when we come to consider the total expenditures of government. Fifty or sixty millions of dollars is a very large sum of money, but that is what our Parliament was called upon to vote at the last session as the amount to be spent during the present year. Assuming that our population was ten millions—which in all probability it is not—that would mean an outlay per individual of from $50 to $60, and an outlay per family of five of $250 to $300. One is almost frightened to contemplate what it would mean for a family of twelve; the figures are, however, $600 to $720.

These are the taxes which the Government at Ottawa alone are at present imposing upon the people of Canada. When we recall the circumstance that for the most part the entire population under 14 years of age is dependent on others over that age, and that most of the population under 21 years of age is dependent in some measure upon the men and women who are over 21 years of age, it will be seen that what is allotted to them in per capita tax should in reality have been placed upon those who are electors; so that the amount which each man and woman will necessarily be contributing to the state is considerably greater than the figures I have indicated.

If each single man and woman who is paying no direct tax whatever, and thinks he or she is thereby escaping taxation altogether, will stop to think what it means to be contributing not less than $50 or $60 per year in taxes, and each head of a family of five will think what it means to be contributing from $250 to $300 per year, whether they are paying income tax or not, he or she will see why, among other reasons, the manner in which the Government is carried on is to him or her a matter of immediate concern.

If you have clearly grasped what a customs tariff is, and how and by whom it is ultimately paid, we may go on to consider the different kinds of customs tariff, and also their possible and probable effects.

**Not Honestly Stated.**

Mr. Meighen, the prime minister, has been saying that there are only two kinds of tariff—a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. With this statement I take direct issue. I go further, and say that there is no such thing in the world as a free trade tariff, and that no one knows that better than Mr. Meighen himself. Why, then, does he say it? I can only surmise the reason. I regret to say that our prime minister is not always wholly candid; he has a perfect genius for twisting and turning and misrepresenting situations and facts, and like most contortionists is fond at times of displaying his ability in this fortunate direction. He does it always for a purpose. The acrobat in a circus performs his tricks to make people laugh. Mr. Meighen performs his in a manner which should make the nation weep. And this for the reason that his twists and turns are so wholly misleading, and are made, not with a view of playing upon the good nature of his audiences, but upon their prejudices, which he knows sometimes go very deep.

In this matter, for example, he knows that in many parts of the country, and especially in the cities and towns to which he is looking for support, there is a strong prejudice against free trade, and so he says the issue on the tariff is between protection and free trade;

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that he is for protection, and the Farmers and the Liberals are for free trade. I must leave the leaders of the Farmers' party to speak for themselves. So far as the Liberal party is concerned, I should like to say here what I have said on every platform from which I have spoken in Canada on the subject of the tariff, and what I have said in Parliament on more than one occasion, that the Liberal party is not today and has not been since we have had a tariff in Canada for free trade. That the issue is not one between protection and free trade, or, as Mr. Meighen expresses it, a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. It is between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue; between a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue if you will, but not between a protective tariff and no tariff at all, which is the meaning of free trade.

**Existing Financial Requirements.**

It is not honest to say that we can do away altogether with the customs tariff in Canada at the present time. If we do, how are we to raise the immense sums that are required to pay off our public debt, and meanwhile to pay the interest on it? How are we to raise the moneys required to meet the obligations growing out of the war, the pensions to returned soldiers, to those who are suffering from impairment of health or bodily injury, or to the dependents of those who were killed? How are we to finance out railways, and how meet the other expenses of government amounting, as I have said, for the present year to between five and six hundred million dollars, and this with the setting aside of nothing in payment of our public debt, which amounts to over two billions, three hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars? No, we cannot change from a system of indirect to one of direct taxation all in a day, even if that were to be deemed the wisest course. What might have been possible before the war, when the total expenditure of government was between one and a half hundred millions of dollars, is not so easily achieved today, where the total expenditures of government are four times that amount. The highest point public expenditure ever reached during the Liberal regime was $136,000,000 all told; that is to say, on ordinary and capital account, including subsidies to railways, $87,000,000 on ordinary expenditure alone. Today the figures stand at $563,000,000, with a public debt in addition which has jumped from $340,000,000 to over $2,350,000,000.

Let me report, existing financial requirements of the Dominion demand the maintenance of a customs tariff. This the Liberal party put forward as the first clause in a resolution on the tariff, which was moved in the House of Commons by the Hon. Mr. Fielding, and seconded by myself, and which received the unanimous support of the Liberal Opposition and of the Agrarian group during the debate on the budget in the session of Parliament which has just ended.

So long as you recognize a customs tariff, you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as I have stated, a tax. It is a tax on imports, and a tax on import is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what it says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example, and when the prime minister and his following say that the issue is between protection and free trade, they do not describe the situation aright. The minute a tax is imposed on trade, that moment trade is obstructed. The obstruction may be made to serve primarily one of two purposes: It may be made a means of raising revenue, or it may be made a means of affording protection to some industry within the country. Usually it serves both purposes in some measure. A tax imposed for purposes of protection may be so framed as incidentally to afford revenue, and a tax imposed for purposes of revenue may be so framed as incidentally to afford protection. The art of statesmanship in the imposition of taxation lies in making taxation as ligh as circumstances will permit, and in having regard for existing national needs in whatever taxation may be imposed.

**The Real Issue.**

The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is no and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue.

The prime minister says it is either free trade or protection; that there are only the two grounds: there is no middle ground between them. That is in order to divert the public mind from the middle ground, and to centre it upon the one extreme or the other. Let me quote his exact words:

"I said a moment ago that any body of men framing a tariff must adopt one of two principles, the protective principle or the free trade principle, and I say that every public man owes it to the people to declare definitely on which of the two principles he stands."

That was a statement made at Winnipeg on October 25, 1920. You will observe that Mr. Meighen is choosing his own premises in presenting the alternative. He makes the assertion, and then he begins to argue from his own premises, but his premises are not right to begin with. He says:

"There is a free trade tariff, and there is a protective tariff."

He goes on to say:

"Is there a man or woman here who knows whether Mr. King stands for tariff on the free trade principle, or on the protection principle? You may keep on asking him, but you will never get an answer, yes or no."

You might as well expect the answer "Yes" or "No" from a man to whom you might address the query as to whether or not he had stopped beating his wife, when as a matter of fact he had always been kind to her. This is political trickery, not statesmanship.

Mr. Meighen knows very well that I will never give an answer "Yes" or "No" to a question based on promises that are entirely false. The question is not between protection and free trade. He says, in an issue between protection and free trade, there is no middle ground. In that I agree with him, if by protection he means tariff and by free trade absence of tariff. The one is the negation of the other. That issue may be fought out theoretically, but practically there is no such issue in this country, and never has been. Mr. Meighen says: "You can have two kinds of tariff and only two; you can have a tariff founded on one principle, that of protection, or another principle, that of free trade." That is where he misstates the case. You cannot have a tariff on the principle of free trade, for the principle of free trade means the absence of all tariff. What Mr. Meighen should have said, what he would have said had he not been trying deliberately to becloud the issue when speaking of the only possible alternatives of a tariff, is that there are but two kinds, a tariff based on the principle of protection, and a tariff based on the principle of revenue. Had he stated the alternative in these words, he would have correctly described the issue.

**Will Consider All.**

In dealing with taxation, whether it be the tariff or any other form of taxation, the aim should be to make taxation fall as lightly as possible upon the people of the country. The art of statesmanship as respects taxation, as respects everything else pertaining to public administration, consists in having as much regard for all the interests of the country as possible. If, when a Government is framing its tariff with one object or another in view, it does not take into consideration all the other objects of which account should be taken that are to be served, it will not be doing its full duty by the people whose representative it is. Unless Mr. Meighen, when framing a tariff for purposes of protection, is prepared to say that he will give no consideration to the revenue that is to be raised, he should not hurl a stone at us because in regard to a tariff designed primarily for revenue purposes, we declare that we intend to have regard for the interests and needs of the country and its industries in whatever direction these needs may present themselves. The prime minister has never once spoken of there being an issue between a tariff primarily for revenue and a tariff primarily for protection. He has tried to make an issue between free trade and protection. Speaking of free trade or protection, and omitting altogether reference to a tariff primarily for protection or a tariff primarily for revenue, which must be as familiar to him as it is to any person in the country, he has shown that he has been trying to draw away the minds of the people from the real issue and cause them to give him their support on something which is not the issue at all.

**Traditional Liberal Victory.**

The position which I have just stated has been the position the Liberal party has all along taken in regard to the tariff. In the last speech he delivered on the budget before the war, the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated in the clearest possible terms the position of the Liberal party on the tariff. Here are Sir Wilfrid Laurier's words. They will be found in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons, of April 23, 1914, page 2844.

"We have always contended, that the policy best suited to this country is not a protective tariff, but a customs tariff for revenue purposes."

There is the statement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. There is the statement of the Liberal party in the matter of the tariff. That is where Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood; that is where I stand; and that is where I shall continue to stand irrespective of all the twists and turns the prime minister may seek to make.

If I may be permitted to say so, the prime minister has gone out of his way to misrepresent to the public the attitude of the Liberal party on the tariff, and to misrepresent me personally from one end of the country to the other. He has led the way in having his press and his following in Parliament and the country assert that I stood in one place for one thing, and in another for another; that I particularly had created throughout the country the impression that I was trying to be all things to all men. I might quote many of his utterances. I shall mention only one or two. Mr. Meighen is reported to have said, in addressing a meeting of the ladies at the Women's Liberal-Conservative Association at Toronto on April 16 of this very year:

"In Eastern Canada, the Opposition has advocated moderate protection, and in Western Canada free trade. Everything their leaders had spoken had bound them to free trade."

Then at a meeting of the Conservative Club in Toronto, on the same day, the prime minister is reported in the Toronto Mail and Empire as having said:

"But is there anyone who knows where the Hon. Mackenzie King stands? Mr. King was an advocate of ruthless tariff reduction out west, but in the east he stood for the adequate protection of industry."

So he told the same story both to the ladies and to the men, and yet

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in both cases he must have known that what he was saying was not true.

**Challenges Meighen.**

I challenged the right honorable the prime minister on the floor of Parliament to point to any utterance of mine in the west that can possibly be understood as meaning that I stood for free trade, or, as he in a more modified form expressed it, ruthless tariff reduction. He was unable to accept the challenge, and yet he has never retracted his words. It is a very easy thing to misrepresent an opponent. It quite another thing to undo the evils of misrepresentation. I regret to say that I fear one can look as little for chivalry as for truth from the prime minister where it serves his purpose to take a different attitude.

The speeches I made through the Canadian west last year were made in the hearing of thousands of persons; they were reported very fully in the western papers, and in dispatches to the east; they were made within the hearing of many persons from this province and from Eastern Canada; and I challenge anyone to point to a single sentence in all that I have said which will afford a shadow of justification for allegations of the kind that have been wilfully made. I have looked through the press reports of the different speeches I made in the different cities, and I find that every one of them on this question of the tariff tallies, verbatim et literatim, with the policy of the Liberal party as I stated it in the House of Commons, both at the last session and the session previous.

**Present Liberal Position.**

That there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff during the western trip last fall, that there may be no misunderstanding as to the position I took on the tariff when I spoke in the Maritime Provinces a little over a year ago, that there may be no misunderstanding of my present attitude on the tariff, may I repeat what I said in a speech which I delivered in the city of Toronto on Saturday, August 14, of last year, and which will be found reported on the front page of the Toronto Globe of the Monday following. The report there contained is, to all intents and purposes, identical with the presentation of the Liberal attitude on the tariff as made at every meeting at which I have spoken on the tariff since the Liberal convention of August, 1919. It is in all essential particulars true to the Liberal platform as laid down at that convention, and it is absolutely in accord with the aim of the Liberal party on fiscal policy as set forth in the resolutions we have moved in Parliament since that time. I challenge any man or woman in this country to show that I have anywhere, at any time, swerved from the views and opinions and statement of policy as set forth in that report, which is both clear and comprehensive. The Globe says:

"Speaking on the all-important tariff question at the Liberal picnic Saturday, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, said:

" 'We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. . . .

" 'In revising the tariff to this end care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country, but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes. . . .

" 'It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff. We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal party. And I shall say in regard to tariff policies exactly the same in the city of Toronto as I shall say in the western provinces. I have not one message for the city and another message for the country—one message for the employer and another for the employee.' "

**Tariff Revision Downwards.**

You will observe the Liberal policy is a policy of tariff revision, of revision downwards, not upwards, of revision in the interests of producers and consumers, not of special interests and privileged classes.

With the Liberal party, the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection; it is revenue; it is the needs and well-being of the home, and the development of our industries in such manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people. I want to emphasize the fact that if called upon, as I believe we will be, to revise the tariff, in any revision we may make, it will be the home and its needs that will receive first consideration; that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place, regard will be had to existing conditions of trade, and changes made in such manner as will cause the least possible disturbance of business. As respects the tariff, as with everything else of national importance, the Liberal party believes in proceeding along evolutionary, not along revolutionary, lines.

This brings me to the reason why, as respects the tariff, we, as Liberals, stand on the principle of a tariff primarily for revenue, rather than on the principle of a tariff primarily for protection. We believe that a tariff primarily for protection is certain to be a tariff for special interests, whereas a tariff primarily for revenue comes as near as any tariff can to being a tariff for the people.

**Immediate Tariff Revision.**

Mr. Meighen and his friends profess to be in favor of a revision of the tariff. Over and over again, the Government, both of Sir Robert Borden and of Mr. Meighen, have emphasized the need for revision. Sir Thomas White, when minister of finance, in his budget speech of June 5, 1919, said that a general revision was "long overdue," but owing to the war unavoidably overdue. It was urged that, because of the unsettled condition of international trade, still hampered by war restrictions and prohibitions, and by exchange conditions, it would not be practicable to make a sound general revision of the tariff at that time. The hope, however, was expressed that within a year conditions would have become so stabilized as to permit of a general revision of the tariff. The finance minister urged that, preceding the revision, a thorough inquiry should be conducted by the minister of finance and two or more of his colleagues, and gave it as his view that this inquiry might well be commenced about the autumn of that year. It was stated that the result of such an inquiry should be "a body of information which would enable the Government to effect a general revision of the tariff fair to all parts of the community and effectually promoting the national welfare of Canada." This pronouncement served the purpose of the avoidance of any tariff revision during the session of 1919.

**Delays In Carrying Out Revision.**

The autumn of 1919 came and went, but the inquiry foreshadowed for the fall of 1919 was not proceeded with. This occasioned a second official declaration. It was made, not by Sir Thomas White, but by his successor in office, the present minister of finance, Sir Henry Drayton. In a remarkable utterance, issued in December of that year, not only the time of general revision, but the time also of the inquiry which was to precede it, was further postponed. It was urged that international and economic conditions were in many respects worse than they were six months previous, or at any time during the war. Whilst this might serve as an excuse, if not as a reason, for delaying the general revision, it was evidently recognized that it would not serve with like effectiveness as a reason for abandoning the promised general inquiry which was to precede it. Accordingly the Government hit upon the rather unprecedented device of reversing the order of procedure with respect to inquiry, and instead of having the ministers confer with consumers and producers in a series of public hearings throughout the Dominion, announced its intention of having interested parties present their views and opinions in the form of written statements, which could be "systematically analyzed and classified for the purpose of making them a basis of general public inquiry to be held throughout the country."

The written statements were made to do duty for the session of 1920. Parliament was informed, in the budget speech of May 18 of that year, that though unfortunately trade and economic conditions were yet unstable, the tariff investigation had commenced, and public sittings would be held throughout Canada after prorogation. The minister of finance went further than promising the prosecution of the inquiry; he told the House that to make the inquiry thorough the department of finance would have the assistance of experts and other advisers, and he went on to say, "I am further of the opinion that not only should the investigation proceed, but that information should now be given of the principles and policies of the Government in the light of which effect will be given in the tariff revision to follow to the evidence and facts developed in the inquiry."

Then followed a somewhat pretentious and high-sounding enumeration of principles and policies, proceeded by the declaration, "Our policy calls for a thorough revision of the tariff," and concluding with a reiteration of the affirmation that "a general revision of the Canadian tariff based upon the foregoing consideration was due." This statement of the Hon. the Minister of Finance was limited only by the condition that the revision should not be undertaken "until a thorough inquiry is made to ascertain the essential facts upon which the tariff provisions must necessarily be based."

**Long and Expensive Inquiry.**

That brought us to the end of the session of 1920. Before the summer of 1920 was over the minister of finance and certain of his colleagues, together with their experts and other advisers, entered upon the public sittings of the investigation, which was announced as having commenced when the statements of consumers and producers were called for. Across this continent, from ocean to ocean, at most of the important centers throughout the Dominion, and at great expense to the country, the committee of the cabinet conducted its hearings. Nothing was omitted in the way of press propaganda to have it appear that the committee was doing a great public work. When the public hearings were over, the country was given to understand that the delay in the summoning of Parliament was due to the time required by the committee to get its information in shape for the tariff revision, which was

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to be the main feature of the present session. Finally, on February 14, Parliament reassembled, and with the opening of Parliament came the pronouncement, in the speech from the throne, respecting tariff revision.

**Revision Promised for Session.**

"My advisers," said his excellency, "are convinced of the necessity for revision of the customs tariff." There was no uncertainty there. "Conviction" and "necessity" are strong words, and both find a place in this terse and emphatic sentence. His excellency continued: "In order to secure the most complete information a committee has conducted an extensive and thorough inquiry." Here again were clear and emphatic words. Not only had the inquiry been conducted, but the inquiry had been extensive and thorough. The pronouncement continued: "The hearings necessary for this purpose have now been completed, and the conclusions founded thereon will be submitted to you in due course." It is unnecessary to quote further. No declaration could be clearer. It only remained for the budget to be brought down for the House to enter upon the important work of the session.

What was our surprise, and the surprise of the country, when on Monday, the 9th of June, the minister of finance, in presenting his budget to the House, instead of submitting the conclusions founded upon the hearings of the committee of investigation, and outlining the measure of revision of the customs tariff promised by His Excellency in the speech from the throne, calmly informed the House that it was "not proposed to put into effect now a general revision of the tariff schedules."

**Government Not a Free Agent.**

But one of two alternatives is possible; either the Government, despite all its professions, had never had any real intention of revising the tariff; or, having such an intention, it was frustrated in the carrying out of its intention the moment advance had been made to the point where definite action became necessary. It matters very little which of these alternatives we take; the one really significant fact is apparent, the Government was not a free agent, in the matter of either intention or action. It is not a free agent at the present time. Its members in truth do not constitute the real Government of Canada today. In word and act, it is but the visible expression of influence and forces which dictate the policies, aye and in large measure are controlling the destinies of Canada today—forces and influences which constitute the real though the invisible Government of this Dominion.

The failure of the Government, at this time of high living costs and much needed increase of production, to give any relief from burdensome taxation to either consumers or producers, is not due, as professed, to any legislation of the United States. The stock in trade argument of the Tory party has all along been that in tariff legislation we should act altogether independently of the United States It is due to a deliberate and determined effort to thwart trade and to restrict competition in every direction, with the Mother Country and our sister dominions even more than with the United States,in order that a few wealthy men and their immediate friends and associates may reap still larger fortunes through obtaining, not a much-needed market, as they would have us believe, but a monopoly of the Canadian market, in addition to markets abroad secured for them through government action in a variety of directions and at enormous expense to the taxpayers of this country.

**Power of Interests.**

I have referred to the combined power of a few special interests as constituting the real, albeit an invisible, government, compared with which the government we see personified in Mr. Meighen and his associates is but form and shadow. Perhaps the time would be well spent if we paused for a moment to look behind the shadow and discern what we can of the reality. A moment's reflection will enable us to see how this organized power came into being, and how menacing its existence is to the social and industrial well-being of our country.

I need not remind you that for four years the energies of this country, the energies of its government, of its industries, as well as of its people, were strained to the one herculean task, the winning of the war. It was inevitable that during that period there should be the closest kind of association between certain financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, and between these several interests o fthe government and its members. That association between the more active and prominent members of both groups was interrupted, and indeed necessarily intimate, over the greater part of the entire period. They were linked the one to the other by the most powerful bonds. There was the bond of disinterested public service at the moment of the greatest crisis in the world's affairs, and there was the bond, wholly different in character it is true, but to some individuals even more powerful, of personal and private self-interest at a moment of opportunity such as had presented itself but once in the history of the world.

**Huge Sum Loaned.**

During those four years, a sum amounting to something like two billions of dollars was loaned by the country to the Government, and under Government direction was disbursed among these financial, manufacturing, transportation ad distributing interests. The Government was permitted a free hand; in the loans thus subscribed, the sacrifices present or future were never questioned; in the spending of these vast sums little or no check was exercised by Parliament; orders-in-council, at the caprice of the ministry, were permitted to replace legislative enactments of both houses of parliament. It was an era of unparalleled opportunity both for the exercise of autocratic power and for the bestowal of favors. Strange indeed it would be had not the closest kind of relationship been formed between the controlling factors on both aides. That they were so formed, every Canadian citizen is well aware.

**Self-Interest Prompts Combination After the War.**

With the termination of the war and the demobilization of the military forces this era of unlimited expenditures and unparalleled contracting came to an end. Not, however, the association between the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, among themselves or with the government. In considerable measure, it is true, the compelling force of the bonds which had united these interests with the government were lessened. Members of the government who read their obligation to the country in terms of disinterested public service, recalling the pledges on which the government was returned to power, one by one retired from the ministry. Others of their colleagues, for reasons best known to themselves, continued in office. Similarly, it is to be presumed, among the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, were numbers of influential and prominent men who were quick to sever the intimacy of the relations formed with members of the government during the period of stress and strain, and to give their thought to their particular business interests regardless altogether of government favors or action.

**Self-Interest Only.**

Unfortunately for our Dominion, all the men of great wealth and power have not been of this class. The same self-interest which caused members of the government to cling to office despite honorable obligation and constitutional right, has operated in the manner to cause certain members of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests to continue to look to government for special favors and special privileges, and in return to support the administration by direct methods as well as indirect in its retention of power against the will of the people as a whole. Thus we have come to have in Canada, on the one hand, a prime minister and a ministry to whom usurpation of office and the exercise of autocratic methods in government belong as a sort of natural right, and on the other a small circle, a sort of little oligarchy of interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation, and distributing interests, prepared, in return for a continuation of favor and special privilege, to use their wealth and influence to keep the Administration in power, and thereby constituting in a very true sense the real though invisible Government of this country.

**Political Autocrats.**

We have, in other words, political power united with plutocracy in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the state. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behavior, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests mentioned, who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry and the state, but wish to dominate both. They are for the time being able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its existence to their dictation and its continuance in office to the powerful influence which is a multitude of directions they are able to exert. There is the eral situation with which the country is faced at the present time. That is the danger to Canada at the moment. It is not that her Government is not a Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, but rather that we have the selfish groups united together, working for their joint ambitions, and the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

**Seeking Undue Protection.**

This is the explanation of the failure of the Government thus far to revise the tariff. It was not fear of the consequences of American Emergency legislation—that really was a ground for action—it was the maintenance by the favored few of their privileged position as it has come to be in consequence of the war and conditions as they have grown out of the war. It is the explanation of the declaration made by the prime minister in the course of his speech on the budget in Parliament:

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"This Government stands for the tariff that is in existence today, and in any adjustment that will be made we will admit the principle of protection and we will apply it."

Protection, yes, but protection for whom? Protection for these favored interests, not for the great masses of the people. The invisible Government has decreed that thus he must stand, and so the day of tariff revision in the interests of either producers or consumers has been indefinitely postponed.

**Defeat Selfish Combination.**

It is because of this combination, the combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, by which all Liberal and Progressive forces will be opposed at the general elections, whenever they are held, that it would be disastrous to the well-being of the people as a whole for Mr. Meighen and his colleagues to be returned to power and intrusted with any revision of the tariff. It would never be a tariff framed in the interest of producers and consumers, but a tariff for the benefit of a few wealthy men and their friends. What folly is it in the face of so great a danger for the forces of progress to be divided at this time. Autocracy has ever sought to win its victory by keeping divided the forces by which it is opposed. For any group calling itself progressive to seek isolation, and to fail actively to co-operate with every other Liberal group, is to help to accomplish its own ultimate defeat and to deliver the day of victory to a common enemy.

**Workings of Combination.**

Fortunately I need not ask the people of Canada to accept my anaylsis of the situation as a last word. Did time permit I might cite an abundance of evidence as proof of the accuracy. We have, however, the evidence of one who has been on the inside, one of the Government's own supporters, who was permitted a peep behind the scene, in a position of exceptional opportunity, who was appointed to office by the Government itself, and who has given to the public a description of what he has seen, in an official report to the Government itself. I refer to the report of Mr. James Murdock, presented at the time of his resignation from the board of commerce.

Having been a member of the board from the time of its inception, Mr. Murdock came at once into a specially favored position. Indeed strategically, he was in the best of positions; he was where he could view, on the one side, the organization of the specially favored interests I have been describing, and on the other, the relation thereto of members of the Administration. Both situations he has described with perfect clearness, they are depicted in the official communication sent the prime minister in June of last year, and which the Government has had before it ever since. Here is the situation as respects the favored interests.

**Price Fixing Agreement.**

Referring to the preliminary investigation of the board of commerce, and the necessity for some governmental machinery to protect the consumers and producers of the country against the kind of protection, Mr. Meighen and his associates have been advocating, Mr. Murdock says:

"(a) Businessmen living together under the protection of the tariff have got to know each other so well that price-fixing agreements and arrangements are the rule, rather than the exception. The board has already on file evidence in some scores of cases of such agreements. Not all of these are reasonable or proper. It should not be left to the unfettered will of the businesses interested to fix prices on necessaries of life. . . .

"(b) Combines which have been fastened themselves on the production and distribution of certain essential articles of food, such as canned fruits, have introduced systems of merchandizing which are injurious to trade and the consumer, and prevent fair competition. . . .

"(c) The board has discovered that unfair and excessive profits are being taken by certain textile manufacturers, cement companies, and other large concerns. It is in the public interest that these investigations thus begun be not stopped at this point. . .

"(d) There is no reason to believe that sugar is not the only commodity in which speculation to the detriment of the public has taken place. . .

"(e) Without a board of commerce the public has no organization to watch and protect its interests, while on the other side there is the most complete organization and cross-organization; manufacturers' associations, retail associations, packers' associations, and hundreds of other associations. The public, unorganized as the sands by the sea, requires a protector against the super-organization of modern business."

**Need of Consumers for Protection.**

Mr. Murdock, you see, speaks of the need of protection, but it is not the protection of the members of the associations he has described, but the protection of the great body of consumers that are like the sands of the seashore, without any protection whatever against what he terms the super-organization of modern business. It is the few wealthy men responsible for this super-organization of modern business depicted by Mr. Murdock who constitutes the ring that controls the Government of Canada today, that shackles its freedom of action, and compels the Government on pain of extinction to do its bidding. It is the favored position of these privileged few that the Government is striving in all its measures to advance and to protect.

Then, Mr. Murdock goes on to speak of the Government's attitude as he came to know it—and, be it remembered, this was a statement issued to the prime minister of this country by Mr. Murdock, while Mr. Murdock was still a member of the board. The majority of the cabinet, he declares, were never in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the board of commerce act and the combines and fair prices act, and only favored the passage of these measures as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other demonstrations, when the people demanded some means of controlling profiteers. He points out, moreover, that certain cabinet ministers, and others prominent in the councils of Canada, had undertaken so far as possible, to minimize the effects of these acts, and had repeatedly tried to thwart the board's activities by quiet and hidden restrictive opposition, and that the chairman himself saw to it that nothing was done which could in any way effect the business and financial interests which, in his judgment, should be protected from interference by the board of commerce. Mr. Murdock cites another instance in which certain members of the cabinet endeavored to relieve the textile manufacturers of the necessity of furnishing information which the board had called for, and this when later records show that the disclosures which could have been made had full information been furnished were such as "would have startled and incensed the Canadian public beyond anything that has developed in recent months."

Finally, as indicating beyond shadow of doubt his view of the Government's relationship to the super-organization of business interests he has described, Mr. Murdock concludes:

"In connection with your suggestion that I contiue as a commissioner of the board of commerce until the decision of the Privy Council. I feel that the people need, and are entitled to, some results now. The light should be let in. I believe your cabinet will devise some means to prevent the board of commerce from functioning, even should the Privy Council give a favorable decision. My conscience will not permit me to become a high-salaried time-server."

Could anything be clearer? There are the specially-favored, duly-protected interests on the one side; the Government, their protecting and willing servants, on the other; and the whole a matter of public disclosure, and now of public knowledge.

**Not Attacking Busines.**

Let me say, so that my words will not be capable of misconstruction, that in making these references to certain financial, manufacturing, distributing, and other business interests, I am making no attack on big business as such I am making no attack whatever on vast organizations as such, for in these days of competition between industry and industry, between locality and locality, between nation and nation, between continent and continent, large organization is absolutely necessary, and vast accumulation of wealth in particular industries is absolutely necessary if the country is to hold its own in competition. So I am making no charge against the organization of business as it is carried on today, nor against the men to whom this country is, indeed, vastly indebted for their skilful organization of industry and the way it is carried on. But what I wish to do is this: I wish to distinguish between these men who are prepared to share in the government of industry, and in the government of the country, and those men who wish to monopolize and dictate in matters of industrial policy and the control of political affairs. You have in every country the two types. You have the men who are willing to work with their fellows, and to share with their fellows, and you have others who wish to dictate, who wish to control, who wish to monopolize, and it is these latter groups that have been brought into combination through the circumstances of the country as I have described them, and who are controlling this country at the present time.

**Should Be Shared, Not Monopolized.**

Why should a few men monopolize government and the patronage of government? Why should one bank, one railway group, one trust company, one insurance company, be favored at the expense of others? Why certain industrial enterprises and not all? In a country like Canada, all should be permitted a share in government and government business. It is against monopoly in government business and government favors, as against monopoly in all else, that our attacks are directed.

Think of a government permitting itself to lie under the shadow of such an indictment! Mr. Murdock's charges were made on the eve of prorogation a year ago; the Government has taken no steps to free itself from all that those representations imply. Why has Mr. Murdock not been summoned to appear before some committee of this House and prove the charges he has made? There is one reason, and one reason only; the Government knows the charges to be true, and that any at-

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tempt at investigation will mean the letting in of more light.

**Examples of Government Favors.**

Did time permit, Mr. Meighen's charges might be duplicated many fold. I purpose at Hamilton on Saturday night to show how this baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats is operating to increase the fortunes of a few wealthy individuals at the expense of the public, through the manner in which public funds are permitted to be spent in connection with the administration of our railways, and those who are benefiting sheltered from all possibility of exposure by methods the Government has devised. I might go on to show how Canada's credit in the form of loans of public moneys to foreign governments has been made an instrument of increasing the private fortunes of many wealthy individuals, some of whom are the Government's own supporters in Parliament. I might show how legislation passed by a previous administration, designed to protect the consumers against the exactions of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers, has been repealed, and nothing permitted to be enacted in its stead. I might go on to point out how this year, as in former years, no account whatever has been taken of profiteering; how another year has been allowed to pass without any effort whatever having been made by the Government to recover any of the war-time wealth; how, instead of the removal of any of the taxation that bears immediately upon the masses of the people, the duties upon the necessaries of life, it is the business profits taxes and the luxury taxes that have been abolished. The prime minister talks of protection, of the need for protection and says that we are all in favor of protection. Let him have it so, but let me tell him that the protection for which we stand is the protection of the consumer against the exactions of combines, monopolies, and the super-organization of associated business, not the protection of these specially favored organizations against the interests and well-being of the people at large.

**Must Break Powerful Combination.**

What is needed most in this country today is to break this selfish combination of political autocrats and individual plutocrats which has grown and developed during the war and fastened itself like an octopus on the people of Canada. That is the task which is too large to be performed by the present Parliament; it is a task which the people alone can successively undertake. We of the Opposition may do our best, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of the closure, when on matters of public expenditures we try to let in light. The only way in which that combination can be broken is to give to the people of this country their right to have a parliament composed of their own representatives chosen in their own way. Until that right is granted we will never know what the assets or liabilities of this country are.

We of the Opposition in Parliament may make the best effort we can—we have been doing that—but we are powerless, as I have said, in the face of weapons, such as the closure, which the prime minister and his followers are prepared to use on behalf of the interests that are sustaining and keeping them in power. We do demand, however, and shall continue to demand, in the name of the people of this country, that for the sake of Canada's present condition and for the sake of her future need, the people be granted the right, the constitutional right which is theirs, of electing a parliament of their own choosing, and of breaking without further delay a combination which is so inimical to the public weal.

# Some Telling Points Made In Liberal Leader's Great Speech

**"In speaking of the tariff, the first consideration to keep in mind is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low."**

**"Some people believe that because they do not see the tax that is being imposed, because they do not pay out taxes as an amount by itself to some tax collector, they are therefore escaping taxation altogether. There could be no greater mistake."**

**"Today the women of the country, as well as the men, have the right to vote. It is most important, therefore, that they, not less than the men, should clearly comprehend the problems of government, and in particular whatever relates to taxation, the means by which government is carried on."**

**"When a woman purchases a new dress or hat, the kind of dress and hat she can purchase will depend on its price. She may not think, when asked more than she ever paid before, that the reason is that part of the price is going to keep up the outlays on the militia, the navy and the merchant marine, but such is nevertheless the case."**

**"If each single man and woman who is paying no direct tax whatever, and thinks he or she is thereby escaping taxation altogether, will stop to think what it means to be contriubting not less than $50 or $60 per year in taxes, and each head of the family of five will think what it means to be contributing from $250 to $300 per year, whether they are paying income tax or not, he or she will see why, among other reasons, the manner in which the Government is carried on is to him or her a matter of immediate concern."**

**"Mr. Meighen has been saying that there are only two kinds of tariff—a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. With this statement I take direct issue. I go further, and say there is no such thing in the world as a free trade tariff, and that no one knows that better than Mr. Meighen himself."**

**"Premier Meighen has a perfect genius for twisting and turning and misrepresenting situations and facts, and like most contortionists, is fond at times of displaying his ability in this direction. He does it always for a purpose. The acrobat in a circus performs his tricks to make people laugh. Mr. Meighen performs his in a manner which should make the nation weep. And this for the reason that his twists and turns are so wholly misleading."**

**"It is not honest to say that we can do away altogether with the customs tariff in Canada at the present time. If we do, how are we to raise the immediate sums that are required to pay off our public debt, and meanwhile to pay the interests on it? How are we to raise the moneys required to meet the obligations growing out of the war, the pensions to returned soldiers, to those who are suffering from impairment of health or bodily injury, or to the dependents of those who were killed? How are we to finance our railways, and how meet the other expenses of government, amounting, as I have said, for the present year to between five and six hundred million dollars?"**

**"So long as you recognize a customs tariff you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as I have stated, a tax. It is a tax on imports, and a tax on imports is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what it says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example, and when the prime minister and his following say that the issue is between protection and free trade, they do not describe the situation aright."**

**"The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is not and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection, and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue."**

**"The prime minister says it is either free trade or protection; that there are only the two grounds; there is no middle ground between them. That is in order to divert the public mind from the middle ground, and to center it upon the one extreme or the other."**

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Woodstock Sentinel-Review
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# LIBERAL LEADER IS GIVEN FINE RECEPTION AT TILLSONBURG

**Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Points Out Liberal Tariff is for Revenue, Not Protection, and That Home Needs Must be the First Consideration—South Oxford Reform Association Elects M. G. Dean of Tillsonburg as its President—J. A. Robb of Quebec one of the Speakers at Rally.**

(By Ingersoll Correspondent.)

Tillsonburg, July 30.—Hon. W. L. McKenzie King was accorded a splendid ovation at Tillsonburg last night—an ovation that came from the hands and throats of Liberals from all parts of the riding of South Oxford. It was the occasion of the annual meeting of the South Oxford Reform Association, and it will doubtless go down into history as having been one of the most successful meetings held in years.

The Liberal leader was met at the Grand Trunk depot by Mayor M. G. Dean of Tillsonburg, representing the corporation, and by President M. J. Comiskey, Ingersoll, and Secretary C. H. Denton, Tillsonburg, representing the South Oxford Reform Association. With those officials were hundreds of Tillsonburg residents, as well as all the delegates which at that time had arrived from the various points of the riding.

The Tillsonburg band was present also, and after playing a number of selections at the depot, headed a large automobile parade by way of the principal streets back to the vicinity of the opera house.

**At the Opera House.**

After tea, the opera house was the Mecca of those who came from all the outlying parts, including many from Ingersoll. Slowly at first, the crowds began to drift into the building. By eight o'clock, however, the place was filled, and by the time the meeting got well under way, the place was literally jammed.

President M. J. Comiskey took the chair, and at the outset explained the reason for having delayed the annual meeting until such a late date, and also made explanations to Norwich and Otterville for its having been taken to Tillsonburg on this occasion. This, he explained, was owing to the better facilities for handling a big crowd such as the leader of the Liberals in Canada would attract. Mr. Comiskey spoke but very briefly, stating that in his opinion an election was not far off. It might even be seen before another session of the house. The government did not seem to be making out very well in their bye-elections, and he also looked upon this as a sign of the times.

Secretary C. H. Denton of Tillsonburg read the minutes of the last annual meeting, also the treasurer's statement, following which came the election of officers for the ensuing year. They resulted as follows:

President—M. G. Dean, Tillsonburg.

Vice President—C. G. Hulet, Norwich.

Sec. Treas.—C. H. Denton, Tillsonburg.

The chairman and other officials of the various sub-divisions were also appointed, the most of these being re-elected by resolution.

**Address of Welcome.**

Mayor M. G. Dean, on behalf of the council and the residents of Tillsonburg, delivered a splendid address of welcome, which, though brief, had about it the factors of a genial warmth. He extended this not only to the Liberal leader, but also to J. A. Robb, Liberal Whip for Huntingdon, Quebec; also Mr. Hayden, General Secretary of the Reform Association of Canada, who were on the platform with Mr. King.

Following the address of welcome, resolutions were passed expressing unbounded confidence in the Liberal leader, and his exposition of incompetency of things at Ottawa; also expressing appreciation of the services rendered to the Province of Ontario by Hon. Hartley Dewart, Toronto.

**J. A. Robb**

J. A. Robb, Liberal Whip for Huntingdon, Quebec, was the first speaker of the evening. Mr. Robb delivered an excellent adress in which he chiefly sought to show that much of the alleged hard feeling suposed to exist between Ontario and Quebec was imaginary and very much enlarged upon. He said that Ontario and Quebec, in being the older Provinces of the Dominion, had greater responsibilities. He traced back in his memory to the days of the wood and swamp which enveloped the land of these two provinces. The excellent farms and industries and homes which dot the land today in place of the primeval condition, brought much to be thankful for and much of responsibility.

The speaker said he thought there should be no misunderstanding between the people of Ontario and Quebec. There should be no need for anyone trying to stir up a racial or religious strife between the two. He cited many instances where counties in Quebec which were as high as eighty per cent Roman Catholic, had voted to parliament Protestants, even where the Protestant had been running against a strong fighter who was of the Catholic faith. He named the instances and the figures connected therewith, but space will not permit of the detail.

"You should remind the gentleman who represents you at Ottawa from this riding of these things the next time he attempts to rake up this kind of thing, said the speaker, who had understood how much this had been done all over Ontario and in Oxford too.

Mr. Robb said that Quebec a few years ago was not the Quebec of today. There had been wasters in other years who had the power of the people's money in the Province. Quebec was not always as well-managed as is the case today. There came a change, and within three years the awakening had paid Quebec. The wasters were ousted out and the Province then had, instead of deficits, a surplus. There was a surplus in Quebec last year of $920,000, and it was estimated that this year's surplus would amount to $1,000,000. "Quebec, once Conservative, has lost confidence in the Government—in fact the government has no confidence in itself. Even your member here for South Oxford has mitted things and acted in the House in such a manner as to show that he was losing confidence in his compatriots, yet, when his vote might be called upon to show them up in the House, he was absent or conveniently ill."

The speaker went on to say that Premier Meighen's Guild Hall speech in London was very interesting to read, inasmuch as that it war largely taken from a speech delivered by the Liberal leader, Hon. William Lyon McKenzie King in the house shortly before the close of the session. "Yet," said Mr. Robb, "Premier Meighen is over there telling England of the feeling of the people of Canada. He is running from Washington to Geneva, from Geneva to London and so on, when there is so much to be done here at home. "Mr. Meighen is very forgetful. He promised economy when he was appoint....no I will not say

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that—when he walked in and usurped the Premiership. What has he done to live up to that promise? Did he keep his promises in regard to the Patronage System? No, he did not. He proved his idea of these things in the matter of the census takers and in the Spinney bill, which was a bill solely and purely to restore patronage. The Liberals opposed it but it carried. During the month of June alone the public debt of Canada increased by just $32,000,000—a million dollars a day, and yet economy had been the promise."

The speaker said that the next government that came into power must be pledged to economy—they must be shown how to cut expenses to the bone. It was the turn of Ontario to have the next Premier. This had been the decision long before Sir Wilfrid Laurier went out of power. In Mr. King Ontario had an able, young and vigorous man who had a big grasp of affairs and who knew how to use it not for the favored few, but for all.

Preceding and following this address, vocal solos were very ably rendered by Mrs. William McGuire and Miss Oatman. Miss Trestrain was the accompanist.

## THE LIBERAL LEADER

The packed house gave a great ovation to Mr. King upon his arising to speak at the call of President Comiskey. It would seem that every hand in the place gave forth its quota of appreciation and anticipation.

In speaking of the tariff, the first consideration to keep in mind is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low.

### No Escape from Effects.

Some people believe that because they do not see the tax that is being imposed, because they do not pay out taxes as an amount by itself to some tax collector, they are therefore escaping taxation altogether. There could be no greater mistake. It must ever be remembered that taxes are divisible into two classes, according to the method of their imposition: direct taxes, which are paid immediately and with the knowledge of the person making payment, as, for example, the income tax; and indirect taxes, which are collected from one person, but payment of which is passed on to another, of which the tariff is the outstanding example. The customs tariff, and that is what is generally meant when we speak of a tariff, is simply a tax imposed by the state on goods and commodities coming into a country, whether they be in the nature of food, or clothing or furniture, or anything else, and collected, in the first instance, by the tax collector from the importer at the customs house through which they pass, but paid ultimately by the persons who buy the goods, in the extra price paid.

From this it will be apparent that, so long as the state is in need of taxation, and has a customs tariff as a means of raising taxes, or what is spoken of an revenue, every person who buys any of the commodities on the list included in the customs tariff will in all probability be paying some portion of the tax.

### Taxes Passed on to Others Less Able to Pay.

When amounts to be raised by taxation are not very considerable, it may matter but little how they are raised, whether by direct or by indirect means. When, however, they are large, it is a matter of great consequence to everyone. There is this also to be remembered, that because part of the taxes may be raised by direct taxation, the burden of which falls mostly upon the wealthy and the well-to-do, it by no means follows that the tax rests there. The chances are a thousand to one the tax, or some part of it, will be passed on to someone else, and that the poor man or woman in the last analysis will bear more than his or her share. The wealthy landlord, for example, who has a big income tax to pay, passes it on in a raise of rent to his tenants; if he is the owner of a coal mine, he may pass it on in the price of coal; if the owner of a railway, in the rate of fares and freight; and so on and so on.

### Women Interested in Problems of Government and Taxation.

In previous years, the men of the country were the only part of the population who were given the right to vote; or, in other words, to decide who were to compose the government of the country. Today, the women of the country as well as the men have that right. It is most important, therefore, that they, not less than the men, should clearly comprehend the problems of government, and in particular whatever relates to taxation, the means by which government is carried on. It may be that, because some women do not pay direct taxes to the State, many of them may think that it matters little to them who are in control of the Government, or how its affairs are administered.

### How Cost of Government is Paid for By the People.

A woman, for example, when she reads that the Government is spending ten or twelve millions of dollars each year on the militia, and an equal amount on combined naval and merchant marine service, may think that this expenditure is too remote to be of much concern to her. But for a population of less than ten millions to spend over twenty millions on military, naval and merchant marine account, means an average of a little over $2.00 per individual. If she would stop to reflect, she would discover that, if it were possible to trace this payment to the one who finally makes it, she in all probability is paying her $2.00 on this account, if indeed not very much more. The money has to be raised either through direct or through indirect taxation.

When a woman purchases a new dress or a hat, the kind of dress or hat she can purchase will depend on its price. She may not think, when asked more than she ever paid before that the reason is that part of the price is going to keep up the outlays on the militia, the navy, and the merchant marine, but such is nevertheless the case. A man or a woman may read in the newspaper that parliament has voted $165,000,000 on account of railway expenditures, and imagine that, that amount being so large, it must necessarily come out of the large incomes.

### Cost to Individuals and Families.

How, then, when we come to consider the total expenditures of government? Five or six hundred millions of dollars is a very large sum of money; but that is what our parliament was called upon to vote at the last session as the amount to be spent during the present year. Assuming that our population was ten millions—which in all probability it is not—that would mean an outlay per individual of from $50 to $60, and an outlay per family of five, of $250 to $300.

### Says Premier Misleading.

Right Hon. Mr. Meighen has been knowlingly seeking to mislead the public on a tariff issue, Mr. King declared. The Premier had said there were only two kinds of tariff: a protective tariff and a free trade tariff. There was no such thing as a free trade tariff, Mr. King asserted. The Liberal party was not, and never had been, for free trade. The iissue was not there; it was between a tariff imposed primarily for the purposes of protection and a tariff for the purpose of revenue.

The customs tariff could not be done away with in Canada overnight, for revenue must be secured. The highest public expenditure during the Liberal regime had been $136,000,000. Today the figures stood at $563,000,000, with a public debt in addition which had increased from $340,000,000 to $2,350,000. A customs tariff was necessary, and the Liberals recognized this, but it should be a tariff based on revenue requirements. The Prime Minister misstated the case when he declared there was no middle ground between free trade and protection. The aim of a tariff should be to make taxation fall as highly as possible on the people of the country.

### Tariff For Revenue Only.

Mr. King quoted from a speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1914 to show that the Liberal party had always contended that the policy best suited to Canada was not a protective tariff, but a customs tariff for revenue purposes. There, he said, was

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where he would continue to stand, as the Liberal party has always stood. The attitude of the Liberal party on the tariff had been wilfully misrepresented by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, who had been unable to accept a challenge to produce proof of his statements that Mr. King had tempered his tariff statements to suit audiences he addressed.

Dealing with the tariff revision, Mr. King said the Liberal policy was one of downward revision in the interests of producers and consumers. If the Liberal party was called upon to revise the tariff, as he believed it would be, the home and its needs would receive first consideration, with due regard to conditions of business, and charges would be made so that they would cause the least possible disturbance of business. A tariff for protection was bound to be a favor of the special interests, whereas a tariff for revenue would be a tariff for the people..

**Revision Long Overdue.**

Tariff revision in Canada was long overdue. There had been many promises and so many disappointments. A commission had toured the Dominion and heard the views of all classes,, but still the Meighen Government declined to revise the tariff, because the interests which were in control of the Govrnment were against any such revision. The Government was not a free agent in the matter.

Revision was delayed to further add to the wealth of a few wealthy men by giving them a monopoly of the home market, in addition to markets abroad secured for them by Government actions at the taxpayers' expense. It would be disastrous to the well-being of the people for the Meighen Government to revise the tariff, the speaker asserted.

Mr. King dealt with the charges of James Murdock when a member of the Board of Commerce. Mr. Murdock, the Liberal Leader claimed, had charged the majority of the Government with not being in sympathy with attempts to curb profiteering, and the Government had not been able to refute those charges.

**Favoring Few Big Fellows.**

Mr. King pointed out that his remarks were not directed against all business interests, but against the favored few who during the war had worked into close connections with the Government, and now held a monopoly of Government busiress and Government favors in return for the support they gave the Administration,

The present "baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats" was increasing the fortunes of individuals at the expense of the public in various ways: by the administration of the Government railways, spending of loans to foreign countries and by special legislation. The Prime Minister had declared that "we are all in favor of protection," but the protection for which the Liberal party stood was the protection of the people against combines and profiteers, and not the protection of specially-favored organizations.

There was in Canada today a powerful combination of forces in control which must be broken up by the people. The Opposition in the House was powerless, tnough they would continue to strive for the rights of the public. However, when they sought information the Government applied the weapon of closure. Until a general election was held and the people sent their proper representatives to Parliament, Canada would not learn the details of her assets and liabilities. The Liberal party would continue to demand that the people be given a right to say who should govern them, and thus break the present combination which no longer considered the rights of the public in any sense.

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D 5315

30 July 1921 Hamilton

"THE RAILWAY SITUATION"

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Railway

Bullen 7 71

Hamilton Speech. Cold Railway policy
30th July 5316

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# THE RAILWAY SITUATION.

THE PROBLEM ONE OF PRIVATE INTERESTS VERSUS PUBLIC.

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM PREFERRED BY PRIME MINISTER TO DOMESTIC.

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM REDUCED TO POINTS.

1. ALL RAILWAYS EXCEPT C.P.R. NOW UNDER GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP? OPERATION AND CONTROL.

2. PRACTICALLY ALL RAILROADS ACQUIRED BY GOVERNMENT SINCE 1911.

3. PEOPLE NEVER CONSULTED ON POLICY INVOLVED.

4. REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT HAVE LITTLE SAY.

C.N.R. AND G.T.R. ACQUIRED WITH LITTLE OPPORTUNITY OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION.

5. PARLIAMENT DENIED RIGHT OF APPROVING AGREEMENT BEFORE TRANSFER MADE.

6. GOVERNMENT HAS IGNORED PROVISIONS OF ITS OWN LEGISLATION.

7. REAL OBJECT OF ACQUISITION OF RAILWAY SYSTEM TO BRING ENTIRE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM UNDER CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT FRIENDS.

CANADIAN RAILWAYS BEING ADMINISTERED UNDER CANADIAN NORTHERN GUARANTEE ACT, 1914.

9. CANADIAN MERCHANT MARINE CONSTRUCTED BY GOVERNMENT ALSO PLACED UNDER MACKENZIE AND MANN GROUP.

10. PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING GOVERNMENT MERCHANT MARINE PARALLEL IN ALL ESSENTIAL PARTICULARS THOSE RESPECTING THE ACQUISITION OF THE RAILWAYS.

11. THE VAST ENTERPRISE OF RAILWAYS AND MERCHANT MARINE LIKELY TO BECOME A HUGE OCTUPUS.

12. GOVERNMENT ITSELF AND NOT THE WAR OR ANY PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION RESPONSIBLE FOR EXISTING SITUATION.

POLICY OF ADMINISTRATION OF RAILWAYS AND MERCHANT MARINE CALCULATED TO MAKE POSSIBLE ENORMOUS PRIVATE FORTUNES BY INDIVIDUALS AT PUBLIC EXPENSE.

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PRINCIPLE OF MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY THROWN TO THE WINDS.

MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS GIVEN FREE HAND.

ORDINARY CHECKS UPON PUBLIC EXPENDITURES REMOVED.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT DENIED INFORMATION.

INTERLOCKING OF DIRECTORATES AND ITS POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCE.

DEMAND FOR INFORMATION DEFEATED IN PARLIAMENT.

DEMAND FOR FULL INFORMATION ALSO REFUSED.

14. ONLY SOLUTION OF RAILWAY PROBLEM AND GOVERNMENT MERCHANT MARINE IS TO BREAK THE BANEFUL COMBINATION OF POLITICAL AUTOCRATS AND INDUSTRIAL PLUTOCRATS CONTROLLING THE SYSTEM.

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Montreal Canadian Club July 30, 1920

# The Railway Situation

D 5319

Magnitude

The greatest problem of Canada to-day is that presented by the railway situation .There is nothing comparable to it in magnitude or complexity,nothing which presents conditions so intricate or considerations so baffling.With it are bound up millions upon millions of dollars in the way of public debt and public expenditure,millions upon millions of dollars in recurring deficits,and millions upon millions of dollars of consequent taxation.It is the very crux of the financial problem,and, failing its satisfactory solution,we will look in vain, through years to come,for any lessening of our national debt,for any appreciable limitation of our annual budgets,for any substantial reduction of taxation.

Considering the enormity of the issues involved, it is amazing how little the proportions and essential features of this great problem are appreciated or understood. Until their full significance is comprehended by the public at large,we may expect the problem to grow,rather than diminish,in magnitude.Stripped of all essentials,it will,I believe,be seen that the railway problem as it exists in Canada to-day is none other than the outgrowth of the working of that baneful combination of autocracy and plutocracy serving private interests at the expense of the public weal, and which,if permitted longer to endure, will bring the nation to certain bankruptcy.The question,at the moment,is not one primarily of private ownership vs public ownership. ~~It is rather~~

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It is rather a question of private interests versus public interests as to which shall be the governing influence in matters of railway policy and administration. Until the pernicious combination arising out of the union of autocracy with plutocracy in national affairs, which has come to be the governing power in national control, is effectively broken, the present situation is certain to prove without solution, from the standpoint of either private ownership or public ownership, in a manner which will be in the national interest.

There are those who believe that the whole transfer of certain of our railway systems from private to public ownership, and their consolidation into one national system under government control, has been deliberately effected with a view to subsequent re-transfer to private control, under conditions which will be highly favourable to certain private interests closely associated with the Government. Regardless altogether of views that may be entertained respecting the merits of private as compared with public ownership, to have such a re-transfer effected by the present administration, under any pretext whatever, would be prejudicial in the extreme ~~to the public interest~~.

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INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS PREFERRED BY PRIME MINISTER TO DOMESTIC

Our Prime Minister, as our Canadian public is well aware, has become much absorbed, of late, in inter-imperial and international problems. Like his predecessor in office, he has come to find the conspicuous stage of world politics much more appealing to his ambitions than the comparatively restricted arena of domestic concerns. From the inspired despatches with which the correspondent he took with him to England has been supplying the Canadian press, one would assume that he was the Moses who was leading the English and the Irish out of their age-long controversy, and the Americans and the Japanese out of their possible future conflict, and, in other ways, was vastly improving the whole situation in general. None of us, I am sure, begrudges him such vast oppor-

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tunities,nor the world the services which he is so peculiarly fitted to place at its disposal. As simple-minded,hard-working every day Canadians,many of us,however,cannot help wondering why,at a time like the present,with national problems of the magnitude of the railway problem pressing urgently for solution,the genius of our Prime Minister should not be consecrated at home to finding ways and means of reduign reducing the appalling burden of taxation which, for lack of solution,the railway problem renders more ominous every day,and leave,for the time being,to the elder statesmen of the British Empire and other nations the solution of world problems in their interimperial and international aspects.

The Railway Problem reduced to points

However,be that as it may,it may perhaps induce some of his followers on this side of the Atlantic and possibly the Prime Minister himself,to give a little more attention to the significance of the railway problem and the considerations it presents,if,in one particular,I venture to follow an example he has set.Like Moses with the ten commandments and President Wilson with his fourteen points, our own Arthur Meighen,we are told,has reduced to points the principles of foreign policy which are to govern Canada's relations in interimperial and international affairs and has succeeded in outdoing ~~both~~ his law-giving rivals of both ancient and modern times by actually reducing the number to four.I shall not attempt to cope with the Prime Minister

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in the reduction of numbers ,but I shall follow his example of reducing to points the essential features of this great problem.

1—All railways except C.P.R. now under Government ownership, operation and control

The first point to which I would direct the attention of the people of this country in the consideration of the railway problem and its significant features is that, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and a few short lines of railway running into Canada from the United States all the other lines of railway in Canada, including the Intercolonial Railway, the National Transcontinental and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the whole of the Canadian Northern Railway System, and to-day the whole of the Grand Trunk Railway System, are under the ownership, control and operation of the Government of Canada. The total mileage of the Canadian Pacific Railway System is roughly about 13,400 miles. The total mileage of the combined railway systems now under the Government ownership, control and operation is roughly 22,000 miles. Compared with the railway systems of other countries throughout the world, it will be found that the mileage of railroads owned or controlled by our Government to-day is not equalled in any other country. An understanding of what these figures imply in the way of necessary annual outlays, numbers of persons employed, necessary equipment and maintenance, will afford some appreciation of the magnitude and complexity of the problem as one of Government administration and ,in

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particular, of what in the way of political power and manipulation, may be possible through the exercise of patronage and in other ways.

2 — Practically all railroads acquired by Government since 1911

The second point to which I would direct attention is that, by far, the greatest part of the public property now controlled by the Intercolonial Railway and National Transcontinental this vast owned and controlled Government enterprise has come under the ownership, control and operation of the Government of Canada since the defeat of the Liberal Administration under the leadership of Sir Robert Borden in 1911. The Intercolonial Railway has been a Government owned road since the days of its early construction, The National Transcontinental was constructed as a Government road to be owned by the Government, but to be leased and operated by a private company. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier went out of office in 1911, the Intercolonial Railway, which includes only 2,221 miles, was the only railway owned, controlled or operated by the Government of Canada. To-day the mileage of railways owned, controlled or operated by the Government of Canada is 22,000 miles.

3 - Canadian people never consulted on policy involved.

The third point to which I wish to direct attention, and it is an all important point, is that the transference of 20,000 of these 22,000 miles of railway from private to Government ownership, control and operation has been effected without the Canadian people ever being consulted on the far-reaching matters of policy involved, notwithstanding that through these gigantic transactions they become wholly and solely liable for all that

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is involved in the way of outlay and expenditure and must meet by way of taxation all that exists or may come to exist by way of liability.

I have spoken on different occasions of the rights of the people having been usurped by the administrations which have held power in Canada in recent years. I have referred to the methods of the Government as being arbitrary and autocratic. I am told that the ideas of usurpation and autocracy, being so oft repeated, have become with me well-nigh obsessions. If any one believes they are not justified, I would ask him to point to any country in the world possessing a constitutiinal or quasi constitutional Government, which presents anything comparable to this in extent of the ignoring of constitutional usage in matters of policy affecting the rights and liberties of the people. Outside of the Parliament of Canada, not a man or woman in this Dominion has had the opportunity to say by his or her vote whether he or she desired the transference to the Government of the country of the 20,000 miles of railroad mentioned, and through the ownership, control and operation of which every citizen of this country has become in part liable for outstanding obligations of gigantic amounts and to taxation on a scale surpassed only by that which the War itself has occasioned.

When, under the Liberal administration of the late Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a second transcontinental system, ~~which~~ intended to end the monopoly theretofore possessed by the Canadian Pacific

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Railway Company, was considered to be in the public interest, the project in its entirety was submitted to, and passed upon, by the people at a general election. The advantages pro and con were publicly discussed in the press and on the hustings from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Every elector in the country had some say in the final determination of policy. Since 1911, a course exactly the reverse has been followed with respect to the railroads of this country, whether the matter related to the construction or the acquisition of entire systems. Here is a fundamental wrong for which the Government and the Government alone is responsible. The people cannot be blamed; they were, as I have said, never consulted. The whole policy of acquisition and, for that matter as well, the whole process of acquisition, has ignored the wishes and the will of the people altogether and has been high-handed, arbitrary and autocratic in the extreme.

4. The fourth point I should like to make clear is that, not only were the people deprived of their constitutional right of passing upon the broad question of policy through a reference of it at general elections, by referendum or otherwise, but their representatives in Parliament, for the most part, had little scot or lot in the whole transaction. Either they were ignored altogether through incidental transactions having been effected in the first instance by Orders-in-Council, thereby reducing the position of the Government supporters to that of mere automata registering the will of the ministry in acts confirmatory

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of its arbitrary procedure ,or,when nominally recognized as at stages of the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System, were given so little in the way of information or afforded so slight opportunity of deliberation,that any action with reference to the wishes of their own constituents was wholly impossible. The Canadian Northern Railway System was acquired by the Government during the progress of the War at a time and under conditions which obscured the outrageous nature of some of the proceedings.The transaction was consummated before the elections of 1917 ,notwithstanding that no reference to the possibility had been in any way an issue in the elections of 1911.Moreover,the deal respecting the Canadian Northern System was put through during the session of Parliament granted as an extension for war purposes only and in distinct violation of the pledge given by the Government to the Opposition and the people that nothing controversial would be introduced into Parliament during the period of the extension,were such to be granted. The whole of the Grand Trunk Railway System has been acquired since the elections of 1917,though the Government returned at that time was returned solely on the issue of winning the War,not a word nor a hint having been given the electors of any further extension of the principle of Government railway ownership,control and operation,to say nothing of the acquisition by the Government of the railway system of the Dominion. It is the height of arrogance for the Government

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to plead that its motives in these transactions have been patriotic, that the various systems were acquired to save increased outlays and possible financial disaster. Were such the case, it was the Government's duty to have so informed the people, to have dissolved Parliament and given the electorate the opportunity of pronouncing for or against policies suggested to cope with the situation. From the increased railway rates and the gigantic railway deficits it would not appear that the Government's plea for safeguarding the interests of the people was worth the breath required to give it expression.

5. Parliament denied right of approving agreements before transfer made

The fifth point I should like to bring out is the fact that, with respect to these vast railway transactions, not only were the people denied a voice in the determination of policy, or their representatives opportunity for deliberation, but Parliament itself as the representative of the people was denied the right of passing upon the contracts between the Government and the other parties concerned, before these agreements were signed, sealed and delivered by acts of the Government through Orders-in-Council. Could anything be more arbitrary or autocratic? When the Government of Sir John Macdonald entered into an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of that road, when the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier entered into an agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway for the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway

See particulars 9

" " "

5½. Parliament denied the right of inserting any provision in the contracts to protect Canadian citizens — e.g. Canadian pension rights. English shareholders similar rights denied Canadian taxpayers

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and the building of the National Transcontinental Railway, these agreements in their drafted forms were submitted to the people's representatives in Parliament for consideration and, if thought advisable, modification or rectification, before they received the signatures which bound the people of Canada on the one side hand, and the respective companies, on the other. When the transactions pertaining to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System were before Parliament, the Liberal Opposition and strove to have this right of the people/of their representatives in Parliament maintained and respected. The very first resolution moved on behalf of the Liberal party I had the privilege of moving was to the effect that the agreement respecting the acquisition of the Grand Railway Company should not be finally concluded until submitted in the first instance to Parliament for approval. The present Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, was in charge of the legislation at the time; he spurned with not a little contempt this suggestion expressive of the rights of the people and of the duties of Parliament. Later, when it was found that irregularities had occurred in the drafting of the agreement, to rectify the errors fo which it was responsible and legalize transactions which otherwise would have remained open to question, the Government went through the formal procedure of asking its obse_quious following in the House to approve the agreement and has since claimed that the agreement through this act had the approval of Parliament.

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6. Government has ignored provisions of its own legislation

The ~~seventh~~ eighth point I would like to make is that, with respect to these transactions, the Government has been as indifferent to the obligations of its own legislation respecting the control and operation of the national railroads as of the people in ~~this~~ the country and their representatives in Parliament. It has caused Parliament to enact laws ,but it has proceeded in its management of affairs in a manner wholly oblivious,if not also in defiance,of the requirements of its own enactments. When in the second session of 1919,the Government at the eleventh hour railroaded through the legislation under which the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway was made, it provided for the incorporation of the Canadian National Railways in a single company to be known as the Canadian National Railways, the affairs of which were to be managed and controlled by a Board of Directors to be appointed by the Government for that purpose.This was in the Fall of 1919. Amazing as it may appear,this company has not yet been formed in accordance with the provisions of the statute,nor is the management of the Canadian National Railways to-day in the hands of a Board of Directors as contemplated by that legislation. And that brings me to the next point,which affords the key to the whole situation, and which discloses in the clearest and boldest possible manner the workings of the combination of political autocrats and

See particulars 7.

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industrial plutocrats which I contend alone serves to explain the inwardness of the railway problem as it exists in our country.

The eighth point is that the chief object and purpose of the Government with respect to the acquisition of the railway systems as effected, has been to bring the entire railway transportation system of the Dominion, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, within the control of a small circle of its own intimate associates. It would appear that it had consciously proceeded upon the theory that political power is bound up with industrial power, that if the forces of great wealth can be united with those of political might in the control of a national enterprise as vast and possessing ramifications as many and influential as those incidental to a transcontinental railway system, and the two be made to serve each other's ends, there can be no limit to the extent to which private interests, politically and industrially, may not be furthered at the expense of the public.

The ninth point is that the small group of the Government's intimate associates into which it has sought to place the control of the combined railway systems of Canada, excepting alone the Canadian Pacific Railway, is none other than the so-called Mackenzie and Mann group. I shall avoid any characterization of this particular group beyond placing it in the category of industrial

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plutocrats ,which I regard as the power behind the throne so far as the Meighen Administration is concerned, a part of the real, though invisible, Government of Canada to-day. Astronomers tell us that the Sun is not alone in its glory,but is surrounded by a number of other bodies,celestial and terrestrial ,which are related to it and go to make up the solar system;that the same is true of other celestial bodies,that what we see as the light of a single star may be the combined light of converging rays of myriads of lesser stars forming a company of their own.The same is true of the luminaries of the industrial world,whose names I have just mentioned.It must not be assumed that Mackenzie and Mann constitute all the power and influence which their names sometimes serves to suggest.Around them have grown up ,in the course of years, a company of equal or lesser lights,some of them luminaries in the world of finance and banking,others luminaries in the legal world, others again luminaries in the world of commerce and industry,but all of them constituting a sum of associated powers,which might be described as the Canadian Northern influence.It is even possible that,as years pass, this influence,as a whole,might develop in ~~stronger~~ strength and power,though Sir William MacKenzie and Sir Donald Mann cease to be the centre of it and their place,as the directing power, ~~is taken by others~~ be taken by another or others. The important point to remember is that around their names,reputation and methods there ~~are~~ has developped a group of associated interests in the industrial world

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(14)

in ~~South Africa~~ combined ~~with~~ dividend interests

not dissimilar to the constellations of the celestial, which associated interests are primarily concerned with their own immediate aggrandizement. It is this Canadian Northern influence which, among others, has helped Mr. Meighen to the Premiership, and which, in turn, Mr. Meighen has ~~placed~~ continued in control of the national railways of this country.-

Canadian Railways being administered under Canadian Northern Guarantee Act 1914.

I have stated that Parliament enacted that the National Canadian ~~Northern~~ Railways should be under a Board appointed under the Act passed for the purpose of incorporating the Canadian National Railways. As a matter of fact, one will look in vain for any board thus constituted. As ~~s~~t~~r~~ounding as the statement may appear, it is not under the Canadian National Railways Act that our national railways are being administered to-day, but under the Canadian Northern Guarantee Act, passed in 1914, an Act which, as its name implies, was for a wholly different purpose. The Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways derive their administrative powers from an Act which is mainly an Act passed for granting a guarantee to a private railway company. There is nothing in that Act of 1914, which empowers the Government to give those directors power to administer the Intercolonial Railway, the Transcontinental Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway under Receivership and all our Government Railways and also the Canadian Government Merchant Marine. Yet this is the authority under which these enterprises are being administered. Questioned on this matter

Several acts transferred

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in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister and his colleagues sought by circumlocutions and evasions to escape the admission of the truth. They were, however, unable to state to Parliament that the Act of incorporation of the Canadian National Railways passed two years ago had as yet been put into effect. Indeed, they were obliged to admit that it had not yet been put into effect and that, at the time the question was asked, there was no such company existing in Canada as the Canadian National Railways Company. Before the Select Standing Committee of Parliament, which subsequently investigated the matter, it was frankly admitted that it was the Canadian Northern Railway Board, which at that time was in control and that the Canadian National Railways were being operated under the Canadian Northern Railway Act. ~~I shall not ask you to accept my word in proof of this~~ astounding statement, but I shall quote to you from the evidence of one of the Directors of the Board itself, namely Mr. R.T. Riley. If you will look at the report of the Select Standing Committee which investigated the matter during the last session, you will find at page 135 Mr. Riley's statement as follows:

"

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"In 1916 it was foreseen that there were other systems "heading for Government control, and in June 1919, an Act was passed " making provision for administration fo any and all roads that "had been or might be acquired by the Government, and it was "expected that a Board would be appointed to be known as the "Canadian National Railways Board. THIS MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED " AS A NOTICE TO QUIT TO THE CANADIAN NORTHERN BOARD BUT MONTH "AFTER MONTH HAS PASSED AND NEARLY TWO YEARS HAVE ELAPSED WITHOUT "ANY SUCH BOARD HAVING BEEN APPOINTED AND THE CANADIAN NORTHERN "BOARD ARE STILL CARRYING ON"

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Of course, in this matter, the names of the ~~meber~~ members of the Board speak for themselves. It has been admitted that of the number, Mr. D.B. Hanna and Mr. A.J. Mitchell are the only members who give their full time to the work of the Board; others attend monthly meetings and are given an allowance for the purpose. Mr. Hanna's and Mr. Mitchell's long associations with the Canadian Northern Railway are, of course, well known.

9. Canadian Merchant Marine constructed & Government also placed under Mackenzie and Mann Group

The next point, -it is the ~~fourth~~ third to which I wish to draw attention is that the Government has not been satisfied with placing the whole railway transportation system of Canada, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway, under the control of the Mackenzie and Mann group, but it has, at enormous cost and waste of the public money, constructed a Canadian Merchant Marine and placed it under the same control in order that, by sea as well as by land, there might be a vast transportation system also at the service of the Government and its friends. ~~A~~ fleet of over sixty ocean-going vessels have, with the exception of four, been constructed since the termination of the War with funds taken from the public treasury in sums which amount at present to something like $70,000,000, and which amounts have been distributed among the different shipyards of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In virtually every particular, though perhaps in an even more high-handed and arbitrary manner, the Government undertook and has carried

10. Government Merchant Marine parallel in all essential particulars to acquisition of the Railways

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through this shipbuilding project by methods paralleling those by which it has taken possession of the railway systems we have been considering. The whole project, the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, has been carried through without any reference whatever to the people as respects the policy of the Government embarking upon a vast enterprise of the kind; though the people's money has been spent for the purpose and the people, through taxation, are obliged to meet all liabilities and deficits incidental thereto, they have never been consulted, Nor indeed has Parliament been more than consulted. The original appropriation for the purpose amounting to $25,000,000 was made by Order-in-Council, and the contracts for the first ships and the work, proceeded with before Parliament had even assembled. What is more, the contracts were let without even calling for tenders, which is in direct violation of the law of the land. It is mere pretence and mockery to say that the work was proceeded with upon the authority of Parliament. The only part and lot that Parliament had in the matter was to vote the moneys which the Government said were necessary to carry out obligations already entered into by ~~Order~~ the Governor-in-Council, and failure to do which might have meant the defeat of the administration, which its followers in the House were, of course, interested at all costs to avoid. Without acts of Parliament of any kind (Secure copy 30-12-C) authorizing the course, the control and operation of this Canadian Government Merchant Marine has been placed under the

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Board charged with the control and operation of the Canadian National Railways, in other words, under the control of the Canadian Northern Railway Board, so that, in Canada to-day, we have not only a vast railway transportation system, but also a vast ocean transportation system, nominally under Government ownership, control and operation, but in reality under the control and operation of a group of the Government's intimate business associates, a combination of industrial and commercial interests, ~~with the exception alone of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its steamship companies,~~ almost-without ~~unparalleled any where in the world,~~ and all effected by a Government returned solely for the purpose of winning the war and without the people of Canada being consulted as to their wishes in the matter one way or the other. It is as though the Government of the day, without consulting the electors, without the deliberations or authorization of Parliament, were to take over the entire Canadian Pacific Railway system, both on land and sea, and transfer it to the Mackenzie and Mann group and permit them to operate it at their will without regard even for the terms of the legislation forming a part of the means of acquisition and control ~~of~~ likely to become a huge octopus

11. the vast enterprise of Railways and Merchant Marine ~~combined~~ the elements [illegible]

If this is not political autocracy, what is? A vast enterprise of the kind, once created and actually in operation, cannot remain a neutral factor in our national life. Unless, as respects its potential service, the public interest is safeguarded in every turn, it will inevitably become in the

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nature of an octopus with its tentacles stretched out in a thousand and one directions in a manner which sooner or later will drain the very life-blood of the nation. That, under the present administration continuing the relationships that exist, this is certain to be the case, there is already ample evidence to prove. As regards the railways, apart altogether from the hundreds of millions upon millions which are pledged for the ultimate purchase of the systems and the millions upon millions which, in the interval, must be annually spent in payment of interest charges, to say nothing of the expenses of operation and equipment, the public has thus far experienced only a vast increase in railway rates and charges and annual deficits in ever increasing amounts. The deficit for 1919-20 has been placed in the vicinity of $50,000,000. The deficit for 1920-21 in the vicinity of $70,000,000 and the deficit estimated for the present year is anticipated to be more than a hundred millions. As regards the Government Merchant Marine, an effort was made by the Minister to have it appear that its operations were netting the Government a profit. Under examination, however, it was discovered that the Minister had not made the deductions customary in all similar enterprises on account of depreciation and interest charges, and that, had he done so, he would have been obliged to admit a deficit rather than to have claimed a surplus. It is admitted by shipping experts that, whereas the cost of

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Government ships was in the vicinity of $190 per ton, at the high cost at which construction was carried out, they would not realize to-day on sale an average of more than $45 to $50 per ton. When in addition to this, it is recalled that there is a surplus of shipping tonnage in the world at the present time and that most of the countries have vessels lying idle in their harbours, the colossal nature of the blunder of the Government in proceeding in head-strong fashion with the construction of the Canadian Merchant Marine will become apparent. At this very moment, our merchant marine, which it was alleged was essential to the needs of our railway transportation system is sending its ships into the harbours of foreign countries in search of cargos. They have been plying ports of the United States, of Scandinavia, and even of Germany. How much of an incubus it may yet become remains to be seen.

12. Government itself and not War or any previous administration responsible for existing situation

The twelfth point I would like to make is that the Government itself, and not the War or any previous administration, is primarily responsible for the financial situation as it exists with relation both to the railways and the merchant marine. As respects the railways, supporters of the administration have done their utmost to lead the country to believe that the financing and taking over of the different railway systems has been due to circumstances arising out of an error of judgment on the part of the

* The present indebtedness is the result of extravagant financing — railroad losses & have been (1) a decreasing waste public funds (2) lying in the expense of the public — first-percent liquidation all overcapitalizing inducements. — Canada Banker & Railway

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Liberal administration in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and National Transcontinental and in assistance given to the Canadian Northern. As regards the Government Merchant Marine they have sought to have the public believe that this was a necessity growing out of a war emergency. Neither of these representations are correct.

As respects the record of the Liberal administration in railroad construction and development, all I have to say is this, that if the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier erred in judgment in any particular, the Governments which have succeeded, have been more than doubly culpable in their method of proceeding inasmuch as instead of curtailing or stopping excessive construction, they have prodeeded steadily in giving Government credit and assistance to their friends Mackenzie and Mann to enable them to promote a railway development vastly greater than anything that has hitherto existed. It is not a matter of theory, but a fact that the mileage of the Canadian Northern Railway System was doubled during the period of the Borden administration and that, for the most part, during the period of the War, when of all times rigid economy in railroad construction should have been exercised. ~~In his evidence before the Select~~ Standing Committee on Railways and Shipping, Mr. Mitchell, Vice-President of the Canadian National Railways, made the following statement which appears at page 107:

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"For the year ending June 30,1914, the Canadian
"Northern Railway System had an operating mileage of 4,563 miles,
"with gross earnings of $23,781,328. Last year, for 1920, the
"mileage was 9,788 miles in operation, and the gross earnings
"were $68,541,393. In other words, there was over double the mileage
"in 1920 that there was in 1914. To be exact, 5,225 miles
"were added to the Canadian Northern Railway for operation
"June 1914"

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But apart from this altogether, railroad construction and development during the period of the Laurier administration was wholly different in its nature and purpose from that which has subsequently been carried on. I shall not give my own belief as authority for this statement, but shall read to you the words of one of the Commissioners appointed in 1916 by the Government itself to inquire into the railway situation. At page ~~94~~ 44 of the Report of the Royal Commission to inquire into Railways and Transportation will be found the following statement in the Report which he presented to the Government:

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" This brings us fairly to a recognition of the fact that "while the policy of public aid to railways had originally "been founded on the urgent need for transportation to open "up a new country,to develop its resources,and to unify Canada "commercially and politically,it was carried far beyond the "limits warranted by the original exigency.It appears to me "that the responsibility is as much the Government's as the "private companies' . Without enabling legislation and the "extension of Government credit from which all received "their essential support,the companies could not have expanded "and overbuilt."

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~~In other words, as Mr. Smith has expressed it,~~ the policy of public aid to railways as carried out under the two administrations was wholly different, regard being had to circumstances existing at the time effect was given to it. In the case of the construction and development undertaken during the days of the Liberal administration, the policy was founded on the urgent need for transportation to open up a new country, to develop its resources and to unify Canada commercially and politically. Under subsequent administrations, this policy, originally well founded, was, ~~as Mr. Smith states,~~ carried far beyond the limits warranted by the original exigencies. It became a policy of undue expansion and over-building, made possible, ~~as Mr. Smith has said,~~ through enabling legislation and the extension of Government credit, for which the Government alone was responsible.

Reference to the public accounts for 1920, ~~Schedule "J"~~ discloses the circumstance that for the period between 1911 and 1919, sums amounting to over $272,000,000 were paid out of the Treasury in the forms of loans, guarantees and interest on account of the Canadian Northern Railway, the Grand Trunk Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. Of these amounts, only about $12,000,000 were payable under statutes prior to 1911. ~~The Government~~ enabled to carry ~~out~~ the ~~very~~ expansion, the ~~extent~~ of which they are now seeking to ratify.

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Schedule (J)

Railway Accounts (Non-active)

| | |
|---|---|
| Canadian Northern Railway Loan Account,1914, Chap. 4,Act of 1915 | $10,000,000 |
| Canadian Railway Loan Account,1916 | 15,000,000 |
| Canadian Northern Railway Interest Account Chap. 20,Acts of 1914 | 5,294,000.02 |
| Canadian Northern Railway, Act No. 1,Legislation 1918 on account of interest and equipment | 25,000,000. |
| Canadian Northern Railway,Loan under War Measures Act | 6,197,566 |
| Canadian Northern Railway,Purchase of Capital Stock C.N.Rly,chap 24,Acts 1917,Sec. 4, s.s.3 | 10,000,000 |
| Canadian Northern Ontario Railway Interest Account(Sec. 10,Ch. 6,Acts 1911) | 2,396,099.68 |
| Canadian Northern Railway,Legislation 1917,for acquisition of Capital Stock(7-8 Geo V,chap24) | 25,000,000 |
| Canadian Northern Railway(Appropriation Act 1919( | 35,000,000 |
| Grand Trunk Railway (Interest Account C.C. Sept,1919 | 554,800 |
| Grand Trunk Railway Co (temporary loan) | 593,733.33 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Prairie SectionLoan Account(Chap 19 of Acts of 1909 | 10,000,000 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Loan Account 1913 Chap. 23 of Acts,1913 | 15,000,000 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Loan Account 1914 Chap 4 of Act 1915 | 6,000,000 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Investment Account | 33,093,333.23 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Loan Account Appropriation Act No. 4 1917 | 5,038,053.72 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Co,Interest Account | 7,081,783.45 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway,Appropriation Act 1918 | 7,471,399,93 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway,Guaranteed Interest Account | 2,732,750,27 |
| Grand Trunk Pacific Railway,Receiver Account | 9,709,401,98 |
| Railway Equipment Account | 41,462,008,93 |
| | $ 272,624,931,34 |

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The total advances from the Dominion Government to the Canadian Northern has ~~equi~~ equalled the colossal sum of $233,000,000 .

It was not with their eyes shut to the probable burden to be placed on the Canadian tax-payers that the Government proceeded with its determination to take over the Canadian Northern Railway System. In ~~his minority~~ his report, Mr. Smith had the following to say: ~~Page 51~~ one of the Government Commissioners appointed to investigate respecting the recommendations of the Drayton and Acworth the C.N.R. before the other commissioners.

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" Their plan would add a billion dollars to the direct "debt of Canada. The interest on this is about fourty millions, adding "very largely to Government expenses. Judging from the experience "Canada has had with its Government railways, it is fair to assume "that this would remain a permanent burden".

(find out what has been added to public debt of Canada & taking over of Railways)
1. in principle
2 in interest

Show extent to which our public debt is greater than of Railways and not realizable amount owing

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What proportions Mr. Smith's prophecy may yet assume through the additional taking over of the Grand Trunk Railway System and its management and operation by the Government under existing methods, it is too alarming to foresee.

As respects the Canadian Merchant Marine, the facts show ~~very clearly~~ that at the time the Government decided to embark upon the policy of constructing carrying vessels, it was as a war emergency that it was introduced. At the same time every shipyard in Canada was busily occupied in filling contracts which had been placed with them by the Imperial Munitions Board. During the period between the completion of these contracts and the termination of the War, it was not possible for the Government to have more than four ships built. Once the emergency was over, it was the Government's duty to have sized up the probable future situation and not to have proceeded further with vast expenditures of public money for this purpose unless it was wholly apparent that shipping facilities in the Dominion were certain to be inadequate to the need of the country.

The action of the Government in wilfully pursuing a policy of extensive shipbuilding long after the absurdity and and waste of such a policy had become wholly apparent furnishes the strongest possible ground for alleging, as already stated that the policy was pursued not in the public interest, but to further private interests among the intimate associates and friends of the

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13. Policy of Administration of Railways and Merchant Marine calculated to create a belief that the whole policy has been devised with a view to making possible enormous private fortunes by the Government's immediate friends and associates by reason of immense profits to middlemen at public expense.

Government itself.

I come now to a point of the greatest possible significance as demonstrating, not only wherein continuing deficits with consequent enormous taxation are inevitable from the Government method of proceeding in its administration of the Government-owned railways and Canadian Merchant Marine, but also wherein the method of administration is calculated ~~affording convincing grounds for the belief that the whole policy has been devised~~, among other things, ~~with a view~~ to making possible the reaping of enormous private fortunes by the Government's immediate friends and associates* in return, we may well assume, for substantial contributions to the political war chest when the day of the general elections becomes at last inevitable.

This is the thirteenth point.

Principle of ministerial responsibility known to the Greeks

Notwithstanding that it has embarked upon this gigantic scheme of ownership, control and operation of transportation by land and sea, the Government has deliberately thrown to the four winds of heaven the fundamental principle of ministerial responsibility in the matter of public administration and public expenditures. Nothing so subversive of the very foundations of responsible Government has ever been attempted on so extensive a scale in the history of this country. I doubt if any where in the world will be found a course of procedure with respect to any branch of public

* Nor affair in nature of "a family arrangement" - see particulars re directors of G.T.R. made conductors of Liberal Press to be created by Laurier - (p. 18 Blanchet)

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administration so wholly at variance with constitutional usage and what is most essential for safeguarding the public treasury. The circumstance that the Government has sought to have it appear that it has taken the course it has in the public interest only helps to aggravate the situation.

As already mentioned, the management, control and operation of the railroads and of the Canadian Merchant Marine has been transferred by the Government to a Board of Directors of what is nominally the Canadian National Railways Company, in reality, as we have seen, the Canadian Northern Railway Board. The personnel of this Board is appointed by the Government itself. With the exception of the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, who is merely a figure on the Board, its members are virtually all business men associated as presidents, vice-presidents or directors of large industrial interests in different parts of the Dominion and elsewhere. They are given an absolutely free hand in the placing of all contracts for supplies and equipment necessary to the operation and maintenance of the vast transportation system by land and sea which the Canadian National Railways and Government Merchant Marine constitutes. It must be apparent that here are opportunities of wasteful extravagance and patronage to an almost unlimited extent. Be it remembered that the moneys expended are not the moneys of the individuals constituting the Board, nor even of companies to whose shareholders they are

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responsible. They are public moneys supplied as required by the Government of Canada to the members of the Board from the public treasury. By Act of Parliament the members of the Board are relieved of all personal responsibility as respects the Board's transactions. What is even more astounding, they are made responsible to no one except the Governor-in-Council by whom they are appointed, and the Governor-in-Council will admit no responsibility on the part of the Board nor on the part of the members of the Government itself to Parliament for the expenditures and outlays made by the Board. In the exercise of the vast patronage referred to, the checks and safeguards to which other branches of the public administration are subjected have been all but wholly removed. The one means that Parliament has devised for safeguarding the public treasury is to subject to the ~~people~~ possible minutest scrutiny of members of Parliament every dollar of public expenditures, irrespective of the department by which it is made. It has always been assumed that not an individual could be appointed to, promoted in, or dismissed from the public service without it being the right of every member of parliament to question the Government through its appropriate Minister concerning the circumstances surrounding the appointment, promotion or dismissal. Equally it has been assumed that every member has the right to inquire concerning the expenditure of every dollar of public money

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whether in the form of wages or salaries or in the form of moneys disbursed on contracts in the nature of construction or for supplies or for any other purpose. Incredible as it may appear, the Government of to-day has laid down the doctrine that, as respects the management and operation both of the Canadian National Railways and Government Merchant Marine members of Parliament shall be entitled to no information whatever except that which the ministry may from time to time care to give. It took some little time for members of the House of Commons to conceive that the Government really meant to withhold information respecting public expenditures in connection with these vast enterprises. The Government itself was slow to make the admission. At first, when questions were asked as to contracts awarded by the Board, the Government replied to the effect that the information would be forthcoming at an appropriate time, but when no information was forthcoming and the Government was further pressed, they took the bold position which has become stereotyped in the reply they have made to questions for information, that the Government had no returns on record respecting the matter with which the information was desired, that this was a matter which concerned the officers of the incorporated company and was consequently not available for public discussion. *

Note the process. The Government constitutes a company, appoints the members to compose its board of directors,

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gives the latter an absolute free hand in the administration of the railways and merchant marine, and then informs Parliament that the business of the railways and merchant marine being carried on by an incorporated company is not a business with which the public has any right to inquire into and for which the Government is itself in no way responsible, saying that it has parted to the company with matters of administration and control. Could any fiction be devised better calculated on the one hand to rob the public of its rightful knowledge of the manner in which taxation is being applied and, on the other, to afford the widest latitude to persons entrusted with millions of public money to spend it in the most lavish and extravagant fashion, to say nothing of diverting proceeds into channels which may help to further their own interest or the interest of others with whom they may intimately and immediately associated. Here, we have the combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy in perfect working order. The political autocrats devise means of placing the industrial plutocrats in control of millions of public funds and surround them with safeguards which relieve them from all personal responsibility and from all possible disclosure as to the manner in which moneys may be distributed, and the industrial plutocrats on their part with millions of dollars at their disposal hire and fire whom they please, give and withhold contracts as they like, forgetful never of the authority from

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which they derive their power and protection.

Did time permit, it would be possible to cite example after example of the manner in which this combination works in practice. One or two examples may perhaps be sufficient.

An honourable member of Parliament asked the question of the Ministry as to whether the directors of the National Railways were officers and directors of other business concerns. The Government replied giving the names of the Directors, which was perfectly known, but stating as to the second part of the question they had no information. Another question was asked by another member as to whether the company had insured the railway property and, if so, with what company. The Government replied that it had no information on this point. Another member asked what number of cars had been purchased, where they had been built and at what cost. The Government replied that it had no information on this matter. Subsequently, when the affairs of the company were under investigation by a Select Committee of Parliament, it was brought out in evidence that the company had placed insurance on its property to the extent of $108,000,000, practically the whole of which was placed with the Western Assurance Company. When inquiry was made as to who were the directors of the Western Assurance Company, it was found ~~that Mr. D.B. Hanna and Mr. Wood~~ E.R. Wood were directors of that ~~insurance~~ company. Similarly, on investigation before the Select Standing Committee of Parliament, it was found with respect to cars that orders totalling $11,000,000

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were placed with the Eastern Car Company. On inquiry being made as to the officers of this Company, it was found that one of the directors of it was a director of the Government Railway Board. These are but two instances, but they are sufficient to suggest what, beyond doubt, is the general practice. They afford ample reason for the Government's desire to withhold all information from Parliament. What is more important still is the fact that they serve also to explain how the deficits of the Government railroads have come to total the vast amounts they have now reached. They help to reveal into whose hands the taxes of the people are going. ~~The pro political autocrats are erecting in Canada a monetary aristocracy of industrial plutocrats as injurious a development as it is possible to have within any country.~~

**Demand for information defeated in Parliament**

When this condition of affairs became apparent, I moved in Parliament, the following resolution:

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"That subject to the reservation that in exceptional "cases there may be documents of a confidential character ,which, in the public interest, may properly be withheld from publication, this House declares that it is the undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive copies of all reports,accounts, correspondence and papers in relation to the management of every department of the public service ,including the affairs of the Canadian National Railways,whether operating directly under the control of a department or under corporate form".

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One would have expected that such a resolution based on the fundamental rights of the people to a strict accounting for every cent of public money would have received the hearty endorsation of every honourable member of the House of Commons . I am proud to say that it did receive without exception the support of every member of the liberal party.It received the support of ~~one half~~ one half of the group constituting the agrarian party in parliament.It was voted down at the request of the Prime Minister by every supporter in his following who was present in the House. The Prime Minister took the ground that it was not in the public interest that ~~said~~ information should be disclosed.He urged his followers to defeat the resolution by giving it to be understood that he would not allow the session to pass without a Select Standing Committee being appointed to whom the whole railway situation might be referred.He led the House to believe that the members would have ample opportunity before this Committee to secure all the information they desired.Later, when he proceeded with the appointment of the Committee and defined its scope and powers,it became wholly apparent that the Committee was not so much for the purpose of finding ways and means whereby parliament could be informed as for the purpose of finding ways and means of circumventing the disclosures of information.Accordingly ,when this became apparent,I moved the following resolution in ~~main~~ amendment to

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that presented by the Prime Minister:

" That such committee shall have power to inquire into all matters in any way relating to the railways owned or controlled by the Government of Canada whether under the direction of the department of railways and canals or under any corporation in which the Government are stock-holders, whether relating to the construction or operation, from the date of the appointment by the Government of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Northern Railway Company down to the present time; and similarly to inquire into all matters in any way connected with the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, either in the respect of the construction or operation of the ships, and that such committee shall have power to send for papers, persons and records, to engage counsel and transportation experts, and to make such reports and recommendations from time to time, as, in their judgment, will be calculated to promote the public interest."

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The members of the farmer group who had voted against the first resolution had by this time discovered their mistake. The entire group and all the Liberals in the House supported the amendment. It was defeated, however, by the Government and its following. The Committee was appointed with its limited power. It achieved nothing. It has reported nothing beyond the fact ~~that~~ which was ~~apparent~~ apparent from the outset that it had had not time to conclude its duties. Its only recommendation was that it should be permitted to enter upon them anew at the next session of Parliament. That is where the matter now stands. When Parliament meets again, all information will be denied on the ground that a Committee has been appointed to consider what information should be brought down.

In this way, the political autocrats will continue to shield their friends, the industrial plutocrats, till the hour of the elections arrive. Then the whole ~~force~~ of transcontinental system on land and sea, so far as it may be possible to bring pressure to bear, will be exerted ~~through this agency~~ for return to power ~~of~~ the present administration.

I have now reached President Wilson's limit and am at the fourteenth point, so with it I shall promise to conclude. We are asked what is the ~~solution~~ solution of the railway problem, what is the solution of the problem of Government Merchant Marine. One/ one side, we hear it suggested

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"Put an end to Government ownership and return the "transportation systems to private interests".

On the other, we hear it said: "Give Government ownership a fair chance and a fair show ". To the advocates of private and public ownership alike, I would say : there can be no solution of this question in the public interest until the combination between the political autocrats and the industrial plutocrats has been effectively broken and the public are permitted the widest and the fullest knowledge of all the facts and circumstances surrounding these gigantic transactions and we have again a complete restoration of the fundamental principle of ministerial responsibility whereby the Government of the day, no matter in what manner or under what methods it decides to have the public business of the country conducted, will be held strictly accountable to Parliament and through the people's representatives in Parliament, to the people themselves for every cent of public money, whether derived from loan or taxation, and that is expended out of the public treasury. Honesty and publicity are what is most needed in the conduct of public affairs in Canada to-day, and the one is not to be expected without the other. The political autocrats have taken from the people's representatives in Parliament the power to get information, not only by direct refusal to answer questions or to produce documents, but where it has served their purpose they have not hesitated to shut off all debate by the application of the closure, rendering impossible further discussion of the

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We of the Liberal Opposition may do our best to break this powerful combination, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of the closure when they have exhausted all other methods of depriving the representatives of the people in Parliament of information on matters of public expenditure which it is their right to demand. The only way in which the combination can be broken is for the people to exercise their full right at a general election, and return a Parliament composed of representatives in whom they have the utmost confidence and trust. To secure that fundamental basis of all popular liberty has been, from the outset, the aim and object of the efforts of the Opposition in its dealings with the present administration. It will continue to be its foremost aim until the day of election comes.

N.B. - need for inventory of our auditor's liabilities & an auditor in whom public has confidence
Such an auditor must be a joint representative of the public & mine

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London Advertiser, Monday, August 1, 1921

D 5362

Mr. King's speech at Hamilton, Ontario.

# KING SHOWS UP MEIGHEN'S HIGH-HANDED ACTIONS

## PEOPLE NOT CONSULTED BY PREMIER MEIGHEN, WHO SPENT MILLIONS

### Liberal Leader Discusses Problems Vital to People of Canada At Big Hamilton Meeting—Railway Situation Is Canada's Greatest Problem Today.

HAMILTON, July 30.—(By Canadian Press.)—Canada's greatest problem today is her railway problem, and that can only be solved when Parliament and the people are permitted the fullest possible information as to the expenditure of every dollar of public funds on this project, declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, here tonight. The railway situation was the very crux of the financial situation of the Dominion, and, failing its satisfactory solution, Canadians would look in vain for any lessening of the national debt; for any substantial reduction of taxation.

The railway problem today was an outgrowth of the culmination of political and industrial interests which had been controlling Canadian affairs for the past few years, Mr. King declared. If it was permitted to continue it would bring the nation to bankruptcy. The question now was not one of public versus private ownership, but public interest versus private interests.

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**Needed at Home.**

Premier Meighen, the Liberal leader declared, was now obsorbed in settling the difficulties of the empire and letting Canada look after herself. Inspired press dispatches pictured him as a Moses leading the English and Irish to a settlement of their age-long dispute, and the Americans and Japanese out of possible future conflict. While nobody would begrudge Mr. Meighen his opportunities, there were problems at home requiring his urgent attention, and one of these was the reduction of the present heavy taxation burden.

**One of Private Interests.**

Considering the enormity of the issues involved, it is amazing how little the proportions and essential features of this great problem are appreciated or understood. Until their full significance is comprehended by the public at large, we may expect the problem to grow, rather than diminish, in magnitude. Stripped of all essentials, it will, I believe, be seen that the railway problem as it exists in Canada today is none other than the outgrowth of the working of that baneful combination of autocracy and plutocracy which too largely have been serving private interests at the expense of the public weal, and, which, if permitted longer to endure, will bring the nation to certain bankruptcy. The question, at the moment, is not one primarily of private ownership versus public ownership. It is rather a question of private interests versus public interests as to which shall be the governing influence in matters of railway policy and administration. Until the pernicious combination arising out of the union of autocracy with plutocracy in national affairs, which has come to be the governing power in national control, is effectively broken, the present situation is certain to prove without solution, from the standpoint of either private ownership or public ownership, in a manner which will be in the national interest.

There are those who believe that the whole transfer of certain of our railway system from private to public ownership, and their consolidation into one national system under Government control, has been deliberately effected with a view to subsequent re-transfer to private control, under conditions which will be highly favorable to certain private interests closely associated with the Government. Regardless altogether of views that may be entertained respecting the merits of private as compared with public ownership, to have such a re-transfer effected by the present administration, under any pretext whatever, would be prejudicial in the extreme.

**Prefers International Politics.**

Our prime minister, as our Canadian public is well aware, has become much absorbed, of late, in interimperial and international problems. Like his predecessor in office, he has come to find the conspicuous stage of world politics much more appealing to his ambitions than the comparatively restricted arena of domestic concerns. From the inspired dispatches with which the correspondent he took with him to England has been supplying the Canadian press, one would assume that he was the Moses who was leading the English and the Irish out of their age-long controversy, and the Americans and the Japanese out of their possible future conflict, and, in other ways, was vastly improving the whole situation in general. None of us, I am sure, begrudges him such vast opportunities, nor the world the services which he is so peculiarly fitted to place at its disposal. As simple-minded, hard-working every day Canadians, many of us, however, cannot help wondering why, at a time like the present, with national problems of the magnitude of the railway problems pressing urgently for solution, the genius of our prime minister should not be consecrated at home to finding ways and means of reducing the appalling burden of taxation which, for lack of solution, the railway problem renders more ominous every day, and leave, for the time being, to the elder statesmen of the British Empire and other nations the solution of world problems in their interimperial and international aspects.

**Railway Problem.**

However, be that as it may, it may perhaps induce some of his followers on this side of the Atlantic and possibly the prime minister himself, to give a little more attention to the significance of the railway problem and the considerations it presents, if, in one particular, I venture to follow an example he has set. Like Moses with the ten commandments and President Wilson with his fourteen points, our own Arthur Meighen, we are told, has reduced to points the principles of foreign policy which are to govern Canada's relations in interimperial and international affairs and has succeeded in outdoing his law-giving rivals of both ancient and modern times by actually reducing the number to four. I shall not attempt to cope with the prime minister in the reduction of numbers, but I shall follow his example of reducing to points the essential features of this great problem.

**Operation and Control.**

The first point to which I would direct the attention of the people of this country in the consideration of the railway problem and its significant features is that, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, all the other lines of railway in Canada, including the Intercolonial Railway, the National Transcontinental and Grand Trunk Railway, the whole of the Canadian Northern Railway system, and today the whole of the Grand Trunk Railway system, are under the ownership, control and operation of the Government of Canada. The total mileage of the Canadian Pacific Railway system is roughly about 13,400 miles. The total mileage of the combined railway systems now under the Government ownership, control and operation is roughly 22,000 miles. Compared with the railway systems of other countries throughout the world, it will be found that the mileage of railroads owned or controlled by our Government today is not equalled in any other country. An understanding of what these figures imply in the way of necessary annual outlays, numbers of persons employed, necessary equipment and maintenance, will afford some appreciation of the magnitude and complexity of the problem as one of Government administration and, in particular, of what in the way of political power and manipulation may be possible through the exercise of patronage and in other ways.

**Acquired Since 1911.**

The second point to which I would direct your attention is that, by far, the greatest part of this vast owned and controlled government enterprise has come under the ownership, control and operation of the Government of Canada since the accession to office of Sir Robert Borden in 1911. The Intercolonial Railway had been a government-owned road since its construction. The National Transcontinental was constructed as a government road, to be owned by the Government, but to be leased and operated by a private company. When Sir Wilfril Laurier went out of office in 1911, the Intercolonial Railway, which includes only 2,221 miles, was the only railway owned, controlled or operated by the Government of Canada. Today the mileage of railways owned, controlled or operated by the Government of Canada is 22,000 miles.

**People Never Consulted.**

The third point to which I wish to direct attention—and it is an all-important point—is that the transference of 20,000 of these 22,000 miles of railway from private to government ownership control and operation has been effected without the Canadian people ever being consulted on the far-reaching matters of policy involved notwithstanding that through these gigantic transactions they become wholly and solely liable for all that is involved in the way of outlay and expenditure, and must meet by way of taxation all that exists or may come to exist by way of liability.

I have spoken on different occasions of the rights of the people having been usurped by the administrations which have held power in Canada in recent years. I have referred to the methods of the Government as being arbitrary and autocratic. I am told that the ideas of usurpation and autocracy, being so oft repeated, have become with me well nigh obsessions. If anyone believes they are not justified I would ask him to point to any country in the world possessing a constitutional or quasi-constitutional government which presents anything comparable to this in extent of the ignoring of constitutional usage in matter of policy affecting the rights and liberties of the people. Outside of the Parliament of Canada, not a man or woman in this Dominion has had the opportunity to say by his orher vote whether he or she desired transference to the Government of the country of 20,000 miles of railroad mentioned, and through the ownership, control and operation of which every citizen of this country has become in part liable for outstanding obligations of gigantic amounts and to taxation on a scale surpassed only by that which the war itself has occasioned.

When, under the Liberal administration of the late Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a second transcontinental system, which intended to end the monopoly theretofore possessed by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, was considered to be in the public interest, the project in its entirety was submitted to, and passed upon by the people at a general election. The advantages pro and con were publicly discussed in the press and on the hustings from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Every elector in the country had some say in the final determination of policy. Since 1911, a course exactly the reverse has been followed with respect to the railroads of this country, whether the matter related to the construction or the acquisition of entire systems. Here is a fundamental wrong for which the Government and the Government alone is responsible. The people cannot be blamed; they were, as I have said, never consulted. The whole policy of acquisition and, for that matter as well, the whole process of acquisition has ignored the wishes and the will of the people altogether and has been high-headed, arbitrary and autocratic in the extreme.

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**Representatives Had Little Say.**

The fourth point I should like to make clear is that, not only were the people deprived of their constitutional right of passing upon the broad question of policy through a reference of it at general elections, by referendum or otherwise, but their representatives in Parliament, for the most part, had little scot or lot in the whole transaction. Either they were ignored altogether through incidental transactions having been effected in the first instance by order-in-council, thereby reducing the position of the Government supporters to that of mere automata registering the will of the ministry in acts confirmatory of its arbitrary procedure, or, when nominally recognized as at stages of the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system, were given so little in the way of information or afforded so slight opportunity of deliberation, that any action with reference to the wishes of their own constituents were wholly impossible.

**Were Eeasily Secured.**

The Canadian Northern Railway system was acquired by the Government during the progress of the war at a time and under conditions which obscured the outrageous nature of some of the proceedings. The transaction was consummated by the use of the closure in Parliament before the elections of 1917, notwithstanding that no reference to the possibility of a transfer had been in any way an issue in the elections of 1911. Moreover, the deal respecting the Canadian Northern system was put through during the session of Parliament granted as an extension for war purposes only and in distinct violation of the pledge given by the Government to the Opposition and the people that nothing controversial would be introduced into Parliament during the period of the extension, were such to be granted.

The whole of the Grand Trunk Railway system has been acquired since the elections of 1917, though the Government returned at that time was returned solely on the issue of winning the war, not a word nor a hint having been given the electors of any further extension of the principle of Government railway ownership, control and operation, to say nothing of the acquisition by the Government of the entire railway system of the Dominion, save alone the C. P. R.

It is the height of arrogance for the Government to plead that its motives in these transactions have been patriotic, that the various systems were acquired to save increased outlays and possible financial disaster. Were such the case, it was the Government's duty to have so informed the people, to have dissolved Parliament and given the electorate the opportunity of pronouncing for or against policies suggested to cope with the situation. From the increased railway rates and the gigantic railway deficits it would not appear that the Government's plea for safeguarding the interests of the people was worth the breath required to give it expression.

**Parliament Denied Right.**

The fifth point I should like to bring out is the fact that, with respect to these vast railway transactions, not only were the people denied a voice in the determination of policy, or their representatives opportunity for deliberation, but Parliament itself as the representative of the people was denied the right of passing upon the contract between the Government and the other parties concerned, before these agreements were signed, sealed and delivered by acts of the Government through orders-in-council. Could anything be more arbitrary or autocratic?

When the Government of Sir John Macdonald entered into an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway oCmpany for the construction of that road, when the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier entered into an agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway for the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and the building of the National Transcontinental Railway, these agreements in their drafted forms were submitted to the people's representatives in Parliament for consideration and, if thought advisable, modification or rectification, before they received the signatures which bound the people of Canada on the one hand, and the respective companies, on the other. Sir Wilfrid Laurier sought to have Parliament secured in the right of approving the Canadian Northern agreement before transfer was finally signed, but in vain.

When the transactions pertaining to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System were before Parliament, the Liberal Opposition strove to have this right of the people and of their representatives in Parliament maintained and respected. The very first resolution which on behalf of the Liberal party I had the privilege of moving in Parliament was to the effect that the agreement respecting the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway Company should not be finally concluded until submitted in the first instance to Parliament for approval. The present prime minister, the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, was in charge of the legislation at the time; he spurned with not a little contempt this suggestion expressive of the rights of the people and of the duties of Parliament. Later, when it was found that irregularities had occurred in the drafting of the agreement, to rectify the errors for which it was responsible and legalize transactions which otherwise would have remained open to question, the Government went through the formal procedure of asking its obsequious following in the House to approve the agreement and has since claimed that the agreement through this act had the approval of Parliament.

**Government Ignored Provisions.**

The sixth point I would like to make is that with respect to these transactions, the Government has been as indifferent to the obligations of its own legislation respecting the control and operation of the National Railroads as of the people in the country and their representatives in Parliament. It has caused Parliament to enact laws, but it has proceeded in its management of affairs in a manner wholly oblivious, if not in defiance of the requirements of its own enactments.

When in the second session of 1919, the Government at the eleventh hour railroaded through the legislation under which the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system was made, it provided for the incorporation of the Canadian National Railways in a single company, to be known as the Canadian National Railways, the affairs of which were to be managed and controlled by a board of directors to be appointed by the Government for that purpose. This was in the fall of 1919. Amazing as it may appear, this company has not yet been informed in accordance with the provisions of the statute, nor is the management of the Canadian National Railways today in the hands of a board of directors, as contemplated by that legislation. And that brings me to the next point, which affords the key to the whole situation, and which discloses in the clearest and boldest possible manner the workings of the combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, which I contend alone serves to explain the inwardness of the railway problem as it exists in our country.

**Object of Acquisition.**

The seventh point is that the real object and purpose of the Government with respect to the acquisition of the railway systems as effected, had been to bring the entire railway transportation system of the Dominion, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, within the control of a small circle of its own intimate associates. It would almost appear that the Government had consciously proceeded upon the theory that political power is bound up with industrial power, that if the forces of great wealth can be united with those of political might in the control of a national enterprise as vast and possessing ramifications as many and influential as those incidental to a transcontinental railway system, and the two be made to serve each other's ends, there can be no limit to the extent to which private interests, politically and industrially, may not be furthered at the expense of the public.

The eighth point is that the small group of the Government's intimate associates, into which it has sought to place the control of the combined railway systems of Canada, excepting alone the Canadian Pacific Railway, is none other tha nthe so-called Mackenzie and Mann group. I shall avoid any characterization of this particular group, beyond placing it in the category of industrial plutocrats, which I regard as the power behind the throne, so far as the Meighen administration is concerned, a part of the real, though invisible, government of Canada today.

Astronomers tell us that the sun is not alone in its glory, but is surrounded by a number of other bodies, celestial and terrestial, which are related to it, that the same is true of other celestial bodies, that what we see as the light of a single star may be the combined light of converging rays of myriads of lesser stars forming a company of their own. The same is true of the luminaries of the industrial world, whose names I have just mentioned. It must not be assumed that Mackenzie and Mann constitute all the power and influence which their names sometimes serve to suggest. Around them have grown up, in the course of years, a company of equal or lesser lights, some of them luminaries in the world of finance and banking, others luminaries in the legal world, others again luminaries in the world of commerce and industry, but all of them constituting a sum of associated power, which might be described as the Canadian Northern influence. It is even possible that as years pass this influence as a whole might develop in strength and power, though Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann cease to be the center of it, and their place be taken by another or others as the directing power. The important point to remember is that around their names, reputation and methods there has developed a group of associates interested in the industrial world in points of combined individual interests not dissimilar from the constellations of the celestial, which associated interests are primarily concerned with their own immediate aggrandisement. It is this Canadian Northern influence which, among others, has helped Mr. Meighen to the premiership, and which, in turn, Mr. Meighen has continued in control of the national railways of this country.

**How They Are Administered.**

I have stated that parliament enacted that the Canadian National Railways should be under a board appointed under the act passed for the purpose of incorporating the Canadian National Railways. As a matter of fact, one will look in vain for any board thus constituted. Astounding as the statement may appear, it is not under the Canadian National Railways act that our national railways are being administered today, but under the Canadian Northern guarantee act, passed in 1914, an act which, as its name implies, was for a wholly different purpose. The board of directors of the Canadian National Railways derive their administrative powers from an act which is mainly an act passed for granting a guarantee to a private railway company. There is nothing in that act of

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1914 which empowers the government to give those directors power to administer the Intercolonial Railway, the Transcontinental Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway under receivership, and all our government railways and also the Canadian Government Merchant Marine. Yet this is the authority under which these enterprises are being administered. Questioned on this matter in the House of Commons, the prime minister and his colleagues sought by circumlocutions and evasions to escape the admission of the truth. They were, however, unable to state to parliament that the act of incorporation of the Canadian National Railways, passed two years ago, had as yet been put into effect. Indeed, they were obliged to admit that it had not yet been put into effect, and that, at the time the question was asked, there was no such company existing in Canada as the Canadian National Railways Company. Before the select standing committee of parliament, which subsequently investigated the matter, it was frankly admitted that it was the Canadian Northern Railway board which at that time was in control, and that the Canadian National Railways were being operated under the Canadian Northern Railway act.

Of course in this matter the names of the members of the board speak for themselves. It has been admitted that of the number Mr. D. B. Hanna and Mr. A. J. Mitchell are the only members who give their full time to the work of the board; others attend the monthly meetings and are given an allowance for the purpose. Mr. Hanna's and Mr. Mitchell's long associations with the Canadian Northern Railway are, of course, well known.

**Under Mackenzie and Mann Group.**

The next point—it is the ninth to which I wish to draw attention—is that the government has not been satisfied with placing the whole railway transportation system of Canada, with the exception of the Canadian Pacific Railway, under the control of the Mackenzie and Mann group, but it has, at enormous cost and waste of the public money, constructed a Canadian merchant marine and placed it under the same control, in order that, by sea as well as by land, there might be a vast transportation system also at the service of the government and its friends. A fleet of over sixty ocean-going vessels has, with the exception of four, been constructed since the termination of the war with funds taken from the public treasury in sums which amount at present to something like $70,000,000, and which amounts have been distributed among the different shipyards of the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

**Respecting Merchant Marine.**

The tenth point is that in virtually every particular, though perhaps in an even more high-handed and arbitrary manner, the Government undertook and has carried through this shipbuilding project by methods paralleling those by which it has taken possession of the railway systems we have been considering. The whole project of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine has been carried through without any reference whatever to the people as respects the policy of the Government embarking upon a vast enterprise of the kind, though the people's money has been spent for the purpose, and the people, through taxation, are obliged to meet all liabilities and deficits incidental thereto, they have never been consulted, nor indeed, has Parliament been more than consulted. The original appropriation for the purpose, amounting to $25,000,000, was made by order-in-council, and the contract for the first ship and the work proceeded with before Parliament had even assembled. What is more, the contracts were let without even calling for tenders, which is in direct violation of the law of the land. It is mere pretence and mockery to say that the work was proceeded with upon the authority of Parliament. The only part and lot that Parliament had in the matter was to vote the moneys which the Government said were necessary to carry out obligations already entered into by the governor-in-council, and failure to do which might have meant the defeat of the administration, which its followers in the House were, of course, interested at all cost to avoid. Without act of Parliament of any kind authorizing the course, the control and operation of this Canadian Government Merchant Marine has been placed under the board charged with the control and operation of the Canadian National Railways, in other words, under the control of the Canadian Northern Railway Board, so that in Canada today we have not only a vast railway transportation system, but also a vast ocean transportation system, nominally under Government ownership, control and operation, but in reality under the control and operation of a group of the Government's intimate business associates, a combination of industrial and commercial interests, almost without parallel anywhere in the world, and all effected by a Government return solely for the purpose of winning the war, and without the people of Canada being consulted as to their wishes in the matter one way or the other.

It is as though the Government of the day, without consulting the electors, without the deliberation or authorization of Parliament, were to take over the entire Canadian Pacific Railway System, both on land and sea, and transfer it to the Mackezie and Mann group, and permit them to operate it at their will, without regard even for the terms of the legislation forming a part of the means of acquisition and control. If this is not political autocracy, what is?

**To Become a Huge Octopus.**

The eleventh point is that a vast enterprise of the kind, once created and actually in operation, cannot remain a neutral factor in our national life. Unless, as respects its potential service, the public interest is safeguarded in every turn, it will inevitably become in the nature of an octopus with its tentacles stretched out in a thousand and one directions in a manner which sooner or later will drain the very life blood of the nation. That, under the present administration continuing the relationships that exist, this is certain to be the case there is already ample evidence to prove.

As regards the railways, apart altogether from the hundreds of millions upon millions which are pledged for the ultimate purchase of the systems and the millions upon millions which, in the interval, must be annually spent in payment of interest charges, to say nothing of the expenses of operation and equipment, the public has thus far experienced only a vast increase in railway rates and charges and annual deficits in every increasing amounts. The deficit for 1919-20 has been placed in the vicinity of $50,000,000. The deficit for 1920-21 in the vicinity of $70,000,000, and the deficit estimated for the present year is anticipated to be more than a hundred millions.

As regards the Government Merchant Marine, an effort was made by the minister to have it appear that its operations were netting the Government a profit. Under examination, however, it was discovered that the minister had not made the deductions customary in all similar enterprises on account of depreciation and interest charges, and that, had he done so, he would have been obliged to admit a deficit rather than to have claimed a surplus. It is admitted by shipping experts that, whereas the cost of Government ships was in the vicinity of $190 per ton, at the high cost of which construction was carried out, they would not realize today on sale an average of more than $45 to $50 per ton.

When in addition to this, it is recalled that there is a surplus of shipping tonnage in the world at the present time, and that most of the countries have vessels lying idle in their harbors, the colossal nature of the blunder of the Government in proceeding in hand-strong fashion with the construction of the Canadian Merchant Marine will become apparent. At this very moment our merchant marine, which it was alleged was essential to the needs of our railway transportation system, is sending its ships into the harbors of foreign countries in search of cargoes. They have been plying ports of the United States, of Scandinavia, and even of Germany. How much of an incubus it may yet become remains to be seen.

**Government Itself Responsible.**

The twelfth point I would like to make is that the Government itself, and not the war or any previous administration, is primarily responsible for the financial situation as it exists with relation both to the railways and the merchant marine. As respects the railways, supporters of the administration have done their utmost to lead the country to believe that the financing and taking over of the different railway systems has been due to circumstances arising out of an error of judgment on the part of the Liberal administration in the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and National Transcontinental and in assistance given to the Canadian Northern. As regards the Government merchant marine they have sought to have the public believe that this was a necessity growing out of a war emergency. Neither of these representatives are correct.

As regards the record of the Liberal administration in railroad construction and development, all I have to say is this, that if the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier erred in judgment in any particular, the Governments which have succeeded, have been more than doubly culpable in their method of proceeding inasmuch as instead of curtailing or stopping excessive construction, they have proceeded steadily in giving Government credit and assistance to their friends, Mackenzie and Mann, to enable them to promote a railway development vastly greater than anything that has hitherto existed. It is not a matter of theory, but a fact that the mileage of the Canadian Northern Railway system was doubled during the period of the Borden administration and that, for the most part, during the period of the war, when of all times rigid economy in railroad construction should have been exercised.

But apart from this altogether, railroad construction and development during the period of the Laurier administration was wholly different in its nature and purpose from that which has subsequently been carried on.

The policy of public aid to railways as carried out under the two administrations was wholly different, regard being had to circumstances existing at the time effect was given to it. In the case of the construction and development undertaken during the days of the Liberal administration, the policy was founded on the urgent need for

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transportation to open up a new country, to develop its resources and to unify Canada commercially and politically. Under subsequent administrations, this policy, originally well founded, was carried far beyond the limits warranted by the original exigencies. It became a policy of undue expansion and over-building, made possible through entangling legislation and the extension of Government credit, for which the Government alone was responsible.

The total advances from the Dominion Government to the Canadiann Northern has equalled the colossal sum of $233,000,000.

It was not with their eyes shut to the probable burden to be placed on the Canadian taxpayers that the Government proceeded with its determination to take over the Canadian Northern Railway System. In his report, Mr. Smith of the Government commissioners appointed to investigate the C. N. R., had the following to say: page 51, respecting the recommendation of Drayton and Achworth, the other commissioner.

"Their plan would add a billion dollars to the direct debt of Canada. The interest on this is about forty millions, adding very largely to Government expenses. Judging from the experience Canada has had with its Government railways, it is fair to assume that this would remain a permanent burden."

What proportions Mr. Smith's prophecy may yet assume through the additional taking over of the Grand Trunk Railway System, and its management and operation by the Government under existing methods, it is too alarming to foresee.

As respects the Canadian Merchant Marine, the facts show that at the time the Government decided to embark upon the policy of constructing carrying vessels, it was as a war emergency that it was introduced. At the same time every shipyard in Canada was busily occupied in filling contracts which had been placed with them by the imperial munitions board. During the period between the completion of these contracts and the termination of the war, it was not possible for the Government to have more than four ships built. Once the emergency was over it was the Government's duty to have sized up the probable future situation and not to have proceeded further with vast expenditures of public money for this purpose unless it was wholly apparent that shipping facilities in the Dominion were certain to be inadequate to the need of the country.

The action of the Government in wilfully pursuing a policy of extensive shipbuilding long after the absurdity and waste of such a policy had become wholly apparent furnishes the strongest possible ground for alleging, as already stated, that the policy was pursued not in the public interest, but to further private interests among the intimate associates and friends of the Government itself.

### Policy of Administration.

I come now to a point of the greatest possible significance as demonstrating, not only wherein continuing deficits with consequent enormous taxation are inevitable from the Government method of proceeding in its administration of the Government-owned railways and Canadian Merchant Marine, but also wherein the method of administration is calculated among other things with a view to make possible the reaping of enormous private fortunes by the Government's immediate friends and associates.

This is the thirteenth point.

Notwithstanding that it has embarked upon this gigantic scheme of ownership, control and operation of transportation by land and sea, the Government has deliberately thrown to the four winds of heaven the fundamental principle of ministerial responsibility in the matter of public administration and public expenditures. Nothing so subversive of the very foundations of responsible government has ever been attempted on so extensive a scale in the history of this country. I doubt if anywhere in the world will be found a course of procedure with respect to any branch of public administration so wholly at variance with constitutional usage and what is most essential for safeguarding the public treasury. The circumstances that the Government has sought to have it appear that it has taken the course it has in the public interest only helps to aggravate the situation.

### Directors Given Free Hand.

As already mentioned, the management, control and operation of the railroads and the Canadian Merchant Marine has been transferred by the Government to a board of directors of what is nominally the Canadian National Railways Company, in reality as we have seen, the Canadian Northern Railway Board. The personnel of this board is appointed by the Government itself. With the exception of the deputy minister of railways and canals, who is merely a figure on the board, its members are virtually all businessmen associated as presidents, vice-presidents or directors of large industrial interests in different parts of the Dominion and elsewhere. They are given an absolutely free hand in the placing of all contracts for supplies and equipment necessary to the operation and maintenance of the vast transportation system by land and sea which the Canadian National Railways and Government Merchant Marine constitutes. It must be apparent that here are opportunities of wasteful extravagance and patronage to an almost unlimited extent. Be it remembered that the moneys expended are not the moneys of the individuals constituting the board, nor even of companies to whose shareholders they are responsible. They are public moneys supplied as required by the Government of Canada to the members of the board from the public treasury. By act of Parliament the members of the board are relieved of all personal responsibility as respects the board's transactions. What is even more astounding, they are made responsible to no one except the governor-in-council by whom they are appointed, and the governor-in-council will admit no responsibility on the part of the board nor on the part of the members of the Government itself to Parliament for the expenditures and outlays made by the board. In the exercise of the vast patronage referred to, the checks and safeguards to which other branches of the public administration are subjected have been all but wholly removed.

The one means that parliament has devised for safeguarding the public treasury is to subject to the possible minutest security of members of parliament every dollar of public expenditure, irrespective of the department by which it is made. It has always been assumed that not an individual could be appointed to, promoted in, or dismissed from the public service without it being the right of every member of parliament to question the government, through its appropriate minister, concerning the circumstances surrounding the appointment, promotion or dismissal. Equally it has been assumed that every member has the right to inquire concerning the expenditure of every dollar of public money, whether in the form of wages or salaries or in the form of moneys disbursed on contracts in the nature of construction, or for supplies or for any other purpose.

### Members Denied Information.

Incredible as it may appear, the government of today has laid down the doctrine that as respects the management and operation both of the Canadian National Railway and Government Merchant Marine, members of parliament shall be entitled to no information whatever except that which the ministry may from time to time care to give. It took some little time for members of the House of Commons to conceive that the Government really meant to withhold information respecting public expenditures in connection with these vast enterprises. The government itself was slow to make the admission. At first, when questions were asked as to contracts awarded by the board, the Government replied to the effect that the information would be forthcoming at an appropirate time, but when no information was forthcoming, and the Government was further pressed, they took the bold position which has become stereotyped in the reply they have made to questions for information, that the government had no returns on record respecting the matter with which the information was desired; that this was a matter which concerned the officers of the incorporated company, and was consequently not available for public discussion. Note the process. The government constitutes a company, appoints the members to compose its board of directors, gives the latter an absolutely free hand in the administration of the railways and merchant marine, and then informs parliament that the business of the railways and merchant marine being carried on by an incorporated company is not a business with which the public has any right to inquire into, and for which the Government is itself in no way responsible, saying that it has parted to the company with matters of administration and control. Could any fiction be devised better calculated on the one hand to rob the public of its rightful knowledge of the manner in which taxation is being applied, and on the other hand to afford the widest latitude to persons intrusted with millions of public money to spend it in the most lavish and extravagant fashion, to say nothing of diverting proceeds into channels which may help to further their own interest or the interest of others with whom they may ultimately and immediately associate. I do not wish for a moment to reflect upon the integrity of a single member of the board. All I wish to point out are the possible and all but blighting effects of the interlocking of directorates which the Government's method of administration presents.

### Interlocking of Directorates.

Here we have the combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy in perfect working order. The political autocrats in other words, Mr. Meighen and members of his Government, devise means of placing the industrial plutocrats, in other words, the few wealthy men serving on industrial directorates, in control of millions of public funds and surround them with safeguards which relieve them from all personal responsibility and from all possible disclosures as to the manner in which moneys may be distributed, and the industrial plutocrats on their part with millions of dollars at their disposal hire and fire whom they please, give and withhold contracts as they like, responsible only to those from whom they derive their power and protection.

There may be no wrong, no fraud, no evil interest. I make no charges, but did time permit it would be possible to cite example after example of the manner in which this combination works in practice to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. One or two examples may perhaps be sufficient. An honorable member of Parliament asked the question of the ministry as to who

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were the directors of the National Railway Company and whether the directors of the National Railways were officers and directors of other business concerns. The Government replied giving the names of the directors which were perfectly known, but stating as to the second part of the question that they had no information. Another question was asked by another member as to whether the company had insured the railway property and, if so, with what company. The Government replied that it had no information on this point. Another member asked what number of cars had been purchased, where they had been built and at what cost. The Government replied that it had no information on this matter. Subsequently, when the affairs of the company were under investigation by a select committee of Parliament, it was brought out in evidence that the company had placed insurance on its property to the extent of $108,000,000, practically the whole of which was placed with the Western Assurance Company. When inquiry was made as to who were the directors of the Western Assurance Company, it was found that two of the members of the board of railways were directors of that insurance company. Similarly, on investigation before the select standing committee of Parliament, it was found with respect to cars that orders totalling $11,000,000 were placed with the Eastern Car Company. On inquiry being made as to the officers of this company, it was found that one of the directors of it was a director of the Government railway board. These are but two instances, but they are sufficient to suggest what, beyond doubt, is the general practice. They afford ample reason for the Government's desire to withhold all information from Parliament. What is more important still is the fact that they serve also to explain how the deficits of the Government railroads have come to total the vast amount they have now reached. They help to reveal into whose hands the taxes of the people are going.

**Demand for Information Defeated.**

When this condition of affairs became apparent, I moved in Parliament, the following resolution:

"That subject to the reservation that in exceptional cases there may be documents of a confidential character, which, in the public interest, may properly be withheld from publication, this House declares that it is the undoubted right of Parliament to demand and receive copies of all reports, accounts, correspondence, and papers in relation to the management of every department of the public service, including the affairs of the Canadian National Railways, whether operating directly under the control of a department or under corporate form."

One would have expected that such a resolution based on the fundamental rights of the people to a strict accounting for every cent of public money would have received the hearty indorsation of every honorable member of the House of Commons. I am proud to say that it did receive without exception the support of every member of the Liberal party. It received the support of one-half of the group constituting the agrarian party in Parliament. It was voted down at the request of the prime minister by every supporter in his following who was present in the House.

The prime minister took the ground that it was not in the public interest that all information should be disclosed. He urged his followers to defeat the resolution by giving it to be understood that he would not allow the session to pass without a select standing committee being appointed to whom the whole railway situation might be referred. He led the House to believe that the members would have ample opportunity before this committee to secure all the information they desired. Later, when he proceeded with the appointment of the committee and defined its scope and powers, it became wholly apparent that the committee was not so much for the purpose of finding ways and means whereby Parliament could be informed as for the purpose of finding ways and means of circumventing the disclosures of information. Accordingly, when this became apparent, I moved the following resolution in amendment to that presented by the prime minister:

"That such committee shall have power to inquire into all matters in any way relating to the railways owned or controlled by the Government of Canada whether under the direction of the department of railways and canals or under any corporation in which the Government are stockholders, whether relating to the construction or operation, from the date of the appointment by the Government of the board of directors of the Canadian Northern Railway Company down to the present time, and similarly to inquire into all matters in any way connected with the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, either in the respect of the construction or operation of the ships, and that such committee shall have power for operation of the ships, and that such committee shall have power to send for papers, persons and records, to engage counsel and transportation experts, and to make such reports and recommendations from time to time, as, in their judgment, will be calculated to promote the public interest."

The members of the farmer group who had voted against the first resolution had by this time discovered their mistake. The entire group and all the Liberals in the House supported the amendment. It was defeated, however, by the Government and its following. The committee was appointed with its limited power. It achieved nothing. It has reported nothing beyond the fact which was apparent from the outset that it had not time to conclude its duties. Its only recommendation was that it should be permitted to enter upon them anew at the next session of Parliament. That is where the matter now stands. When Parliament meets again if it be before a general election, all information will be denied on the ground that a committee has been appointed to consider what information would be brought down. In this way, the political autocrats will continue to shield their friends, the industrial plutocrats, till the hour of the elections arrive. Then we may expect that on the whole of the national transportation system on land and sea, so far as it may be possible to bring pressure to bear, the influence of the Government's favorites will be exerted to return to power the present administration.

**Only Solution of Problem.**

I have now reached President Wilson's limit and am at the fourteenth point, so with it I shall promise to conclude. We are asked what is the solution of the railway problem, what is the solution of the problem of Government Merchant Marine? On one side we hear it suggested:

"Put an end to Government ownership and return the transportation system to private interests."

On the other, we hear it said:

"Give Government ownership a fair chance and a fair show."

To the advocates of private and public ownership I would say, there can be no solution of this question in the public interest on either basis until the combination between the political autocratic and the industrial plutocrats has been effectively broken and the public are permitted the widest and the fullest knowledge of all the facts and circumstances surrounding these gigantic transactions and we have again a complete restoration of the fundamental principle of ministerial responsibility whereby the Government of the day, no matter in what manner or under what methods it decides to have the public business of the country conducted, will be held strictly accountable to Parliament and through the people's representatives in Parliament to the people themselves, for every cent of public money, whether derived from loan or taxation, that is expended out of the public money. Honesty and publicity are what is most needed in the conduct of public affairs in Canada today. The one is not to be expected with out the other.

We of the Liberal Opposition may do our best to break this powerful combination, but we are powerless when the Government has in its hands, and uses against us, the weapon of the closure when they have exhausted all other methods of depriving the representatives of the people in Parliament of information on matters of public expenditure which it is their right to demand. The only way in which the combination can be broken is for the people to exercise their full right at a general election, and return a Parliament composed of representatives in whom they have the utmost confidence and trust. To secure that fundamental basis of all-popular liberty has been, from the outset, the aim and object of the efforts of the Opposition in its dealings with the present Administration. It will continue to be its foremost aim until the day of election comes.

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The Picton Times
August 4 1921

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## Hon. Mr. King Makes Fine Impression at Picton

The mass meeting which welcomed the Liberal Leader in Picton Armouries should be a great encouragement to any statesman. Fully two thousand people were there to hear the political questions of the day discussed. A more representative gathering could not have been desired. Seating accommodation for well on to two thousand had been provided, but before the hour for commencing standing room only was available. The activities of the Liberal ladies were apparent in the tastefully bedecked platform from which the speakers delivered their addresses. The Liberal party which went down to defeat in 1917 is coming back strong in 1921. And the Hon. Mr. King with no uncertain sound proclaimed the Liberal party the party of progress and inspired



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
THE LIBERAL LEADER

his followers with confidence that has not been so apparent since the days of Laurier.

Mr. H. B. Bristol was chairman and seated with him on the platform were Hon. Mackenzie King, Mr. Lucien Pacaud, M.P., Mr. H. H. Horsey the Liberal candidate in Prince Edward, Dr. Morley Currie, ex-M. P., Hon. Nelson Parliament, W. V. Pettet, ex-M. P., Mr. S. Edgar Masten, Mr. C. B. Allison, Mr. W. S. Benson, Mr. W. H. Benson, Mr. J. S. Shurie, Mr. Adolphus Roblin, Mr. Grant Thompson, Captain D. S. Ainsworth and other prominent local Liberals. Mr. F. E. O'Flynn, Colonel O'Flynn and Mr. D. V. Sinclair, Belleville, and Dr. Richardson, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Polson and Mr. Elliott of Kingston, were also on the platform.

The chairman expressed himself as very glad to preside over a meeting at which the Liberal Leader was to be the chief speaker. Anyone who thinks Liberalism is dead in Prince Edward county had better look upon this huge gathering, declared Mr. Bristol. The coming election will be the first general election at which the ladies will be on an equal footing with the men and he wsa very pleased to see so many ladies present showing their interest in the questions of the day. Referring to the huge drop in prices for agricultural products and the failure of necessary manufactured articles to drop accordingly, Mr. Bristol claimed it the fault of the present government in not recognizing the basic industry of this country. He mentioned cotton, which can be imported from the States after paying duty, exchange, etc., just as cheaply as it can be purchased from the big Canadian cotton mills. This year another ten per cent. raise has been placed on the cotton tariff, the Canadian mills immediately raising their price a like amount. Mr. Bristol could see no way out except to replace the present government with one that would reduce the tariff wall.

### H. H. Horsey, the Liberal Condidate

Mr. H. H. Horsey declared himself as proud to be a follower of the distinguished and unanimously chosen leader, Hon. Mackenzie King, just as he was proud to be a follower of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Living in Ottawa in the winter months Mr. Horsey said he was in a position to witness the Liberal Leader's ability in Parliament. Mr. Pacaud he compared as similar in type and talent to the Hon. Mr. Beland, heard in Picton some time ago at the opening of the fair. Another and more appropriate time will come to give my attitude in the next election, he declared. Mr. Horsey proclaimed himself favorable to the broad Farmer platform. The Liberal party has much in common with the progressive parties. One thing we all have in common is to bring about the overthrow and defeat of the present regime at Ottawa. They know better than we do that they have no mandate to remain in office. Still they flout the very ideals of our constitution, but the time draws near when they will be so completely obliterated that the place that knew them once will know them no more forever.

### Hon. Nelson Parliament

Hon. Nelson Parliament, on rising, was greeted with cheers and the playing of For He's a Jolly Good Fellow by the band. Mr. Parliament said he had not made a partisan political speech since holding his present high office of Speaker and did not wish to depart from that stand. He spoke of just returning from a trip to Quebec, where he met several members of the Provincial Government of that province. He spoke highly of the spirit existing among these men and the desire for harmony and unity between Ontario and Quebec. He spoke of wheat from Western Canada being loaded at Montreal, a very pleasing sight, showing as it did that the grain was being diverted from the regular channels to the south. There may be groups in the next Dominion Parliament such as exists in Ontario to-day. There must be co-operation between these groups to secure the best legislation. The tariff should be placed where it will do the most good with the least burden to the common people. In concluding, he declared, partisanship is what has held this country back, and he implored all to take the ballot seriously and conscientiously pick the best candidate.

### Dr. Morley Currie, ex-M. P.

Dr. Currie was afraid the Government in Ottawa at present was in no position to withstand much adverse criticism and thought perhaps he should say something good about them. Often he thought it an evil preceding an election for the parties to pick a winner for their candidate, thinking nothing of the ability of the man in attending to the business of the country. The influence of the ladies, he thought, would undoubtedly tend to lessen this evil in the selection of the best candidates. The Doctor assured Mr. King that when he became Premier he could safely call on Prince Edward's representative, Mr. Horsey, to fill any position in the Government of the country. He thought the bi-lingual question would soon be heard of again. Ontario people would only be meeting Quebec half way were they to learn French and go to Quebec and make addresses in the French language.

### Lucien Pacaud, M. P.

Mr. Pacaud expressed his great pleasure at being invited to address such a gathering. He spoke of Prince Edward as one of the most beautiful and prosperous counties he had ever seen. He referred to Quebec's complete allegiance to that favored son of Ontario, Hon. Mackenzie King. Mr. Horsey, he thought would undoubtedly be in Parliament as a supporter of Mr. King as soon as the Meighen Government decided to consult the people. It is our duty to drive from office these men who have aroused the anger of a nation, he continued. The Meighen Government have no mandate to undertake the work of wiping off the enormous public debt of $2,350,000,000, which now exists. Our first task is to put in office a strong government fresh from an election victory. The present aggregation are simply usurpers of a power not belonging to them. They have lost all contact with public opinion, and are holding to office against all precedence and against a mandate to quit at the end of the war. Still ringing in their ears are the results of bye-elections in West Peterborough, Medicine Hat, etc. Still they hold on! A Government that has never been surpassed for waste, extravagance and political blunders! Laying aside all expenditures for war, we still have the nefarious record of the Government. Scandal after scandal brought to light! Two of their latest exploits are their ship building venture and railway policy. They are undermining the faith of the Canadian people through their administration by a council of fifteen or sixteen members.

England has reduced her debt by up-

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wards of a million pounds. With some economy and retrenchment, could not Canada, a chip off the old block, do as well? When asked for explanations on their ship-building project the Government immediately imposed closure and took upon themselves the spending of nearly $80,000,000 with no explanations. This is something unprecedented since confederation. In France three billion francs were taken off the budget as presented by the finance minister. Canada could undoubtedly do something similar if given an opportunity.

He referred to the loan asked for by Belgium to buy Canadian wheat which was refused. Belgium went to the United States, secured the loan and are procuring the Canadian wheat through the United States while the large commissions go into the pockets of New York bankers.

The misunderstanding and distrust between the people of Quebec and Ontario, Mr. Pacaud explained as simply the work of some politicians. Liberalism stands for unity and harmony, and if you are favorable to that policy I ask you, in all sincerity, to vote for Liberalism in the coming election, concluded Mr. Pacaud.

**Ladies Present Address**

Mrs. Thomas Woods, President Prince Edward County Women's Liberal Association, read the following address:

Hon. Mackenzie King, M. P., Leader of the Liberal Party in Canada and of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition:

Dear Mr. King,—The Prince Edward County Women's Liberal Association have conferred on me the privilege and honor of conveying to you, on their behalf, a hearty welcome on this, your first official visit to Picton and Prince Edward county. Although few of us have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you until this evening, still many have followed with pride your distinguished career ever since you entered public life as a supporter and colleague of that former brilliant statesman and noble leader, the late Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. We realize how rare it is for a single individual to show such versatility that he should have gained noteworthy distinction in the varied fields of literature, political economy and politics.

A Leader of the Liberal Party, you are we believe, the people's choice, not the choice merely of a committee or caucus, for you were unanimously chosen by the representative Liberals that assembled at the largest political convention yet held in the Dominion of Canada. We have followed with interest and admiration your parliamentary work at Ottawa since assuming the office of leadership. There during the past two sessions you have shown zeal on behalf of the great body of the people by opposing the secret and tactic alliance between an autocratic office-holding Government and its friends the monopolists and profiteers. We know that before long the present usurpers against the spirit of our constitution must face the people, their judges, and that your position will then be justified, and the Liberals, having come out of the contest with the largest number of followers of the three parties, you will be called upon by His Excellency the Governor-General to assume the Premiership and form an administration favorable to all classes except those which desire to dominate instead of share in the fruits of industry.

May we not hope that when that crowning time comes, we shall be favored with another visit from you in the capacity of Canada's First Citizen?

One thing you may rely upon, the Liberal women of Prince Edward county will do all they possibly can to bring about another Liberal regime similar to the splendid era from 1896—1911 when peace, harmony and diffused prosperity made happy the lot of all.

—

Little Miss Madeleine Currie presented a handsome bouquet to Hon. Mr. King and little Miss Nora Benson made a similar presentation to Mr. Pacaud, both of which were suitably acknowledged by the distinguished recipients.

—

**Hon. Mackenzie King**

Hon. Mackenzie King, on rising, was greeted with hearty cheers and band music. He complimented Mr. Bristol, Mr. Parliament, Mr. Horsey and Dr. Currie on their excellent addresses. He referred to sitting in Parliament with Dr. Currie and also made reference to his predecessors—Dr. J. M. Platt and W. V. Pettet. He spoke in the highest terms of the garden county and the town of Picton. Mr. King said he did not know who to congratulate, whether Mr. Horsey for the fine electorate which he will shortly be called upon to represent, or the electors for their selection of such a representative in prospect. I hope you will make it your duty to see that Mr. Horsey will be elected, not only as your representative but as an outstanding public man in the next Dominion Parliament. Mr. King expressed his pleasure at seeing the women of the county organizing, and hoped they would prove an example to the women of the Dominion in making their voice heard in the next general election. In his opinion Mr. Horsey would undoubtedly prove a representative all could be proud of and proud of every utterance he made. He sincerely hoped the progressive forces in Prince Edward would stand together as they so far have, and not be disrupted, which is the only hope of the Conservative Government.

A situation such as exists in Canada to-day has not come into being over night. It is the result of forces which have been operating within the body politic for some years past and to which the war and the exigencies of war have afforded favorable and exceptional opportunities. Were I to express the situation in a word, it would be that the political, industrial, and to a considerable extent, the social life of our country to-day lies enthralled under the subtle and malignant influence of combined autocratic and plutocratic control, which seeks the aggrandizement of a few individuals at the expense of the state and is regardless wholly of the well-being of the people at large.

During the period of the war, we heard much of the reconstruction of our political, industrial and social order which was to follow at its close and which was to be expressive of a new freedom achieved for our fellowmen through the sacrifice of the war. Instead, however, of reconstruction, we have met only with reaction at every turn. Reconstruction would have demanded a new Parliament and a new Ministry at the termination of the war. It certainly demanded recognition of these fundamental rights of the people upon the retirement of Sir Robert Borden and the resignation of his entire Ministry. Instead of reconstruction, we have had the most glaring example of usurpation of the rights of the people in matters of government which it would have been possible for the combined forces of reaction to afford.

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To what length the new Prime Minister has not hesitated to go in usurping the most fundamental of all the rights of a free and supposedly self-governing people, will be apparent when it is recalled that Canada alone of all the countries of the British Empire, not excepting Great Britain herself and including Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland, is the only one which has denied to her people the right of a general election since the termination of the war.

Not only are the Canadian people the only people within self-governing Dominions which have been denied this right, but Canada is the only country of all the countries concerned in the Great War, with the exception alone of Russia, whose people have been denied the right of a general election since the termination of the war. France, Belgium, Italy, the United States, Japan, China and Mexico have had their general elections. Even in enemy countries, not excepting Germany, the people have been accorded this right.

Moreover, there is not a Province of the Dominion of Canada which has not had its provincial elections since the war. In every province the voice of the people have declared for reconstruction and against reaction. Toryism has been crushed before the onrush of Liberal and Progressive forces is the reason why, defiant together of the popular will, the Prime Minister and his colleagues persist in holding onto office, not for the public good, but for personal ends and the special interest which they are seeking to serve.

The record of the session of Parliament just concluded is on all fours with the first act of its Prime Minister. Reaction, not reconstruction, has been in evidence at every turn. Instead of wise and progressive legislation, the Government has presented scarcely any legislation at all, and where legislation has been introduced it has been almost wholly of an unprogressive and reactionary character. By amendment and resolution, the opposition have striven with all their might to secure from the ministry and its obsequious following a recognition of the most elementary of the fundamental rights of the people, but to no avail. The restrictive and repressive instinct, so strongly engendered during the war, has continued to direct the hand of authority with consequences which are only too apparent.

In nothing have the people of Canada so great cause to be concerned as in the truth respecting the railway situation in this country. Millions upon millions of public funds have been spent by the Government on railway account and on account of the Government Merchant Marine, a system of Government-owned or controlled trans-

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portation by sea which the Government has created without any reference to the people as a supplement to the Government-owned or controlled system by land which has also been taken over under Government control without any reference to the electorate. About all that the people have been told respecting railway administration and the administration of the Government Merchant Marine is that on the latter something like seventy-millions of dollars has been spent since the termination of the war, and that in the operation of the former, railway rates and charges have been increased to travellers and shippers and deficits incurred amounting in the year before last to some fifty millions of dollars, last year to some seventy millions with promise of a further deficit amounting to one hundred millions at the termination of the present year. If there is one right above another to which, under a system of representative govenrment, the people through their representatives in Parliament are entitled, it is the right to the fullest information respecting the expenditures of public moneys.

Let me now endeavor to give you some idea of the position of Canada's finances at the present time. This, after all, is the most important of all the problems of government. Remembering that it is bound up not less with the question of the cost of living than with the matter of taxation, each individual will realize how completely every figure quoted is of concern to himself.

So long as we keep in the hundreds and thousands, it is more or less possible for most of us to understand the meaning and significance of the figures. When, however, we get beyond tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars, into millions, the amount seems so vast that even our imagination fails to grasp their real meaning; and when we talk of billions, I imagine that to the most of us it is like contemplating the stars in the sky, or the grains of sand on the seashore; they pass completely beyond our comprehension. And yet it is at this point that we must make our beginning in a consideration of Canada's finances.

When amounts to be raised by taxation are not very considerable, it may matter but little how they are raised, whether by direct or by indirect means. When, however, they are large, it is a matter of great consequence to everyone. There is this also to be remembered, that because part of the taxes may be raised by direct taxation, the burden of which falls mostly upon the wealthy and the well-to-do, it by no means follows that the tax rests there. The chances are a thousand to one the tax, or some part of it will be passed on to someone else, and that the poor man or woman in the last analysis will bear more than his or her share. The wealthy landlord, for example, who has a big income tax to pay, passes it on in a raise of rent to his tenants; if he is the owner of a coal mine, he may pass it on in the price of coal; if the owner of a railway, in the rate of fares and freight; and so on and so on. It is said that

"Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em;
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so ad infinitum."

It is much the same with the passing on of taxation from the fellows of big incomes to those of lesser ones:

"Big bugs have little bugs
To whom they pass their taxes;
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind their axes."

It is well that all should remember this, because there are two things which no one, no matter how poor he may be, is likely ever to escape. One is the Day of Judgment, which, however, belongs to the hereafter; the other is taxation in one form or another, which is here and now every day in the week.

So far as our finances are concerned, Canada is a wholly different country to-day than she was prior to the war. The enormous increase of public debt occasioned by the war has given us an entirely new problem with respect to all branches of the public administration What it was possible and advisable for Canada to do and to spend when she had a public debt of some $336,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt of some $13,000,000 is very different from what it is possible or advisable for her to do and expend when she has a public debt, as at the present time she has, of $2,350,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt of amounting to $140,000,000 which amount must be paid before any other items of expendjture can be taken into consideration.

You will recall, when the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to the country on the Reciprocity issue in 1911, just ten years ago, that one of the charges made against Sir Wilfrid's Government was that it had been unduly extravagant. It was said that the public debt and interest thereon had reached proportions wholly unjustifiable and that as a consequence the burden upon the Canadian tax payer was far and away too heavy, and should be decreased. What was the total net public debt of Canada at that time? It was in round figures, $340,000,000, the annual interest charge on which was $12,500,000. To-day the net public debt is not $340,000,000 but $2,350,000,000. The annual interest charge is not $12,500,000 but over $140,000,000

The obligations arising out of the war may be divided into two classes; the amounts which for years to come are certain to be in the nature of annual charges, and which must be met out of current revenue; and amounts which are special in their nature and which constitute capital charges or charges on account of demobilization, which need not recur or may recur in lessening amounts. They, however, should be payable to-day out of current revenue, which means out of current taxation. Taken collectively, these amounts, as payable out of revenue for the present year, total about $130,000,000, a sum nearly equal to the interest on the public debt. They include, of course, the amounts payable on account of pensions, Soliders' Civil Re-establishment, Land Settlement Board, and demobilization. Here is another charge, which heretofore had no place in our accounts, that is larger in amount than the total expenditure of government on all accounts in the last or any year of Liberal Administration.

The Government estimates expenditures for the present year of $561,000,000. This amount does not include a single dollar of repayment of the principal of the war debt, amounting to nearly $2,000,000,000. The proportion of the head of a family of five will be $310.80. It is not paid in the form of income tax, it will be taken out of the pockets of the people in the prices they pay for food, for clothing, boots and shoes, housing, fuel, or on account of their enjoyments, or in other ways.

Having regard to the billions of dollars spent during the period of the war and the vastly increased public debt with which the country is faced in consequence; having regard to the existing high cost of living; and having regard also to the resulting necessary and unavoidable heavy taxation, we of the Liberal party have resolutely maintained that the greatest need in Canada to-day is the exercise of the most rigid retrenchment in expenditures and economy in the administration of public affairs. We have made honesty and economy the basis of all our policies. We believe that to-day, as never before in the history of Canada, honesty and economy in public administration are essential to the present good and future prosperity of the Dominion. It is for that reason, and for that reason only, that, as the people's representatives in Parliament, we have fought vigorously and strenuously for the right of the people to have the fullest information on all matters pertaining to expenditure, and have opposed the spending of public monies in a number of directions which we have felt at the present time to be unnecessary and easily avoidable. Where the money is the people's money, it is all wrong to deny the people's representatives in Parliament the fullest information respecting its use.

The Liberal members were able, in an investigation before a select committee of Parliament, to show that insurance to the amount of over $100,000,000 had been placed on the railroad property. Further investigation revealed the fact that two of the directors of the Canadian National Railways, both appointees of the Government, were also directors of the insurance company through which practically the whole amount of this insurance had been placed. Similarly, it was disclosed that contracts amounting to $11,000,000 had been given to one car company for the construction of cars. One of the directors of that company was also a director of the Government Railways.

What was the reason for denying Parliament information on these matters, which were the subject of questions in the House of Commons, if there was nothing about them to conceal?

The Government Merchant Marine is a class of public expenditure which we of the Liberal party maintain is unnecessary and avoidable, and should never have been incurred at a time like the present. The Government's friends had to be financially supported, no doubt in anticipation of political support. The result is that Canada has on her hands to-day a fleet of ships that threaten to become a public charge.

Railways may be made some day to pay, and even a merchant marine has

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portation by sea which the Government has created without any reference to the people as a supplement to the Government-owned or controlled system by land which has also been taken over under Government control without any reference to the electorate. About all that the people have been told respecting railway administration and the administration of the Government Merchant Marine is that on the latter something like seventy-millions of dollars has been spent since the termination of the war, and that in the operation of the former, railway rates and charges have been increased to travellers and shippers and deficits incurred amounting in the year before last to some fifty millions of dollars, last year to some seventy millions with promise of a further deficit amounting to one hundred millions at the termination of the present year. If there is one right above another to which, under a system of representative government, the people through their representatives in Parliament are entitled, it is the right to the fullest information respecting the expenditures of public moneys.

Let me now endeavor to give you some idea of the position of Canada's finances at the present time. This, after all, is the most important of all the problems of government. Remembering that it is bound up not less with the question of the cost of living than with the matter of taxation, each individual will realize how completely every figure quoted is of concern to himself.

So long as we keep in the hundreds and thousands, it is more or less possible for most of us to understand the meaning and significance of the figures. When, however, we get beyond tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars, into millions, the amount seems so vast that even our imagination fails to grasp their real meaning; and when we talk of billions, I imagine that to the most of us it is like contemplating the stars in the sky, or the grains of sand on the seashore; they pass completely beyond our comprehension. And yet it is at this point that we must make our beginning in a consideration of Canada's finances.

When amounts to be raised by taxation are not very considerable, it may matter but little how they are raised, whether by direct or by indirect means. When, however, they are large, it is a matter of great consequence to everyone. There is this also to be remembered, that because part of the taxes may be raised by direct taxation, the burden of which falls mostly upon the wealthy and the well-to-do, it by no means follows that the tax rests there. The chances are a thousand to one the tax, or some part of it will be passed on to someone else, and that the poor man or woman in the last analysis will bear more than his or her share. The wealthy landlord, for example, who has a big income tax to pay, passes it on in a raise of rent to his tenants; if he is the owner of a coal mine, he may pass it on in the price of coal; if the owner of a railway, in the rate of fares and freight; and so on and so on. It is said that

"Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em;
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so ad infinitum."

It is much the same with the passing on of taxation from the fellows of big incomes to those of lesser ones:

"Big bugs have little bugs
To whom they pass their taxes;
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind their axes."

It is well that all should remember this, because there are two things which no one, no matter how poor he may be, is likely ever to escape. One is the Day of Judgment, which, however, belongs to the hereafter; the other is taxation in one form or another, which is here and now every day in the week.

So far as our finances are concerned, Canada is a wholly different country today than she was prior to the war. The enormous increase of public debt occasioned by the war has given us an entirely new problem with respect to all branches of the public administration What it was possible and advisable for Canada to do and to spend when she had a public debt of some $336,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt of some $13,000,000 is very different from what it is possible or advisable for her to do and expend when she has a public debt, as at the present time she has, of $2,350,000,000 and an annual interest charge on this debt of amounting to $140,000,000 which amount must be paid before any other items of expendjture can be taken into consideration.

You will recall, when the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to the country on the Reciprocity issue in 1911, just ten years ago, that one of the charges made against Sir Wilfrid's Government was that it had been unduly extravagant. It was said that the public debt and interest thereon had reached proportions wholly unjustifiable and that as a consequence the burden upon the Canadian tax payer was far and away too heavy, and should be decreased. What was the total net public debt of Canada at that time? It was in round figures, $340,000,000, the annual interest charge on which was $12,500,000. To-day the net public debt is not $340,000,000 but $2,350,000,000. The annual interest charge is not $12,500,000 but over $140,000,000

The obligations arising out of the war may be divided into two classes; the amounts which for years to come are certain to be in the nature of annual charges, and which must be met out of current revenue; and amounts which are special in their nature and which constitute capital charges or charges on account of demobilization, which need not recur or may recur in lessening amounts. They, however, should be payable to-day out of current revenue, which means out of current taxation. Taken collectively, these amounts, as payable out of revenue for the present year, total about $130,000,000, a sum nearly equal to the interest on the public debt. They include, of course, the amounts payable on account of pensions, Soliders' Civil Re-establishment, Land Settlement Board, and demobilization. Here is another charge, which heretofore had no place in our accounts, that is larger in amount than the total expenditure of government on all accounts in the last or any year of Liberal Administration.

The Government estimates expenditures for the present year of $561,000,000. This amount does not include a single dollar of repayment of the principal of the war debt, amounting to nearly $2,000,000,000. The proportion of the head of a family of five will be $310.80. It is not paid in the form of income tax, it will be taken out of the pockets of the people in the prices they pay for food, for clothing, boots and shoes, housing, fuel, or on account of their enjoyments, or in other ways.

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Railways may be made some day to pay, and even a merchant marine has

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promise of profitable use to which it may be put in times of peace. What justification can there possibly be at the termination of a war which, as has so often been said, was fought for the purpose of putting an end to war, and at a moment when danger no longer threatens our country from any quarter, for huge expenditures in the way of military defence on land, naval defence on the high seas, and air defence overhead, or for huge expenditures for police purposes?

We of the Liberal party believe that the people of Canada have had enough of war and of the war spirit; that what the country now craves is not alone peace, but the spirit of peace. We are ready to assume the vast burdens which war has imposed, to take up cheerfully the obligations growing out of the war, whether they relate to pensions, soldiers' civil re-establishment, soldiers' land settlement, or other obligations to the men who served overseas, or whether they relate to the vast public debt which remains as a legacy of the war. We feel very strongly that until we find it possible to meet these primary obligations in the manner in which they should be met, the Government is not justified in incurring additional debt and imposing additional taxation for military, naval and police purposes, beyond the point that may generally be recognized as absolutely necessary.

Nearly $4,000,000 is being appropriated for naval purposes for the present year, and yet we were told in a discussion on the naval estimates last year that the Government had no naval policy and would have none unfil after the next Imperial Conference.

In speaking of the tariff, the first consideration to keep in mind is that the tariff is a tax, and that as such it bears directly upon the all-important question of the cost of living, which is inseparable from the problem of taxation. If taxation is high, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be high; if low, other things being equal, the cost of living also will be low.

Mr. Meighen, the Prime Minister, has been saying that there are only two kinds of tariff; a Protective Tariff and a Free Trade Tariff. With this statement I take direct issue. I go further, and say that there is no such thing in the world as a Free Trade Tariff, and that no one knows that better than Mr. Meighen himself.

He knows that in many parts of the country, and especially in the cities and towns to which he is looking for support, there is a strong prejudice against free trade; and so he says the issue on the tariff is between Protection and Free Trade; that he is for Protection and that the Farmers and the Liberals are for Free Trade. I must leave the leaders of the Farmers' Party to speak for themselves. So far as the Liberal Party is concerned, I should like to say here, what I have said on every platform from which I have spoken in Canada on the subject of the tariff, and what I have said in Parliament on more than one occasion, that the Liberal party is not to-day, and has not been since we have had a tariff in Canada, for free trade. That the issue is not one between Protection and Free Trade; or, as Mr. Meighen expresses it, a Protective tariff and a Free Trade tariff. It is between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue; between a protective tariff and a tariff for revenue if you will, but not between a protective tariff and no tariff at all, which is the meaning of Free Trade.

So long as you recognize a customs tariff, you cannot have free trade. The tariff is, as I have stated, a tax. It is a tax on imports and a tax on imports is an obstruction to trade. Free trade means the absence of all tax; it means what it says, complete freedom of trade, and the raising of revenues by some other method exclusively, by income tax, for example; and when the Prime Minister and his following say that the issue is between protection and free trade, they do not describe the situation aright. The minute a tax is imposed on trade, that moment trade is obstructed. The obstruction may be made to serve primarily one of two purposes: It may be made a means of raising revenue, or it may be made a means of affording protection to some industry within the country. Usually it serves both purposes in some measure. A tax imposed for purposes of protection may be so framed as incidentally to afford revenue, and a tax imposed for purposes of revenue may be so framed as incidentally to afford protection. The art of statesmanship in the imposition of taxation lies in making taxation as light as circumstances will permit, and in having regard for existing national needs in whatever taxation may be imposed.

The issue, so far as the Liberal party's attitude on the tariff is concerned, is not and never has been in this country, between free trade and protection; it has been between a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of protection and a tariff imposed primarily for purposes of revenue.

The Liberal policy is a policy of tariff revision, of revision downwards, not upwards, of revision in the interests of producers and consumers, not of special interests and privileged classes.

With the Liberal party the main concern respecting the tariff is not free trade or protection; it is revenue; it is the needs and well being of the home, and the development of our industries in such manner as is likely to serve best the interests of the Canadian people. I want to emphasize the fact that if called upon, as I believe we will be, to revise the tariff, in any revision we may make it will be the home and its needs that will receive first consideration; that in any readjustment of the tariff that may take place, regard will be had to existing conditions of trade, and changes made in such a manner as will cause the least possible disturbance of business. As respects the tariff, as with everything else of national importance, the Liberal party believes in proceeding along evolutionary, not along revolutionary lines.

We believe that a tariff primarily for protection is certain to be a tariff for special interests, whereas a tariff primarily for revenue comes as near as any tariff can to being a tariff for the people.

Here, in Canada, as in Britain a century ago, the period of political reaction has followed the change from war to peace. But here also as in Britain a century ago, with the change from war to peace, men and women have begun to discover wherein the liberties they had previously enjoyed have been parted with to [illegible] never dreamed of before. Political reaction stands revealed in all its arrogance. The people see themselves deprived of the right of responsible Government and a responsible ministry and are beginning to understand what this means. They see the functions of government carried on by a usurper who exercises his authority not in virtue of a power derived from the people but solely as the outcome of arbitrary enactment and political might. They see, in the House of Commons, among the members and supporters of the Administration, men who have not hesitated to ignore the most solemn pledges ever given an electorate, and who do not hesitate, to aid an arbitrary ministry in its continued disfranchisement of British subjects. They see the usurpation of the authority of government maintained through a combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats brought into being through war conditions and fostered through war necessities.

But with the removal of all apparent danger, such methods of government are becoming more and more abhorrent as are also what remains of arbitrary and expensive measures of state control reluctantly accepted or acquiesced in during the period of the war. With all dangers of agression wholly removed, the sober thought of Canada is becoming more and more impatient of the reactionary spirit and the perpetration of the military spirit by which it seeks to support itself. The nation has had enough of war. It seeks not merely the restoration of peace, but a restoration of the spirit of peace, a spirit of moderation and toleration, of thrift and enterprise, of greater freedom of thought and a wider measure of personal liberty.

Everywhere, in the Federal arena, as in the several provincial arenas, Toryism has met its doom. The spirit of freedom which has helped to overthrow autocracy and arrogance abroad is not likely long to suffer its continuance in our midst. It needs but the opportunity for the Liberal and Progressive forces of our country speedily to restore the foundations of our free parliamentary institutions, to give once again to Canada a representative Parliament and a representative ministry, to remove what remains of unwarranted, restrictive and repressive measures and unjustifiable control of industrial enterprise.

With the new freedom which but awaits the opportunity for its expression, history will also repeat itself. The period of reaction in Canada will give way, as in Britain it did, to a period of genuine reconstruction. Liberalism once again will come into its own, and with Liberalism revived and restored, we may await with confidence an era of wise industrial, fiscal and electoral reform.

The meeting dispersed after heartily singing the National Anthem.

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5 Aug. 1921

Ottawa: Imperial Press Conference

SPEECH OF WELCOME

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Imperial Press Conference D- 5374 438/12

Privilege to share in welcome.

Occasions rare, of agreement with Prime Minister.

Congratulations to Prime Minister:

1st occasion.
His ability and industry won position
Will shorten - but reflect re University
P. M. for Leader of Opposition.

One attitude towards Conference -

Expresses itself
(a) cordial appreciation what it means to people of Canada - sympathetic interpretation.
(b) cordial hope - informing, etc., source of increased pride & faith.

Proverb -

Familiarity breeds contempt
confidence.

What we seek

This confidence carry away to British Isles and all parts.

( MACKENZIE KING)
J.C.

D 5375

Welcome

Differences with Meighen -
and congratulations.

Two-sided expression of appreciation.

Parliament Buildings fitting symbol -
Note of history
harmony
aspiration.

Comment - Imperial
British

Old adage - Confidence
Contempt.

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In this building, a fitting symbol of our nation at present time - in process of Reconstruction.

Notes of Canadian History
Canadian unity and harmony in diversity
Canadian aspiration.

One comment by way of inquiry and suggestion -
It is the substitution for the word "Imperial" ~~of~~ the word "British" in the characterization of this Comference.
Imperialism denotes centralization of organization and activities.
It denotes autocracy, not democracy, in method, and so is out of touch with the spirit of the several democracies that comprise the nations of the British Commonwealth.

The word "British" suggests spirit rather than form. It speaks of an attitude synonymous with freedom and justice, with liberty and right - brings a larger meaning and significance to all with which it is associated.

It is world encircling and all embracing - and it is above all else distinctive.

No other nationality, or group of nationalities, can appropriate it.

It signifies all that is symbolized in the flag.

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25 Aug. 1921 Windsor D 5377

"WHY IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST A
CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IS NECESSARY,
AND WHY IT CANNOT COME TOO SOON"

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Windsor, Ont.
Thursday, August 25, 1921

WHY IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IS NECESSARY, AND WHY IT CANNOT COME TOO SOON.

---

1. Under the present administration, <u>the people</u>, as a factor are in government, are wholly ignored.
Evidenced by:

(a) <u>Present discussions as to time to be fixed for a general election</u> -

Part of Cabinet in favour of immediate dissolution.
" " " against " "
Members of Parl'nt.mostly against " "
Premier considering wishes of colleagues and members.
No mention of wishes or rights of the people.

(b) <u>Prime Minister's act in usurping power over a year ago</u>.

Meighen Administration no claim to office in virtue of Win-the War Coalition formed by Sir Robert Borden in 1917.

Canada only country in Empire, and among free nations, denied right to a general election. Provinces have all had elections.

(c) <u>Attitude of both Borden and Meighen Administrations toward by-elections</u>.

Effort has been to see how long people's representatives can be kept out of Parliament; not how soon vacancies can be filled.

(i) See statement of vacancies in H.of C. since 1917.
(ii) See Resolution re filling pending vacancies.

(d) <u>Failure to submit important policies to the people</u>

e.g., Government ownership of Railways, and Merchant Marine, Naval policy - acceptance of ships.

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2. Under the present administration, Parliament, as a factor in government, is largely ignored.

Evidenced by:

(a) Refusal to submit agreement for acquisition of Grand Trunk Railway to Parliament for ratification and approval before signed, sealed, and delivered,

(i) thereby conceding to bondholders and stockholders in Britain rights denied Canadian citizens - See resolution.
Contrast with C.P.R. and G.T.P.

(ii) thereby depriving Grand Trunk Railway employees of redress to which they were entitled respecting Pension. See Resolution.

Merchant Marine never submitted to Parliament.

Policy of construction and management under National Railways taken out of hands of a Government Department.

(b) Refusal to consult Parliament with respect to acceptance of ships from British Govt. for Canadian Navy.

Consequent humiliation to Canada, and embarrassment to taxpayers in Great Britain as well as Canada.

Status not that of equality, but of poor relation.

No voice of British Parliament - no voice of Canadian Parl'nt.

Discussion in Parliament.

Service of Navy - Halifax to Esquimalt; Esquimalt to Halifax.

Meanwhile, Conference for Disarmament being called.

(c) Refusal to give Parliament any information with respect to appointment of Representative at Washington.

See resolution - secret diplomacy.

Meighen, at Imperial Conference, gives Govt's reason for - no resolution of Canadian Parliament, nor or British Parliament, only contract signed, sealed, and delivered by autocratic executive.

(d) Refusal to accept resolution proposed in H.of C. that no change to be made in existing relations, no additional liabilities incurred on military or naval accounts without sanction of Canadian Parliament.

Doctrine of Dictatorship of Executive substituted for Supremacy of Parliament.

See Lloyd George's statement re obligations and commitments of Conference.

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2. Parliament ignored (cont'd.)

Evidenced by:

(c) Refusal of Government to give Parliament information with respect to expenditures on account of National Railways and Merchant Marine.

Doctrine of ministerial responsibility abandoned.

Extent of expenditure.

Fiction of incorporated company.

Interlocking of directorates.

How public moneys squandered.

Insurance - cars - townsites - coal contracts.
Loading and unloading - if by tender, etc. etc.

Resolutions re information.
re investigation.

3. Under the present administration, the Law of the Land is regarded with indifference, ignored, or deliberately violated.

Evidenced by:

(a) Board of Directors of National Railways law of 1919, enacted by Parliament, never enforced.

Roads managed under Act of 1914, to provide guarantee to C.N.R., a private Company - at which time Govt. given right to name certain directors.
Mackenzie and Mann control.

(b) No tenders called for in building of Merchant Marine.

(c) Fair Wages Resolution of House of Commons respecting wages to be paid on construction work for Government - formerly applicable to Departments of Railways and Canals and Marine and Fisheries - not now applicable.

No protection to Labour, yet Labour blamed for Railway deficits on account of wages.

Tenders not called for in expenditures on Railways, running into millions. (See section of Act).

A Government that ignores the people, Parliament, and the Law of the Land is a menace to the Nation, instead of being the conserver of a nation's freedom, it is the destroyer of popular liberties.

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4. The present Administration has already had a tenure of office much longer than that contemplated by the spirit of the Constitution, which above all else aims in law-making at keeping the will of the people supreme.

(a) In any interpretation of the constitution on the basis of what is fair and just, the term of the present parliament must be reckoned along with the term of the Parliament which preceded it, inasmuch as Parliament itself in 1916 extended its term for a year without consulting the people - the understanding being that extension was due to war necessities only, and that Parliament to succeed would be only for the duration of the war. The constitution fixes 5 years as the legal limit. The elections of 1911 were held in November of that year. The full legal limit of 10 years will have expired in November of the present year.

(b) Moreover, the constitution contemplates, at the outside, only five sessions to each Parliament, five separate indemnities. In the Parliament of 1911 -1917 there were 6 sessions. There have been already 5 sessions of the present Parliament: 1 in 1918; 2 in 1919; 1 in 1920; and 1 in 1921. Another session would mean 6 in this Parliament.

(c) The present Parliament, in the matter of duration, is already far in excess of most of the previous Parliaments since Confederation. See figures.

(d) Since 1911, an entirely new electorate have come to the fore:

young men - men overseas - women.

(e) The Parliament of 1919 was largely a nominated Parliament. It was never truly representative. Nominated by Sir Robert Borden, and placed in power by the War Measures Act, War-time Elections Act, and Military Voters Act, all of which have since been repealed. A representative Parliament is what the country needs and demands.

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5. The Redistribution of the Constituencies, which constitutes the basis of future representation in the Federal Parliament, should not be left to a Government that has usurped power, and to a Parliament which has ceased to be representative; but should be carried out by a Parliament that is in touch with the people and a ministry that is prepared to restore the doctrine of ministerial responsibility to Parliament and to the people.

(a) The fact that the Meighen Government has usurped office for a year or more is not a ground why, on any pretext, the period of usurpation should be longer extended.

(b) The Meighen Administration is not to be trusted to make a fair redistribution.

Such redistribution as it is likely to propose will reflect what may be necessary to retain its obsequious following in the House, and to serve the ends of special interests, rather than the well-being of the people as a whole.

(c) A Prime Minister who does not hesitate, as his first act in meeting the Committee of Supply in the House of Commons, to wrest $70,000,000 from the public treasury under closure, and another 7 millions in like manner, all within a few hours of discussion, may be expected to use the same weapon in serving his own ends with respect to the redistribution of constituencies.

(d) It was Mr. Meighen who was mainly responsible for the War-time Elections Act and the Military Voters Act, and who openly justified allotting soldiers' ballots to constituencies that the Government needed to carry in 1917. Is he to be trusted in any matter that vitally concerns the outcome of elections?

(e) If Redistribution is made on a basis that is unfair or unjust to any interest or section of the country, the whole future development of the country may, as a consequence, be along wrong lines, since the nature of the legislation of the ensuing 10 years will in part be determined by the constituencies as redistributed.

(f) The present Opposition in Parliament, if the closure is resorted to, is largely powerless to prevent the worst possible kind of gerrymander. There is too much of popular rights and liberties at stake to take a chance with the present administration.

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6. The present Administration is <u>reactionary and not progressive</u>. It has failed altogether to further reconstruction, or to cope with the needs of a post-war period. It is concerned only with the maintenance of power, and the interests of its friends. The interests, not the people, are its concern.

Evidenced by:

(a) The Tariff - no revision.

(b) Taxation - increase, rather than reduction.

(c) Patronage - extension of

(d) Failure to reduce cost of living or to cope with problem of unemployed.

7. By its extravagance and wasteful expenditure, the present Administration is placing <u>an ever-increasing burden of debt and taxation</u> upon the shoulders of the people.

(a) Railways and Merchants Marine -
Military, Naval, and Police expenditures.

(b) Has lost perspective.

(c) Need for a national audit.

(d) A positive menace to keep in office a Government that knows it is discredited and without hope of return. Its energies bent, not upon reform, but spoils of office for itself and its friends. Get all they can while the getting is good. No sense of trusteeship.

The inevitable change - the parallel of 100 years ago.

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London Advertiser
Aug 26 1921

D 5384

# People of Canada Ignored By Meighen and His Followers Who Are Hanging On To Office

## Liberal Leader Given Rousing Reception at Monster Meeting in Windsor—Bares Meighen Methods and Urges Electors to Make Stand for Their Rights.

[Special to The Advertiser.]

WINDSOR, Aug. 25.—In one of the finest addresses he has ever made, the Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, before an audience which packed the huge Windsor armories to capacity, hit out straight from the shoulder, and told the electors of Essex just what sort of a government they are experiencing at the hands of Hon. Arthur Meighen and his colleagues at Ottawa.

Mr. King did not mince words at any time, and rounds of applause greeted his telling sallies and showed how completely his hearers were in sympathy with his remarks.

More than 1,000 persons were unable to gain admission to the armories tonight. With the Liberal chieftain, and who also spoke, were Hon. George P. Graham, Liberal candidate for South Essex and ex-minister of the Laurier Government; Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P. for Beauce, Quebec; W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, and Major J. C. Tolmie, M. L. A. for Windsor. Dr. Beland spoke in both English and French.

### Need Strong Men.

"We want men strong enough to say these railroads are for the people, and we want no more of this manipulation of railroad stocks and securities," Hon. Geo. Graham asserted in discussing the Flavelle report. "There are enough of these co-ordinating boards to handle all the roads in the world, but they haven't the courage to take hold and straighten out the situation. Remember there are great influences behind these railroads that are not for the well-being of Canada. They intend to get these roads back at a cheap price.

"The present administration is not endeavoring to make a success of th national roads, but it is your duty t ir that it do all in its power t m a success. Two things are nec y, first economy, and second a po y that will bring Canada immigration such as has never been since the present Government came in.

### Scores Flavelle.

"Just at this juncture when Hon. Mr. King and his associates are touring the country Sir Joseph Flavelle finds it convenient to write a letter on the railroad system, giving information as to what caused the tangle and how to unravel it. He is just bubbling over with information. He admits he knows it all."

The speaker said the present Government had violated the contract between the late Laurier administration and the G. T. R. The present Government, he declared, deliberately undertook to carry on schemes to no other end than but to ruin the national roads.

"It is not too late yet to save the national roads if the right persons can be at the helm for the next five years."

Tremendous enthusiasm prevailed. The Liberal leader and party were greeted with spontaneous and continued applause and every reference to the name of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the signal for wild outbursts of cheering.

### Rousing Cheers.

When the Liberal leader got up to speak the audience rose to its feet to cheer again and again. In his opening remarks he declared that a government that is not broad and sufficiently tolerant to admit all walks of life was no representation at all. He termed the Meighen administration autocratic and willing to do almost anything to stay in power.

"We do not assume any hostile attitude," he said. "We ask for co-operation. As for the Farmers' party, If you have a Farmer party springing up in one direction how can you prevent a city party forming in another direction? The same with Labor. If it become a class movement only, how can you stop a Manufactures' party? The same can be applied to the women's party or the soldiers' parties. The latter two, however, have set a great example by their willingness to co-operate, and if their broad spirit was followed by all we would soon have a United Canada.

### Ought To Have One.

"As to a general election no doubt we ought to have one, but I fear we will not. If there is one outstanding character of Mr. Meighen and his associates it is their absolute indifference to the will of the people.

"The present administration took advantage of a critical moment and voted itself another year. It should now take the opportunity of restoring that year. What we say is fair play to the people, and they are entitled to a new representation. The Meighen Government is a war-time government, and should not hang on indefinitely. You were told it was for the war. You were told to forget, for the time all party differences, but when you returned Sir Robert Borden and his Union administration you had no thought that you were returning Right Hon. Arthur Meighen and his associates. The only reason the latter holds out is because he knows he has lost the confidence of the nation. (Wild applause.)

### The Only Country.

Canada today is the only self-governing dominion of the Empire denied the right of a general election since the termination of the war. All the warring nations, including Germany, the allies and the neutrals have had their elections. Russia and Canada stand alone.

A remarkable feature in addition is that every province has exercised its right of an election.

In every instance where a Conservative party was in power it was turned out. Even the by-elections are held up. There are five vacancies and no government with the interests of the people at heart would allow this. The Government, likewise, is indifferent also to the Parliament.

### Secret Meetings.

The House carries on with secret meetings and orders-in-council and not on the floor of the House. The people have been ignored on the railroad issue as well as on other questions. They were never once consulted, and in fact, the bills relating to the same were never properly introduced in the House. Bills were rushed through and the weapon of closure was used time and again. The members were actually kept from getting full details and information was denied. We know there are big deficits The people should know why. Answers have always been no information. Take the list of the members of the railway boards. Say if a man is a director of a railroad company and also of a government board he will do his best for the former.

The speaker then condemned in no uncertain manner the "Interlocking of directorates."

### In Hands of Few."

"Canada," he continued, "is in the hands of a few men, the political autocrats and the industrial plutocrats. The two are working together to keep the power. And there will be no solution unles you break this baneful combine and there is no way to do this unless you rise up and assert your rights."

The speaker dwelt on the closure methods as applied to the various expenditures, the seventy million railroad debt, the mercantile marine, and incidentally pointed out the inadvisability of voting money for naval purposes as recently done. Dwelling on the pres-

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pect of a redistribution of seats before election, the speaker declared that the present Government would use this means to further their own interests as was to be expected judging by their past records. He asserted that the people wanted a representative government to fix a redistribution.

**Has Gone Back.**

"It is not safe to trust it in their hands," he observed. Regarding finances, he said, Canada is in a totally different condition than before the war. He showed that the financial condition of the country had never been as sound as when under the Laurier regime. He outlined the several big expenditures of the present that cannot be evaded, but which, he said, will never be eliminated under the present system of spending as done by Meighen.

He emphasized the fact that Meighen was endeavoring to blind the people on the tariff issue and declared that the party was not a tariff based on a principle of free trade. There would be no tariff in that case, he said, and he is attempting to blind the people and cater to certain interests.

**Must Be Studied.**

He intimated that probably the tariff needed revision, but must be studied for the interests of the producers and consumers alone and not for special combines and monopolies whenever revision is undertaken it should be changed to serve the interests of the mass of consumers. Make the necessaries of life as easy as possible and this can be done by a modification of the tariff.

He urged a low tariff on agricultural implements in order to further production. "If we make a change," he said, "we proceed with caution and not in a manner to create revolution. We are for evolution. The change will be made in accordance with methods tried in the past and found beneficial and not detrimental."

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The Border Cities Star, Aug 26/21

# Hon. George P. Graham Attacks Meighen Government On Railway Policy and Scores Statements of Sir Joseph Flavelle

## COMPLIMENT PAID TO MEMBER FOR N. ESSEX

### Hon. H. S. Beland Sees Cabinet Ministers Profiting By Being Members of Firms Which Supplied Goods To Roumania and Greece; Major Tolmie Speaks

Union with the Liberal Party of the various political groups opposed to the Meighen administration, so that a solid front might be presented to the "common enemy" at the next general election, was, in substance, the advice given by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, in an address delivered, last night, in the Windsor armory at the most largely attended political rally ever held in the Border Cities.

Over 4,000 people turned out to hear the Liberal leader and his lieutenants discuss the national questions of the day. At an early hour every available seat was taken and by 8 o'clock, the hour when the meeting was to commence, many people were standing and hundreds had been turned away.

That the audience was almost unreservedly in sympathy with the views expressed from the platform was manifested in a most unmistakable manner by the attention accorded the five speakers who addressed the gathering and by the spontaneous applause with which every allusion to the traditions of the Liberal party and the policy of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was received.

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**Sees Victory in Union**

Considerable interest had been expressed, previous to the meeting, by party stalwarts, in regard to the manner in which the Liberal chief would deal with the disposition shown by various groups to break away from the two historic parties. Mr. King did not disappoint his auditors in this connection. That was the first point he dealt with, and while he declared that the Liberal party had no quarrel with the Agrarian or Progressive faction, he argued that only by an amalgamation of the Labor, Farmer and Veteran groups with the Liberal party, could the forces of reaction be overcome at a general election.

Having considered this phase of the situation confronting the Canadian electorate, Mr. King passed on to a review of the record of the Borden and Meighen administrations, during which he attacked the policies of the governments which have held office since 1911 upon many scores. He stressed, particularly, the absolute disregard which the Meighen government had shown of the desires of the people, as indicated by its decision to retain the reins of office even though its alloted span of life had passed, and the disposition which he charged the cabinet had shown recently to ignore the will of the parliament itself.

**Speakers Are Applauded**

Supporting Mr. King were four speakers who were accorded the plaudits of the large audience as soon as they made their appearance, Hon. George P. Graham, Liberal candidate in South Essex; Hon. H. S. Beland, M.P., for Beauce, Que.; W. C. Kennedy, the member for North Essex, and Major J. C. Tolmie, M.L.A. for Windsor.

Mr. Graham had been scheduled to discuss the railway situation in the Dominion. As minister of railways and canals in the Laurier Administration anything which he might say upon that subject was assured of the utmost attention. Sir Joseph Flavelle, in a letter sent to Premier Meighen, which was published in the press of Canada, Thursday, and which offered the writer's idea of the railway problems facing Canada, gave the ex-minister of railways and canals an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself.

**Speaks in English, French**

Hon. H. S. Beland, who was for a short time postmaster general in the Laurier administration, was introduced as a Canadian public man who had performed eminent services for the allied cause in the World War and had reflected great credit upon his country. He addressed the audience in French and English and was accorded a reception which almost equalled in warmth that extended to Mr. King.

Upon the platform were many party stalwarts. The chair was ably taken by Charles J. Montreuil, president of the Liberal Association of North Essex, who discharged the duties of his office so satisfactorily as to draw forth a tribute from Major Tolmie, in which the M.L.A. for Windsor said that had he been graced with an Irish tongue such as was possessed by the chairman, he would make a speech which would do justice to even the Liberal party in Canada.

Insistent demand for an immediate general election; an appeal for the uniting of all political groups with the Liberal party against the forces of reaction; and advocacy of a fiscal policy based on "tariff for revenue" only were the outstanding features of the vigorous and lengthy speech by Mr. King.

His speech being briefer than usual on such occasions, he got directly to the heart of the discussion without delay. A keen analysis of the record of the present administration was followed by a denunciation of its policies and a clear outline of the solution for many of the country's difficulties from the Liberal viewpoint.

**Show Intense Interest**

Throughout his whole address the audience followed his remarks with intense interest and that he struck home on numerous vital points was demonstrated by the applause which greeted his statements.

In his opening remarks he said that many aspects of the Dominion as a whole were to be found in this section of the country. It had a great agricultural population and a great urban population as well. Employers and employes, men and women, farmers and city dwellers all were to be found under the same roof to hear the problems of the country discussed. This was as it should be, he declared. Any political platform or party which was not broad enough to include all classes of men and women was not broad enough to govern the Dominion of Canada.

Continuing his comparison he pointed out that representatives of the French and English races were to be found here; that the district faced transportation problems on land and water just as did the Dominion as a whole.

**Outlines Group Government**

"From the various conditions we have had to face have arisen a number of different political groups," Mr. King continued. "Each of these has its platform for the government of the country and it is our duty to consider them thoughtfully and carefully. Facing a government such as the present one, would it not be well for all of these to look on the number of things they have in common and not just the things that divide them and to bring about a united front?

"That is the strong point of the Liberal party today. It is not hostile to any group but seeks their co-operation in the face of the common enemy to make sure of the overthrow of the reaction which is seeking to destroy all that is worth while."

The Liberal leader then touched briefly on each of the outstanding groups of today. The farmers, he said, had many excellent points in their platform but, he asked, if they were to continue as a group what was to prevent a town and city government being formed and the interests of the country as a whole being jeopardized by the contest between these two? The same argument applied to the Liberal party, he said. If it worked only in the interest of one class would it not bring about the formation of a capitalist party? Women, too, as a political party might become arrayed against men to the detriment of the country and in event of the G. W. V. A. and other soldier groups making a direct appeal to be returned as a soldie party, the country would go back to the days of Cromwell when thre was a continual fight between the civil population and the army.

**Set Good Example**

The women and the veterans have set a good example, he declared. They have not decided to enter the political fild but have defined the principles for which they stand. These, they will present to the leading men of all parties and will give their support to the one which endorses them most thoroughly.

"It is for a united Canda that we of the Liberal party stand first, last and ll the time. If the country is to have unity of purpose and direction, you cannot have various groups vieing for power," he said.

Mr. King next made brief references to the other speakers.

**Dr. Beland Honored.**

Dr. Beland is honored for the great part he has played in Canadian history both in war and peace, he said, but chiefly for his efforts to keep the country united and to preserve harmony between the French and English races, he stated.

Referring to the Hon. George P. Graham, he recalled the fact that he was one of four members of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet whose sons died in the war. It was a loss to Canada that he was not in parliament at the present time as the problems of the day required men with special knowledge and none had greater personal knowledge of transportation matters than Mr. Graham. He believed that as soon as the electors had an opportunity they would return him as the people knew that they ought to have the benefit of his long experience.

In a reference to Mr. Kennedy he stated that no member of the Liberal party has proved more loyal and had showed better judgment at all times. He expected to look to him still more in the future.

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Coming to political issues, Mr King first dealt with the matter of a general election.

**Says Election Due.**

"There is no doubt that we ought to have a general election," he said. "But knowing this government as we do I have grave doubts as to whether we will or not. If there is one outstanding characteristic of the Meighen government it is its indifference to the people. We ought to have a general election."

He traced the history of the present regime beginning with the government of Sir Robert Borden in 1911. Its term should have expired in 1915 but was extended for a year because of the war. The present government had been in power four years making 10 years of the one administration. In the first six years there had been one session a year and one indemnity but during the last four years there had been five sessions and five indemnities.

The government of 1917 was purely a war government, Mr. King claimed. It has nothing to do with the problems of the present time, he asserted.

"With the war over it was the duty of the government to go to the people at once,' he said. "It is an open secret that when Sir Robert Borden retired, Sir Thomas White was asked to head the new administration, but refused, and then the Hon. Arthur Meighen was called on. If Sir Thomas White had accepted, I believe that he would have gone to the people, but Meighen gave no thought to the people and made no appeal to them.

**Claims Confidence Lost.**

"The only reason he does not appeal to the country today is that he knows he has lost the confidence of the country as a whole.

"Canada is the only country in all the British Empire which has been denied the right of an election subsequent to the close of the war. Russia and Canada are practically the only countries in the civilized world which have been denied the right to choose a government. There is not a single province in the Dominion which has not had an election and every one of them has turned a Tory government out of office.

"There is the reason we have had no appeal to the people today. That is why the government puts off every bye-election. The government has striven to put off to the last minute the matter of proper representation in the house of commons. This year there are five vacancies and it is probable that only one or two of them will be filled. If the government considered the rights of the people and not its own interest it would look to the matter of proper representation of the electors without delay.

**Introduced Resolution.**

"The Liberals introduced a resolution at the last session that the bye-elections be brought on as soon as possible but this was defeated. That is an indication that they are no longer entitled to the confidence of the country. They care nothing for the people. Why should the people care anything for them?"

Continuing Mr. King declared that there was noticeable now an indifference to parliament as well as to the people. The country is being governed behind closed doors and with the orders-in-council and not on the floor of the house, he asserted.

He charged that the electors had not been consulted in the matter of acquiring railways.

**Railroad Mileage Increased**

The railroad mileage under control of the government had been increased from 2,200 miles to 22,000 miles and even parliament had not been consulted. Bills were brought in at the last minute and rushed through by means of closure. The government even refused to allow the representatives of the people to see the agreements which were being signed with the railroads, he claimed. This, he asserted, was directly contrary to the precedents established by Sir John A. Macdonald in the case of the C. P. R. and Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the case of the Grand Trunk Pacific.

In taking over the G. T. R. he claimed the government refused to guarantee certain pension rights for the employees. He pointed out that there had been huge deficits in the administration of the roads which probably would amount to $100,000,000. He then traced the efforts of the Liberals to secure information regarding the roads. Mr. Kennedy had asked who the directors of the road were and if any of them had any connection with other railways. The government had no information on the second point.

**Members Asked Questions.**

Another member asked if the railways were insured and if so with what companies. Again there was no information. A third asked if there were contracts for cars and if tenders were called and if not who received the contracts. Again no reply was forthcoming.

On seeking elsewhere for information Mr. King stated, the Liberals found that several of the National Railway directorate were members of other railway directorates; that $100,000,000 insurance was placed with the Great Western Insurance Company; that two directors of that company were on the railway board; and that car contracts had been let to a firm one of whose directors was also on the railway directorate. It was a political autocracy and an industrial plutocracy working together and he did not believe there was any real solution to the problem until the people as a whole rose and asserted their own rights.

Mr. King said that closure was applied in the matter of voting supply money. The government demanded one-sixth of the estimates immediately and appropriated $70,000,000 without discussion.

The Liberal leader next passed to the Merchant Marine, claiming that closure was applied in regard to it as well.

**Says People Ignored.**

Turning again to the general policy of the government, he said, "the people were being ignored on one side and the parliament on the other. "Some say tht we should hold another session for redistribution. Is it fair that a government which has usurped power should be given power for another year?" he asked. "Would not a government which has been using every name in its power to hang on, redistribute things to its own advantage? That is not in the interests of the people of Canada. We should elect a representative parliament and let it make the redistribution. When you have a government which uses closure to shut off debate on an expenditure of $70,000,000 or so, what can you expect when it comes to redistribution.?"

He touched briefly on the Canadian navy asserting that vessels were bought without consent of parliament. Later it developed that the ships were sold without consent of the British parliament, he said. One English paper commenting on this, said that England could not afford to play the role of a rich uncle to the Dominions. He asked if the Canadian people wished to be placed in that relation to the mother country.

**Flays C. M. M's Policy**

Mr. King then went into detail regarding the Canadian Mercantile Marine fleet which had been built by the government, calling attention to the fact that the fourth ship to get in trouble was reported in Thursday's Border City Star when the "Canadian Importer" was said to be sinking at sea 600 miles off the Californian coast.

"Another ship lost," he said. "That makes four that have gone to the bottom of the ocean in different parts of the globe. The opposition told the government that they were not being built properly—the crew was found to be inefficient in one that was sunk and the people had no voice in the matter. In line with the Borden policy, however, they went ahead and followed their high-handed policy without considering the people."

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# BELAND PLEADS CO-OPERATION

Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland was received with loud handclapping and cheers. His first remarks were to extend greetings from the people of the province of Quebec.

"It is not the first time I have had the honor and pleasure of being amongst the population of the great sister province of Ontario and I can indeed say to you that I have the best message of good will and co-operation from the province of Quebec," he said.

Hon. Dr Beland then took occasion to speak of Mr. Kennedy, who, he said, had distinguished himself in Parliament because of the able manner in which he has handled big financial and industrial questions. He then spoke of the Liberal leader terming him as "very unlike" to the leader of the "National Liberal-Conservative government, Mr. Meighen. (Laughter and applause).

"Mr. King has been selected by a convention called from the remotest sections of Canada, while the gathering which elected Mr. Meighen was very small. They sat in a small room at a meeting held behind closd doors to select him; just as if they wanted to commit some crime."

**Working Together**

Referring to his tour of the Dominion following his arrival back in Canada after three and a half years in a Berlin prison camp, Dr. Beland said that the impression which he gained showed that all the provinces were working together with the people of Quebec for the betterment of the national spirit.

"Major Tolmie in his remarks touched on a very important subject when he said that with all the problems of Canadian government there is the national problem. No condition is more important for the future development of Canada than the mutual forbearance between the divers races and divers creeds who compose the great Dominion of Canada.

"Some have tried to cause dissension. These, ladies and gentlemen, are mischief makers; a small minority, but they are dangerous. Ignore them! Let the people at large work together for the prosperity of this country."

Again speaking of his return to Canada, Dr. Beland referred to the general unrest throughout the country.

"What, in your opinion, is the cause of the unrest?" he asked. "Is it the result of war? True, war has brought misery in this country as in others. Is it because year after year our land has faced many deficits, or maybe it is due to another cause; that these people who have been very deeply penetrated and imbued with a spirit for a government of democracy find that they are being governed with a body that does not represent the will of the people? When they ask that a general election should be held, there certainly must be discontent. Some say that the Liberals are no more anxious for an election than the Conservatives are. Well, we have submitted resolution after resolution asking for an election, but there has been nothing done."

**Elections Held Elsewhere**

General elections, Dr. Beland then reminded, have been held since the war in Grat Britain, France, Belgium, the United States, Italy, and a number of neutral countries.

"This is the only civilized country where the government is clinging to office in spite of the people, and they won't obey the will of the people. The present government is sure of defeat, and they may well be," he said.

Dr. Beland, as an addition to this statement recalled an incident in the German prison camp when he took his stand against the Germans by declaring to an officer the inhumanness of the atrocities committed by the hostile army against women, children and others in Belgium and other countries.

" 'It's war,' the officer replied," Dr. Beland stated, continuing, "Then we said to Mr. Meighen, 'How is it that your government has piled up such a debt, this year, of two billion and five million of dollars?' 'It's war,' Mr. Meighen said," the speaker declared. (Laughter).

"In 1919," Dr. Beland continued, "the remains of dear old Sir Wilfrid Laurier were hardly cold when the proposition was made in the House of Commons to take out 25 million dollars for Rumania and 25 millions for Greece."

**Says Prices Went Up**

The result was, he said, that Canadian made clothing and other goods increased in price because Canada sent goods to these countries with

Touching on the financial situation of the country he said that Canada was a different country entirely from what it was before the war. The national debt today was over three and a quarter billions of dollars, which was an increase of over two billions since before the war. The annual interest now is a matter of 140 million dollars against 13 millions in 1911. Obligations relating to the war, to returned men, to pensions, Soldiers Civil Re-establishment and Land Settlement Boards, were large. This year it is a matter of 130 million dolars, added to which is another item of 165 millions on account of the railways and the total expenditure for the year will be in the neighborhood of 500 to 600 millions. This means $56 per capita or $100 each to taxpayers and $700 for a family of five persons. This, he pointed out, was for Dominion taxes alone, and did not include provincial or municipal taxes.

**Explains H. C. O. L.**

"That is the explanation for the high cost of living in Canada, due to the vast expenditure of the present government. Economy and retrenchment are essential. The government, no matter who is in power, should have regard for the great mass of the people and their interests should be taken into account," he said. "With this condition of affairs how can you speak seriously of doing away with the tariff? Mr. Meighen is not being honest with you; he is simply trying to blind the people," said Mr. King.

"The first consideration is the raising of revenue and we cannot hope to do away with indirect taxation. The whole problem must be studied from the standpoint of the consumers. The tariff should be gone into carefully. Monopolies where they exist should be done away with," he said.

He struck a sympathetic note in the statement that the tariff on essentials should be made as easy as possible. There is a great need for modification in the tariff as regards the necessaries of life, he said, which announcement was met with hearty and prolonged applause from the audience.

The turning out of more products and in greater bulk was a much more preferable situation even with smaller profits than less production and greater profits. However, changes should be made with great caution and great care. The Liberal party stands for evolution and not revolution, he said in conclusion, urging that all join together and work as one for the common good of all.

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her own money. "The situation today is that we have lost our goods and our money. Members and ministers in the House sitting alongside

of Mr. Meighen came in for a share of the money, profiting themselves by being members of firms which supplied goods at fancy prices to Rumania and Greece. Have our soldier seen any of that money? No, but they have had to pay higher prices for clothing because the supply has been reduced on account of all that was sent over to these countries."

Dr. Beland scoffed at the economy platform of the Meighen government and instanced the $35,000,000 appropriation to pay for war expenses three years after armistice had been signed. "I asked the Hon. Mr. Guthrie if he had any troops in England, Europe or in Canada, to be demobilized, and he said there were none, but that the money was to settle some little accounts in the Old Country."

The fiscal platform of the Liberal party was backed up by Dr. Beland. With regard to the tariff, he said that there is no saner platform than

that of the Liberals. This, he classed as the "middle class" tariff for the encouragement of Canadian industry and the great natural resources of Canada. The Liberal party, he declared, has followed a tariff platform of stability since 1896, instituted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"This policy avoids protection and its curses. It preserves legitimate industry, and aids agriculture by removing duty on implements of production."

**Speaks in French**

Dr. Beland also spoke briefly in French and was vociferously applauded by those of his hearers who understood. Before closing his English address he called for a rally to the Liberal party on the strength of its banner for "liberty and democracy."

To the French-speaking persons in the gathering he referred to the formation of the Union government,

its administration and present Dominion legislation, injecting anec-

dotes which proved popular with his hearers. In closing he eulogized the great men who have stood at the helm of the Liberal party.

# GRAHAM DEFENDS RAIL POLICY

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A scathing denouncement of the government's policy in all matters pertaining to the "railway muddle," as he termed it, was the keynote of the address delivered by Hon. George P. Graham, ex-minister of railways and Liberal candidate for South Essex, who charged the government and "certain individual millionaires" with responsibility for the present state of affairs.

The Conservative government was responsible, he said, because it wanted to throw discredit on the work of the Laurier government, who aimed to have from coast to coast a railway system that would meet the demands of the people and serve them as they deserved to be served. To attain their desired end the Conservatives refused to carry on with the plans of the government that preceded them and the "hopeless mess" of today was the result of their efforts. Individual capitalists, he charged, made themselves wealthy and added to their wealth by stock market transactions in which they were aided by the government.

At the commencement of his speech, Mr. Graham referred to the Hon. Mr. King as the next premier of Canada, stating that he not only had the members of the Liberal party behind him but that he was the choice of the people. Speaking of the Hon. Dr. Beland, Mr. Graham made reference to his record in parliament, his work as postmaster-general and to the fact that he had been a prisoner of war in Germany for three years during the late war.

**Sees Portfolio for Mr. Kennedy**

"When the next cabinet is formed," said Mr. Graham, "this riding will have a cabinet minister. Make no mistake about that. The House including myself and many of my colleagues have watched with interest the member for North Essex. Mr. Kennedy is one of the ablest men in Parliament today. In matters dealing with finance and problems of trade and commerce he has already left his imprint on the pages of history. Much will be heard of him in the future. He is the type of man that Canada needs today, will need in the future, and will need badly.

"No country can live without railway facilities," he continued. "We are a country of production and we must get our goods to the markets. Under the Laurier administration we were doing big things in this respect and also with regard to immigration and problems that allied themselves with it. Our government's record in this respect stands out like a giant in comparison with the pigmy efforts of the present administration. It is a matter of history.

**Attacks Sir Jos. Flavelle.**

"Sir Joseph Flavelle admits he

six weeks would have helped were there no railways to serve the people. Flavelle shows one of two things: either he has not added to his knowledge one iota in the last six weeks or he is leading the people astray for political reasons."

Mr. Graham went on to say that Sir Joseph Flavelle had written the prime minister a letter as to the best way of administering the National railways. His plan, the speaker stated, would be to capitalize all national roads as one company with 500 millions of dollars of common stock and 200 million dollars of preferred stock, the Government to take the common stock at the par value of $100 per share in payment for its existing advances to the various lines that go to make up the National Railway System. Up to last year, he said, this meant a total of 353 millions of dollars. He ridiculed the idea, stating that the plan not only was not feasible but that it was foolish.

**Charges Purposely "Muddled."**

He explained the plans of the Laurier government in establishing a through route from England to the east via the Grand Trunk Pacific which project he said was intentionally "muddled" by the Conservatives because they did not care to give the preceding government credit for the foresight they had shown.

"They practically ruined the scheme," he said, "and attempted to lay the blame at the door of the Laurier government. However, if Canada had some one at the helm today it might not yet be too late. The whole transportation system in Canada has fallen down because the Conservative government has permitted the railways to do what the Laurier administration would not allow them to do.

"If they had treated the railways in the United States and Great Britain as Canada has treated them, there would not be a road that would not be in the hands of receivers today," he continued, speaking of transportation problems in other countries.

He charged that the government seized the Grand Trunk illegally; it did not wait until the bond interest was due, but under the War Measures Act, months and months after the war was finished, they took it over from the owners. The very same men who made millions of dollars from the government's dealing with the C. N. R. made still further millions from the "Grand Trunk mess," he said.

"In 1914," said Mr. Graham, "the government stated that the C. N. R. had received their last aid, but what happened? When they defaulted their interest the road was to have become the property of the government; instead of this being the case, the government

Girls' Winter Coats
8 to 14-year sizes. All wool velours and
Colors: Navy, black. Embroid-

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they would have you believe, but because of millionaire manipulation of railway stocks for private profiteering," he said. "Do you know you have enough railway boards in Canada today to run all the railways in the world?" he asked.

"If the government were placed in the hands of men who know what they were doing and were working in the best interests of the country, we would have no more of this muddling. The policy of the Laurier government was the right one for the good of the country and when the names of the men who destroyed the late Sir Wilfrid's work are forgotten, the name of Laurier, if for no other reason than his policy regarding the problems of transportation which then faced, and are facing this country today, will be emblazoned on the pages of history.

"And what of the future?" he asked. "Will the railways go back into private ownership? There are schemes on foot today to accomplish this very thing. Remember this at the next election that those men having been paid for the roads in question want them back in their own hands again."

Concluding, he urged that the voters individually do their share in sending to Ottawa men to make a government like that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's which he characterized as "the greatest that Canada has ever had."

# MR. KENNEDY WILL RUN AGAIN

William C. Kennedy, introduced to the audence as "the idol of North Essex," announced that he would again run for office, if it is the wish of the electors.

"I do not appear on this platform," he said, "as a member of Parliament but as one of yourselves, to honor the leaders of the great Liberal party. Perhaps at some future date, when there is a general election, I shall come before you and give an account of my stewardship.

"If the electors of North Essex will honor me with the candidacy, I will accept it, and make the fight of my life. Those who remember 1917 know how I can fight.

"This government at Ottawa, sometimes they call themselves Conservatives and sometimes Liberals, are not all Liberals nor are they all Conservatives; neither are they all fish, flesh, or good red herring. Whether or not they divide the constituency, I am satisfied to leave myself in the hands of the people and work for their best interests."

**Praises Mr. King**

Mr. Kennedy briefly praised the various speakers appearing on the platform, paying particular attention to the Liberal chief, William Lyon Mackenzie King.

"Mackenzie King is following in the steps of the great Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his work is cut out for him. Everybody has respect for him, regardless of their party affiliations. He has made good in the Dominion House of Commons and will make good as premier of this country after the next general election."

Dr. Beland was referred to by the speaker as one of the leaders of Quebec in the Dominion House. "In point of ability and statesmanship, there is nobody in the Dominion House of Commons from Quebec that can equal him," Mr. Kennedy stated.

"Whenever the railway problem confronts the people, Hon. George P. Graham should be in parliament and South Essex will do the country a favor by electing him," Mr. Kennedy said in referring to the former minister, who is a candidate in the riding of South Essex.

# WELCOME TOLMIE

"It is inspiring to stand on the platform here and look into the faces of those who have come to listen to speakers talk upon the great problems that confront the country today," Major J. C. Tolmie, M. L. A. for the Border Cities, said.

Mr. Tolmie spoke briefly, praising Mr. King.

"We have got to meet the problems of the day and the hour and I do not envy the man who has to solve the tariff, railroad, and national problems.

"The greatest problem is the national problem, how to unite all the people of Canada together, and Mr. King is the man best qualified to solve it. There is a place for the Liberal party and it is needed in Canada today."

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Border Cities Star, Aug 24/21

# *Hon. W. L. M. King Arrives in Border For Liberal Rally*

## LEADER OF OPPOSITION AT OTTAWA IS ACCOMPANIED BY HON. GEORGE P. GRAHAM AND HON. H. S. BELAND

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party in Canada and Minister of Labor in the administration of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, arrived in Windsor at 2:45, this afternoon.

With Mr. King were Hon. George P. Graham, Liberal candidate in South Essex; Dr. H. S. Beland, M. P., for Buauce, Que., and Andrew Haydon, general secretary of the Liberal organization.

From 4 o'clock to 6 the visitors were in attendance at a reception held by Liberal women of the County of Essex at the Oddfellow's temple, Wyandotte street.

Thursday night, Mr. King and his lieutenants will address a mass meeting in the Windsor armory where every preparation has been made to accommodate the large attendance which is expected.

**To Deal With Tariff**

Hon. Mr. King will review the political history of Canada as recorded during the last three years. It is expected that he will pay special attention to tariff questions and other Federal issues which are constantly to the fore and which have been the subject of much controversy during the administration of the Borden and Meighen Governments.

It is probable, too ,that Mr. King will touch upon the post war situation as it has affected various classes of the country as this is a question he is considered well qualified to deal with because of his extensive experince with Labor and employment problems during the time he held the portfolio of Labor.

**Was Prisoner in Belgium**

Dr. Beland, one of the most eloquent French and English speakers of the Canadian House of Commons, will give an address in French as well as in English. Dr. Beland is well known to the Canadian public not only because of his distinguished political career which commenced in the Legislative Assembly of his native province and ended at Ottawa where for a short time in 1911 he was Postmaster General, but because of his services to his country during the recent World War. Dr. Beland was in Belgium when hostilities commenced and served in the Belgian army as a surgeon until taken prisoner by the Germans. He was released after spending several years a prisoner of war.

**To Touch Railway Matters**

Hon. Mr. Graham is well known in Essex County having secured the Liberal Party nomination in South Essex. He was Minister of Railways and Canals in the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and is expected to deal with railway questions in his address, Thursday night.

Addressing the Liberal convention at Brockville, last Tuesday, at which A. W. Mallory of Mallorytown was chosen candidate, Mr. Graham told

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Morning Citizen, Aug 26/21

# HOLDS OUT OLIVE BRANCH TO LABOR AND THE FARMER

## Hon. Mackenzie King Says the Liberals Prefer 'Middle Course' in Dealing With the Tariff Question.

## ATTACKS ACCEPTING OF NAVAL GIFTS

## Predicts Defeat of Government If Election Before Redistribution.

WINDSOR, Ont., Aug. 225.—Predicting the certain defeat of the government if an election is held before a redistribution of the constitutencies is made, Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Leader of the Libearl party, speaking tonight in Windsor Armouries, held out the olive branch to the farmer and labor groups in the Dominion.

Mr. King spoke after Hon. Dr. Beland, who made an impassioned appeal for better understanding between the French and English provinces, He made but slight reference to the tariff question. The Liberal party, Mr. King explained, prefers to take the "middle course" in dealin- with the tariff question. "While the government favors a continuation of the present high tariff against the free trade policy of the Farmer party, we are giving protection to goods manufactured in the Dominion out of the natural resourses of the country.

"We did not intend, however," Mr. King declared, "to protect trusts, combines, and mergers, which seems to be the ends of the present government."

**Tariff for Revenue.**

Mr. King continued: "We say the first consideration is in the raising of the revenue necessary. It is not possible to raise the revenue necessary now by direct taxation. However, we say the tariff should be revised so that it will serve the interests of the consuming class and not the monopolists and the big selfish interests.

"It should be so that the food and the necessaries of life are made as cheap as possible. We should aim to make the implements of production in the national industries as cheap as possible. In some we would take off the duty altogether and in others reduce. Increased production by such methods will prosper for the benefit of labor, farmers and everybody."

Mr. King said that one of the worst things that can befall Canada is the passing of a redistribution bill by the Meighen government. He said they would "purchase" support fixing up the ridings to serve our interests.

"It is unsafe to trust this government to carry on redistribution," he declared.

**Attacks Ship Acceptance.**

Attacking the government for accepting naval ships from Great Britain when these ships had been donated without the knowledge of the British parliament, Mr. King asserted that the present was no time to indulge in experiments with "toy navies." The merchant marine policy of the Meighen government also came under the fire of the Liberal leader.

Four ships of the merchant marine, Mr. King said, which were built against the advice of naval experts, had "gone on the rocks" in the last two weeks, meaning a loss of more than $1,000,000 to the taxpayers of the Dominion.

Warning that any party that may be returned to power must retrench to save the Dominion from financial chaos, Mr. King pointed out that the national debt has increased since 1914 by more than two billion dollars. The annual interest on the public debt, he said, was $140,000,000 or $150 for each person paying taxes.

Dr. Beland, who was a prisoner of war in Berlin for more than three years, declared that he brought a message of co-operation from the French-speaking provinces to Ontario.

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London Free Press
Aug" 26 1921

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# HON. MR. KING SAYS LITTLE ABOUT TARIFF

## Touches Lightly on the Subject in Address to Electors at Windsor

## AGAIN COURTS THE FARMERS AND LABORITES

### Attacks Government for Accepting Naval Ships From the British Government

WINDSOR, August 26.—(Special to The Free Press.)—Predicting the certain defeat of the Government if an election is held before a redistribution of the constituencies is made, Hon William L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, speaking to-night in the Windsor armories, held out the olive branch to the Farmer and Labor groups in the Dominion.

The meeting, though attended by a large crowd, was a disappointment to the party managers. Arrangements made put Mr. King last on the list and it was late when he started. By this time the crowd was restless from the heat and many left while Mr. King was speaking.

**HON. DR. BELAND.**

Mr. King, speaking after Hon. Dr. Beland, member for Beauce, Que., who made an impassioned appeal for a better understanding between the French and English provinces, appeared handicapped by the heat and being scheduled to speak last. He made but slight reference to the tariff question.

The Liberal party, Mr. King explained, prefers to take the "middle course" in dealing with the tariff question. While the Government favors a continuation of the present high tariff against the free trade policy of the Farmer party, we propose giving protection to goods manufactured in the Dominion out of the natural resources of the country.

"We do not intend, however," Mr. King declared, "to protect trusts, combines and mergers, which seems to be the end of the present Government."

Attacking the Government for accepting naval ships from Great Britain, when these ships had been donated without knowledge of the British Parliament, Mr. King asserted that the present was no time to indulge in experiments with "toy navies." The merchant marine policy of the Meighen Government also came under fire of the Liberal leader.

**DOES HE BLAME GOVERNMENT?**

Four ships of the merchant marine, Mr. King said, which were built against the advice of naval experts, had "gone over the rocks" in the last two weeks, meaning a loss of more than $1,000,000 to the taxpayers of the Dominion.

Warning that any party that may be returned to power must retrench to save the Dominion from financial chaos, Mr. King pointed out that the national debt had increased since 1914 by more than two billion dollars. The annual interest on the public debt alone, he said, was $140,000,000, or $150 for each person paying taxes.

Dr. Beland, who was a prisoner of war in Berlin for more than three years, declared that he brought a message of co-operation from the French-speaking provinces to Ontario.

"The Liberal party (and that includes the people of Quebec) stands for retention of the British ties and friendly relations with the United States, and no meddling with foreign policies of other countries, especially European." The Quebec member asserted in declaring for more cordial relations between Quebec and Ontario.

Other speakers were George P. Graham, former minister of railways; William C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, and Major J. C. Tolmie, M. P. for the Windsor district. C. H. Montreuil, of Ford, was chairman.

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Detroit Journal
Aug 26, 1921

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# M'KENZIE KING HITS AUTOCRATS

## Liberal Chief Is Cheered for Strong Attack on Combinations.

"No solution to the ills of Canadian affairs will ever be reached until the government is wrested from the baneful combination of industrial autocrats now at the helm."

Four thousand citizens of the Border Cities cheered this statement by the Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, leader of the Dominion Liberal party, at a mass meeting in the Windsor armories Thursday night.

Mr. King bitterly assailed the methods of government as practiced by the majority forces in the Canadian parliament. Gross mismanagement of affairs was charged by the speaker, particularly in the conduct of the Canadian national railways. These, he said, are in the hands of a group of "industrial autocrats," who are operating them with total disregard for the public interest.

The Liberal leader declared his party as favoring complete retrenchment in government finances, asserting the government would "hit the rocks" if the "spendthrifts at Ottawa are not soon ousted from power." Touching upon the tariff Mr. King voiced the belief that the best interests of the consuming public must be the primary premise for revision.

"Proper tariff revision," he said, "will stimulate business and pave the way to normal living conditions." He declared this result is not to be expected from the existing government.

Mr. King advocated a fairer consideration of the rights of labor. "The laboring man deserves a just reward and a voice in the affairs of government," he declared. In closing, the speaker pleaded for a better national harmony. He asked the support of the voters for the "forward-looking program of the Liberal party."

Other political leaders who addressed the meeting were: Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P., former postmaster general; Hon. G. P. Graham, former minister of railways and canals; Hon. W. C. Kennedy, member of parliament for the border, and Major J. C. Tolmie, M. L. A. The presiding officer was Charles Montreuil, president of the North Essex Liberal association.

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Detroit Free Press
Aug 26 1921

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# CANADA CHIEFS' DEFEAT IS SEEN

## Liberal Leader King Predicts Government Will Lose by Election Now.

Predicting the certain defeat of the Canadian government if an election is held before a redistribution of the constituencies is made, William M. Mackenzie King, leader of the Lberal party, speaking Thursday night in the Windsor armories, held out the olive branch to the farmer and labor groups in the Dominion.

Mr. King, speaking after Dr. H. S. Beland, member for one of the Quebec constituencies, who made an impassioned appeal for a better understanding between the French and English provinces, appeared handicapped by the heat and being scheduled to speak last. He made



WILLIAM M. MACKENZIE KING.

but slight reference to the tariff question, which may be the big issue during the coming election campaign.

**Liberals Take Middle Course.**

The Liberal party, Mr. King explained, prefers to take the "middle course" in dealing with the tariff question. While the government favors a continuation of the present high tariff, against the free trade policy of the Farmer party, the Liberals will advocate a revision of the customs duties on many articles, giving protection to goods manufactured in the Dominion from the natural resources of the country.

"We do not intend, however," Mr. King declared, "to protect trusts, combines and mergers, which seems to be the mania of the present government."

Attacking the government for accepting naval ships from Great Britain, when these ships had been donated without knowledge of the British parliament, Mr. King asserted that the present was no time to indulge in experiments with "toy navies." The merchant marine policy of Meighen also came under the fire of the Liberal leader.

**Four Ships "On Rocks."**

Four ships of the merchant marine, he said, which were built against the advice of naval experts, had "gone on the rocks" in the last two weeks, meaning a loss of more than $,000,000 to the taxpayers of the Dominion.

Warning that any party that may be returned to power must retrench to save the Dominion from financial chaos, Mr. King pointed out that the national debt had increased since 1914 by more than two billion dollars. The annual interest on the public debt alone, he said, is $140,000,000, or $150 for each person paying taxes.

Dr. Beland, who was a prisoner of war in Berlin for more than three years, declared that he brought a message of co-operation from the French- speaking province to Ontario.

**Is Friend of U. S.**

"The Liberal party, and that includes the people of Quebec, stands for retention of British ties and friendly relations with the United States, and no meddling with foreign policies of other countries, especially European," the Quebec member asserted in declaring for more cordial relations between Quebec and Ontario.

Other speakers were Gearge P. Graham, former minister of railways; William C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, and Major J. C. Tolmie, M P for the Windsor district C. H. Montreuil, of Ford, was chairman.

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Strathroy

"OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE
EXISTING POLITICAL SITUATION"

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CANADA

Strathroy, Ont.
Saturday, August 27, 1921

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE EXISTING
POLITICAL SITUATION

1. The different Canada to-day from the Canada before the War
   (a) The Public Debt. The Annual Budget. The extent of taxation War commitments, interest, and pensions.
   (b) The more restricted markets - abroad; in U.S.
   (c) the extent of unemployment.
   (d) The high cost of living - Finances.

2. The Railway Problem - extent of ownership

3. The Tariff - need for revision. Liberal Policy.
   A tariff for producers and consumers.
   Prosperity under 15 years of Liberal rule -
   Reduction in duties.
   British preference.
   Reciprocity.

4. The Control of Government by Special Interests
   (a) Preventing revision of tariff.
   (b) Preventing Board of Commerce functioning.
   (c) Preventing legislation to restrict combines, mergers, etc.
   (d) Preventing information being given the public on account of expenditures.
   (e) Use of Government credit for foreign loans.

5. Secret Diplomacy in the arena of inter-imperial and international affairs
   (a) Warships; (b) Washington; (c) Refusal to accept resolution.

6. Unjustifiable Expenditure
   (a) Railways and Merchant Marine.
   (b) Military, Naval, and Police.
   (c) Frauds of Militia Department.

7. Need for Union of Progressive Forces
   to defeat common enemy - to maintain unity - to ensure continuity of policy.
   Example of Allies in Great War.

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Parry Sound, Ont.
Monday, August 29, 1921

Different Platforms -

Need for union of progressive and Liberal forces,
by whatever name they are called.

The things we have in common.

The things by which we all alike are opposed.

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I should like, in the few moments at my disposal this evening, to suggest to this gathering points of resemblance between existing features of the industrial unrest of our times and the political unrest of bygone centuries. I do so in the hope that members of this Association, in their efforts to advance the cause of justice in all human relations, may see in clearer perspective the possible contribution of the legal profession to law and order in industry, in a manner which will serve to advance , not more the cause of orderly progress within the State, than the welfare of countless numbers of human beings in the daily round of their lives and toil.

In government within the state, the development has been from autocratic to responsible self-government. In the course of this development, there have been three outstanding and contantly recurring phases of political agitation.

The first has been directed against the exercise of arbitrary power by the existing executive. This agitation takes us back to the days of King John.

The second has been concerned with the right of representation of all the estates in the making and administration of laws. This takes us back to the days of Edward I.

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The third, which has aimed at a constitution clearly defined and safeguarding the rights and liberties of all concerned, is associated particularly with the period of revolution which characterised the reigns of James I and Charles II.

All three phases of agitation have persisted in order to maintain and to secure the broadening down from precedent to precedent of the rights and liberties obtained at these respective periods. All three find their parallel in the industrial agitations of our day. In an appreciation of this truth lies perhaps the surest guarantee of an ultimate solution along lines that will prove both constructive and enduring. Once it is recognized that the industrial struggles of our day, like the political struggles of the past, are in their nature essentially problems of government- the one government or the supreme control within the State, the other government or the supreme control within industry- a flood of light will, I believe, be thrown upon the ultimate solution of the so-called Labor problem.

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I

The struggle between the people and the Crown, which brought forth the Magna Carta, finds its parallel in present-day agitation in the effort on the part of Labor and the friends of Labor to have what they conceive to be Labor's rights- rights that are generally conceded- defined in a form to which appeal may be made at any and all times. An illimunating point with respect to the great Charter is that it contained nothing that was new, nothing that was being conceded for the first time. It was little than an assertion of recognized fundamental rights between the Sovereign and his people, drafted in a form to which appeal could be made at any and all times. As such it was a shield against unjust exactions on the part of arbitrary authority. Stubbs, in his " Select Charters" says that the whole of the Constitutional History of England is a commentary on this Charter.

With respect to the demands of Labor to have its rights clearly defined, it may, I think, be asserted without fear of contradiction, that no device is better calculated to preserve law and order in industry than a ~~written~~ simple statement written form of the rights of employer and employee in respectively on all matters which are likely to become subjects of controversy. In its simplest form such a statement may

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include little more than principles and policies to govern relations between workers and employers. Elaborated, it may be extended to include all that is essential respecting terms of employment, working, and living conditions, and a clear statement of procedure in the method of presentation and adjustment of complaints and grievances. The absence of any clearly defined statement with respect to these several particulars is a source of constant fear of injustice and leads to much unrest in industry.

Industrial peace is based on industrial justice. Justice that is uncertain is not justice at all. In the absence of exact knowledge, there is always opportunity for unfair and arbitrary practices. Wherever uncertainty exists, suspicion and distrust are sure to arise.

Labor is entitled to its Magna Carta of industrial liberties. The more comprehensive the charter is, the more explicitly its stipulations are worded, and the wider their application, the better for the peace of industry and all that industrial peace makes possible. When the rights of nations are similarly stated, and a court of the nations is established to which appeals may be made with confidence, wars and the rumors of wars will cease. In the practice of their profession, members of the Bar have exceptional opportunities to establish, by means of exact and statement and definition

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of the rights of all parties, the foundations of industrial and international peace.

II

The struggle in the political arena for representation of third estate in Parliament finds its parallel to-day in the agitation of Labor for a voice in the determining of matters pertaining to and affecting its terms of employment, its working and living conditions. That carries us back to the reign of Edward I, and to the innovation of Simon de Montfort in 1265 in directing the sheriffs to return to the central assembly, not only two knights from each shire, but also two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough.

In the development of ~~indust~~-government in industry, it would appear that we are to-day in a transitional stage closely resembling that of government within the State in the reign of Edward I. We are beginning to recognize that, as in the political realm there was more than one estate entitled to recognition and representation in the affairs of government, so in the industrial realm there are constituent elements entitled to a degree of recognition and representation not hitherto conceded in the government of industry. Too often problems arising in the field of industrial relations are regarded as problems of only two dimensions- Capital on the one side, and Labor on the other. To my mind, they are problems

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of four dimensions, embracing rights and duties on the part of Management distinct from those of Capital, and rights and duties on the part of the Community equally as entitled to recognition as any on the part of Labor, Capital or Management.

Here and there to-day large-visioned employers- lesser or greater De Montforts in their way- are calling to their industrial councils representatives of Labor and of the Community, as well as of Capital and Management. They are seeking to work a wise system of joint control, In the field of industry, they have conceded the principle of representation, not to privileged classes only, but to all who participate in production.

III

How vast has been the transformation in the relative powers of kings, lords, and commons since the days of Edward the First! Control in political government has widened from absolutism to executive authority broad-based upon a people's will. We have here suggested the third point of resemblance in the parallel of the industrial unrest of our day with the political agitation of bygone years.

The effort to work out a political constitution which would recognise all constituent elements and prevent, in the affairs of government, a monopoly of control by any one,

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finds its parallel to-day in the field of industrial agitation in the effort to prevent any one of the four parties to industry exercising a monopoly of control . The revolutionary or extreme movements of our day are mostly in the nature of inevitable reactions against monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry.

As a guide to government in industry, we shall not err if we go back to the political struggles of the reigns of James I and Charles II, and accept as a maxim of government, applicable not less to industry than to the state, the words of the illustrious statesman, John Pym, who, speaking of the principles which underlie all free government, said: "That force of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the State to the common good". Making these words of Pym specially applicable to industry, the maxim would read: "That form of goverment in industry is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member to the common good." Labor, Capital, Management, and the Community- these are the parts and members of industry. They are the partners in industry, partners in individual enterprises, partners in industry as a whole. Self-government in industry worked out on some basis of adequate representation of all the partners should prove as nearly perfect as any form of industrial government it is possible to conceive.

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IV

The day of ultimate achievement may be far off, but the ideal, if it does nothing more than enlarge our range of vision, serves a useful purpose. It is sufficient for the present to comprehend that a constitution is in the process of making. The expression in words of the constitution industry has already won will do much to promote the development of harmonious and just relations between the parties to industry.

The Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights, constitute, in the words of Lord Chatham, "the Bible of the English Constitution". Taswell-Langmead has pointed out that in each of these documents, whether it be of the 13th or the 17th century, is observable the common characteristic of professing to introduce nothing new. Each professed to assert rights and liberties which were already old, and sought to redress grievances which were for the most part of innovations upon the ancient liberties of the people. Is the time not now at hand when, out of rights universally recognized and liberties generally conceded, an industrial constitutionl can be framed which will serve all the parties to industry as a bulwark of freedom in the period of transition through which even now we are passing. Have we perhaps not reached the stage in the evolution of government in indsutry when, as respects the attempted monopoly of control, we can apply to any one of the four parties to Industry, whether it be

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Capital, Management, Labor, or the Community, the dignified utterance of Sir Edward Coke:

> "Was it ever known that general words were a sufficient satisfaction for general grievances? The King's answer is very gracious; but what is the law of the realm? That is the question. I put no diffidence in His Majesty, but the King must speak by record and in particulars, and not in general. Let us put up a petition of right, not that I distrust the King, but that I cannot take his trust save in a parliamentary way."

To take the trust of one and all in a parliamentary way, that is to say, the way of clearly defined rights and powers, the way of the appeal to reason, not of the appeal to force; that is what is needed to frame an industrial constitution in accordance with the requirements of our day. To achieve a wise evolution of government in industry will require time. The surest method is that which proceeds step by step, combining in a practical way the conservative instinct with liberal aspirations, avoiding cataclysmic changes and neglecting no opportunity to unite all parties in effective co-operation to a common end.

There is hope for the evolution of government in industry, and for the part which the legal profession may be expected to play in bringing it about in a form which will serve the highest interests of mankind, when we recall the

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part the profession has taken, in and out of Parliament, in helping to mould and fashion political and constitutional development, and when we remember that the English constitution to-day is universally recognized as the first of all free constitutions, in age and in adaptability, and that it has served more or less as the model of all existing constitutions. What the British constitution stands for in the government of the state, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. Towards the accomplishment of this great aim, members of the Bar, by tradition, by training, by natural inclination and the opportunities of their calling, are peculiarly fitted to render their day and generation a signal service. Is it too much to expect that, inspired not less by the need than by the magnitude of the task, they will yet parallel in their contributions to government in industry the many and noble achievements of the profession in the government of the state?

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London Advertiser, aug 29/21

# MEIGHEN'S INCOMP[E]
# AND RECKL[E]
# BARED BY [L]EADER

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4 June 21

## West Middlesex Electors Hear of Mismanagem[ent] at Ottawa and Utter Disregard of People's Rights — Huge Deficits Piling Up and People Must Pay.

[By Staff Reporter.]

STRATHROY, Aug. 27.—The west riding of Middlesex this afternoon absolutely refuted the charge that Liberalism is obsolete in Western Ontario. Nearly 2,500 men and women listening attentively and uncomplainingly in a continuous downpour of rain to a stirring message from the Liberal chief, Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, is conclusive evidence that the rank and file of the people of the nation, irrespective of creed or politics, are clamoring for details as to the colossal expenditures of the Meighen administration at Ottawa.

**Rousing Reception.**

Equalled only in Windsor was the rousing reception which attended the arrival of the leader of the federal Opposition and his battery of brilliant speakers. With frequent and unbounded enthusiasm, the electors of this constituency registered unmistakable approval, as with telling emphasis Hon. Mr. King and his able colleagues hammered home their numerous charges of extravagance and incompetency against the Union Government

**Stayed In Rain.**

Despite the fact that rain descended throughout the entire meeting not one person, man or woman, left Alexandra Park, and when the last speaker, that brilliant orator from the province of Quebec, the Hon. H. S. Beland, M.P., ventured to suggest that the meeting be brought to a close the interested gathering was insistent that he continue his remarks.

Duncan C. Ross, the local member, was received with keen enthusiasm, as were the others of the leader's able group, W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, and F. F. Pardee, M.P. for West Lambton, and Government whip during the Laurier regime. E. S. Little, mayor of London, who accompanied the Opposition party to Strathroy, was also on the platform.

**Big Crowd at Park.**

Headed by the two bands, the 135th Strathroy and the Boy Scout Bugle Band, the visiting and local Liberals paraded from the Grand Trunk station to the park, where the big crowd was already in attendance eagerly awaiting, despite the rapid approach of rain, the commencement of the addresses. The meeting was rapidly under way ably directed by its chairman, Edgar Bogue, one of the leading farmers of Adelaide Township. Amid prolonged cheering, he introduced the member for West Middlesex, Duncan Ross.

**Predicts Victory.**

"We have been accustomed in the past," the latter declared "to be visited by premiers just after they have gone into power. They usually come back then, but I venture to say that before the next summer is over we'll say here in Strathroy, 'Why, we heard Premier King last summer.' We have him here today, the grandson of the late William Lyon Mackenzie, and you know well that it was through the efforts of the latter that we today enjoy the constitutional rights that make us a free people. Mackenzie King has demonstrated in public life that he possesses the same fine qualities that marked his ancestor, and he is dedicated to lead the common people.

**Liberal Policy.**

"The Liberal policy today is pretty much the same as others. We believe in increased trade with the United States. It was Hon. W. S. Fielding that so ably defended the frontiers of

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ree trade before anyone else, and I want to say to the Progressives of Canada, and they are not confined to our party alone, but are in the U. F. O., and in the good old Conservative party as well, that we lack unity of action. As the saying in the old book, 'Beware in your contentions with one another, lest ye destroy each other.' Get together. Rally around the men of 1911 who preached the everlasting doctrine of economy, progress and efficiency.

"In those days that old leader, the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier (cheers), was on the bridge, and we had the good old pilot Fielding with him. It is well to remember that Sir Wilfrid's pupil, Mackenzie King, is now on the bridge, but the old pilot is still on board. Is it not right to trust in 1921 they who before 1911 steered the vessel out of the sea of stagnation into the harbor of financial safety?

**A Big Reduction.**

"In 1911 after Fielding took charge the burden of taxation was reduced a hundred millions. The charges hurled against the Liberal party are untrue. We tried to give the great policy of free trade. We did our best, and it isn't fair for anyone in the Liberal party or out of it to say that we did not attempt to redeem our promises or reduce taxation. History since 1911 has proven that the agriculturists would have derived great advantages, and part of our policy was subsequently adopted."

**Rousing Reception.**

The Liberal leader, Mackenzie King, was greeted by a spontaneous outburst of cheering which continued for several minutes following his introduction. In his opening remarks he lauded the action of the ladies who comprised practically a half of his audience, complimenting them upon their undivided interest in the affairs of great moment.

"There are many outstanding problems today," he declared, "among them the great railroad question and the tariff issue. The question of finances in Canada has become important and significant for two reasons. First the money required to carry on the business of the country must come from the pockets of the people, and secondly, the more that is taken means that there will remain less for individual efforts.

"It matters little in the long run whether the people are taxed directly or indirectly. Suppose direct tax was imposed on the wealthy. To get it back the latter would pass the tax on to the people by increased price in their commodities.

**Vitally Important.**

"You will see why the question of finances is vitally important. From the point of view of a government Canada is far from being in its position of six or eight years ago. You have a public debt that has reached the colossal figure of $2,350,000,000. Like a mortgage, interest must be paid on this. This interest is now one hundred and forty millions for a year alone. This must certainly be attended to before Canada enters into bankruptcy.

"Compre this with the Laurier administration up to 1911. While we were endeavoring to increase the markets for the agriculturists the great cry of extravagance was raised, but yet the cost for the last year of the Laurier Government) and it was the highest of any year of his regime) was but $130,000,000. Today before we can even start on the business of government we find that the interest alone on Canada's national debt exceeds this by ten millions.

**Heavy Obligations.**

"Has it occurred to you that we have another important obligation for our men who went overseas and for the dependents of those who failed to return? The war has left such an obligation which every administration, of whatever politics should seek to meet. (Applaus). This year we face an item of some $135,000,000 for pensions, soldiers' civil re-establishment, etc. This is in addition to the one hundred and forty millions interest on the national debt.

"Now Canada has certain possessions. Sometimes these are 'white elephants' and in the case of the National Railways I think we own a 'white elephant.' When the Laurier Government went out in 1911 the government was in possession of 2,200 miles of road. Today Canada owns and controls 22,000 miles. Yet there is this remarkable circumstance to note, that although the people have to meet the big deficits they were never consulted as to whether they wanted these roads or not. (Applause). I am not saying that government operation is always unwise, but I do contend that if you intend to use public money you must ask the people.

**Huge Deficits.**

"Last year the deficit was 50 millions. This year it is 70 millions and next year our expert adviser, Sir Joseph Flavelle, says it will be probably a hundred millions. These are a few items to show where your money is going. The national debt is between five and six hundred millions and Canada is a country of not over nine millions in population. Is it any wonder that the cost of living remains high? Can you not see why you have not the same comfort of mind in raising your families when you are confronted by this enormous debt for the Dominion alone?

"As Liberals we realize that the first duty of the Government is to keep taxation down to a minimum and reduce the cost of living. As we have striven to make for greater economy in the administration we have encountered in the Meighen Government, they who have been accustomed to spend millions and who don't care about thousands. After spending two billion they find it hard to talk in hundreds."

"Whenever we suggested saving a little here or eliminating a little there we were only laughed at. That is why we need a change at Ottawa. Meighen and his associates have lost their perspective and give not a thought to economy. (Applause.)

**Request Refused.**

"There is one way to save money, and that is to know how it is being expended. We demanded full account on railway matters. How was our request met? We were told that a company had been formed to handle the railways, and it was no longer any business of the administration. The members here today were among the ones who tried to get information. They tried to learn the personnel of the railway board, and if they were directors of other companies. The answer was: 'There is no information.' Another question was: 'Has the Government placed any insurance on railway rolling stock, etc., and if so, how much and with what company?'

**Strong Statements.**

"The minister of railways said: 'No information.' We asked had their been any contracts let, and received the same reply. Not to be evaded, we pressed for information in the committee-rooms, and discovered that 108 millons insurance had been placed with the Great West Assurance Company, two of whose directors were on the railway board. We found that contracts had been let for eleven million dollars with the Canada Car Company, one of whose directors was on the railway board. Now, I have made a number of strong statements, but I am aware of the facts. The country is in the hands of a few industral plutocrats of great wealth, with an inside pull with the Government, and a handful of political autocrats—Right Hon. Arthur Meighen and his associates—who have usurped their power. These two are working together to retain their grip on the country. (Applause.)

**Merchant Marine.**

"Then we encounter another venture of the present Government—the merchant marine. During the closing days of the war Sir Robert Borden told Parliament that 25 million had been voted for this purpose for war-time only. When the war was over there were only three of these boats had been constructed. But this Government carried on awarding contracts, and 57 more were turned out. Seventy millions have been spent, and what good are they? The Government knew that once the war was over there would be ships for sale in every port in the world. But, as usual, without consulting the taxpayers, they go ahead, and what do we find? In the past fortnight four of these boats have gone to the bottom, or else are lying in pieces on some rocky reef."

**Improper and Expensive.**

"We warned the Government that this expenditure was improper and expensive. We said we should be saving, and not spending. Certain kinds of expenditure are just at one time, and not another. There is certainly no justification, especially in this period for reckless spending on new adventures without the full support of the people. The press was told last week that the Government said: 'It doesn't matter; no need to worry, as these boats were insured.' But, however, the insurance companies are repaying at current values. Experts show these boats were constructed at $190 a ton, and today the cost is $40 to $50. There is your insurance. The vessels were built when prices were at their height.

**"Gag" Introduced.**

"Of all the rights of free parliament, there is one of free discussion. Premier Meighen came in with his estimates late, and asked us to vote 70 millions without looking at the account. What did Meighen do when we protested? He said that he didn't care what we thought, and he would take it in any event. He was as good as his word. He introduced the "gag," the closure bill, and took the 70 millions."

"A word about the closure proceeding. The Meighen administration has utilized it time and again when we were trying to protect the public purse.

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It was the same with the mercnant marine question. This is the truth, and not fancy stories. They can do anything they desire with the closure act, and if they are true to their past they will use it presently with respect to the redistribution of seats. (Applause.)

**Up To Liberals.**

"I say to the farmers today: 'Who is going to look after you on the latter proposal? You have thirteen members in the House, and are they going to be able to make the fight in the event of the gerrymander?' It will be we of the Liberal party who will stand beside the agriculturists as in the interests of the people. This is not the time for us to enter into differences and put in the field two candidates for the enemy to run in between. There must be no separation of the progressive forces. (Applause.) We want to face the enemy with men of knowledge, of expert training and capable of handling the finances of the country." (Applause.)

**Tribute to Member.**

At this juncture the leader paid a high tribute to Duncan C. Ross, the member for West Middlesex. "No man," he said, "was more faithful or better suited to represent the riding, and his name is honored wherever the word of Liberism is spoken. Do not prejudice his chances by any division. It is the voice of the enemy who calls to you to break away. Keep in mind the service rendered in the past and regard the ability you have awaiting your disposal in the present."

**Is Proud of It.**

Introduced as the man who was doing much to keep Liberalism to the fore in Essex, W. C. Kennedy, M.P., explained that he was one of the old Liberal school, with Mackenzie King and Duncan Ross, and was proud of it.

"They tell me," he said, "that you have had a number of meetings the last few weeks, and there has been men of prominence hurrying up and down through the counties as though they were on the eve of an election. Personally, I don't believe we are. I am not in the confidence of Premier Meighen—thank heaven—but I am convinced that he will carry on as long as he can.

"It is time for us to get into line, nevertheless. We have only to consult the astounding figures of the railway debt for one thing to reason that the time for a change has come. Likewise, the tariff must be revised in such a manner as to insure prosperity, equality and justice.

**Enormous Increase.**

"Then the national debt is to be considered. It has increased ten times over since 1911. The money must be met next year for Victory Bonds, and what are we to do? There is only one solution. Send to Ottawa the type of men who can iron out these difficulties. You need men with knowledge and judgment; not they who are bent on experiments. We can't afford to educate our public men in Ottawa."

"I am absolutely behind Mackenzie King on his Liberal policy." F. F. Pardee declared, "And he will shortly lead in Canadian politics. He has the courage of his convictions (hear, hear), and you can do no better in the troublesome times to come."

The speaker was also warmly applauded when he asserted that Duncan Ross as a member of the House could not be bettered in any province in Canada.

**Significant Suggestion.**

"We have a strange state of affairs," he continued, "and let me say to the good old Tories that we have in the Montreal Gazette (one of the strongest Conservative papers and one carrying great weight) a most significant suggestion. What does the Gazette say? It advises that conditions are serious; that all is not running smoothly, and somebody ought to be called in. What does the Gazette suggest? Why, it says, 'Call in a commission of businessmen to show the Government what to do. What do you think of such a state of affairs? (Voices, 'Not much.')

"There never was a time in our history that we have come to this. What does it mean? Simply this. The Meighen administration is done. It's dead, and doesn't know enough to lie down. Look at its record. Regard its performances. What have they undertaken that has been successful? They were elected for one purpose, and that is over. By its solemn promise they had no right to hang on to office the last three years.

**People Had No Chance.**

"There has been no expression by the people since 1911, and wouldn't it be the action of a manly straightforward government to go to the country? When the election does come eventually one thing will happen. The Liberals will be the strong prevailing group. (Applause.) What some persons cannot understand is that two parties, each Progressive should be striving separately. For time immemorial the Liberals have been progressive. There is no U. F. O. who can say that the U. F. O. and the Liberals are not the Progressives of the country?

"What has happened? Each has been busy fighting the other, allowing the party of retrogression to slip in. What will happen then? You will have the old party of reaction in power, and it will be worse than the last. There is only one alternative. Gird for the fray. Entertain Liberal thoughts and ideas. Put them into effect, and Hon. Wm. Mackenzie King will carry on the task laid down by that peerless leader, the late Sir Wilfrid, whose very name spoke 'government by and for the people.'" (Applause and cheers.)

Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, M. P. for Beauce, Quebec, was warmly received. As an orator of unusual ability Dr. Beland is distinguished throughout the Dominion. Characteristic with the French-Canadian of culture his eloquence and manner reminds one not a little of the late Liberal chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and his address on Saturday won for the speaker's province many friends in West Middlesex.

"I am indeed grateful," Dr. Beland asserted, "to be able to bring to you a message from your old sister province, the inhabitants of which live on the enchanted shores of the St. Lawrence. I am certainly pleased to be here in this 'Mecca of Liberalism,' beside my old and staunch friend Duncan C. Ross," (Applause.)

**Wants Harmony.**

Referring to a meeting he had attended recently in Quebec the speaker said: "I took it upon myself to tell them down in Quebec that it was the desire of the people of the two provinces to live in peace and harmony along side each other. During my 24 years in public life I have taken every opportunity to study my compatriots, their customs, their traditions, their usages, and even their prejudices, and I have reached the conclusion that the average Canadian possesses that nobility of purpose and character whose sole desire is that we should all live together in peace and harmony. (Applause.)

"There are great problems facing the Government, but, however, important they may be, let me tell you with an accent of sincerity there is no condition so necessary as a true enduring spirit of forbearance between us all.

**Like Tower of Babel.**

"The public debt makes me think of the tower of Babel which kept going up until there was such a confusion at the top that it was abandoned. There is one difference. Although the national debt keeps mounting onward, and there exists considerable confusion there is no apparent deterioration as yet."

Discussing the reply of the Government as to certain huge expenditures that the war was to blame, the speaker asked, "do you want an example of how some of the debt has been accomplished, not from the war alone, but for enrichment of friends of the Government? When the British authorities had condemned the Ross Rifle, and when the Canadian military authorities had condemned the Ross Rifle, and did Sir Robert Borden do? He spent another three million dollars for these rifles to enrich his friends. Is that a legitimate debt?

**A Bad Move.**

"What about Rumania and Greece? It was the climax of imprudence when the present Government advanced $25,000,000 to each of these countries whose instability is well known throughout the world. These little countries of the Balkans who have been at war since they were born and will be until the end. Would you call that a legitimate war debt? (Voices, 'No'). When we asked Premier Borden he said it was in the interests of Canada, and what is the situation today? Why we have lost fifty millions for all time, and the people were never consulted one way or the other.

**Asking More Money.**

"The war is over three years, but still they are asking for us to vote moneys for demobilization. The first year the war was terminated they asked us to vote two hundred million for demobilization. When the year was up there was not one cent left. The next appropriation asked was for a hundred and thirty-five million. I asked what for. They answered there were still soldiers in England, and as you know the Liberals have never refused to vote for the soldiers, we voted for this also.

**Wanted. $35,000,000.**

"But last session, however, we have the Hon. Hugh Guthrie coming forward to ask for another $35,000,000 for demobilization. I could stand this no longer. I asked who was he going to demobilize now, the Government? He said there were a few accounts to settle over in England, and if they did not require the entire sum the rest would be returned. I only ask you, nevertheless, to be on hand April 1 next when they make their report."

Magnificent bouquets were presented to both the Liberal leader and Dr. Beland. The presentations were made by little Emily Bixel and Patricia McCabe.

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(1) The Age Strathroy, Sept 5 1921 D 5413

# Meighen Government's Record Of Incompetence and Reckless Spending Laid Bare by Liberal Leader and Party

## Great Crowd Attended Meeting at Alexandra Park Saturday Afternoon, Despite Unfavorable Weather—Listened in Rain to Lengthy Program—Contentious Factions in Electorate, with Same Ideals Warned, Lest Both Be Destroyed in the Approaching Election.

### West Middlesex Electors Hear of Mismanagement At Ottawa and Utter Disregard of People's Rights—Huge Deficits Piling Up and People Must Pay.

The west riding of Middlesex Saturday afternoon absolutely refuted the charge that Liberalism is obsolete in Western Ontario. Nearly 1,500 men and women listening attentively and uncomplainingly in a continuous downpour of rain to a stirring message from the Liberal chief, Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, is conclusive evidence that the rank and file of the people of the nation, irrespective of creed or politics, are clamoring for details as to the colossal expenditures of the Meighen administration at Ottawa.

Equalled only in Windsor was the rousing reception which attended the arrival of the leader of the federal Opposition and his battery of brilliant speakers. With frequent and unbounded enthusiasm, the electors of this constituency registered unmistakable approval, as with telling emphasis Hon. Mr. King and his able colleagues hammered home their numerous charges of extravagance and incompetency against the Union Government.

Despite the fact that rain descended throughout the entire meeting, not one person, man or woman, left Alexandra Park, and when the last speaker, that brilliant orator from the province of Quebec, the Hon. H. S. Beland, M.P., ventured to suggest that the meeting be brought to a close the interested gathering was insistent that he continue his remarks.

Duncan C. Ross, the local member, was received with keen enthusiasm, as were the others of the leader's able group, W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, and F. F. Pardee, M.P. for West Lambton, and Government whip during the Laurier regime. E. S. Little, mayor of London, who accompanied the Opposition party to Strathroy, was also on the platform.

Headed by the two bands, the 135th Strathroy and the Boy Scout Bugle Band, the visiting and local Liberals paraded from the Grand Trunk station to the park, where the big crowd was already in attendance eagerly awaiting, despite the rapid approach of rain, the commencement of the addresses. The meeting was rapidly under way, ably directed by its chairman, Edgar Bogue, one of the leading farmers of Adelaide Township. Amid prolonged cheering, he introduced the member for West Middlesex, Duncan Ross.

"We have been accustomed in the past," the latter declared, "to be visited by premiers just after they have gone into power. They usually come back then, but I venture to say that before the next summer is over we'll say here in Strathroy, 'Why, we heard Premier King last summer.' We have him here today, the grandson of the late William Lyon Mackenzie, and you know well that it was through the efforts of the latter that we today enjoy the constitutional rights that make us a free people. Mackenzie King has demonstrated in public life that he posesses the same fine qualities that marked his ancestor, and he is dedicated to lead the common people.

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"Compare this with the Laurier administration up to 1911. While we were endeavoring to increase the markets for the agriculturists the great cry of extravagance was raised, but yet the cost for the last year of the Laurier Government (and it was the highest of any year of his regime) was but $130,000,000. Today before we can even start on the business of government we find that the interest alone on Canada's national debt exceeds this by ten millions.

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"Whenever we suggested saving a little here or eliminating a little there we were only laughed at. That is why we need a change at Ottawa. Meighen and his associates have lost their perspective and give not a thought to economy. (Applause.)

"There is one way to save money, and that is to know how it is being expended. We demanded full account on railway matters. How was our request met? We were told that a company had been formed to handle the railways, and it was no longer any business of the administration. The members here today were among the ones who tried to get information. They tried to learn the personnel of the rail way board, and if they were directors of other companies. The answer was. 'There is no information.' Another question was: 'Has the Government placed any insurance on railway rolling stock, etc., and if so, how much and with what company?'

"The minister of railways said: 'No information.' We asked had there been any contracts let, and received the same reply. Not to be evaded, we pressed for information in the committee rooms, and discovered that 108 millions insurance had been placed with the Great West Assurance Company, two of whose directors were on the railway board. We found that contracts had been let for eleven million dollars with the Canada Car Company, one of whose directors was on the railway board. Now, I have made a number of strong statements, but I am aware of the facts. The country is in the hands of a few industrial plutocrats of great wealth, with an inside pull with the Government, and a handful of political autocrats—Right Hon. Arthur Meighen and his associates—who have usurped their power. These two are working together to retain their grip on the country. (Applause.)

"They are to enter another venture of the present Government—the merchant marine. During the closing days of the war Sir Robert Borden told Parliament that 25 million had been voted for this purpose for war-time only. When the war was over there were only three of these boats which had been constructed. But this Government carried on awarding contracts, and 57 more were turned out. Seventy millions have been spent, and what good are they? The Government knew that once the war was over there would be ships for sale in every port in the world. But, as usual, without consulting the taxpayers, they go ahead, and what do we find? In the past fortnight four of these boats have gone to the bottom, or else are lying in pieces on some rocky reef."

"We warned the Government that this expenditure was improper and expensive. We said we should be saving, and not spending. Certain kinds of expenditure are just at one time, and not another. There is certainly no justification, especially in this period, for reckless spending on new adventures without the full support of the people. The press was told last week that the Government said: 'It doesn't matter; no need to worry, as these boats were insured.' But, however, the insurance companies are repaying at current values. Experts show these boats were constructed at $190 a ton, and today the cost is $40 to $50. There is your insurance. The vessels were built when prices were at their height.

"Of all the rights of free parliament, there is one of free discussion. Premier Meighen came in with his estimates late, and asked us to vote 70 millions without looking at the account. What did Meighen do when we protested? He said that he didn't care what we thought, and he would take it in any event. He was as good as his word. He introduced the 'gag,' the closure bill, and took the 70 millions.

"A word about the closure proceeding. The Meighen administration has utilized it time and again when we were trying to protect the public purse. It was the same with the merchant marine question. This is the truth, and not fancy stories. They can do anything they desire with the closure act, and if they are true to their past they will use it presently with respect to the redistribution of seats. (Applause.)

"I say to the farmers today: 'Who is going to look after you on the latter proposal? You have thirteen members in the House, and are they going to be able to make the fight in the event of the gerrymander? It will be we of the Liberal party who will stand beside the agriculturists as in the interests of the people. This is not the time for us to enter into differences and put in the field two candidates for the enemy to run in between. There must be no separation of the progressive forces. (Applause.) We want to face the enemy with men of knowledge, of expert training and capable of handling the finances of the country." (Applause.)

At this juncture the leader paid a high tribute to Duncan C. Ross, the member for West Middlesex. "No man," he said, "was more faithful or better suited to represent the riding, and his name is honored wherever the word of Liberalism is spoken. Do not prejudice his chances by any division. It is the voice of the enemy who calls to you to break away. Keep in mind the service rendered in the past and regard the ability you have awaiting your disposal in the present."

Introduced as the man who was doing much to keep Liberalism to the fore in Essex, W. C. Kennedy, M.P., explained that he was one of the old Liberal school, with Mackenzie King and Duncan Ross, and was proud of it.

"They tell me," he said, "that you have had a number of meetings the last few weeks, and there have been men of prominence hurrying up and down through the counties as though they were on the eve of an election. Personally, I don't believe we are. I am not in the confidence of Premier Meighen—thank heaven—but I am convinced that he will carry on as long as he can.

"It is time for us to get into line, nevertheless. We have only to consult the astounding figures of the railway debt for one thing to reason that the time for a change has come. Likewise, the tariff must be revised in such a manner as to insure prosperity, equality and justice.

"Then the national debt is to be considered. It has increased ten times over since 1911. The money must be met next year for Victory Bonds, and what are we to do? There is only one solution. Send to Ottawa the type of men who can iron out these difficulties. You need men with knowledge and judgment; not they who are bent on experiments. We can't afford to educate our public men in Ottawa."

"I am absolutely behind Mackenzie King on his Liberal policy," F. F. Pardee declared. "And he will shortly lead in Canadian politics. He has the courage of his convictions (hear, hear), and you can do no better in the troublesome times to come."

The speaker was also warmly applauded when he asserted that Duncan Ross as a member of the House could not be bettered in any province in Canada.

"We have a strange state of affairs," he continued, "and let me say to the good old Tories that we have in the

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(3) The Age Strathroy Sept-1 1921

Montreal Gazette ( one of the strongest Conservative papers and one carrying great weight) a most significant suggestion. What does the Gazette say? It advises that conditions are serious; that all is not running smoothly, and somebody ought to be called in. What does the Gazette suggest? Why, it says, 'Call in a commission of businessmen to show the Government what to do.' What do you think of such a state of affairs? (Voices, 'Not much.')

"There never was a time in our history that we have come to this. What does it mean? Simply this. The Meighen administration is done. It's dead, and doesn't know enough to lie down. Look at its record. Regard its performances. What have they undertaken that has been successful? They were elected for one purpose, and that is over. By its solemn promise they had no right to hang on to office the last three years.

"There has been no expression by the people since 1911, and wouldn't it be the action of a manly, straightforward government to go to the country? When the election does come eventually one thing will happen. The Liberals will be the strong prevailing group. (Applause.) What some persons cannot understand is that two parties, each Progressive, should be striving separately. For time immemorial the Liberals have been progressive. There is no U. F. O. who can say that the U. F. O. and the Liberals are not the Progressives of the country?

"What has happened? Each has been busy fighting the other, allowing the party of retrogression to slip in. What will happen then? You will have the old party of reaction in power, and it will be worse than the last. There is only one alternative. Gird for the fray. Entertain Liberal thoughts and ideas. Put them into effect, and Hon. Wm. Mackenzie King will carry on the task laid down by that peerless leader, the late Sir Wilfrid, whose very name spoke 'government by and for the people.'" (Applause and cheers.)

Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, M.P. for Beauce, Quebec, was warmly received. As an orator of unusual ability Dr. Beland is distinguished throughout the Dominion. Characteristic of the French-Canadian of culture his eloquence and manner reminds one not a little of the late Liberal chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and his address on Saturday won for the speaker's province many friends in West Middlesex.

"I am indeed grateful," Dr. Beland asserted, "to be able to bring to you a message from your old sister province, the inhabitants of which live on the enchanted shores of the St. Lawrence. I am certainly pleased to be here in this 'Mecca of Liberalism,' beside my old and staunch friend, Duncan C. Ross." (Applause.)

Referring to a meeting he had attended recently in Quebec, the speaker said: "I took it upon myself to tell them down in Quebec that it was the desire of the people of the two provinces to live in peace and harmony along side each other. During my 24 years in public life I have taken every opportunity to study my compatriots, their customs, their traditions, their usages, and even their prejudices, and I have reached the conclusion that the average Canadian possesses that nobility of purpose and character whose sole desire is that we should all live together in peace and harmony. (Applause.)

"There are great problems facing the Government, but, however important they may be, let me tell you with an accent of sincereity there is no condition so necessary as a true enduring spirit of forbearance between us all.

"The public debt makes me think of the tower of Babel which kept going up until there was such confusion at the top that it was abandoned. There is one difference. Although the national debt keeps mounting onward, and there exists considerable confusion, there is no apparent deterioration as yet."

Discussing the reply of the Government as to certain huge expenditures that the war was to blame, the speaker asked: "Do you want an example of how some of the debt has been accomplished, not from the war alone, but for enrichment of friends of the Government? When the British authorities had condemned the Ross Rifle, and when the Canadian military authorities had condemned the Ross Rifle, what did Sir Robert Borden do? He spent another three million dollars for these rifles to enrich his friends. Is that a legitimate debt?

"What about Roumania and Greece? It was the climax of imprudence when the present Government advanced $25,000,000 to each of these countries whose instability is well known throughout the world. These little countries of the Balkans who have been at war since they were born and will be until the end. Would you call that a legitimate war debt? (Voices, 'No.') When we asked Premier Borden he said it was in the interests of Canada, and what is the situation today? Why we have lost fifty millions for all time, and the people were never consulted one way or the other.

"The war is over three years, but still they are asking for us to vote moneys for demobilization. The first year the war was terminated they asked us to vote two hundred million for demobilization. When the year was up there was not one cent left. The next appropriation asked was for a hundred and thirty-five million. I asked what for. They answered there were still soldiers in England, and as you know the Liberals have never refused to vote for the soldiers, we voted for this also.

"But last session, however, we have the Hon. Hugh Guthrie coming forward to ask for another $35,000,000 for demobilization. I could stand this no longer. I asked who was he going to demobilize now, the Government? He said there were a few accounts to settle over in England, and if they did not require the entire sum the rest would be returned. I only ask you, nevertheless, to be on hand April 1 next when they make their report."

Magnificent bouquets were presented to both the Liberal leader and Dr. Beland. The presentations were made by little Emily Bixel and Patricia McCabe.

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Morning Citizen, aug 29/24

# HON. W. L. KING AT STRATHROY RALLY

## Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Says An Election Is Not Likely This Fall.

STRATHROY, Ont., Aug. 28.—An audience of nearly 2,000 sat through a light rain for two hours yesterday afternoon at Alexandria Park to hear Hon. Mackenzie King and other speakers at a Liberal rally, the second of a series in western Ontario. The opposition leader was accompanied by Hon. Dr. Beland, of Beauce; F. F. Pardee, M.P., West Lambton; W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, and Duncan C. Ross, M.P., for West Middlesex. Edgar Bogue, of Adelaide, presided.

Mr. King, as at Windsor, dealt at length with the government railways and merchant marine, and the necessity for keeping down taxation as far as possible, in order to moderate living costs. The most specific reference to the tariff was that of Mr. Pardee. "Wherein do the U.F.O. and Liberal doctrines clash?" he asked. "There is no United Farmers' organization which can carry out free trade. The idea is preposterous and might as well be put away at once. They have a common goal to get to, but by their eternal struggle are allowing the party of reaction to slip in between them."

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Toronto Globe, aug 29/21

# TELL ELECTORS OF MIDDLESEX TO AVOID SPLIT

## Liberal Leaders Speak in Riding Held by Duncan C. Ross

## STAY THROUGH THE RAIN

## Speakers See Danger in Two Progressive Forces Fighting

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Strathroy,** Aug. 28.—Middlesex county has always been in the forefront of things politically. It has elected some of the greatest men in the Parliaments of Canada and Ontario. It has been a stronghold of Liberalism, and that the Reform spirit of its pioneers is retained to the fullest extent by the present generation was shown at a big Liberal rally held here Saturday afternoon.

The attendance of well over 2,000 people was remarkable in itself, but the fact that they stood in the rain for two hours and got soaked to listen to the party leaders discuss the political questions of the day was more remarkable. Not one person sought shelter from the rain while the speeches were being made. Hon. Dr. Beland, one of the principal speakers, was concerned as to the safety and comfort of his audience, and endeavored to cut his address short. The audience, however, would have none of it, and Hon. Dr. Beland finished his address in a downpour which failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the meeting in the least.

**Duncan Ross Their Man.**

West Middlesex, a riding in which the rural vote is predominant, is held by Duncan C. Ross, son of the late Sir George Ross. Determined efforts have been made on every occasion to defeat him, but when the smoke has cleared away after the battle Mr. Ross has always been on top. His activity in the House of Commons brought down on him all the Tory opposition possible. Once they tried to gerrymander him out of his seat, but he won. There is a rumor that in the redistribution now they will try to repeat that movement, but apparently the electors of Middlesex are ready for it. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. Dr. Beland, W. C. Kennedy, M.P., and F. F. Pardee, M.P., told the audience what service Mr. Ross rendered at Ottawa, and the "folks at home" showed their appreciation. All the speakers made a plea for unity in the forces of progress fighting the one common enemy at Ottawa. Like all other meetings being held by the Opposition, the Middlesex people showed in no uncertain way their antagonism for Meighenism and the present Federal Administration.

**Unite for Progress.**

Mr. Ross, who was given a splendid reception, after a tribute to Mr. King, in which he said that "he is qualified by his ancestry, education, policy and the manner of his choice to lead the Liberal party," and a reference to Dr. Beland as "one of the French group headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier who had brought lustre to Canada," went at once into the tariff. The Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, by the guidance of Mr. Fielding, first lieutenant to the old Chief, and now lieutenant to the new Chief, had reduced the tariff and taxation. Millions had been taken off the taxes on the people, and the Liberal party in 1911 had tried to give the people extension of this freer trade. Reductions had been made in the duties on agricultural implements and foods, but the people did not endorse the agreement. "But who can blame the Liberals for the failure of that? Who can say that the Liberals did not redeem their pledges? History has proved the advantages of that agreement. The Liberals have done what they could to reduce these taxations. The Liberals, Laurier, Fielding, King, were defending the frontier of freer trade before anybody else took it up. They are still at it. They are still striving for those principles, but among the forces of the country who agree on this policy there is not unity. Let us be cautioned by the Scriptural warning, 'Beware in your contentions that you destroy not each other.' Let us get together and rally to the men who preached these doctrines in 1911. Let us trust the policy which led us out of the stagnation in 1896, and let us unite in progress for the attainment of those Liberal ideals and victory."

W. C. Kennedy, from North Essex, who followed, said he did not think there would be a general election this year, and spoke briefly of the colossal debt being carried by Canada. With a debt of three billions two hundred and fifty millions, he asked if Canada wanted inexperienced men at Ottawa.

"You want men who know the conditions. This surely is not the time to experiment," said Mr. Kennedy. "Mr. Ross knows the conditions, and through his sane judgment has become a national figure at Ottawa."

**No Commission Government.**

Mr. Pardee also praised the work of Mr. Ross in Parliament. He touched on an editorial in The Montreal Gazette, a Government paper, which criticized the Government and suggested a commission to help it with its problems. "Imagine a Government so bad that it must have a commission to tell it what to do," continued Mr. Pardee. "There never was a time when British people had to resort to that kind of government. The trouble with this Government is that it is dead and doesn't know enough to lie down."

Mr. Pardee said the manly thing for the Government to do was to go to the people, because it was elected for the war only, and there had not been an expression of opinion by the people on domestic questions since 1911.

"There is one thing certain, and that is that, after the election, the Liberal party will be the largest and the prevailing group in the House of Commons." Mr. Pardee could not understand why two parties, both progressive, and practically the same in their platforms, should fight each other. "All they do is to let the party of retrogression in between them, and if it continues we will have another regime of retroaction, and the last regime will be worse than the first."

**The Burden of Taxation.**

Hon. Mr. King said that trying to comprehend the national debt was like trying to count the stars. In 1911, when the Laurier Government was in power, it had cost $130,000,000 to run the whole affairs of the country. This year the interest on debt alone to be paid was $140,000,000. Then there were war obligations to the amount of $135,000,000, which nobody in Canada begrudged or criticized.

"Then we have the railroad deficits before we start on the cost of government at all. These railways were taken over without consulting the people. I am not saying that it was not wise to have taken over the railways, but the people have a right to say what should be done. Well, the cost of the railways this year will be $165,000,000. The taxes this year will be between five hundred and six hundred millions. When you realize that, you see why the cost of living is so high and why the dollar doesn't go as far as it did." The first duty of the Liberals was to keep down taxation, reduce the cost of living. There would never be economy with the present Government.

Referring to the interlocking of directorate of the Canadian National Railways with other companies, Mr. King said that some two million dollars of insurance on the railway was placed with a company on whose directorate was a man who was also a director of the railways.

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The Government, he said, should not allow such things. "But Canada is in the hands of a few men of great wealth who have a pull with the Government in contracts, and the members of the Government are usurpers. You see this combination working in its perfection in the railway question. The Merchant Marine," said Mr. King, "was never built to serve the farmers by carrying their products, but to satisfy Government friends in contracts."

**Want No Division.**

Mr. King asked who would protect the rural districts at the next session when the redistribution bill came up. "There will be the Progressive group, but lined up with them will be Mr. Ross, Mr. Pardee, Mr. Kennedy and the other Liberal members. This is no time for parties of progress to be split up. By the two parties fighting each other it is simply making it safe for the enemy. That is the reason I say it is foolish putting up Liberals and Progressives in the same riding. You here have a real representative in Mr. Ross. Do not prejudice his chance by division. It is the voice of the enemy and not the friend who seeks division."

Dr. Beland, introduced as bringing a message from the great sister Province of Quebec, was given a ringing welcome, although it was raining quite heavily when he started to speak. He bespoke the anxiety of Quebec for greater unity and greater acquaintance between the French and English speaking people. Dr. Beland was in a humorous mood, and his witty and satirical shafts at the Meighen Government won his English-speaking audience completely. He wanted to quit because of the rain, but there was a unanimous demand for him to proceed. The brilliant Quebec doctor in a side reference to his having been a prisoner of war was cheered lustily. He twitted the Government with putting up a lame excuse when it blamed the war for all big expenditure. He pointed out where many millions had gone in which the war could not have been the excuse. He referred to the Roumanian loan, which Roumania could not now pay. He pointed out that millions were required for demobilization after the whole army had been demobilized "because the Minister said there were a few accounts to settle in Europe."

**Avoiding the Extremes.**

He pointed out the millions spent on the manufacture of Ross rifles after it had been condemned as an army weapon overseas. He described the Liberal policy on the tariff as one which avoided the curse of protection and dangers of free trade. He made a ringing appeal to the Middlesex electorate to stand steadfast by the great Liberalism of Bright and Gladstone in Britain, of Lafontaine, Baldwin, Mowat and Laurier in Canada.

Edgar Pogue, a prominent farmer of Adelaide township, presided at the meeting, which was held in the town park. The Strathroy band and the Boy Scouts' bugle band met the Liberal party at the station and headed a parade to the park. Mr. King and Dr. Beland left here tonight for Parry Sound, where they will address a meeting.

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London advertiser, Aug 30/21

## THE STRATHROY RALLY.

"As Liberals we realize that the first duty of the Government is to keep taxation down to a minimum and reduce the cost of living," declared the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at Strathroy on Saturday. The Liberal leader maintained that the Meighen Government was so accustomed to talk in millions that thousands were too trifling to be discussed. When the Opposition took occasion to suggest saving a little here and there, or eliminating a little, they were only laughed at by the spendthrift Government and the closure was applied.

It is in this way that the people of Canada have been flouted and many millions spent in their name but without their consent. The time for the ending of this orgy of extravagance is more than due. Taxation without representation is a principle which when enforced has time and again caused revolutions and the downfall of dynasties, as Mr. Meighen well knows, and he cannot be blind to the fact that this state of matters actually prevails in the Dominion today, for the Government is in no sense representative of the people, nor has the people's consent been asked in the financing of the costly projects on which the Government has embarked.

One of the other constitutional rights is that of free speech in a free parliament, but estimates as high as $70,000,000 have been passed through the medium of the "gag." Such outrageous and arbitrary methods would in former times have provoked rebellion, and today the country is becoming restive to exercise its right to sweep such tyranny into the scrap heap.

Referring to agriculture, Mr. King said that if the common enemy of progress was to be put to rout, the progressive elements would have to keep together. The only logical course for the friends of agriculture to follow is that of progressive Liberalism in its truest sense, a broadening out and not a narrowing down. Premier Drury recognizes this principle, and knows full well that there can be no forward movement without it.

The Strathroy meeting was not only an inspiration to Liberals, but an object lesson to those who have had the mendacity to assert that Liberalism is waning in Ontario. The tactics of the Tory party are framed with the object of driving a wedge between the progressive forces in a desperate effort to neutralize their strength and aggressiveness, but this movement is bound to be as ignominiously defeated as when the Germans attempted to use it on the Allies in the war.

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One of the outstanding features of the Strathroy meeting was its virility, and the robust and forceful Liberal leader paid a well-deserved tribute to Duncan C. Ross, the member for West Middlesex, whose name he said was held in honor among his colleagues, and than whom no one could be found more faithful or better suited to represent the riding. Another prominent speaker at the gathering was W. C. Kennedy, member for North Essex, who pointed out that one had only to consult the astounding figures of the railway debt to realize that the time for a change of administration had come. It was also time to revise the tariff in such a manner as to insure prosperity, equality and justice.

No one will gainsay these statements. Through the selfishness of the Government and their greed for office, prosperity has been choked, equality has been blotted out, and justice has been ignored.

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(1) Strathroy Sept-1st-1921 D 5421

# Meighen Government's Record Of Incompetence and Reckless Spending Laid Bare by Liberal Leader and Party

## Great Crowd Attended Meeting at Alexandra Park Saturday Afternoon, Despite Unfavorable Weather—Listened in Rain to Lengthy Program—Contentious Factions in Electorate, with Same Ideals Warned, Lest Both Be Destroyed in the Approaching Election.

### West Middlesex Electors Hear of Mismanagement At Ottawa and Utter Disregard of People's Rights—Huge Deficits Piling Up and People Must Pay.

The west riding of Middlesex Saturday afternoon absolutely refuted the charge that Liberalism is obsolete in Western Ontario. Nearly 1,500 men and women listening attentively and uncomplainingly in a continuous downpour of rain to a stirring message from the Liberal chief, Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, is conclusive evidence that the rank and file of the people of the nation, irrespective of creed or politics, are clamoring for details as to the colossal expenditures of the Meighen administration at Ottawa.

Equalled only in Windsor was the rousing reception which attended the arrival of the leader of the federal Opposition and his battery of brilliant speakers. With frequent and unbounded enthusiasm, the electors of this constituency registered unmistakable approval, as with telling emphasis Hon. Mr. King and his able colleagues hammered home their numerous charges of extravagance and incompetency against the Union Government.

Despite the fact that rain descended throughout the entire meeting, not one person, man or woman, left Alexandra Park, and when the last speaker, that brilliant orator from the province of Quebec, the Hon. H. S. Beland, M.P., ventured to suggest that the meeting be brought to a close the interested gathering was insistent that he continue his remarks.

Duncan C. Ross, the local member, was received with keen enthusiasm, as were the others of the leader's able group, W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, and F. F. Pardee, M.P. for West Lambton, and Government whip during the Laurier regime. E. S. Little, mayor of London, who accompanied the Opposition party to Strathroy, was also on the platform.

Headed by the two bands, the 135th Strathroy and the Boy Scout Bugle Band, the visiting and local Liberals paraded from the Grand Trunk station to the park, where the big crowd was already in attendance eagerly awaiting, despite the rapid approach of rain, the commencement of the addresses. The meeting was rapidly under way, ably directed by its chairman, Edgar Bogue, one of the leading farmers of Adelaide Township. Amid prolonged cheering, he introduced the member for West Middlesex, Duncan Ross.

"We have been accustomed in the past," the latter declared, "to be visited by premiers just after they have gone into power. They usually come back then, but I venture to say that before the next summer is over we'll say here in Strathroy, 'Why, we heard Premier King last summer.' We have him here today, the grandson of the late William Lyon Mackenzie, and you know well that it was through the efforts of the latter that we today enjoy the constitutional rights that make us a free people. Mackenzie King has demonstrated in public life that he possesses the same fine qualities that marked his ancestor, and he is dedicated to lead the common people.

"The Liberal policy today is pretty much the same as others. We believe in increased trade with the United States. It was Hon. W. S. Fielding that so ably defended the frontiers of free trade before anyone else, and I want to say to the Progressives of Canada, and they are not confined to our party alone, but are in the U. F. O., and in the good old Conservative party as well, that we lack unity of action. As the saying in the old book, 'Beware in your contentions with one another, lest ye destroy each other.' Get together. Rally around the men of 1911 who preached the everlasting doctrine of economy, progress and efficiency.

"In those days that old leader, the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier (cheers), was on the bridge, and we had the good old pilot Fielding with him. It is well to remember that Sir Wilfrid's pupil, Mackenzie King, is now on the bridge, but the old pilot is still on board. Is it not right to trust in 1921 they who before 1911 steered the vessel out of the sea of stagnation into the harbor of financial safety?

"In 1911 after Fielding took charge the burden of taxation was reduced a hundred millions. The charges hurled against the Liberal party are untrue. We tried to give the great policy of free trade. We did our best, and it isn't fair for anyone in the Liberal party or out of it to say that we did not attempt to redeem our promises or reduce taxation. History since 1911 has proven that the agriculturists would have derived great advantages, and part of our policy was subsequently adopted."

The Liberal leader, Mackenzie King, was greeted by a spontaneous outburst of cheering which continued for several minutes following his introduction. In his opening remarks he lauded the action of the ladies, who comprised practically a half of his audience, complimenting them upon their undivided interest in the affairs of great moment.

"There are many outstanding problems today," he declared, "among them the great railroad question and the tariff issue. The question of finances in Canada has become important and significant for two reasons. First the money required to carry on the business of the country must come from the pockets of the people, and secondly, the more that is taken means that there will remain less for individual efforts.

"It matters little in the long run whether the people are taxed directly or indirectly. Suppose direct tax was imposed on the wealthy. To get it back the latter would pass the tax on to the people by increased price in their commodities.

"You will see why the question of finances is vitally important. From the point of view of a government Canada is far from being in its position of six or eight years ago. You have a public debt that has reached the colossal figure of $2,350,000,000. Like a mortgage, interest must be paid on this. This interest is now one hundred and forty millions for a year alone.

"Compare this with the Laurier administration up to 1911. While we were endeavoring to increase the markets for the agriculturists the great cry of extravagance was raised, but yet the cost for the last year of the Laurier Government (and it was the highest of any year of his regime) was but $130,000,000. Today before we can even start on the business of government we find that the interest alone on Canada's national debt exceeds this by ten millions.

"Has it occurred to you that we have another important obligation for our men who went overseas and for the dependents of those who failed to return? The war has left such an obligation which every administration, of whatever politics, should seek to meet. (Applause.) This year we face an item of some $135,000,000 for pensions, soldiers' civil re-establishment, etc. This is in addition to the one hundred and forty millions interest on the national debt.

"Now Canada has certain possessions. Sometimes these are 'white elephants' and in the case of the National Railways I think we own a 'white elephant.' When the Laurier Government

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went out in 1911 the government was in possession of 2,200 miles of road. Today Canada owns and controls 22,000 miles. Yet there is this remarkable circumstance to note, that although the people have to meet the big deficits they were never consulted as to whether they wanted these roads or not. (Applause.) I am not saying that government operation is always unwise, but I do contend that if you intend to use public money you must ask the people.

"Last year the deficit was 50 millions. This year it is 70 millions and next year our expert adviser, Sir Joseph Flavelle, says it will be probably a hundred millions. These are a few items to show where your money is going. The national debt is between five and six hundred millions and Canada is a country of not over nine millions in population. Is it any wonder that the cost of living remains high? Can you not see why you have not the same comfort of mind in raising your families when you are confronted by this enormous debt for the Dominion alone?

"As Liberals we realize that the first duty of the Government is to keep taxation down to a minimum and reduce the cost of living. As we have striven to make for greater economy in the administration we have encountered the Meighen Government, they who have been accustomed to spend millions and who don't care about thousands. After spending two billion they find it hard to talk in hundreds."

"Whenever we suggested saving a little here or eliminating a little there we were only laughed at. That is why we need a change at Ottawa. Meighen and his associates have lost their perspective and give not a thought to economy. (Applause.)

"There is one way to save money, and that is to know how it is being expended. We demanded full account on railway matters. How was our request met? We were told that a company had been formed to handle the railways, and it was no longer any business of the administration. The members here today were among the ones who tried to get information. They tried to learn the personnel of the railway board, and if they were directors of other companies. The answer was: 'There is no information.' Another question was: 'Has the Government placed any insurance on railway rolling stock, etc., and if so, how much and with what company?'

"The minister of railways said: 'No information.' We asked had there been any contracts let, and received the same reply. Not to be evaded, we pressed for information in the committee rooms, and discovered that 108 millions insurance had been placed with the Great West Assurance Company two of whose directors were on the railway board. We found that contracts had been let for eleven million dollars with the Canada Car Company, one of whose directors was on the railway board. Now, I have made a number of strong statements, but I am aware of the facts. The country is in the hands of a few industrial plutocrats of great wealth, with an inside pull with the Government, and a handful of political autocrats—Right Hon. Arthur Meighen and his associates—who have usurped their power. These two are working together to retain their grip on the country. (Applause.)

"The [illegible] another venture of the present government—the merchant marine. During the closing days of the war Sir Robert Borden told Parliament that 25 million had been voted for this purpose for war-time only. When the war was over there were only three of these boats which had been constructed. But this Government carried on awarding contracts, and 57 more were turned out. Seventy millions have been spent, and what good are they? The Government knew that once the war was over there would be ships for sale in every port in the world. But, as usual, without consulting the taxpayers, they go ahead, and what do we find? In the past fortnight four of these boats have gone to the bottom, or else are lying in pieces on some rocky reef."

"We warned the Government that this expenditure was improper and expensive. We said we should be saving, and not spending. Certain kinds of expenditure are just at one time, and not another. There is certainly no justification, especially in this period, for reckless spending on new adventures without the full support of the people. The press was told last week that the Government said: 'It doesn't matter; no need to worry, as these boats were insured.' But, however, the insurance companies are repaying at current values. Experts show these boats were constructed at $190 a ton, and today the cost is $40 to $50. There is your insurance. The vessels were built when prices were at their height.

"Of all the rights of free parliament, there is one of free discussion. Premier Meighen came in with his estimates late, and asked us to vote 70 millions without looking at the account. What did Meighen do when we protested? He said that he didn't care what we thought, and he would take it in any event. He was as good as his word. He introduced the 'gag,' the closure bill, and took the 70 millions.

"A word about the closure proceeding. The Meighen administration has utilized it time and again when we were trying to protect the public purse. It was the same with the merchant marine question. This is the truth, and not fancy stories. They can do anything they desire with the closure act, and if they are true to their past they will use it presently with respect to the redistribution of seats. (Applause.)

"I say to the farmers today: 'Who is going to look after you on the latter proposal? You have thirteen members in the House, and are they going to be able to make the fight in the event of the gerrymander? It will be we of the Liberal party who will stand beside the agriculturists as in the interests of the people. This is not the time for us to enter into differences and put in the field two candidates for the enemy to run in between. There must be no separation of the progressive forces. (Applause.) We want to face the enemy with men of knowledge, of expert training and capable of handling the finances of the country." (Applause.)

At this juncture the leader paid a high tribute to Duncan C. Ross, the member for West Middlesex. "No man," he said, "was more faithful or better suited to represent the riding, and his name is honored wherever the word of Liberalism is spoken. Do not prejudice his chances by any division. It is the voice of the enemy who calls to you to break away. Keep in mind the service rendered in the past and regard the ability you have awaiting your disposal in the present."

Introduced as the man who was doing much to keep Liberalism to the fore in Essex, W. C. Kennedy, M.P., explained that he was one of the old Liberal school, with Mackenzie King and Duncan Ross, and was proud of it.

"They tell me," he said, "that you have had a number of meetings the last few weeks, and there have been men of prominence hurrying up and down through the counties as though they were on the eve of an election. Personally, I don't believe we are. I am not in the confidence of Premier Meighen—thank heaven—but I am convinced that he will carry on as long as he can.

"It is time for us to get into line, nevertheless. We have only to consult the astounding figures of the railway debt for one thing to reason that the time for a change has come. Likewise, the tariff must be revised in such a manner as to insure prosperity, equality and justice.

"Then the national debt is to be considered. It has increased ten times over since 1911. The money must be met next year for Victory Bonds, and what are we to do? There is only one solution. Send to Ottawa the type of men who can iron out these difficulties. You need men with knowledge and judgment; not they who are bent on experiments. We can't afford to educate our public men in Ottawa."

"I am absolutely behind Mackenzie King on his Liberal policy," F. F. Pardee declared. "And he will shortly lead in Canadian politics. He has the courage of his convictions (hear, hear), and you can do no better in the troublesome times to come."

The speaker was also warmly applauded when he asserted that Duncan Ross as a member of the House could not be bettered in any province in Canada.

"We have a strange state of affairs," he continued, "and let me say to the good old Tories that we have in the Montreal Gazette ( one of the strongest Conservative papers and one carrying great weight) a most significant suggestion. What does the Gazette say? It advises that conditions are serious; that all is not running smoothly, and somebody ought to be called in. What does the Gazette suggest?

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Why, it says, 'Call in a commission of businessmen to show the Government what to do!' What do you think of such a state of affairs? (Voices, 'Not much.')

"There never was a time in our history that we have come to this. What does it mean? Simply this. The Meighen administration is done. It's dead, and doesn't know enough to lie down. Look at its record. Regard its performances. What have they undertaken that has been successful? They were elected for one purpose, and that is over. By its solemn promise they had no right to hang on to office the last three years.

"There has been no expression by the people since 1911, and wouldn't it be the action of a manly, straightforward government to go to the country? When the election does come eventually one thing will happen. The Liberals will be the strong prevailing group. (Applause.) What some persons cannot understand is that two parties, each Progressive, should be striving separately. For time immemorial the Liberals have been progressive. There is no U. F. O. who can say that the U. F. O. and the Liberals are not the Progressives of the country?

"What has happened? Each has been busy fighting the other, allowing the party of retrogression to slip in. What will happen then? You will have the old party of reaction in power, and it will be worse than the last. There is only one alternative. Gird for the fray. Entertain Liberal thoughts and ideas Put them into effect, and Hon. Wm. Mackenzie King will carry on the task laid down by that peerless leader, the late Sir Wilfrid, whose very name spoke 'government by and for the people.'" (Applause and cheers.)

Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, M.P. for Beauce, Quebec, was warmly received. As an orator of unusual ability Dr. Beland is distinguished throughout the Dominion. Characteristic of the French-Canadian of culture his eloquence and manner reminds one not a little of the late Liberal chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and his address on Saturday won for the speaker's province many friends in West Middlesex.

"I am indeed grateful," Dr. Beland asserted, "to be able to bring to you a message from your old sister province, the inhabitants of which live on the enchanted shores of the St. Lawrence. I am certainly pleased to be here in this 'Mecca of Liberalism,' beside my old and staunch friend, Duncan C. Ross." (Applause.)

Referring to a meeting he had attended recently in Quebec, the speaker said: "I took it upon myself to tell them down in Quebec that it was the desire of the people of the two provinces to live in peace and harmony along side each other. During my 24 years in public life I have taken every opportunity to study my compatriots, their customs, their traditions, their usages, and even their prejudices, and I have reached the conclusion that the average Canadian possesses that nobility of purpose and character whose sole desire is that we should all live together in peace and harmony. (Applause.)

"There are great problems facing the Government, but, however important they may be, let me tell you with an accent of sincereity there is no condition so necessary as a true enduring spirit of forbearance between us all.

"The public debt makes me think of the tower of Babel which kept going up until there was such confusion at the top that it was abandoned. There is one difference. Although the national debt keeps mounting onward, and there exists considerable confusion, there is no apparent deterioration as yet."

Discussing the reply of the Government as to certain huge expenditures that the war was to blame, the speaker asked: "Do you want an example of how some of the debt has been accomplished, not from the war alone, but for enrichment of friends of the Government? When the British authorities had condemned the Ross Rifle, and when the Canadian military authorities had condemned the Ross Rifle, what did Sir Robert Borden do? He spent another three million dollars for these rifles to enrich his friends. Is that a legitimate debt?

"What about Roumania and Greece? It was the climax of imprudence when the present Government advanced $25,000,000 to each of these countries whose instability is well known throughout the world. These little countries of the Balkans who have been at war since they were born and will be until the end. Would you call that a legitimate war debt? (Voices, 'No.') When we asked Premier Borden he said it was in the interests of Canada, and what is the situation today? Why we have lost fifty millions for all time, and the people were never consulted one way or the other.

"The war is over three years, but still they are asking for us to vote moneys for demobilization. The first year the war was terminated they asked us to vote two hundred million for demobilization. When the year was up there was not one cent left. The next appropriation asked was for a hundred and thirty-five million. I asked what for. They answered there were still soldiers in England, and as you know the Liberals have never refused to vote for the soldiers, we voted for this also.

"But last session, however, we have the Hon. Hugh Guthrie coming forward to ask for another $35,000,000 for demobilization. I could stand this no longer. I asked who was he going to demobilize now, the Government? He said there were a few accounts to settle over in England, and if they did not require the entire sum the rest would be returned. I only ask you, nevertheless, to be on hand April 1 next when they make their report."

Magnificent bouquets were presented to both the Liberal leader and Dr. Beland. The presentations were made by little Emily Bixel and Patricia McCabe.

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29 Aug. 1923 Parry Sound D 5424

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION UNDER
THE MEIGHEN GOVERNMENT

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Toronto Globe, 30th aug/21

# DR. W. R. MASON LIBERAL CHOICE IN PARRY SOUND

## Enthusiastic Convention Picks Candidate for Federal House

## KING RECEIVES OVATION

## Scores Extravagance of Tory Administration at Ottawa

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Parry Sound**, Aug. 29.—Liberals turned out in large numbers to attend the convention held this afternoon and the magnificent mass meeting held this evening, addressed by Liberal Leader Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, Thomas McMillan, and others. The annual district meeting was held in the morning, at which H. E. Stone was re-elected President; John Perks, Secretary-Treasurer, and 20 Vice-Presidents.

The convention in the afternoon was one of the largest, most harmonious and enthusiastic ever held in the district. Women for the first time were present as fully accredited delegates, and many young men were also representing their sections.

**Mason Is Candidate.**

A large number were nominated as candidates, all of whom withdrew but Dr. Richardson, Sprucedale; R. J. Watson, a former member; C. W. Sharpe, Burk's Falls; W. C. Armstrong, Byng Inlet, and Dr. W. R. Mason, Parry Sound. Four ballots were taken, and Dr. Mason, a returned soldier, chosen as candidate for the coming Federal election.

Hon. Mr. King and his party arrived on the afternoon train, and were given a short drive around town and a motor boat trip among the Hundred Thousand Islands of the Georgian Bay. In the evening an informal reception was held at the Hotel Belvedere.

**Scores Extravagance.**

At the evening meeting in the Palace Arena Hon. Mackenzie King compared the expenditure under the Laurier Government with the enormous cost of government under the Tory Administration, and said it was not alone the increase in the cost of commodities which made living so high, but in the taxation, direct and indirect, which amounted to $56 for every individual of the country, or about $750 for each family.

There was too much money spent for unnecessary things, he said, such as the army, navy and policing. He showed that in the matter of the policing there had been an increase of from $75,000 before the war to $4,000,000 today. The five ships "which somebody in England had wished on us without the consent of either the Parliament of Canada or of Great Britain" cost another $4,000,000 a year.

**Tariff for Revenue.**

He was in favor of tariff revision for revenue purposes only. In closing he made an appeal for unity of the Labor, Liberal, Women's and Farmer groups as against the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party.

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31 Aug. 1921 Seaforth, Ont. D 5426

MEIGHEN'S USURPING POWER

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Toronto Globe, Sept 1/21

# PUTTING BRAKES ON EXPENDITURE IS OTTAWA NEED

## Hon. Mackenzie King and Dr. Beland Speak in Huron County

## HAVE BIG RECEPTION

## Middle Course Is Advised in Matters Pertaining to the Tariff

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Seaforth, Aug. 31.—The townspeople practically suspended business here today in honor of the visit of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Hon. Dr. Beland, and everyone, irrespective of class, creed or politics, assembled at Victoria Park in the afternoon to participate in the great Liberal rally which was held under the auspices of the local Liberal Associations. The inhabitants left no stone unturned to make the visit of the Liberal Chieftain and his distinguished colleague a complete success. The town was gaily decorated, flags and banners being suspended across the main thoroughfare, while the Town Hall and many of the business establishments had a profuse display of bunting and signs of welcome. Hundreds of people either motored or drove in from all parts of Huron county, and the crowd which gathered in the park to hear the addresses was pronounced the largest in the history of the town. A platform had been erected in a thickly-wooded spot, and here, sheltered from the sun, the vast throng was able to listen to the speeches in comfort, despite the intense heat. Just prior to the commencement of the proceedings an automobile procession was formed, and, headed by the Seaforth Citizens' Band, proceeded round the town to the park.

**"One of Themselves."**

Mayor W. Golding presided at the rally, and extended on behalf of the Council and citizens generally a hearty welcome to the two visitors. His Worship told Dr. Beland that they welcomed him as "one of themselves," although he came from the sister Province, adding that the sacrifice and suffering Dr. Beland had endured in the war had endeared him in the hearts of the people and made his name cherished throughout Canada.

Messrs. J. M. Govenlock, W. H. Fraser and Thomas MacMillan were called upon for speeches, but all three confined themselves to a few words, in order that all the time might be devoted to the addresses of the two principal speakers.

Mr. Govenlock urged that the Provincial Legislature and the Federal authorities should unite in trying to do something to relieve the unemployment situation.

Mr. Fraser, who is the Liberal candidate for North Huron, made a brief reference to his candidature, and remarked that Liberal ideas are commanding more attention now than they have done for a long time.

**Sentiment of Toleration.**

Hon. Dr. Beland was accorded a very hearty reception, and his speech was listened to with attention throughout. He began with a reference to the relations which exist between the French and English speaking peoples of the Dominion, and repeated the conviction which he had expressed at a recent mass meeting in the Province of Quebec that "the vast majority of the English-speaking people of Canada are imbued with a deep and enduring sentiment of good-will and there is mutual forbearance between the different elements which compose Canada." (Applause.) The average Canadian was well meaning, patriotic and disposed to cultivate a sentiment of toleration toward his neighbor, and the speaker expressed a hope that the mischief-maker and the man who wished to gain political advantage by appeals to prejudice had been silenced forever.

Coming to the question of the continuance of the present Government in power, Dr. Beland said it is now an almost invisible image of the Unionist Government of 1917. Hon. Mr. Crerar, Hon. Mr. Rowell, Hon. Frank Carvell and other Ministers had disappeared, and Sir Robert Borden, who had been returned as Government leader, had gone, too. The moment Sir Robert disappeared there should have been an appeal to the people. Physical ailments were given as the reason for Sir Robert Borden's resignation.

"Well," exclaimed Dr. Beland, "you may believe that if you like. I do not like to disbelieve a man when he says anything, but if I should speak the inner thoughts of my mind I should say that the reason was because he realized he could not stay there any longer. He was disgusted."

Dr. Beland strongly censured Mr. Meighen for taking office without first making an appeal to the people, and proceeded to criticize the enormous expenditures which the present Administration had piled up. Mr. Meighen gave as his excuse for the present huge debt that it was due to the war, but Dr. Beland showed that much of it was due to reckless extravagance.

**No Extremes in Tariff.**

Coming to the question of tariff, Dr. Beland said that on reading the great works of notable political economists there was much which appeared attractive about free trade, but in considering questions of fiscal policy they had to take into consideration not only social, economic, commercial and financial conditions, but the geographical situation as well. Canada was situated next to a country with a population of a hundred and ten millions, and had to shape her fiscal policy with some regard to that of the United States. Between the extremes of high protection and free trade was the middle course of tariff for revenue, which was the policy of the Liberal party.

It was idle for Mr. Meighen to go up and down the country and tell the people they must either be protectionists or free traders. As the son of a farmer and as one whose constituency of Beauce was exclusively agricultural, he told the farmers present emphatically that the introduction of free trade would be nothing short of a calamity. The fiscal policy of the Liberal party was calculated to render more accessible to the great consuming public the necessaries of life; it would relieve agriculturists of the heavy burden in regard to duties on agricultural implements, and would have a stabilizing effect in the Dominion.

The speaker denied that the Liberal party was dead. It was more alive than ever. It was true that, like other parties, it had its vision turned to the future, but, although that was the case, it was not ignoring the lessons of the past and was receiving inspiration from the great Liberals of the past of both Great Britain and Canada.

When Hon. Mackenzie King rose to speak he was greeted with loud cheers and was presented with an address on behalf of the Liberal Associations of the district by Mr. Robertson of Goderich.

Hon. Mr. King in the course of his address dealt exhaustively with Government expenditures. "The Government has lost all intelligent comprehension of the meaning of money," he declared. What was most needed in Canada at the present time was a Government which would do its best to economize in the matter of public expenditure, but they would never get economy as long as the present Government continues in office. Hon. Mr. King impressed upon the women in the audience the importance of taxation to them.

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"I think the time has come," he said, "when we should look on all political questions from the point of view of how they affect the home and the family. That is the point of view from which I intend to look upon them and the point of view from which the Liberal party intends to look upon them."

The speaker alluded to the urgent need for retrenchment, but said that the Meighen Administration, instead of cutting down expenditures, were making them greater, because they were thinking, not about the people as a whole, but were considering only a few special interests and a few special friends.

**Ships Not Properly Fitted.**

Referring to the expenditure in connection with the Merchant Marine, Hon. Mr. King mentioned that in the past few weeks four of the vessels had been lost. Moreover, the ships had not been properly fitted out for the British trade, with the result that butter had soured and cheese had sweated and Canada's reputation in the matter of agricultural produce had been injured. In regard to tariff, Hon. Mr. King insisted that the policy of the Liberal party in the matter was one which would work in the interests of all parts of Canada, and all classes. It would not be a tariff solely for the combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers.

In closing Hon. Mr. King appealed to the various democratic forces not to divide into groups, but to stand firmly together.

At the conclusion of his speech Hon. Mr. King was again loudly cheered. Cheers were also given for Dr. Beland, the Liberal party and the Chairman.

A joint welcome was tendered Hon. Dr. Beland tonight by the Medical Association of Huron and the G.W.V.A. The proceedings took the form of a banquet at the Oddfellows' Hall, presided over by Major R. S. Hays. The function, which was largely attended, was of an entirely non-political character. Dr. Beland gave an interesting account of his experiences as a prisoner in Germany.

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London Advertiser
Sept" 1, 1921

D 5429

# Meighen Usurping Power at Ottawa Leader Declares

[By Staff Reporter.]

SEAFORTH, Aug. 31.—With an attendance that has yet to be equalled at any open-air meeting in Western Ontario this summer, Huron County at a Liberal rally this afternoon welcomed with undisguised and unmistakable enthusiasm Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and his able and eloquent colleague, the distinguished member from Beauce, Quebec, Hon. Dr. Henri Beland, ex-postmaster-general under the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Huron County, and particularly the south riding, clearly evidenced at today's gathering that it has once again lined up solidly beneath the broad and generous folds of the Liberal banner. Incidentally, scores of electors journeyed into Seaforth early this morning from adjoining counties and remote township lines to listen with undivided attention to the able addresses of the Liberal chieftain and his followers. That a fair percentage of these visitors were members of other than the Liberal party was admitted, a further proof that the mass of the people are insistent in their demand to know the truth about the vast expenditures at Ottawa.

**Smashing Attack.**

At this afternoon's rally, Hon. Mr. King launched another of his smashing and effective series of broadsides at the Meighen administration, enumerating the great sums expended by the Union Government, particularly since the termination of the war, and compared unfavorably the present total national debt with that under the Laurier regime. He urged all Progressives, whether farmer, returned soldier or of the women's societies, to rally under the Liberal principles as against a common foe.

Dr. Beland dwelt at length on the different military undertakings since 1918, and mercilessly flayed the Hon. Hugh Guthrie and others of the Meighen cabinet.

**Rousing Reception.**

Although the two speakers did not arrive until a late hour last night and under unfavorable weather conditions they were tendered an informal but rousing reception by a representative gathering of residents. Subsequent to their arrival from the east the visitors accepted an invitation to a dance in progress at the rooms of the Great War Veterans. At 1:30 this afternoon the parade, headed by Seaforth Citizens' Band, proceeded to Victoria Park, where the big concourse of people was expectantly waiting. Mayor Goulding of Seaforth, in delivering his address of welcome, explained that he himself was an ardent follower of the Liberal policy because it stood for all that was just for the common people. He predicted the Liberals as coming into their own again soon and announced his leader as the coming premier.

**An Appreciation.**

On behalf of the Liberal Associations of Huron County, W. H. Robertson, Goderich, president of the North Huron Association, read the following appreciation directly Mr. King was called upon to speak:

"We present greetings in behalf of the Liberal associations of this county. We should have liked to have had you at half a dozen other meetings, but we know your time is limited, so we have met at Seaforth in a representative gathering.

"We greet you as custodian of the Liberal faith and of those conditions that meet the faith today as they met it in days gone by. We are confident that as successor to our late beloved leader, Sir Wilfred Laurier, you will present these conditions worthily and acceptably."

As the Hon. Mr. King and Dr. Beland, both obviously deeply moved, made brief and fervent replies, they were cheered again and again.

**Urges Prompt Help.**

J. M. Govenlock, M. P. P., North Huron, spoke briefly, expressing confidence in Liberalism. He touched a few moments on the unemployment problem and appealed to both the federal and provincial houses to do their utmost to alleviate conditions.

W. Fraser, ex-M P., and Liberal candidate for North Huron, and Thos. McMillan, probable Liberal candidate for the south riding, also spoke briefly, but with great effect, each winning much applause.

**Have Been Denied.**

"It is a shocking circumstance," declared Hon. Mr. King, "that of all the warring nations, including the enemy, Canada stands alone, with the possible exception of Russia, in that its people have been denied the right of an election since the termination of the war. Canadians apparently are singled out by their autocratic government as the only ones that dare not be trusted.

"The reason is plain. Every province of the Dominion has had its election, and in every instance where a Conservative party has been in power it has been decisively thrown out and a democratic House replaced. Ottawa knows full well that it does not represent the will of its electors, and if an appeal was made now it would find itself out in the cold. Therefore, it hangs desperately on.

**The Big Issues.**

"Now is the time to regard all political questions from the viewpoint of the home. From now on that is the one manner in which the Liberal party will consider the big issues of the nation. The home is the centre of the country. If the families are happy and prosperous—so the nation. Hereafter we propose to study the issues to the last analysis as to how they affect the homes."

Taking up the important question of the national debt, the speaker termed it "appalling," and asserted that even should it be correct that the war was responsible for a big outlay, there was no excuse for the many millions that had been, as he said, squandered since.

**A Huge Increase.**

He pointed out that in 1911 when the Laurier Administration went out of power the public debt was but 335 millions as against more than two billions today. Before the Government can commence to carry on its own business at this moment it is confronted by the startling figure of 140 millions as interest alone on the national debt. "This sum itself," he said, "is more than it cost to operate the Laurier Government at any time."

"There is one obligation," he said, "that we must be prepared to meet in a worthy manner, and that is to our returned soldiers and the dependents of those who crossed the seas and failed to return. For pensions and soldiers' civil re-establishment we must vote 135 millions this year alone."

**Reckless Spending.**

Dwelling upon another source of con-

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tinual and exorbitant expenditure the Liberal leader bitterly attacked the action of the present house for taking over the railroads without even asking the opinion of the people on the matter. The deficit this year, he pointed out, was some 70 millions with 50 millions last year, and likely 100 millions during the next year. All these different expenditures mean, he explained, that Canada this year must find a sum equal to $56 for every man, woman and child in the entire country. "There's your federal burden alone," he stated significantly, "and what we say is this, that we should have in power a government that will practice economy and safeguard the financial interests of the people."

**Refused Information.**

Explaining that the Opposition had made a determined effort to gain definite information as to the various railroad matters, Mr. King said that all their answer had been "no information." The Meighen party, he stated, replied that it did not know among other things whether the directors of the railway board were connected with other companies or not, but it was subsequently discovered, he said, that they were.

"This board," he said, "is given a free hand, and is apparently responsible to no one and the Government more than that endeavored to shield it from fair criticism."

The speaker also criticized the action of the Government in continuing its furthering of the merchant marine service. Seventy millions could have been saved the country in this instance he contended and pointed out that although the construction of these vessels was supposedly a war-time move the work was continued, and 60 boats were built in all. He referred to the fact that within the past two weeks four of these had either gone to the bottom or else had crashed upon some distant rocky reef. "This is but another unwise undertaking," he said, "that we have saddled on our backs today."

**Reckless Spending.**

"What justification is there," he asked further, "in spending in this period of depression 22 millions for a navy? We have spent millions already and sacrificed thousands of men just to prevent such military expenditures. The militia expenses now are just double what they were when Borden came into power and the war is over. We tried to stop this spending, and I ask, What do we find at these summer camps? Why, they are almost exclusively filled with returend men and what training I ask you do they need at one of these camps? Yet they said we were disloyal when we talked disarmament.

**Lost Perspective.**

"There is another matter. This year the cost of the Northwest Mounted Police will be three and one-half millions. This unit was primarily intended for the policing of the unorganized territories of the West, but they have moved the headquarters to Ottawa. Under the guise of police they are attempting to raise a standing army. Under a siege of war administration the Meighen party have lost all perspective in regard to matter of military expenditure."

**The Tariff Question.**

Mr. King then took up the tariff question. "A policy," he declared, "that is not big enough to include all classes and not tile. We seek to lay down a policy for the best of all sections. Meighen is entirely wrong, and knows it when he always the question is between protection on one hand and free trade on the other. There is no such thing as a tariff based on free trade. How can you do that? Meighen knows that there are some who do not talk protection, and he thinks they must then have free trade.

**A Happy Medium.**

"A tariff that we should have would be based between the two; a happy medium. A tariff for revenue purposes can be framed to serve all legitimate interests, and that is needed. It is not fair for Meighen to tell the people we can have free trade today. You can't raise the 560 million that we need by direct taxation. I believe that it be inclined to that but by evolution and not by revolution. This can be done by revising the tariff laws in a way to care for the people as a whole and not just the few.

**Should Lower Duties.**

"To do this there will be two things to bear in mind. Reduce duties as much as possible, and in some instances altogether, and make your commodities as cheap as possible for the betterment of the city and farm. We say, Make the cost of living as reasonable as possible for the masses. Make the tax on necessities as light as possible."

Discussing the platforms of the returned soldiers' women's, Labor and Conservative parties, the leader explained that all these, except the latter, contained much in common with Liberalism, and had been outlined in open convention.

**People Not Consulted.**

"Who drew up the National-Liberal-Conservative-Tory platform, however?" he asked. "Was it by convention? Were the people consulted? No. None were asked an opinion. It was behind closed doors. Their leader, even the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, was never chosen by the people, and was only the second choice of the members. In his platform as against a democratic one, you have the symbol of autocratic government by the few against the well being of the many. Men who drew up the Conservative platform control the Government today; control the naval services, the rails, the postoffice, and have their wealthy friends among the bankers and a few of the manufacturing interests."

In conclusion the Liberal leader made a fervent appeal to the Progressives of Canada to get behind the principles of his party and by unity defeat the common enemy.

**Must Not Divide.**

"Let me tell you," he declared emphatically, "when the people of Canada are going to divide into groups to fight the great battle they are only helping to further the cause of the central enemy, who is in power today; a power that has behind it wealth and the Government to help it win. From every platform I have made the appeal to the democratic forces not to divide but to stand together.

"If you men of the U. F. O. will tell me anything that your party will hope to get in parliament which we are not fighting for, or if the women, or the returned soldiers or the laboringman will tell me the same, then I will say that we are ready to stand aside. But so long as we have the great principles in common and are trying to reduce expenditures and the cost of living let us unite in one strong formidable army and present a combined front to the enemy.

**Would Mean Losses.**

"You may have in the next election in some of these constituencies a Labor, Liberal of Farmer candidate running to divide you against the forces of reaction, and if I am not a false prophet you will see us in such an event losing many constituencies, and when the election is over we will find when it is too late, and that the interests we had in common were much greater than those that held us apart."

"Where is the Government of '17?" questioned Dr. Beland in the course of his address on the expenditures of the Meighen party. "At that time Canada elected a government of a certain character with the obvious purpose to act until termination of war. It was led by Sir Robert Borden and his selected cabinet. Where is it today? Is it in existence or defunct? Is the present ruling body at Ottawa your representation of 1917? No, it is but a feeble resemblance, and the one of '17 was bad enough."

**Where Are They?**

"Think a moment. You elected in 1917 from this fair province one, Newton Rowell. Where is he today? Gone. You elected Frank Carvell. Where is he? Also vanished. You elected MacLean and Sir Thos. White. Both vanished since. Where is Mewburn? In vain you look for him. When Sir Robert Borden left he said it was because of physical ailment. Was that the reason, or was it because he was disgusted and realized he could stay no longer? Although your government is gone you have had no general election because there is one man who wants to hold continuous power, and he stands today, blamed by the people, Arthur Meighen."

**A Costly Blunder.**

In condemning different military expenditures including several huge amounts for demobilization, the member from Quebec denounced in no uncertain manner the justification of the Siberian expedition.

"Where was there," he questioned, "a greater political or military blunder? This undertaking should have been covered by Japan which is, and was then, our ally. It was the height of folly to dispatch our forces 10,000 miles when Japan, close at hand, had a trained army of three or four million standing idle."

**Criticizes Loan.**

He criticized severely the loan of 50 million to Rumania and Greece, and stated that this money was now lost for good.

"Where is it?" he asked, "in the directorates of the firms who received it for Canadian goods presented to these countries."

One of the cardinal points of the Liberal policy of today, he explained, was the maintenance of cordial and loyal British connections. Quebec, he said, had been maligned, but he believed that he expressed the true sentiment of that province when he said there was no part of Canada where the British ties are held more sacred.

"The British crown," he said "is the one that has secured for the French-Canadians the free usage of their language and the unmolested practice of their religion.

"As was true in 1812, it is true today," he continued. "On more than one occasion the French-Canadians have fought in Canada against the United States. We as Liberals insist upon our Canadian autonomy. We do not want the British Empire to be dislocated by certain 'quacks' on imperialism, who believe in centralizing all the power in London, but we do believe in self-control (aplause) by the Dominions."

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London Free Press, Sept 1/21

# ASKS AID OF ALL GROUPS TO BEAT MEIGHEN

## Mackenzie King Fears Government Will Win in "Constituency After Constituency"

## PLENTY OF ROOM IN LIBERAL BAND WAGON

## Leader and Dr. Beland Plead Hard at Huron County Rally at Seaforth

SEAFORTH, August 31.—(By Staff Reporter.)—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King has "broadened out." Recruiting for the Liberal party is now thrown open to Labor, War Veterans and organized women, as well as the United Farmers, to whom the leader has already appealed. At his meeting in Victoria Park this afternoon Mr. King produced copies of the political platforms of the bodies referred to and declared that all four were identical with that of the Liberals, in that they stood for democratic government, reduction of national expenditure and revision of the tariff. He urged a union of forces in order to defeat the Government and the "party of reaction."

"They are surrounded by wealth and power" he said. "They are going to make their appeal to the people and try to be returned to carry out their platform. Now that is an enemy of no mean proportions. Let me tell you that when the people of Canada are getting divided up into groups to fight the great battle that is coming on they are only helping to further the cause of this central enemy that is in power to-day and has all the power of Government and wealth behind it to help win. That is why from every platform I have spoken I have been making an appeal to democratic forces not to be divided into groups, but to stand together and fight for the interests we have in common.

**APPEAL TO FARMERS.**

"If you men who belong to the United Farmers will tell me anything your party can hope to get in Parliament which we are not fighting for, if the veterans will tell me anything on their program which we are not standing for, which you can hope to get in Parliament, or if the women will tell me anything, or the Labor group, things we are not fighting for and they are anxious to get, then I will say we are ready to stand aside and let them have the field, if that is in the interests of the country as a whole. But in view of the things we have in common let us unite and as one strong, formidable army make sure of victory, and not lose it the moment victory is in sight."

The Liberal meeting was quite the largest strictly political gathering held in Western Ontario of late and was representative of the whole County of Huron. Speakers other than Mr. King were: Hon. Dr. Beland, M. P. for Bruce; Thomas McMillan, federal candidate in South Huron; J. M. Govenlock, M. P. P., Center Huron, and W. J. Fraser, ex-M. P. P., candidate in North Huron. Mayor W. Goulding presided and formally welcomed Mr. King and Dr. Beland to Seaforth. W. H. Robertson, of Goderich, president of North Huron Liberal Association, presented to Mr. King a message from both riding associations, as follows:

"We present greetings on behalf of the Liberal Association of the County of Huron. We should have liked to have you at a half dozen different points in the county, but we know your time is limited, so we have met at Seaforth, in a gathering representative of the entire county. We greet you as custodian of the Liberal faith and of those conditions that meet the faith to-day as in days gone by, and we are confident that as successor to our late beloved leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, you will present these conditions worthily and acceptably."

**DR. BELAND.**

Dr. Beland reviewed the Cabinet changes in the Unionist Government and said that the moment Sir Robert Borden resigned the administration ought to have gone to the country. He introduced something new in an implication that physical ailments were not responsible for Sir Robert's resignation.

"You may believe it if you like," he said. "I don't like to disbelieve one man when he says something, but if I should speak to you the inner thought that is in my heart, it is that Sir Robert Borden abandoned it because he realized he could not stay there any longer. He was disgusted. He abandoned direction of the Government, and then everybody thought we should have a general election. Did you get it? No, because there was there one man who was ready to get hold of the succession behind the back of the Canadian people. I hesitate not to say it, in spite of the will of the people, this man, though I respect him personally, has acted in such a manner in taking the political reins in Canada that to-day he stands to blame before the whole population, and this man is Mr. Meighen."

The audience, which applauded generously the majority points emphasized throughout the meeting, greeted this passage with dead silence, and Dr. Beland turned to other matters.

"There is dissatisfaction in Canada," he said, "in the farming community, in labor circles, amongst the merchants and commercial people of Canada and among the brave returned men, and one expression is given of public dissatisfaction. You have it from the prime minister that there are two classes, one his followers and the other made up of nation wreckers. I say there are no nation wreckers in Canada to-day. Every citizen is animated with a desire to se this country orderly and prosperous and contented."

**DEBT, LOANS, SIBERIA.**

Dr. Beland referred to the war debt as partly illegitimate; condemned the Siberian expedition as a piece of folly, in view of the ability of Japan to do the work; criticized Canada's loan to Roumania, and admitted that a policy of free trade was out of the question for the Dominion.

"The first point in the Liberal platform to-day," he continued, "is maintenance of British connection. I come from a province which has been maligned in this regard and you know it. But I think I express the true sentiments of the Province of Quebec when I say that in no portion of Canada is the British tie more sacred. The British crown is the crown that has secured for that population the usage of its language and unmolested practice of its religious creed, and if you will close your ears to the men who will appeal to religous prejudice, you will know that on more than one occasion the French population have fought here in Canada to preserve the British flag as against the American. But we insist upon maintaining and developing Canadian autonomy upon the broadest lines. We don't believe in that school of quacks and charlatans who believe in centralizing all military and political power of the empire in London.

"Another cardinal point is development of friendly relations with the United States. Mutual understanding and the peace of the world, for which we are all longing, will be secured. If Parliament had passed reciprocity, as we asked last session, wouldn't that have been conducive to better feeling?

"Listen to the divine, celestial and immortal fire that finds a place in every human breast—the conscience—and you will rally to the banner of the Liberal party."

Mr. King, after acknowledging a fine reception, went on to say that Canada was the only country among all those participating in the late war on the side of the allies, in which the people had not been given an opportunity to express themselves in the matter of self-government. Not only that, but all the provinces of Canada had had elections, and "wherever there was a government that stood for the old Tory traditions, as they were during the period of the war, these governments have been thrown out of office, and a government representative of the democratic will of the people has been put in its stead."

Mr. King did not mention any Liberal Governments which had been put in power in this way, but went on to deal with the public debt, the country's obligation to returned soldiers and their dependents, and with taxation. He declared that the Government's present requirements meant taxation of $300 on every family of five in the country, collected either directly or in increased prices on commodities imposed by those who, in turn, paid taxation.

"We want a Government in power that will stand first, last and all the time for retrenchment and economy in all matters of Government administration," he continued. "It is useless to say that all that taxation is due to the war. I am quite prepared to admit that much of it is, and there is no use crying over spilled milk."

**MERCHANT MARINE.**

The speaker returned to his attack on the merchant marine service, charging that on the ships recently lost at sea, insurance equal only to the value of replacement will be paid the Government. This amount, stated by Mr.

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King at Windsor at $50 to $60 per ton weight, and reduced at his Strathroy meeting to $40 to $50, was to-day described as "$30 to $40."

Mr. King condemned extension of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police force as an effort to create a "standing army."

His reference to tariff emphasized the point that the Liberal party stands for a middle course between free trade and high protection, but involving reduction of duty on farm implements. The National Liberal and Conservative party, he said, was the only one whose leader and platform had not been chosen at a convention of the party. Of the others, he said:

"I have no antagonism toward these parties. As a Liberal I am in sympathy with a large part of their program. I have always said a farmer movement was a true spring of Liberalism. My interest in labor has grown out of the fact that I feel Liberalism can stand for the interests of the men who work with their hands. As a Liberal I believe women should have more and more of a voice in the government of the country. But what I do say is this, that the women and soldiers have set us a better example in how to carry on a campaign than has been set by the other groups that would divide up the country. The women and soldiers have their platform, but they are not putting their candidates in the field as soldiers or women, but as members of a great party that stands for progressive ideas and ideals. We wish to look at the interests of all classes and creeds, and it is better than we should stand together and united and fight for the great principles we have in common than be divided in the face of a common enemy.

**FORESEES DANGER.**

"Germany was winning until the allied forces united under one command. You will have in some of these constituencies Liberal, Labor and Farmer candidates to divide you against the forces of reaction, and if I am not a false prophet you will find in constituency after constituency we will lose and the enemy will win, and when the election is over it will be too late then for us to recognize that the things we had in common were greater than the things that divided us. Let those who appreciate these democratic views stand together, first, last and all the time and we can win."

Mayor Goulding said he was an enthusiastic Liberal. He had looked up in a dictionary to-day to see how Liberalism was defined and found it to be "in modern politics the party which claims to be distinctly that of reform and progress" and aims to "extend the privileges of the masses formerly monopolized by the favored classes."

The meeting concluded with cheers for Mr. King, Dr. Beland, the Liberal party, Mr. Fraser and—called for by Mr. King—the chairman. Seaforth Citizens' Band played the National Anthem.

Dr. Beland was the guest this evening at a luncheon arranged by the local G. W. V. A. and the Medical Association of Huron County and gave an interesting account of his imprisonment in Germany during the war

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Morning Citizen, Ottawa Sept 1/21

# SEAFORTH PEOPLE HEAR ADDRESS OF HON. W. L. M. KING

## Liberal Leader Attacks the Meighen Government for Incompetence and Extravagance.

SEAFORTH, Ont., Aug. 31.—With an attendance that has yet to be equalled at any open air meeting in Western Ontario this summer, Huron county at a Liberal rally this afternoon, welcomed Hon. Wm. Lyon Mackenzie King, and his colleague from Beauce, Que., Hon. Dr. Henri Beland.

At this afternoon's rally Hon. Mr. King launched an attack on the Meighen administration, enumerating the great sums expended by the Union government, particularly since the termination of the war. He compared unfavorably the present total national debt with that under the Laurier regime and urged all Progressives, whether Farmer, returned soldier, or in the women's societies, to rally under the Liberal principle. Dr. Beland dwelt at length on the different military undertakings since 1918 and assailed Hon. Hugh Guthrie and others of the Meighen cabinet.

"It is a shocking circumstance," declared Hon. Mr. King, "that of all the warring nations, including the enemy, Canada stands alone with the possible exception of Russia in that its people have been denied the right of an election since the termination of the war. Canadians apparently are singled out by their autocratic government as the only ones that dare not be trusted.

"The reason is plain. Every province of the Dominion has had its election and in every instance where a Conservative party has been in power it has decisively thrown out and a Democratic house replaced. Ottawa knows full well that it does not represent the will of its electors and if an appointment was made now it would find itself out in the cold. Therefore, it hangs desperately on."

**The National Debt.**

Taking up the important question of the national debt, the speaker termed it "appalling" and asserted that even should it be correct that the war was responsible for a big outlay there was no excuse for the many millions that had been, as he said, squandered since.

He pointed out that in 1911 when the Laurier administration went out of power the public debt was but $335,000,000 as against more than $2,000,000,000 today. Before the government can commence to carry on its own business at this moment, it is confronted by the startling figure of $140,000,000 as interest alone on the national debt. "This sum itself," he said, "is more than it cost to operate the Laurier government at any time."

"There is one obligation," he said, "that we must be prepared to meet in a worthy manner and that is to our returned soldiers and the dependents of those who crossed the seas and failed to return. For pensions and soldiers' civil re-establishment we must vote $135,000,000 this year alone."

**Attack on Railroads.**

The Liberal leader bitterly attacked the action of the present house for taking over the railroads without asking the opinion of the people on the matter. The deficit this year, he pointed out, was some $70,000,000 with $50,000,000 last year and likely $100,000,000 during the next year. All these different expenditures mean, he explained, that Canada this year must find a sum equal to $58 for every man, woman and child in the entire country.

Explaining that the opposition had made a determined effort to gain definite information as to the various railroad matters, Mr. King said that all their answer had been was, "no information." The Meighen party, he stated, replied that it did not know, among other things, whether the directors of the railway board were connected with other companies or not, but it was subsequently discovered, he said, that they were.

**Dr. Beland Speaks.**

Dr. Beland reviewed the cabinet changes in the Unionist government and said that the moment Sir Robert Borden resigned, the administration ought to have gone to the country. He introduced something new in an implication that physical ailments were not responsible for Sir Robert's resignation.

"You may believe it if you like," he said. "I don't like to disbelieve one man when he says something, but if I should speak to you the inner thought that is in my heart, it is that Sir Robert Bordon abandoned it because he realized he could not stay there any longer. He was disgusted. He abandoned direction of the government and then everybody thought we should have a general election. Did we get it? No, because there was there one man who was ready to get hold of the succession behind the back of the Canadian people; I hesitate not to say it, in spite of the will of the people, this man, though I respect him personally, has acted in such a manner in taking the political reins in Canada that today he stands to blame before the whole population, and this man is Mr. Meighen."

Dr. Beland referred to the war debt as partly illegitimate; condemned the Siberian expedition as a piece of folly, in view of the ability of Japan to do the work; criticized Canada's loan to Rumania, and admitted that a policy of free trade was out of the question for the Dominion.

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20 Sept. 1921 Toronto Junction

THE NEED FOR A NEW GOVERNMENT

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Toronto Junction (West York)
Tuesday, September 20, 1921.

Less than a month ago, the Government announced that a by-election would be held on October the sixth, to fill the vacancy which existed in the House of Commons in the representation of the electoral district of West York. When, eight days later, the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister spoke at London, the people of Canada, having in mind the grounds upon which Mr. Meighen has all along justified his usurpation and retention of office, naturally expected some further pronouncement with respect to the by-elections, necessitated by the many other existing vacancies. Some anticipated the announcement of an early reassembling of Parliament for the purpose of enacting a measure of redistribution prior to a general election. Instead, the country was informed that Parliament would be dissolved almost immediately, and the general elections held before the close of the present year.

Accordingly, we are assembled here tonight, not for the opening meeting in a by-election campaign which, had it been gone on with, would have served further to shatter the small surviving and none too certain remnant of the Government's following in the House of Commons, but for the purpose of inaugurating a nation-wide campaign which will relieve the country altogether of the present Government.

THE CHANGE OF TIMES.

Before I allude to the reasons which caused the Prime Minister so suddenly to change his mind, may I be permitted to say just a word with regard to the change which but a short interval of time has served to bring in the personnel of the candidates who appear before the electors of this constituency.

For some years past, West York has been represented in the House of Commons by the late Captain Tom Wallace, son of the l

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of the late Hon. Clarke Wallace, a former and much respected member of Parliament. In the last political contest, Captain Wallace was opposed by the late Mr. Frank Denton, K.C.. Tonight we miss the presence of both these erstwhile political rivals. Neither is longer with us. It has not been left to them further to share "the strife of tongues". Both have passed "to where beyond these voices there is peace".

I am sure I echo the sentiments of all here assembled when I say that, in their death, our country, not less than this constituency, has suffered the loss of two gentlemen each of whom though they differed widely in political views, was a worthy and fearless champion of the opinions he held, each the centre of a wide circle of ~~xxxx~~ loyal and devoted followers, and each greatly beloved by those with whom an intimate acquaintance was shared.

Is there not something in the passing of these two lives which in the silence of the moment, in the hush which even now precedes the great political battle on which we are about to enter, bids us highly to resolve that in our public controversies we shall seek to rise above the ignoble aspects of party strife, the imputing of unworthy motives to our public men, and look beyond the inevitable frailities of human nature to the great principles for which men have ever been ready to sacrifice their lives, knowing that, while men come and go, principles are enduring, and that in matters of government, only as right principles prevail, can a nation's stability prosperity and progress be maintained.

THE FIRST OF NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

May I take occasion to congratulate the Liberals of West York on the one whom they have selected as their standard-bearer in this contest. It isnot surprising to learn that Major Streight has already found friends and supporters from among the following of the late Captain

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Wallace, as well as from the following of the late Mr. Denton. With the Liberalism of the one, he combines the experience of war and war conditions of the other; and this is a combination we must seek to encourage in the personnel of the new House of Commons, if the problems of reconstruction are to be carried out in the broad and liberal psirit by which alone they are to be solved, and our country is to be kept ever mindful of what is owing to the memory of its honoured dead, and to all who through the Great War endured sacrifice and loss. This I place as the first of our national obligations.

THE POSITION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY.

May I say just one other word of a personal character. We are delighted to have with us tonight the Hon. W. S. Fielding. May I not rather say our Province is greatly honoured in once again having him as a guest in its capital city. I know you will agree with me when I affirm that no man in public life in Canada is held in higher esteem than Mr. Fielding. No man in public lifehas given to theaffairs of our country a wider measure of disinterested and distinguished public service. Were it possible so to do, I should like to take advantage of this occasion to acknowledge something of what I feel I owe to his wholehearted, chivalrous and constant co-operation, both in and out of Parliament, and publicly to thank him for it.

So long as in the moulding andcarrying out of its policies the Liberal Party is in a position to combine the mature and cautious judgment of men like Mr. Fielding, who have had wide knowledge and experience in public affairs, with the new and progressive ideas of younger men, the country need never have concern lest the management of its affairs should become, on the one hand, too radical, or, on the other, too reactionary. It is with this very danger that our country is faced at the present time. To support the Government of today is to endorse reaction; to experiment with class in matters of government is to invite the unknown

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The Liberal Party with its traditions and aspirations, offers a means of escape from both these extremes, neither of which is in the national interest. It is the natural home of all those who, regardless of class, or section, race, or creed, desire, in this post-war period, a new order to replace the old; but who, at the same time, after the cleavages and divisions of the War, wish for our Dominion a unity in sentiment and purpose as strong as the Dominion itself is wide.

WHY DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT IS IMMINENT.

Now let me come to the question which I asked a moment ago. What were the circumstances which caused the Prime Minister, in so short a space of time, to change his mind with respect to an early dissolution of Parliament? Were the truth known, it would be found that, having held on to power against the will of the people to the point at which his own party press had broken out into open rebellion, and the shattered remnants of his following could no longer be relied upon to give him support in the House of Commons, he preferred the defeat of his Government in the country to its defeat in Parliament; he preferred to appear before the people as a Prime Minister holding office rather than as a Prime Minister who, in office, had suffered defeat.

I need not remind this vast gathering that the Liberal Party, true to its tradition as the upholder of the rights of the people against autocracy or privilege in any form, once the War was over and demobilization of the War forces effected, consistently and persistently advocated the right of the people to a general election. At the opening of Parliament two sessions ago, we urged in the strongest terms the people's right to a representative Parliament and a responsible Ministry to deal with post-war problems and policies. This demand we repeated at the beginning of the last session, and maintained throughout. On

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all occasions, we were told that we were in the wrong, that what the public interest demanded was the postponement of a general election, at least until after redistribution had been effected. In view of the Prime Minister's announcement, who, may I ask, was in the right and who in the wrong?

## A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT A MANDATE, A POLICY, OR A FRIEND.

As Liberals, we have all along contended that, having regard to the circumstances and conditions under which the Unionist Government was elected in 1917, the act of Mr. Meighen in assuming and retaining office, after Sir Robert Borden and many of his colleagues had resigned, was the act of a usurper and, as such, was wholly foreign to the spirit of our constitution and of our times.

I need not remind this gathering that the Government of Sir Robert Borden, elected in 1917, was a War Government chosen for war purposes only, that it was a Government composed ostensibly of members of both political parties. By no stretch of the imagination could such a claim be made for the Government of Mr. Meighen. It was from the beginning a Government without a mandate, without a policy, and is now a Government without a friend. This is the Government which, battered and bandaged, with new splints and props freshly applied, now comes before the people seeking an expression of their confidence. It is true that it has waited until it could wait no longer to take the step. Now that, to save complete dismemberment, the step has been taken, it is for the people to say whether, as regards the future, they will place their confidence in a Government which, through the whole of its past, has had no confidence in them.

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CANADIANS ALONE DENIED THE RIGHT TO A GENERAL ELECTION.

As evidencing Mr. Meighen's little regard for the rights or the will of the people, this it would seem, is an appropriate moment to remind the electors of Canada that the right to a general election has been denied the citizens of our country for a period longer than has obtained in the United Kingdom or in any of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire; longer than has obtained in any of the countries of the Allied and Associated Powers, with the exception only of Russia; longer than has obtained in neutral countries, or even in former enemy countries. In all parts of the world where government is supposed to be carried on by the will of the governed, the people, with the exception only of Canada, have long since been accorded the right of choosing a Parliament representative of the popular will to deal with post-war problems and policies. We alone have still to exercise that right. In Great Britain, a general election was held almost immediately after the signing of the Armistice. In South Africa, two general elections have been held. In New Zealand, ~~a second general election is already announced. (?)~~ in Australia, and Newfoundland, general elections were held over two years ago. Of the Allied and Associated Powers, Belgium, France, Italy, the United States and Japan, have all had their general elections since the War. The peoples of Holland and other of the Neutral Powers of Europe; the peoples of Mexico and of the South American Republics; the peoples even of Germany and of other of the autocratic powers allied with her in the Great War; all long since have been accorded this right. We alone have had it persistently denied.

OTHER ISSUES BESIDES THE TARIFF.

Confronted with an indictment so unanswerable, is

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there not something lacking in the vision of the imagination of a Prime Minister when he tells the people of Canada that the issue of the election which he has at last been compelled to concede is solely that of the Tariff. In the mind of the Prime Minister, the Tariff may be the issue. In the mind of the people, however, the issue is the Prime Minister and what he and his colleagues represent of autocracy and extravagance in the management of public affairs.

I have read with care the speech delivered by Mr. Meighen at London. Read it for yourselves, and you will find that all that it purports to say is that the issue in this election is not the question of defence, but solely that of the Tariff. Who ever suggested that the question of defence was the issue? Who but the Prime Minister himself has sought to set aside the momentous questions before the people of Canada at the present time and narrow public discussion down to this single issue of the Tariff? Mr. Meighen may believe that, through the medium of costly protectionist propaganda he may succeed in obscuring or distorting the vision of a portion of the electorate. Let me tell him, however, that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by the spoken or printed word to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of the Government of which he has been a member and of the Administration of which he is today the head.

## THE COST OF LIVING AND THE COST OF GOVERNMENT

What is the question of greatest concern to the people of Canada? Unless I am very much mistaken, men and women of all classes and from all parts of our vast Dominion will tell you that it is the problem of the cost of living, to which, at the present time, the cost of government is far and away the most important contributing factor. In the solution of the problem

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of the cost of living, the Tariff and its revision is an important and far reaching consideration. It is, however, but one of many considerations, and not less important than the Tariff, in this connection, is the Government by which the Tariff is to be revised.

In any consideration of the cost of living and the cost of government, we must begin with conditions as we find them. The Canada of to-day is different from the Canada of the years prior to the War. The problems of government, as a consequence, are also different, and in almost every particular more difficult as well. The affairs of a nation resemble those of a household, in that what may or may not be done depends primarily upon what is owed and what is owned. Where little is owed and much is owned, many things are possible. Where, however, much is owed until outstanding obligations are adequately met or cared for, the uses to which actual or potential wealth may be put are necessarily circumscribed.

OUR NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

Ten years ago, the national debt of Canada amounted to some 340 millions of dollars. To-day, the national debt of our country is not in the millions, but in the billions. It has reached the colossal figure of two billions three hundred and fifty millions of dollars (2,350,000,000.).

Let us immediately concede that approximately two billions ($2,000,000,000 of this debt has been due to the War and conditions arising out of the War. Let us also immediately concede that, with respect to every dollar of war expenditure honestly and legitimately incurred, not a word of exception can be taken by any man or woman in this country. In estimating the price at which our freedom has been maintained and our liberties have been preserved, no financial obligation imposed on our own ~~and~~ succeeding generations can ever equal or compensate the extent of the sacrifice as measured in terms of human lives. Let us forget for the moment

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all there has been of unnecessary expenditure, of waste, and extravagance. Let us assume that all has been spent in a just and a good cause and in a right and proper manner. The fact nevertheless remains that our country carries to-day a mortgage of $ 2,350,000,000., whereas ten years ago the load was deemed excessive at the relatively small figure of $ 340,000,000.

INTEREST ON THE PUBLIC DEBT.

Until the principal of that mortgage is paid, the men and women of this country must carry, in the form of taxes, directly or indirectly levied, a burden of debt on annual interest account alone of $ 140,000,000. Ten years ago, the burden of taxation on account of annual interest on the public debt amounted only to the sum of $ 12,500,000. When we consider that, ten years ago, the amount required to be raised to meet the total expenditure on goverament account in all it's branches and departments, including subsidies to railways and the amount payable as interest on the public debt, had never equalled $ 123,000,000., and that the amount now required to be raised in taxes solely to meet the interest on public debt is $17,000,000 in excess of that amount, we begin to get some idea of how conditions have changed, and of the need there is at the present time for economy and retranchment in the outlays of government.

PENSIONS AND SOLDIERS CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT.

Failure to meet the interest on our public debt would spell insolvency and bankruptcy for the nation. There is, however, another charge upon the public treasury scarcely less large and vastly more sacred, from the point of view of national obligation, than the interest on the public debt, an obligation to fail to meet which would spell not only insolvency and bankruptcy, but ingratitude and deshonour as well. This is the charge amounting at the present time to some $ 130,000,000, in the nature of pensions payable annually to disabled soldiers and the dependent relatives of those whose lives were sacrificed in the Great War,

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and on account of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment and other outlays incidental to what may be termed War Veterans' Account. This obligation we are determined at all costs to meet. Remember, however, it is an obligation which ten years ago had no place in our Public Accounts. Remember, too, that in amount it is an obligation vaster than the sums expended on all branches and departments of government ten years ago.

THE NATIONAL RAILWAYS AND MERCHANT MARINE.

But this is not the only new obligation. Since the year 1917, two vast railway systems have been transferred from private to public ownership. One of these transfers, that of the Canadian Northern Railway System, was effected by the Government of Sir Robert Borden during the period of the War, at a session of Parliament which was in the nature of an extension of its constitutional term, which extension had been arranged for on the understanding that no measure of public significance apart from immediate war necessities should be dealt with one way or the other.

The Grand Trunk Railway System, the other system to be acquired, was taken over in part by the Government of Sir Robert Borden and in part by Mr. Meighen's Government almost immediately preceding, and subsequent to Mr. Meighen's accession to office. In both cases, the method of acquisition was high-handed and arbitrary, the people in neither case having been consulted on the question of policy involved, and even Parliament having been denied the right of full and free discussion as to the method and terms of acquisition.

For the moment, I shall speak only of the annual charges upon the Treasury in consequence of these acquisitions. I shall refrain from making mention of the colossal amounts which would have to be paid were these systems to become the property of Canada free of all outstanding obligations. Last year, the deficit on account of government-owned and operated railways

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amounted to some $ 50,000,000. This year, the deficit had reached some $ 70,000,000. It is now taken for granted that the deficit for the coming year will be in the vicinity of $100,000,000. Sir Joseph Flavelle has warned the nation that, for a period of years to come, it may expect recurring deficits of possibly even greater amounts. Be this as it may, at this year's session, Parliament was asked by the Government to vote, and did vote, on account only of railways and canals, the sum of $165,000,000. Ten years ago the total outlay on account of railways and canals was $38,000,000. Here is an additional annual burden upon the shoulders of the Canadian people of $ 127,000,000, a sum again considerably in excess of the total expenditure on government account ten years ago.

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE BETWEEN FIVE AND SIX MILLIONS.

Having grown accustomed to talking in millions, let us now look at what, as citizens, we are expected this year to contribute to the federal treasury in the form of taxes. Omitting some $ 35,000,000 voted on Soldiers' Land Settlement account, which I have also not included in speaking of War veterans' account, and some $ 11,500,000 voted as loans to the Provinces of Housing account, both of which amounts are classed as advances to be subsequently repaid, the total amounts voted for expenditure during the fiscal year March 31, 1921, to March 31, 1922, was over $ 550,000,000. The census will not be complete until the end of the present year; we are therefore unable to say just what at the present time the total population of Canada may be. I greatly fear that it will be found to be under rather than over nine millions, as is popularily supposed. Assume, however, that it should come to nine millions, that would make the taxation for federal purposes alone equal to something over $ 62 per head of the population. When, however, it is realised how considerable is that portion of the population dependent on those who, directly or indirectly must carry the burden of taxation, we soon discover

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that the average load of the individual taxpayer is considerably beyond this amount. For the family of five, the average of taxation would exceed $ 310. This is for federal purposes alone. When you add the amounts to be collected for taxation on provincial and municipal accounts, you will begin to see the truth of what I have said when I spoke of the cost of government as being the most important of all the causes at present contributing to the high cost of living.

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WOMEN'S INTERESTS IN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE.

Let me at this point address myself more particularly to the women of our country. With the exception of some, who on grounds of naturalization are still being arbitrarily disfranchised, you are to-day in the same position as the men in the exercise of the rights of the Franchise, which means the selection of those who are to be entrusted with the making of the nation's laws and the control of government in our land. It may seem to you that the all-important questions of national finance, especially such as pertain to the ownership and operations of railways and the merchant marine; the revision of the Tariff; military, naval, and police expenditure; and to inter-imperial and international relations, are so far removed from the orbit of your accustomed thought that they are, so to speak, beyond you. Do not be surprised if you have a feeling of the kind. There is not one man in a thousand in our country, who, were he to speak his mind honestly, would not say that he shares that feeling in considerable measure. The truth is, the problems of government to-day have become so vast, that it is exceedingly difficult to find the men or the women who possess the natural ability and training to cope with them, and who at the same time are prepared to make the inevitable sacrifices of time and means and health which participation in public life involves.

In one particular, however, an understanding of the significance of all these problems is brought home in a very real way. Sooner or later it is discovered that every one of them affects our individual incomes and the family budget. Do not be misled into believing that, because taxation may be indirect instead of direct, you are thereby escaping carrying part of the load of the cost of government. Do not be led into believing that, because only incomes above a certain amount are taxed, persons whose incomes are less than this amount escape altogether carrying part of the burden of direct taxation. If your landlord, in consequence of the increased amount of his income tax, yields to the temptation to raise your rent, that he may get from you something that

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has been exacted from him, you, not he, are carrying the burden of direct taxation. If you find it is costing you more than you formerly paid to purchase clothes or food or fuel, do not be deceived into believing that, because you are not handing over part of the amount in the form of a tax to some visible tax-collector, someone else is not exacting from you, in the price you are compelled to pay some proportion of the amount which through indirect taxation has been paid into the federal treasury. The five hundred and sixty millions of dollars voted by Parliament for Government expenditures in this one year has all to be raised in the form of revenue one way or the other, or the country must go that much deeper into debt. It must all come out of the pockets and earnings of the people. If, instead of it being $ 560,000,000, it were half or even two-thirds of that amount, the sum to be taken out of the pockets of the people would be proportionately reduced. That is why it is a matter of vital concern to every woman, as well as to every man, who is in power at Ottawa, and what the policies are in accordance with which the affairs of the nation are carried on.

THE HOME AND ITS NEEDS, THE CONCERN OF LIBERALISM.

It is in the name of the home and its needs that the Liberal Party makes its appeal to all classes in this country. We do this in the belief that in the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of our homes lies the happiness, contentment, and prosperity of the nation. Happiness, contentment, and prosperity are not necessarily bound up with great wealth or great fortune. Indeed, were the truth known, riches are more frequently a source of unhappiness than of joy. Privation on the other hand, if it be unduly great, serves only to thwart and blight the higher aspirations and nobler development of human lives. It is in terms of privation that all of us have in some measure been obliged to take account of the cost of government as it has made itself felt through the greatly increased cost of living in recent years.

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I spoke of the average yearly taxation for federal purposes coming to something like $ 310. per family of five. Have you ever considered what the difference of that margin might mean in the strain and stress of home and family life? To one family, it may come to mean the difference between ownership of and a mortgage upon the home; to another, the difference between comfort and overcrowding. To the head of many a family it will mean the difference between insurance against accident, sickness, and death, and the inability to make this provision for those most loved. In cases of illness or misfortune, from which few homes are ever exempt, it may mean the difference between the care and attention which restore health and the inability to make the provision which prevents infirmity and which sometimes is necessary to the saving of life itself. To some homes, it will mean for children the difference between a higher education and the starting of life with a permanent handicap. To some individuals, it may mean a little more than the loss of social enjoyments or accustomed pleasures; to most, however, save those of more than average wealth, it is likely to mean privation in some measure, and to many hardship and possibly actual want.

Once come to believe that, wherever you find it more difficult to live and to do your full duty by those who are nearest and dearest to you, you are experiencing something of the effect of the increased cost of government, and you will realize wherein all these questions of finance, of trade, of transportation and defence, are of direct concern to you, and wherein you are interested in putting out of office a Government which has lost all true perspective in the matters of public xxxxxxxxx expenditures, and returning to power a Government pledged, above all else, to a reduction of the burdens of taxation through rigid economy and retrenchment and policies which have for their beginning and end, the home, and the well-being of the home.

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ECONOMY AND RETRENCHMENT NOT TO BE EXPECTED FROM WAR GOVERNMENT.

I might quote many reasons why it is useless to expect economy or retrenchment from any Government of which the present Prime Minister is the head. I shall mention only two. They are, however, so obvious that their unanswerable force will be quickly appreciated by you.

During the period of the War, some two billions of dollars were loaned to the Government and spent by the Government of which the Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen was a member, and which, he claims, was to all intents and purposes the Government of which he is the present head. After all, human nature is human nature. You cannot, over a period of years, grow accustomed to spending millions and billions of dollars without coming to find it exceedingly difficult to think in terms of hundreds and thousands. In pre-prohibition days, it used to be said that, once cultivated, a champagne appetite could not be satisfied on ordinary beer. And yet it is to the humbler diet we must grow accustomed in our public expenditures if the burden of the people in taxation is ever to be lessened. It is not unnatural that the Prime Minister and his Minister of Militia and his Minister of ~~Prime~~ Marine, and, for that matter, any other of the Ministers associated with him during the period of the War, should, as respects the matter of expenditure, continue to think in terms of war . What is wanted in the administration of public affairs to-day is not only a recognition of the fact that the War is over, but also that it has left in its wake vast obligations the like of which this country has never before experienced, and that, as a consequence, too great economy and supervision cannot be exercised in all outlays of public monies.

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BARNACLES AND UNNECESSARY CARGO.

The second point I wish to mention is that, in the course of the period of the War, and for that matter in the period since, many new branches of the administration were opened up and a vast army of employees drafted into the public service. In some of the departments, in the outside as well as the inside service, there has come to be as a consequence, not only overmanning of the staffs, but also much overlapping in the work itself. Sooner or later, barnacles accumulate on every ship. Notwithstanding that many clerks filling temporary appointments have been let out, or replaced in their positions by others, numbers of office holders remain whose continuance in the public service, or in the particular post they fill, is due solely to the influence which occasioned their appointment and which keeps them where they are. The ship of state in Canada to-day is burdened with unnecessary cargo and covered with barnacles which add materially to the cost of government. They will never be removed so long as the influence responsible remains. Nor need we expect any elimination of unnecessary or duplicated work so long as Ministers find it to the advantage in political power or personal prestige to avoid the discontinuance of these superfluous posts and services.

A NATIONAL AUDIT NECESSARY.

Apart, however, from barnacles and unnecessary cargo, there is great need to-day of a fresh accounting with respect to our national liabilities and assets. There is every ground for believing that, in the desire to make the showing as favourable as possible, many existing services and undertakings are being placed to the credit side of the national ledger which ought to be on the debit side. Many of our so-called assets may be in the nature of ~~white~~ liabilities. The present Minister of Finance so described some of our railway properties. I believe he might well have included the Government Merchant Marine.

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Let it never be forgotten, we have been through four years of war, during which period two billions of dollars have passed through the hands of the Government. It is now nearly three years since the War ended, and we are still spending millions on demobilization account. No one really knows where the country stands in the matter of its undertakings and obligations, or the wherewithal to meet them. No one will ever know so long as concealment is rendered possible on the part of those who are responsible for waste and extravagance. In such circumstances, common sense, not less than the national interest, demands a very obvious course; it is the course which every man in the management of his own financial affairs, every business and financial concern in the management of its affairs, after a time of crisis, would adopt; and that is to have a strict accounting, a fresh inventory, above all, an independent audit. This, I submit, can only be expected and effected in our national affairs ~~by a~~ by a Government which has had no part or parcel in the matters into which inquiry is to be made; in other words, by an entirely new administration. It is not a question of Grit or Tory, Conservative or Liberal; it is a question, in the interest of men and women of all political faiths and parties, of applying common sense business methods to the affairs of the nation at a time when common sense and business methods are required if the nation is to be saved from bankruptcy.

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PUBLICITY IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

Serious as has been the extravagance and waste of the present government, even more serious in its national consequences has been the attitude of the Prime Minister and his colleagues with respect to the time-honoured and fundamental right of the people's representatives in Parliament to an accounting for every cent of public expenditure. It is not going too far to say that in the attitude he has adopted with respect to the right of Parliament to information on certain classes of public expenditure Mr. Meighen has taken a position wholly subversive of the doctrine of responsible government, and one which, if countenanced, would soon result in transferring from the public treasury to the pockets of a favoured few, a not inconsiderable portion of the national revenue.

I need not remind this audience that, with the exception of expenditures necessitated by or arising out of the War, there has, in recent years, been nothing comparable in government outlays with the amounts paid out on account of the National Railways and the Government Merchant Marine.

I suppose that, at the moment, the most important of all our national problems is that which pertains to the administration of the nationally owned and operated railways and the Government Merchant Marine; - most important, because of the degree to which all industry, trade and commerce are dependent upon the cost of operation of these vast national enterprises; and because of the extent to which the cost of operation is responsible for the high rate of taxation for federal purposes.

As already mentioned, the amount voted by Parliament at the last session, on account of Railways and Canals, came to somewhere in the vicinity of $165,000,000; and, notwithstanding this vast sum, we are led to expect that at the end of this very year the country will still have to face, on Railways account, a deficit of $100,0 0,000. $70,000,000 has been spent or appropriated for the construction of a Government Merchant Marine.

When it is recalled that every cent of these vast amounts has to be raised and come out of the pockets of the people, in the form of taxation, is there any appreciable number of men or women in this country, except the very few who are benefitting by the transfer of this wealth from the public treasury into private hands, who will not feel that it is very much in their own, as well as the public interest, to have the fullest publicity with respect to the

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services for which, the persons to whom, and the manner in which these enormous amounts are being paid. Amazing and incredible as it may appear, the present Government not only has refused to give this information to the people's representatives in Parliament, but Mr. Meighen has gone the length of asserting that it is not in the public interest that such information should be given in answer to inquiries in the House of Commons; and for two years past Government has arbitrarily maintained this attitude.

THE CLOSURE APPLIED TO PREVENT DISCLOSURE.

When, at the last session of Parliament, with respect to proposed additional expenditures on the Merchant Marine, the Opposition made a determined effort to elicit information which would disclose the waste and folly of some of the transactions in connection with that enterprise, all opportunity was summarily ended by the application of the closure. An hour or two earlier, the closure had been applied with respect to the voting of a sixth of the total supply for the present year, without discussion or debate of any kind having been permitted. This was the manner in which the new Prime Minister met the House of Commons in Committee of supply for the first time after his accession to the Premiership. Nothing so arbitrary or high-handed with respect to the voting of supply has ever before been attempted in the Parliament of Canada; there might as well have been no commons to guard the public treasury. It is well that the people of Canada should understand just how far Mr. Meighen's Government has gone in this matter, and how far he may be expected to go if opportunity is afforded.

PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT DENIED INFORMATION.

The management and operation of the National Railways and the Government Merchant Marine have been placed by the Government under a Board of Directors, the members of which are all the Government's own appointees, and, as was to be expected, with the possible exception of the Deputy

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Minister of Railways and Canals, whose relations to the Board is virtually nominal, all immediate and close friends of the Administration. By statute, the members of the Board of Directors of the National Railways are freed from personal liability with respect to matters arising out of the management and operation of the roads.

One would assume that, under circumstances of the kind, the people's representatives in Parliament would be entitled to the fullest information as to the manner in which these gentlemen, freed from all personal responsibility, exercise their trust. Mr. Meighen and his colleagues, however, have taken the position that, having transferred to this Board of Directors control of the National Railways and Government Merchant Marine, they, the members of the Board, are free to expend the appropriations made by Parliament on railway and merchant marine account in such manner as they think best, and that, with respect to how and to whom these expenditures are made, the people's representatives on the floor of Parliament are not to be entitled to information.

Just look at the situation, remembering, at the same time, that it is a vast public enterprise that is being administered, and that it is exclusively public moneys that are being employed. You have, on the one side, a small group of the Government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds, and exempted by statute from personal liability in the manner described. And you have, on the other, the small group comprising the Government ~~xxxx~~ itself, the few men who exercise political control, shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of Parliament in the matter of these vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right to information as to the nature and amount of expenditure and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable and yet I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that

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that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun.

HOW BANEFUL COMBINATION WORKS OUT IN PRACTICE.

To illustrate how this baneful combination works out in actual practice, let me give one or two examples from proceedings in the last session of Parliament, which will be found of record in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons. You will, I think, agree that they throw a flood of light upon circumstances and methods which are in no small measure responsible for the Railway and Merchant Marine situation being what it is today.

In the course of the session, we of the Opposition asked the Government to inform Parliament of the names of the members of the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways, and also whether any or all of these gentlemen were Directors of other important industrial concerns; and if so, the names of the concerns in question. With respect to the first part of the question, the Government replied giving the names of the Board of Directors, which, of course, were already publicly known; with respect to the second part of the question, the Government replied that it had no information.

Subsequently, the Government was asked whether any insurance had been placed upon the properties of the Government owned railways, and if so through what companies and to what extent. This surely was information to which the people's Representatives in Parliament had reasons to believe they were justly entitled. It was not information the disclosure of which could possibly prejudice the Government roads in competition with those of private companies. The Government's reply was as follows; here are the exact words:

> "The Department has no returns in its record showing information asked for. These are transactions which are carried on by the Canadian National Railways as an incorporated company".

The Government was asked a similar question with respect to the purchase of coal, as to the relative amounts

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purchased in the United States and Canada; with respect to the calling for tenders in the loading and unloading of cargoes for the Merchant Marine; with respect to the purchase of cars and other rolling stock and supplies for the Railways and Yet to one and all of these questions the Government replied to the effect or in the language of the reply I have already quoted. It could not be said that the giving of such information was drawing the railways into politics or giving it to rival companies an unfair advantage. Considering that public monies were involved in allthese transactions, it was surely information to which the people's representatives in Parliament had a right to feel themselves entitled.

INTERLOCKING OF DIRECTORATES.

Let me carry this matter one stage further. Notwithstanding the Government's attitude in the House of Commons, before the session was over members of the Liberal Opposition were able, in the proceedings of one of the Committees of Parliament appointed to deal with railway matters, to elicit sufficient information with respect to these questions to disclose why the Government might well have desired to refuse to give to Parliament the information requested. It was shown that, with the exception only of the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, ~~there was not a~~ three-fourths of the ~~single~~ members of the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways ~~who was not also a~~ were also Director, or the President or Managers of some important industrial enterprises the business of which related to what in the nature of supplies, equipment, or insurance, might be required by the Government Railways and Merchant Marine; and that some of these gentlemen were Directors of a considerable number of such companies.

INSURANCE AND OTHER CONTRACTS.

With respect to insurance, it was shown, for example, that the Railway properties had been insured to the extent of over $140,000,000, of which under $33,000,000 had been placed in the Company's insurance fund, and $108,000,000 with insurance companies. With respect to the $108,000,000 pla ed with insurance companies, it was shown that pra tically the whole had been placed with one

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company, which did as it thought best with respect to re-insuring with other companies. This insurance, of course, was all paid for in advance. The investigation further disclosed that two of the members of the Board of Directors of the Government Railways were also Directors of the Assurance Company with which the bulk of the $108,000,000 of insurance had been placed.

If you look at the printed report of the proceedings and evidence before the Committee on Canadian National Railways and Shipping, a copy of which I have in my hands, you will see that, with respect to equipment ordered for 1918, 1919, and 1920 delivery, contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000 were given to one company in Nova Scotia, and contracts for locomotives to the amount of nearly $8,000,000 to one company here in Ontario. Reference to the list of the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railwyys discloses that one of the Directors is a Director of the Nova Scotia Company to which I have referred, and that another of the Directors is a director of the Ontario Company to which I have referred . One might go on to cite contract after contract, for coal, for lumber, for supplies of a dozen different kinds, for loading and unloading of cars and vessels, all of which have gone to companies of which Directors of the National Railways are also the officers or directors. So far as we have been able to ascertain, these contracts have been awarded for the most part without tenders having even been called for. Contracts for the construction of the sixty odd vessels now a part of the Government Merchant Marine were all awarded without a single tender having been called for.

Let me make my position perfectly clear. I am making no charges against the companies concerned, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting, either directly or indirectly, upon the integrity of any of the Directors concerned. It is the Government that I am concerned with, and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of this country. The Government must take the responsibility for its own appointments, and the system it has devised for controlling expenditure on the National

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Railways. I contend that, apart altogether from the possibility of fraud or dishonesty in any of the transactions I have mentioned, there is disclosed such an interlocking of directorates as is sufficient completely to discredit the Government's whole method of dealing with these vast public enterprises. A member of Parliament who accepts a Goverment contract is supposed to lose his seat in the House of Commons, as having lost his independance. An official connected with any of the Departments of Government who at the same time was a director of a company obtaining contracts from his Department of the Government would be instantly dismissed from the Service. Here we have a system where not only one or two or three of those responsible for the expenditure of public moneys are awarding Government contracts to firms of which they are themselves officers or directors, but ~~practically the whole~~ the majority of the Board - and be it remembered, the sums of public moneys involved in these transactions are vaster in amount than the total voted by Parliament just prior to the war for all the Departments of the Government combined. It is as though the Ministersof the Crown were practically without exception to be Directors of Companies with whom the Government's business was necessarily carried on, and after awarding public contracts to their own companies, were to expect that the public would have faith in the honesty and economy of public transactions financed in that way. But Ministers of the Crown are at least liable to be questioned on the floor of Parliament. These gentlemen of the Board of Directors of the National Railways are not. Not only are they exempted by statute from personnal liability, but most remarkable of all is the circumstance that as regards their vast transactions, the Ministers of today are prepared to stand between the members of the Board and the public and deny to the people's representatives in Parliament the right to inquiry or information with respect to the use made by them of the people's money.

Commenting on this amazing situation on the floor of ~~the~~ our Parliament, I ventured to express the opinion that ~~this~~ country's affairs were not being controlled by the ~~people~~ people of Canada through their duly elected representatives in

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in accordance with any true theory of responsible Government; but that the existing control was that of a baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ plutocrats, ~~which~~ who, working together and playing into each other's hands, the one for the sake of a monopoly of industrial control, the other for the sake of a monopoly of political control, were bringing this country to the verge of bankruptcy. I wish to repeat that statement tonight, and to say that, in the breaking of that combination and a full return to constituencies and responsible Government, as respects all matters of public administration, lies the first necessary step in the solution of the Railway or any other problem with which Canada is faced at the present time.

It must be apparent, with respect to what I have shown, that, as regards the railways of this country, the question, as matters stand, is not one as between Government Ownership and Private ~~xxxx~~ Ownership; it is, however, one as between private interests and the interests of the public, as to which shall be kept uppermost in matters of railway administration.

The Liberal Party has taken the position that, in all transactions involving the expenditure of public moneys, the public is entitled to the fullest information as to the manner in which and the persons to whom payments are made; and that, from the point of view of the rights and interests of the public, there is no difference between public moneys expended on Railways and Merchant Marine, and public moneys spent on the Post Office, Public Works, Agriculture, Trade and Commerce, or any other branch of the public administration. This position was taken in Parliament in a resolution which I had the honour to move, and which was seconded by the Hon. Mr. Fielding, who is here tonight. It was unanimously supported by members of the Liberal Opposition. It was defeated by the votes of the Prime Minister and his colleagues and every member on the Government side, and by the votes of over half the members of the Agrarian ~~Party, including its Leader~~ group.

There are some evils in the curing of which publicity is more effective than penalty. The evils of waste, of extravagance, of fraud, of graft, in the use of public moneys belong

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to this class. With respect to all public expenditures; the Liberal Party demands not only rigid economy and retrenchment; it demands also the fullest publicity. It believes in the powerful and beneficient influence of Light and Truth. To let in the light, and to know the truth is what is most needed with respect to the expenditures of today and of recent years. In a thousand and one directions, secrecy has been substituted for publicity in the administration of our public affairs. Just as the Liberal Party proposes to substitute economy and retrenchment for waste and extravagance, so it proposes to substitute publicity for secrecy in the administration of all branches of the country's affairs.

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Let me pass from the question of the Railways to that of the Tariff. I think enough has been said to make it clear why Mr. Meighen and his political ~~xxxxx~~ and industrial associates would be glad to have the Tariff made the chief, if not the sole issue in the present campaign. You, I trust, will see ~~xxxxx~~ reasons equally strong why, though imppртant, the Tariff should, in the public interest, be regarded as only one of the issues at this time.

Mr. Meighen is very aggressive in his attitude towards all who do not express their views on the Tariff in langugage indentical to his own. In his first public address after he became Prime Minister, he spoke of those who did not see eye to eye with him as Bolshevists and nation-wreckers. Not only did he thus divide the citizens of the Dominion into the two categories of the sane and the demented, but he further classified them as Protectionists or Free Traders, those who viewed the Tariff as he did being of course in the Protectionist and sane Category; and all others in the Free Trade and demented category.

Speaking here in Toronto some little time later, the Prime Minister enlarged somewhat on this attitude, He said that in his belief a Tariff could be framed only on one of two principles; The Protectionists principle or the Free Trade principle. Referring to myself as Leader of the Liberal Party, he said that Mr. King could not be got to say on which of these principles he stood; a tariff on the Protectionist principle or a tariff on the Free Trade principle. This somewhat ingenious statement was repeated over and over again until, one day in Parliament, I ventured to point out that all talk about a Tariff based on the principle of Free Trade was an absurdity, since, Free Trade implying in its very nature and essence the absence of all tariff, a tariff based on Free Trade principles was a contradiction in terms.

It is not to be supposed that this truth was not already known to the Prime Minister himself, or that it was without design that he sought and still seeks to make the

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issue one of Protection versus Free Trade. He knows very well that, no matter what views men and women may hold theoretically on the respective merits of Free Trade and Protection, no Government charged with the duty of administrating the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariffs, under existing conditions either wise, patriotic, or possible. No, the Prime Minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of that the extremes, in the hope the course that avoids extremes may be overlooked altogether.

That course, need I tell this audience, is not a possible tariff based on the principle sof Protection, nor an impossible tariff based on the principle of Free Trade; but a tariff based on the principle of Revenue so framed as to avoid, under conditions as they exist in Canada today, the evils of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for Protection, and the shortcomings of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for Free Trade. It is for the principle of a Tariff for Revenue that the Liberal Party has stood in bygone years; it is for that principle the Liberal Party stands today, and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal Party will continue to stand if returned to power in the present contest. Let me tell Mr. Meighen that, while it is impossible to have an issue between a tariff based on the principle of Protection and a tariff based upon the principle of Free Trade, it is impossible to have an issue on a tariff Primarily for Revenue as against a tariff primarily for Protection; and that upon this issue we are prepared to fight, as Sir Wilfred Laurier and Mr. Fielding fought in 1896, and with expectations of a like return of prosperity and stability in matters industrial and commercial, should our policy be vindicated at the polls.

Having invited me to say "Yes" or "No" in one impossible position, and having for obvious reasons failed in that effort, Mr. Meighan now, for reasons equally obvious, invites me to say "Yes" or "No" in another position equally

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impossible. Laughable as it may appear, he now asks me to answer "Yes" or "No" to a question which, according to his own statement, would not permit of either ~~xxxxxx~~ answer, without, at the same time, rendering me in public opinion unfit, as he says, for power. Let me read the Prime Minister's exact words as given in his address at ~~xxxxxx~~ London a few nights ago. Speaking of the platform of the Liberal Party adopted at the Convention held in August, 1919, Mr. Meighen said:-

> "Tonight I put on record the question: Does ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~Mr. Mackenzie King stand pledged to put that platform in effect if returned to power? That question admits of two answers and two only; one is 'yes' and the other is 'no'. He cannot refuse to answer. Let the answer come.....If Mr. King answers 'yes', I say he should not have power because his platform is unsound and un-Canadian, false to the interests of our people of every class and occupation. If he answers "no", which I shall not presume until he says so, then I say he is unfit for power because he deliberately contemplates bad faith. If he refuses to answer it all then he is unfit for high office as lacking in frankness and candor".

Well, I do not propose to be thought as lacking in frankness ~~xxx~~ or candor, so I shall not ~~refuse~~ refuse to answer. Neither do I wish to be regarded as unfit for power. so I shall decline to make answer in the specific terms which Mr. Meighen has proposed, and either of which, according to his own statement, would, if used, render me unfit for power.

I shall answer, however, in the terms in which I accepted the responsibilities of the position of Leader of the Liberal Party at the time the platform of the Liberal Party was framed, and in the presence of the thousand or more delegates who attended the Convention at which it was adopted. My exact words will be found in the printed proceedings of the Convention. In a word, they were to the effect that I regarded the platform of principles and policies as laid down by that historic gathering as a chart upon which was plotted the direction of the course it was desired the Party should take, whether in opposition or in power; that in seeking to discharge the duties of my office in the manner in which I believed the Party would wish them to be performed, I would

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rely upon the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the Party; and that at any given period or moment I would find in their collective wisdom the compass which would point the direction as we traversed the unknown seas of the future.

Need I do more than point to the resolution on the tariff which at the last session of Parliament was moved by Mr. Fielding, and which I had the honour of seconding, to show wherein I have been true to the attitude I expressed at that time?

I believe that my fellow members who without exception have so loyally supported me in the House of Commons during the two years and more in which I have been privileged to serve as the Leader of the Party will bear me out when I say that in matters of policy I have never attempted to dominate or dictate; that I have not only been willing and ready to accept counsel and advice, but have sought it in as many directions and from as many sources as time and opportunity would permit. I know they will be equally ready to say that, in being guided by the compass of collective wisdom, I have been not less true to the indications of the chart before me. The course which in this respect I have pursued in Parliament as Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the course which I propose to continue to pursue should be called to fill the highand responsible office of Prime Minister of this Country.

Let me say, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ not with relation to the tariff issue only, but as respects all matters of politics, ~~but~~ not less than all matters of religion, that I believe there is truer saying than that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life". In reference to the question which he has propounded, no one knows this better than Mr. Meighen. I do not propose, by any acceptance of the letter, in the manner in which the Prime Minister desires, to be false to the spirit of the Liberal Party or to any of the policies laid down by its members in convention assembled.

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THE AIMS OF TARIFF REVISION.

There need be no mistaking the position of the Liberal Party as respects the tariff. It regards the tariff not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end, according to Liberal policy, is threefold, and is to be effected not by abolition of the tariff but by its revision.

1st. Its revision for purposes of revenue; this to be accomplished by making such revisions as are required togive greater effectiveness to the tariff, as one of the means of raising the revenues necessary to carry on the government of the country.

2nd. Its revision for purposes of increase of production. This to be accomplished by facilitating ~~the~~ more extended development of the industries based on the great natural resources of our country - agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing - by making the necessary instruments and implements of production available where possible at lessened cost.

3rd. Its revision for purposes of decrease of the cost of living. This to be accomplished through rendering possible increased production in the manner already described, and by making certain of the necessaries of life available to the people at lessened cost.

In other words, the Liberal policy is that of a tariff for refenue, is the interests of producers and consumers; not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be.

To show the great need for some such revision ofthe tariff, I have only to remind this audience of what Mr. James Murdock has already told the country of the restraints of trade, the monopolies, the combines, and the trade agreements affecting the food, the clothing, and the shelter of the pepple, as he came to know of them from inside

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knowledge of conditions obtained while a member of the Board of Commerce.

TARIFF REVISION IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL.

The Liberal Party advocates a revision of the tariff in the manner described, not in the name of or for the exclusive benefit of any one class in our country, but as being in the interests of ~~the~~ all classes; in the interests of the towns and cities not less than in the interests of the rural communities; in the interests of employers not less than in the interests of employees; in the interests of the Canadian East nor less than in the interests of the Canadian West; in the interests of trade and commerce as much as in the interests of manufacture and agriculture. There need be no interference with legitimate profit or legitimate industry; much less need the position of our Canadian industries be prejudiced in any fair particular in competition with those of other countries. The only persons whose interests will suffer under a tariff thus revised are those groups of individuals who do not desire legitimate competition in matters of industry and trade, who but seek monopoly for the few at the expense of the many, and who, so long as they themselves may grow in riches, in ease and plenty, care little for the privations of the many in the humbler walks of life. Surely, in a land of plenty and in a day of new-won freedom, exception cannot be taken to a policy which looks primarily to the interests of the home and the satisfaction of its legitimate needs.

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## THE MEANS OF SECURING REFORM.

I have spoken of our finances and of the need for economy, retrenchment, and publicity in all matters of public expenditure. I have touched upon the problem of our National Railways and Government Merchant Marine, and the need for a restoration of the supremacy of Parliament and of ministerial responsibility, if public rather than private interests are to be conserved. I have referred to the tariff and the need for its revision in the interests of consumers and producers and for revenue purposes. I hope I have made clear wherein all three are part of the problem of the cost of Government from which the problem of the high cost of living is inseparable. As the campaign progresses, I shall have opportunity to touch on other matters equally vital to constitutional government and national well-being. For the present, I must confine what I have further to say to the means by which the necessary reforms we seek are to be brought about, and the need in this connection, if we are to avoid a repetition of the evils of indecision and compromise to which coalitions give rise, of a strong and united party which will favour the special interests of none but be broadly representative of the fundamental rights and common interests of all.

## THE NATURE OF CONTENDING FORCES.

All through history there are traceable two opposing forces, each contending for the control of government in the affairs of nations. The one is a reactionary force, born of the conservative instinct which all of us to some degree possess, but which carried to extremes, develops an attitude wholly antagonistic to change and progress. It seeks, at all costs, the maintenance of an existing order and the retention of rights and privileges for a favoured few. That is the force in control of government in our country to-day. It is the logical sequence

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and natural outcome of the repressive and restrictive attitude assumed by Government, and possibly necessary and inevitable in time of war. It is altogether fatal to the work of reconstruction, and therefore wholly unsuited to a time like the present.

The other is a liberalizing force, born of the aspirations for a wider freedom which all of us also share to some degree, the young in greater measure perhaps than the old. It is often impatient of the existing order in its desire to improve conditions for the mass of men. Carried to an extreme, however, it is apt to demand change merely for the sake of change, and regardless altogether of the cost or the enduring quality of the results. With such an extreme in matters of government we are threatened to-day as a consequence of the extreme in reactionary methods to which the country has been subjected under the present administration. Between these two extremes lies the just balance which is the secret spring of orderly progress and advance. It does not forget the past; neither does it fear the future. It has both traditions and aspirations, and both are inseparably interwoven with the love of freedom. In a word, it is Liberalism in the broadest and truest sense, and it is a new era of Liberalism that Canada needs to-day if a higher and better economic and social order is to replace the old order which the War was fought to destroy.

## UNITY ESSENTIAL TO VICTORY.

How is this new Liberalism to be attained? Surely it is not by the forces of freedom being divided in the face of a common enemy! Neither will it be possible through the shifty expedients of log-rolling and compromise which coalitions in matters of government inevitably bring. We have had examples of the effects of both, which at this moment we do well to remember. In the Great War, Britain was in the right, Belgium was in the right, France was in the right, Italy was in the right, and, at one stage, Russia also

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was in the right. But for some time, little in the way of progress was made against the onslought of the common foe. It was not that the allied and associated powers were not in the right, nor was it that they were unwilling to co-operate, it was solely that they lacked the essential of unity, that was all, and Germany and the other central powers possessed that essential. Once, however, unity was attained, the forces of freedom triumphed over the forces of reaction, as triumph they always will when not divided amongst themselves.

In political warfare, as between contending forces, great national parties, born of and corresponding in their aims to the instincts and aspirations I have mentioned, are the instruments by which unity is effected. That unity exists to-day in the forces of reaction to which the forces of progress are opposed. It is the means to that unity, so necessary to victory, that the Liberals offer to man and woman of Liberal conviction and aim through the medium of a party, ~~the party with us is not an end in itself, it is a means to an end, a wholly essential and necessary means. And it is because we believe~~ whose principles and policies have been framed regardless of race or creed, regardless of class. The party with us is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end, a wholly essential and necessary means. And it is because we believe that in no other manner can the battle be won, that throughout this Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we propose to place Liberal candidates in the field, not as expressing an antagonism towards any class or group who may share Liberal or progressive ideas, but solely to make sure of the triumph of Liberal principles and policies at the poll.

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AN END TO COALITIONS.

There are some who say to those who are opposed to the return of the present administration, let us each run our own gait and let us join forces after the battle is over. My friends, victory was never attained in that way. If it is the defeat of the enemy, and the triumph of your principles you wish, the time to co-operate is before, not after the nation's xxxxxx verdict if pronounced. Let me add this. We cannot afford to experiment further with combinations and coalitions and unions in matters of Government. We have before our very eyes at the moment a spectacle that should sicken us once xx and for all of coalitions. Read your papers from day to day, and what do you see; one Tory-Unionist, so-called, going to the Senate; one Liberal-Unionist, xxxx so-called going on to the bench; one Tory Unionist being taken into the Cabinet; another Liberal Unionist being kept in office there; one Tory Unionist being made Lieutenant Governor in one Province, and one Liberal Unionist being proposed as Lieutenant Governor in another. Nothing but a disgusting and degrading rewarding of political support by an Administration has been so compromised by its ill-mated following that it could be held together only by the promise of life positions to the greater portion of its more active members. Was it not the Tory Leader, Walpole, who said that "every man has his price"? It would almost seem that we had a young Walpole at the head of affairs in Canada to-day. You wonder why there has been little or no ~~constructive~~ constructive legislation since the War? There is the answer. Coalitions, sooner or later, become another word for compromise, and where there is constant compromise you may look in vain for the assertion of principle of any kind.

I believe the people of Canada have had enough of coalitions; they want an end to coalitions. They want a Government of one mind and of one purpose; not a group or class government as some are advocating, nor another attempt at government by so-called Liberals and Conservatives, as some of our Tory friends in their despair are

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already suggesting. They want a government that will give stability; they want a government that will make for unity. That is only possible in a government which is broadly representative of all parts and classes in the country, and which has the undivided support of men of like thought and feeling as respects the principles and policies that are to be made to prevail. It was a government of that character which the Liberal Party gave to Canada in 1896. It is a government of that character which the Liberal Party is prepared again to give.

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D 5473.

Toronto Daily Star (1)

September 21st 1921

# FIVE THOUSAND CHEER AS KING EXPOUNDS POLICY

## Liberal Leader Shows Fallacy of Meighen-Made Phrase, "Free Trade Tariff"—Declares War-Time Administration Cannot Handle Problems of Peace.

## SCORES INTERLOCKING OF DIRECTORATES ON GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS AND MARINE

With all the traditional eclat of blaring bugles, streaming banners and tumultuous cheering, the Liberal forces of Canada went over the top last night in the federal battle. The Liberal general, Mr. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, and his chief-of-staff, Mr. W. S. FIELDING, in two forceful orations sounded the battle cries of the party—"tariff for revenue only," "democratic representation," "cost of living economy," and five thousand people jammed every corner of Ravina Rink in tense expectancy to hear them.

For Liberalism it was a night of triumph from the first burst of martial music which greeted the party leader at West Toronto station, until the last cheer had echoed against the raftered roof of the auditorium. A procession of motors three blocks in length, accompanied by a crowd which thronged the pavements along the entire route, escorted Mr. King to the scene of activity and when he mounted the platform steps beneath crossed flags held by two officers of the Royal Air Force the entire audience rose in a thunder of acclamation which lasted for several minutes.

The meeting was ostensibly a rally of the West York constituency in view of the pending by-election and the Liberal candidate, Major J. E. L. Streight, 3rd Battalion hero of St. Julien and victim of Kultur in 3 years of German prison methods, delivered an introductory address received with an enthusiasm which augurs well for his electoral prospects.

In actuality, however, it was much more than a constituency rally. Mr. King's speech of ninety minutes was an outline of his party's policy, a disclosure and a condemnation of existing administrative evils, and a careful reply to Premier Meighen's London challenge on the tariff issue. He repudiated Mr. Meighen's attempt to base the elective struggle on a tariff basis, stating that the issue before the people is to secure a truly representative parliament capable of coping with the great problem of living costs in which governmental extravagance has constituted the chief factor, and he outlined the minor element of the tariff question as an issue not of protection versus free trade but of protection versus the Liberal policy of tariff for revenue only.

Mr. W. S. Fielding followed the Liberal leader with a forty-five minute speech which captured the popular approval of his audience both because of its oratorial merit and because of the character of the man who delivered it. Nothing grips mankind as does sincerity and Mr. Fielding's hearers recognized in him a man who, in nearly forty years of public service, has adhered to his ideals and principles with a sincerity and consistency unexcelled in Canada's history and unshaken by material interests of person or of party.

The speakers were introduced by Chairman George W. Verral, president of West York Liberal Association.

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Toronto Daily Star. D 5474 (2)

### Tribute to Wallace, Denton.

Referring to the death of the late member for the riding, Capt. Tom Wallace, and also of his opponent at the last general election, the late Frank Denton, K.C., Mr. King said:

"To-night we miss the presence of both these erstwhile political rivals. Neither is longer with us. It has not been left to them further to share 'the strife of tongues.' Both have passed 'to where beyond these voices there is peace.' I am sure I echo the sentiments of all here assembled when I say that, in their death, our country, not less than this constituency, has suffered the loss of two gentlemen each of whom, though they differed widely in political views, was a worthy and fearless champion of the opinions he held, each the centre of a wide circle of loyal and devoted followers, and each greatly beloved by those with whom an intimate acquaintance was shared.

"Is there not something in the passing of these two lives which in the silence of the moment, in the hush which even now precedes the great political battle on which we are about to enter, bids us highly to resolve that in our public controversies we shall seek to rise above the ignoble aspects of party strife, the imputing of unworthy motives to our public men, and to look beyond the inevitable frailties of human nature to the great principles for which men have ever been ready to sacrifice their lives, knowing that, while men come and go, principles are enduring, and that in matters of government, only as right principles prevail, can a nation's stability, prosperity and progress be maintained.

"May I take occasion to congratulate the Liberals of West York on the one they have selected as their standard-bearer in this contest. It is not surprising to learn that Major Streight has already found friends and supporters from among the following of the late Captain Wallace, as well as from the following of the late Mr. Denton. With the Liberalism of the one, he combines the experience of war and war conditions of the other; and this is a combination we must seek to encourage in the personnel of the new House of Commons if the problems of reconstruction are to be carried out in the broad and liberal spirit by which alone they are to be solved, and our country is to be kept ever mindful of what is owing to the memory of its honored dead, and to all who through the great war endured sacrifice and loss. This I place as the first of our national obligations.

### Praise for Fielding.

"May I say just one other word of a personal character. We are delighted to have with us to-night the Hon. W. S. Fielding. May I not rather say our province is greatly honored in once again having him as a guest in its capital city. I know you will agree with me when I affirm that no man in public life in Canada is held in higher esteem than Mr. Fielding. No man in public life has given to the affairs of our country a wider measure of disinterested and distinguished public service. Were it possible so to do, I should like to take advantage of this occasion to acknowlege something of what I feel I owe to his wholehearted, chivalrous and constant co-operation, both in and out of parliament, and publicly to thank him for it.

"So long as in the molding and carrying out of its policies the Liberal party is in a position to combine the mature and cautious judgment of men like Mr. Fielding, who have had wide knowledge and experience in public affairs, with the new and progressive ideas of younger men, the country need never have concern lest the management of its affairs should become, on the one hand, too radical, or, on the other, too reactionary. It is with this very danger that our country is faced at the present time. To support the government of to-day is to endorse reaction; to experiment with class in matters of government is to invite the unknown. The Liberal party with its traditions and aspirations offers a means of escape from both these extremes, neither of which is in the national interest. It is the natural home of all those who, regardless of class, or section, race, or creed, desire, in this post-war period, a new order to replace the old; but who, at the same time, after the cleavages and divisions of the war, wish for our dominion a unity in sentiment and purpose as strong as the dominion itself is wide.

### Why Dissolution is Imminent.

"Now let me come to the question which I asked a moment ago. What were the circumstances which caused the prime minister, in so short a space of time, to change his mind with respect to an early dissolution of parliament? Were the truth known, it would be found that, having held on to power against the will of the people to the point at which his own party press had broken out into open rebellion, and the shattered remnants of his following could no longer be relied upon to give him support in the House of Commons, he preferred the defeat of his government in the country to its defeat in parliament; he preferred to appear before the people as a prime minister holding office rather than as a prime minister who, in office, had suffered defeat.

"I have read with care the speech delivered by Mr. Meighen at London. Read it for yourselves, and you will find that all that it purports to say is that the issue in this election is not the question of defence, but solely that of the tariff. Who ever suggested that the question of defence was the issue? Who but the prime minister himself has sought to set aside the momentous questions before the people of Canada at the present time and narrow \public discussion down to this single issue of the tariff? Mr. Meighen may believe that, through the medium of costly protectionist propaganda, he may succeed in obscuring or distorting the vision of a portion of the electorate. Let me tell him, however, that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by the spoken or printed word to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of the government of which he has been a member, and of the administration of which he is to-day the head.

"What is the question of greatest concern to the people of Canada? Unless I am very much mistaken, men and women of all classes and from all parts of our vast dominion will tell you that it is the problem of the cost of living, to which, at the present time, the cost of government is far and away the most important contributing factor. In the solution of the problem of the cost of living, the tariff and its revision is an important and far reaching consideration. It is, however, but one of many considerations, and not less important than the tariff, in this connection, is the government by which the tariff is to be revised.

"In any consideration of the cost of living and the cost of government, we must begin with conditions as we find them. The Canada of to-day is different from the Canada of the years prior to the war. The problems of government, as a consequence, are also different, and in almost every particular more difficult as well. The affairs of a nation resemble those of a household, in that what may or may not be done depends primarily upon what is owed and what is owned. Where little is owed and much is owned, many things are possible. Where, however, much is owed, until outstanding obligations are adequately met or cared for, the uses to which actual or potential wealth may be put are necessarily circumscribed.

### Canada's Obligations.

"Ten years ago, the national debt of Canada amounted to some 340 millions of dollars. To-day, the national debt of our country is not in the millions, but in the billions. It has reached the colossal figure of two billions, three hundred and fifty

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millions of dollars, ($2,350,000,000.) Let us immediately concede that approximately two billions ($2,000,000,000) of this debt has been due to the war and conditions arising out of the war. Let us also immediately concede that, with respect to every dollar of war expenditure honestly and legitimately incurred, not a word of exception can be taken by any man or woman in this country. In estimating the price at which our freedom has been maintained and our liberties have been preserved, no financial obligation imposed on our own or succeeding generations can ever equal or compensate the extent of the sacrifice as measured in terms of human lives. Let us forget for the moment all there has been unnecessary expenditure, of waste, and extravagance. Let us assume that all has been spent in a just and a good cause and in a right and proper manner. The fact nevertheless remains that our country carries to-day a mortgage of $2,350,000,000. whereas ten years ago the load was deemed excessive at the relatively small figure of $340,000,000.

"Until the principal of that mortgage is paid, the men and women of this country must carry, in the form of taxes, directly or indirectly levied, a burden of debt on annual interest account alone of $140,000,000. Ten years ago, the burden of taxation on account of annual interest on the public debt amounted only to the sum of $12,500,000. When we consider that, ten years ago, the amount required to be raised to meet the total expenditure on government account in all its branches and departments, including subsidies to railways and the amount payable as interest on the public debt, has never equalled $123,000,000, and that the amount now required to be raised in taxes solely to meet the interest on public debt is $17,000,000 in excess of that amount, we begin to get some idea of how conditions have changed, and of the need there is at the present time for economy and retrenchment in the outlays of government.

"Failure to meet the interest on our public debt would spell insolvency and bankruptcy for the nation. There is, however, another charge upon the public treasury scarcely less large and vastly more sacred, from the point of view of national obligation, than the interest on the public debt, an obligation to fail to meet which would spell not only insolvency and bankruptcy, but ingratitude and dishonor as well. This is the charge amounting at the present time to some $130,000,000, in the nature of pensions payable annually to disabled soldiers and dependent relatives of those whose lives were sacrificed in the Great War, and on account of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and other outlays incidental to what may be termed war veterans' account. This obligation we are determined at all costs to meet. Remember, however, it is an obligation which ten years ago had no place in our public accounts. Remember, too, that in amount it is an obligation vaster than the sums expended on all branches and departments of government ten years ago.

**"Arbitrary Acquisition."**

"But this is not the only new obligation. Since the year 1917 two vast railway systems have been transferred from private to public ownership. One of these transfers, that of the Canadian Northern Railway System, was effected by the government of Sir Robert Borden during the period of war at a session of parliament which was in the nature of an extension of its constitutional term, which extension had been arranged for on the understanding that no measure of public significance apart from immediate war necessities should be dealt with one way or the other.

"The Grand Trunk Railway System, the other system to be acquired, was taken over in part by the government of Sir Robert Borden and in part by Mr. Meighen's government, almost immediately preceding, and subsequent to, Mr. Meighen's accession to office. In both cases the method of acquisition was high-handed and arbitrary, the people in neither case having been consulted on the question of policy involved, and even parliament having been denied the right of full and free discussion as to the method and terms of acquisition.

"For the moment I shall speak only of the annual charges upon the treasury in consequence of these acquisitions. I shall refrain from making mention of the colossal amounts which would have to be paid were these systems to become the property of Canada free of all outstanding obligations. Last year the deficit on account of government-owned and operated railways amounted to some $50,000,000. This year the deficit had reached some $70,000,000. It is now taken for granted that the deficit for the coming year will be in the vicinity of $100,000,000. Sir Joseph Flavelle has warned the nation that for a period of years to come it may expect recurring deficits of possibly even greater amounts. Be this as it may, at this year's session parliament was asked by the government to vote, and did vote, on account only of railways and canals, the sum of $165,000,000. Ten years ago the total outlay on account of railways and canals was $38,000,000. Here is an additional annual burden upon the shoulders of the Canadian people of $127,000,000, a sum again considerably in excess of the total expenditure on government account ten years ago.

"Having grown accustomed to talking in millions, let us now look at what, as citizens, we are expected this year to contribute to the federal treasury in the form of taxes. Omitting some $35,000,000 voted on soldiers' land settlement account, which I have also not included in speaking of war veterans' account, and some $11,500,000 voted as loans to the provinces on housing account, both of which amounts are classed as advances to be subsequently repaid, the total amounts voted for expenditure during the fiscal year March 31, 1921, to March 31, 1922, was over $550,000,000.

"The census will not be complete until the end of the present year; we are therefore unable to say just what at the present time the total population of Canada may be. I greatly fear that it will be found to be under rather than over nine millions, as is popularly supposed. Assume, however, that it should come to nine millions, that would make the taxation for federal purposes alone equal to something over $62 per head of the population. When, however, it is realized how considerable is that portion of the population dependent on those who, directly or indirectly, must carry the burden of taxation, we soon discover that the average load of the individual taxpayer is considerably beyond this amount. For the family of five the average of taxation would exceed $310. This is for federal purposes alone. When you add the amounts to be collected for taxation on provincial and municipal accounts you will begin to see the truth of what I have said when I spoke of the cost of government as being the most important of all the causes at present contributing to the high cost of living.

**Speaks to Women.**

"Let me at this point address myself more particularly to the women of our country. With the exception of some, who on the grounds of naturalization are still being arbitrarily disfranchised, you are to-day in the same position as the men in the exercise of the rights of the franchise, which means the selection of those who are to be entrusted with the making of the nation's laws and the control of government in our land. It may seem to you that the all-important questions of national finance, especially such as pertain to the ownership and operations of railways and the merchant marine; the revision of the tariff; military, naval and police expenditures; and to interimperial and international relations, are so far removed from the orbit of your accustomed thought that they are, so to speak, beyond you.

"Do not be surprised if you have a feeling of the kind. There is not one man in a thousand in our country who, were he to speak his mind honestly, would not say that he shares that feeling in considerable measure. The truth is, the problems of government to-day have become so vast that it is exceedingly difficult to find the men or the women who possess the natural ability and training to cope with them, and who at the same time are prepared to make the inevitable sacrifices of time and means and health which participation in public life involves.

"In one particular, however, an understanding of the significance of all these problems is brought home in a very real way. Sooner or later it is discovered that every one of them affects our individual incomes and the family budget. Do not be misled into believing that, because taxation may be indirect instead of direct, you are thereby escaping carrying part of the load of the cost of government. Do not be led into believing that, because only incomes above a certain amount are taxed, persons whose incomes are less than this amount escape altogether carrying part of the burden of direct taxation. If your landlord, in consequence of the increased amount of his income tax, yields to the temptation to raise your

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rent that he may get from you something that has been exacted from him, you, not he, are carrying the burden of direct taxation. If you find it is costing you more than you formerly paid to purchase clothes or food or fuel do not be deceived into believing that, because you are not handing over part of the amount in the form of a tax to some visible tax-collector, someone else is not exacting from you in the price you are compelled to pay some proportion of the amount which through indirect taxation has been paid into the federal treasury.

"The five hundred and sixty millions of dollars voted by parliament for government expenditures in this one year has all to be raised in the form of revenue one way or the other, or the country must go that much deeper into debt. It must all come out of the pockets and earnings of the people. If, instead of it being $560,000,000, it were half or even two-thirds of that amount, the sum to be taken out of the pockets of the people would be proportionately reduced. That is why it is a matter of vital concern to every woman, as well as to every man, who is in power at Ottawa, and what the policies are in accordance with which the affairs of the nation are carried on.

**Would Protect Home.**

"It is in the name of the home and its needs that the Liberal party makes its appeal to all classes in this country. We do this in the belief that in the happiness, contentment and prosperity of our homes lies the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the nation. Happiness, contentment and prosperity are not necessarily bound up with great wealth or great fortune. Indeed, were the truth known, riches are more frequently a source of unhappiness than of joy. Privation, on the other hand, if it be unduly great, serves only to thwart and blight the higher aspirations and nobler development of human lives. It is in terms of privation that all of us have in some measure been obliged to take account of the cost of government as it has made itself felt through the greatly increased cost of living in recent years.

"I spoke of the average yearly taxation for federal purposes coming to something like $310 per family of five. Have you ever considered what the difference of that margin might mean in the strain and stress of home and family life? To one family, it may come to mean the difference between ownership of and a mortgage upon the home; to another, the difference between comfort and overcrowding. To the head of many a family it will mean the difference between insurance against accident, sickness and death, and the inability to make this provision for those most loved.

"In cases of illness or misfortune, from which few homes are ever exempt, it may mean the difference between the care and attention which restores health and the inability to make the provision which prevents infirmity and which sometimes is necessary to the saving of life itself. To some homes, it will mean for children the difference between a higher education and the starting of life with a permanent handicap. To some individuals, it may mean a little more than the loss of social enjoyments or accustomed pleasures; to most, however, save those of more than average wealth, it is likely to mean privation in some measure, and to many hardship and possibly actual want.

"Once come to believe that, wherever you find it more difficult to live and to do your full duty by those who are nearest and dearest to you, you are experiencing something of the effect of the increased cost of government, and you will realize wherein all these questions of finance, of trade, of transportation and defence, are of direct concern to you, and wherein you are interested in putting out of office a government which has lost all true perspective in the matter of public expenditures, and returning to power a government pledged, above all else, to a reduction of the burdens of taxation through rigid economy and retrenchment and policies which have for their beginning and end, the home, and the well-being of the home.

**Think in Terms of War.**

"I might quote many reasons why it is useless to expect economy or retrenchment from any government of which the present prime minister is the head. I shall mention only two. They are, however, so obvious that their unanswerable force will be quickly appreciated by you. During the period of the war, some two billions of dollars were loaned to the government and spent by the government of which the Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen was a member, and which, he claims, was to all intents and purposes the government of which he is the present head. After all, human nature is human nature. You cannot, over a period of years, grow accustomed to spending millions and billions of dollars without coming to find it exceedingly difficult to think in terms of hundreds and thousands.

"In pre-prohibition days, it used to be said that, once cultivated, a champagne appetite could not be satisfied on ordinary beer. And yet it is to the humbler diet we must grow accustomed in our public expenditure if the burden of the people in taxation is ever to be lessened. It is not unnatural that the prime minister and his minister of militia, and his minister of marine, and, for that matter, any other of the ministers associated with him during the period of the war, should, as respects the matter of expenditure, continue to think in terms of war. What is wanted in the administration of public affairs to-day is not only a recognition of the fact that the war is over, but also that it has left in its wake vast obligations the like of which this country has never before experienced, and that, as a consequence, too great economy and supervision cannot be exercised in all outlays of public moneys.

**Says Service Over-Manned.**

"The second point I wish to mention is that, in the course of the period of the war, and for that matter in the period since, many new branches of the administration were opened up and a vast army of employes drafted into the public service. In some of the departments, in the outside as well as the inside service, there has come to be as a consequence, not only overmanning of the staffs, but also much overlapping in the work itself. Sooner or later, barnacles accumulate on every ship.

"Notwithstanding that many clerks filling temporary appointments have been let out, or replaced in their positions by others, numbers of office holders remain whose continuance in the public service, or in the particular post they fill,, is due solely to the influence which occasioned their appointment and which keeps them where they are. The ship of state in Canada to-day is burdened with unnecessary cargo and covered with barnacles which add materially to the cost of government. They will never be removed so long as the influence responsible remains. Nor need we expect any elimination of unnecessary or duplicated work so long as ministers find it to the advantage in political power or personal prestige to avoid the discontinuance of these superfluous posts and services.

"Apart, however, from barnacles and unnecessary cargo, there is great need to-day of fresh accounting with respect to our national liabilities and assets. There is every ground for believing that, in the desire to make the showing as favorable as possible, many existing services and undertakings are being placed to the credit side of the national ledger which ought to be on the debit side. Many of our so-called assets may be in the nature of liabilities. The present minister of finance so described some of our railway properties. I believe he might well have included the government's merchant marine.

"Let it never be forgotten, we have been through four years of war, during which period two billions of dollars have passed through the hands of the government. It is now nearly three years since the war ended, and

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we are still spending millions on demobilization account. No one really knows where the country stands in the matter of its undertakings and obligations, or the wherewithal to meet them. No one will ever know so long as concealment is rendered possible on the part of those who are responsible for waste and extravagance. In such circumstances, common sense, not less than the national interest, demands a very obvious course; it is the course which every man in the management of his own financial affairs, every business and financial concern in the management of its affairs, after a time of crisis, would adopt; and that is to have a strict accounting, a fresh inventory, above all, an independent audit.

"This, I submit, can only be expected and effected in our national affairs by a government which has had not part or parcel in the matters into which inquiry is to be made; in other words, by an entirely new administration. It is not a question of Grit or Tory, Conservative or Liberal; it is a question, in the interest of men and women of all political faiths and parties, of applying common sense and business methods to the affairs of the nation at a time when common sense and business methods are required if the nation is to be saved from bankruptcy.

**Calls for Publicity.**

Serious as has been the extravagance and waste of the present government, even more serious in its national consequences has been the attitude of the prime minister and his colleagues with respect to the time-honored and fundamental right of the people's representatives in parliament to an accounting for every cent of public expenditure. It is not going too far to say that in the attitude he has adopted with respect to the right of parliament to information on certain classes of public expenditure, Mr. Meighen has taken a position wholly subversive of the doctrine of responsible government, and one which, if countenanced, would soon result in transferring from the public treasury to the pockets of a favored few a not inconsiderable portion of the national revenue.

"I need not remind this audience that, with the exception of expenditures necessitated by or arising out of the war, there has, in recent years, been nothing comparable in government outlays with the amounts paid out on account of the national railways and the government merchant marine. I suppose that, at the moment the most important of all our national problems is that which pertains to the administration of the nationally owned and operated railways and the government merchant marine—most important, because of the degree to which all industry, trade and commerce are dependent upon the cost of operation of these vast national enterprises, and because of the extent to which the cost of operation is responsible for the high rate of taxation for federal purposes. As already mentioned, the amount voted by parliament at the last session, on account of railways and canals, came to somewhere in the vicinity of $165,000,000; and, not withstanding this vast sum, we are led to expect that at the end of this very year the country will still have to face, on railways account, a deficit of $100,000,000. $70,000,000 has been spent or appropriated for the construction of a government merchant marine.

"When it is recalled that every cent of these vast amounts has to be raised and come out of the pockets of the people, in the form of taxation, is there any appreciable number of men or women in this country, except the very few who are benefitting by the transfer of this wealth from the public treasury into private hands, who will not feel that it is very much in their own, as well as the public interest, to have the fullest publicity with respect to the services for which, the persons to whom, and the manner in which these enormous amounts are being paid. Amazing and incredible as it may appear, the present government not only has refused to give this information to the people's representatives in parliament, but Mr. Meighen has gone the length of asserting that it is not in the public interest that such information should be given in answer to inquiries in the House of Commons; and for two years past government has arbitrarily maintained this attitude.

**Closure Prevented Disclosure.**

"When, at the last session of parliament, with respect to proposed additional expenditures on the merchant marine, the opposition made a determined effort to elicit information which would disclose the waste and folly of some of the transactions in connection with that enterprise, all opportunity was summarily ended by the application of the closure. An hour or two earlier, the closure had been applied with respect to the voting of a sixth of the total supply for the present year, without discussion or debate of any kind having been permitted.

"This was the manner in which the new prime minister met the House of Commons in committee of supply for the first time after his accession to the premiership. Nothing so arbitrary or high-handed with respect to the voting of supply has ever before been attempted in the parliament of Canada; there might as well have been no Commons to guard the public treasury. It is well that the people of Canada should understand just how far Mr. Meighen's government has gone in this matter, and how far he may be expected to go if opportunity is afforded.

"The management and operation of the national railways and the government merchant marine have been placed by the government under a board of directors, the members of which are all the government's own appointees, and, as was to be expected, with the possible exception of the deputy minister of railways and canals, whose relations to the board are virtually nominal, all immediate and close friends of the administration. By statute, the members of the board of directors of the national railways are freed from personal liability with respect to matters arising out of the management and operation of the roads.

"One would assume that, under circumstances of the kind, the people's representatives in parliament would be entitled to the fullest information as to the manner in which these gentlemen, freed from all personal responsibility, exercise their trust. Mr. Meighen and his colleagues, however, have taken the position that, having transferred to this board of directors control of the national railways and government merchant marine, they, the members of the board, are free to expend the appropriations made by parliament on railway and merchant marine account in such manner as they think best, and that, with respect to how and to whom these expenditures are made, the people's representatives on the floor of parliament are not to be entitled to information.

"Just look at the situation, remembering, at the same time, that it is a vast public enterprise that is being administered, and that it is exclusively public moneys that are being employed. You have, on the one side, a small group of the government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds, and exempted by statute from personal liability in the manner described. And you have on the other, the small group comprising the government itself, the few men who exercise political control, shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of parliament in the matter of those vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right of information as to the nature and amount of expenditure and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable, and yet I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun.

**"Baneful Combination."**

"To illustrate how this baneful combination works out in actual practice, let me give one or two examples from proceedings in the last session of parliament, which will be found on record in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons. You will, I think, agree that they throw a flood of light upon circumstances and methods which are in no small measure responsible for the railway and merchant marine situation being what it is to-day.

"In the course of the session, we of the opposition asked the government to inform parliament of the names of the members of the board of directors of the Canadian national railways, and also whether any or all of these gentlemen were directors of other important industrial corcerns;

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"Just look at the situation, remembering, at the same time, that it is a vast public enterprise that is being administered, and that it is exclusively public moneys that are being employed. You have, on the one side, a small group of the government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds, and exempted by statute from personal liability in the manner described. And you have on the other, the small group comprising the government itself, the few men who exercise political control, shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of parliament in the matter of those vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right of information as to the nature and amount of expenditure and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable, and yet I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun.

**"Baneful Combination."**

"To illustrate how this baneful combination works out in actual practice, let me give one or two examples from proceedings in the last session of parliament, which will be found on record in the Hansard debates of the House of Commons. You will, I think, agree that they throw a flood of light upon circumstances and methods which are in no small measure responsible for the railway and merchant marine situation being what it is to-day.

"In the course of the session, we of the opposition asked the government to inform parliament of the names of the members of the board of directors of the Canadian national railways, and also whether any or all of these gentlemen were directors of other important industrial concerns;

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and if so, the names of the concerns in question. With respect to the first part of the question, the government replied giving the names of the board of directors, which, of course, were already publicly known; with respect to the second part of the question, the government replied that it had no information.

"Subsequently, the government was asked whether any insurance had been placed upon the properties of the government-owned railways, and if so, through what companies and to what extent. This surely was information to which the people's representatives in parliament had reason to believe they were justly entitled. It was not information the disclosure of which could possibly prejudice the government roads in competition with those of private companies. The government's reply was as follows: here are the exact words:

'The department has no returns in its records showing information asked for. These are transactions which are carried on by the Canadian national railways as an incorporated company.'

"The government was asked a similar question with respect to the purchase of coal, as to the relative amounts purchased in the United States and Canada; with respect to the calling for tenders in the loading and unloading of cargoes for the merchant marine; with respect to the purchase of cars and other rolling stock and supplies for the railways. And yet, to one and all of these questions, the government replied to the effect or in the language of the reply I have already quoted. It could not be said that the giving of such information was drawing the railways into politics or giving to rival companies an unfair advantage. Considering that public monies were involved in all these transactions, it was surely information to which the people's representatives in parliament had a right to feel themselves entitled.

**Says Directorates Interlock.**

"Let me carry this matter one stage further. Notwithstanding the government's attitude in the House of Commons, before the session was over members of the Liberal opposition were able in the proceedings of one of the committees of parliament appointed to deal with railway matters, to elicit sufficient information with respect to these questions to disclose why the government might well have desired to refuse to give to parliament the information requested. It was shown that, with the exception only of the deputy minister of railways and canals, three-fourths of the members of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways were also directors or the presidents or managers of some important industrial enterprise the business of which related to what in the nature of supplies, equipment, or insurance, might be required by the government railways; and merchant marine, and that some of these gentlemen were directors of a considerable number of such companies.

"With respect to insurance, it was shown, for example, that the railway properties had been insured to the extent of over $140,000,000, of which under $33,000,000 had been placed in the company's insurance fund, and $108,000,000 with insurance companies. With respect to the $108,000,000 placed with insurance companies, it was shown that practically the whole had been placed with one company, which did as it thought best with respect to reinsuring with other companies. This insurance, of course, was all paid for in advance. The investigation further disclosed that two of the members of the board of directors of the government railways were also directors of the assurance company with which the bulk of the $108,000,000 of insurance had been placed.

"If you look at the printed report of the proceedings and evidence before the committee on Canadian National Railways and shipping, a copy of which I have in my hands, you will see that, with respect to equipment ordered for 1918, 1919 and 1920 delivery, contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000 were given to one company in Nova Scotia, and contracts for locomotives to the amount of nearly $8,000,000 to one company here in Ontario. Reference to the list of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways discloses that one of the directors is a director of the Nova Scotia company to which I have referred, and that another of the directors is a director of the Ontario company to which I have referred.

"One might go on to cite contract after contract, for coal, lumber, for supplies of a dozen different kinds, for loading and unloading of cars and vessels, all of which have gone to companies of which directors of the national railways are also the officers or directors. So far as we have been able to ascertain, these contracts have been awarded for the most part without tenders having even been called for. Contracts for the construction of the sixty odd vessels now a part of the government merchant marine were all awarded without a single tender having been called for.

**Discredits Government?**

"Let me make my position perfectly clear. I am making no charges against the companies concerned, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting, either directly or indirectly, upon the integrity of any of the directors concerned. It is the government that I am concerned with, and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of this country. The government must take the responsibility for its own appointments, and the system it has devised for controlling expenditure on the national railways. I contend that, apart altogether from the possibility of fraud or dishonesty in any of the transactions I have mentioned, there is disclosed such an interlocking of directorates as is sufficient completely to discredit the government's whole method of dealing with these vast public enterprises. A member of parliament who accepts a government contract is supposed to lose his seat in the House of Commons, as having lost his independence. An official connected with any of the departments of government who at the same time was a director of a company obtaining contracts from his department of the government would be instantly dismissed from the service.

"Here we have a system where not only one or two or three of those responsible for the expenditure of public moneys are awarding government contracts to firms of which they are themselves officers or directors, but the majority of the board—and be it remembered, the sums of public moneys involved in these transactions are vaster in amount than the total voted by parliament just prior to the war for all the departments of the government combined. It is as though the ministers of the crown were practically without exception to be directors of companies with whom the government's business was necessarily carried on, and after awarding public contracts to their own companies, were to expect that the public would have faith in the honesty and economy of public transactions financed in that way.

"But ministers of the crown are at least liable to be questioned on the floor of parliament. These gentlemen of the board of directors of the national railways are not. Not only are they exempted by statute from personal liability, but most remarkable of all is the circumstance that as regards their vast transactions, the ministers of to-day are prepared to stand between the members of the board and the public and deny to the people's representatives in parliament the right to inquiry or information with respect to the use made by them of the people's money.

"Commenting on this amazing situation on the floor of parliament, I ventured to express the opinion that our country's affairs were not being controlled by the people of Canada through their duly elected representatives in accordance with any true theory of responsible government, but that the existing control was that of a baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, who, working together and playing into each other's hands, the one for the sake of a monopoly of industrial control, the other for the sake of a monopoly of political control, were bringing this country to the verge of bankruptcy. I wish to repeat that statement to-night, and to say that, in the breaking of that combination and a full return to constitutional and responsible government, as respects all matters of public administration, lies the first necessary step in the solution of the railway or any other problem with which Canada is faced at the present time.

**Public, Private, Interests.**

"It must be apparent, with respect to what I have shown, that, as regards the railways of this country, the question, as matters stand, is not one as between government ownership and private ownership; it is, however, one as between private in-

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terests and the interests of the public, as to which shall be kept uppermost in matters of railway administration. The Liberal party has taken the position that, in all transactions involving the expenditure of public moneys, the public is entitled to the fullest information as to the manner in which and the persons to whom payments are made; and that, from the point of view of the rights and interests of the public, there is no difference between public moneys expended on railways and merchant marine and public moneys spent on the postoffice, public works, agriculture, trade and commerce, or any other branch of the public administration. This position was taken in parliament in a resolution which I had the honor to move, and which was seconded by Mr. Fielding, who is here to-night. It was unanimously supported by members of the Liberal opposition. It was defeated by the votes of the prime minister and his colleagues and every member on the government side, and by the votes of over half the members of the Agrarian group.

"There are some evils in the curing of which publicity is more effective than penalty. The evils of waste, of extravagance, of fraud, of graft, in the use of public moneys belong to this class. With respect to all public expenditures, the Liberal party demands not only rigid economy and retrenchment; it demands also the fullest publicity. It believes in the powerful and beneficient influence of light and truth. To let in the light and to know the truth is what is most needed with respect to the expenditures of to-day and of recent years. In a thousand and one directions, secrecy has been substituted for publicity in the administration of our public affairs. Just as the Liberal party proposes to substitute economy and retrenchment for waste and extravagance, so it proposes to substitute publicity for secrecy in the administration of all branches of the country's affairs.

"Let me pass from the question of the railways to that of the tariff. I think enough has been said to make it clear why Mr. Meighen and his political and industrial associates would be glad to have the tariff made the chief, if not the sole issue in the present campaign. You, I trust, will see reasons equally strong why, though important, the tariff should, in the public interest, be regarded as only one of the issues at this time.

"Mr. Meighen is very aggressive in his attitude towards all who do not express their views on the tariff in language identical to his own. In his first public address after he became prime minister, he spoke of those who did not see eye to eye with him as Bolshevists and nation-wreckers. Not only did he thus divide the citizens of the dominion into the two categories of the sane and the demented, but he further classified them as protectionists or free traders. those who viewed the tariff as he did being of course in the protectionist and sane category; and all others in the free trade and demented category.

**"Free Trade" Tariff Impossible.**

"Speaking here in Toronto some little time later, the prime minister enlarged somewhat on this attitude. He said that in his belief a tariff could be framed only on one of two principles: the protectionist principle or the free trade principle. Referring to myself as leader of the Liberal party, he said that Mr. King could not be got to say on which of these principles he stood: a tariff on the protectionist principle or a tariff on the free trade principle. This somewhat ingenious statement was repeated over and over again until one day in parliament I ventured to point out that all talk about a tariff based on the principle of free trade was an absurdity, since, free trade implying in its very nature and essence the absence of all tariff, a tariff based on free trade principles was a contradiction in terms.

"It is not to be supposed that this truth was not already known to the prime minister himself, or that it was without design that he sought and still seeks to make the issue one of protection versus free trade. He knows very well that, no matter what views men and women may hold theoretically on the respective merits of free trade and protection, no government charged with the duty of administering the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariffs, under existing conditions, either wise, patriotic or possible. No, the prime minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of extremes, in the hope that the course that avoids extremes may be overlooked altogether.

"That course, need I tell this audience, is not a possible tariff based on the principles of protection, nor an impossible tariff based on the principle of free trade; but a tariff based on the principle of revenue so framed as to avoid, under conditions as they exist in Canada to-day, the evils of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for protection, and the shortcomings of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for free trade. It is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party has stood in bygone years; it is for that principle the Liberal party stands to-day, and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party will continue to stand if returned to power in the present contest.

"Let us tell Mr. Meighen that, while it is impossible to have an issue between a tariff based on the principle of protection and a tariff based upon the principle of free trade, it is possible to have an issue on a tariff primarily for revenue as against a tariff primarily for protection; and that upon this issue we are prepared to fight, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding fought in 1896, and with expectations of a like return of prosperity and stability in matters industrial and commercial, should our policy be vindicated at the polls.

**Meighen Asks Impossible.**

"Having invited me to say 'yes' or 'no' in one impossible position, and having for obvious reasons failed in that effort, Mr. Meighen now, for reasons equally obvious, invites me to say 'yes' or 'no' in another position equally impossible. Laughable as it may appear, he now asks me to answer 'yes' or 'no' to a question which, according to his own statement, would not permit of either answer without at the same time rendering me in public opinion unfit, as he says, for power. Let me read the prime minister's exact words as given in his address at London a few nights ago. Speaking of the platform of the Liberal party adopted at the convention held in August, 1919, Mr. Meighen said:

"'To-night I put on record the question: "Does Mr. Mackenzie King stand pledged to put that platform in effect if returned to power?" That question admits of two answers and two only; one is "yes" and the other is no." He cannot refuse to answer. Let the answer come. . . If Mr. King answers "yes," I say he should not have power because his platform is unsound and un-Canadian, false to the interests of our people of every class and occupation. If he answers "no," which I shall not presume until he says so, then I say he is unfit for power because he deliberately contemplates bad faith. If he refuses to answer it all then he is unfit for high office as lacking in frankness and candor.'

"Well, I do not propose to be thought as lacking in frankness or candor, so I shall not refuse to answer. Neither do I wish to be regarded as unfit for power. So I shall decline to make answer in the specific terms which Mr. Meighen has proposed, and either of which, according to his own statement, would, if used, render me unfit for power.

"I shall answer, however, in the terms in which I accepted the responsibilities of the position of leader of the Liberal party at the time the platform of the Liberal party was framed, and in the presence of the thousand or more delegates who attended the convention at which it was adopted. My exact words will be found in the printed proceedings of the convention. In a word, they were to the effect that I regarded the platform of principles and policies as laid down by that historic gathering as a chart upon which was plotted the direction of the course it was desired the party should take, whether in opposition or in power; that in seeking to discharge the duties of my office in the manner in which I believed the party would wish them to be performed, I would rely upon the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the

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party; and that at any given period or moment I would find in their collective wisdom the compass which would point the direction as we traversed the unknown seas of the future.

"Need I do more than point to the resolution on the tariff which at the last session of parliament was moved by Mr. Fielding, and which I had the honor of seconding, to show wherein I have been true to the attitude I expressed at that time?

**Would Revise Tariff.**

"There need be no mistaking the position of the Liberal party as respects the tariff. It regards the tariff not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end, according to Liberal policy, is threefold, and is to be effected not by abolition of the tariff but by its revision.

"First, its revision for purposes of revenue; this to be accomplished by making such revisions as are required to give greater effectiveness to the tariff, as one of the means of raising the revenues necessary to carry on the government of the country.

"Second, its revision for purposes of increase of production. This to be accomplished by facilitating more extended development of the industries based on the great natural resources of our country—agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing — by making the necessary instruments and implements of production available where possible at lessened cost.

"Thus its revision for purposes of decrease of the cost of living. This to be accomplished through rendering possible increased production in the manner already described, and by making certain of the necessaries of life available to the people at lessened cost.

"In other words, the Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers; not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers, such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be.

"To show the great need for some such revision of the tariff, I have only to remind this audience of what Mr. James Murdock has already told the country of the restraints of trade, the monopolies, the combines, and the trade agreements affecting the food, the clothing, and the shelter of the people, as he came to know of them from inside knowledge of conditions obtained while a member of the board of commerce.

"The Liberal party advocates a revision of the tariff in the manner described, not in the name of or for the exclusive benefit of any one class in our country, but as being in the interests of all classes; in the interests of the towns and cities not less than in the interests of the rural communities; in the interests of employers not less than in the interests of employes; in the interests of the Canadian east, nor less than in the interests of the Canadian west; in the interests of trade and commerce as much as in the interests of manufacture and agriculture. There need be no interference with legitimate profit or legitimate industry; much less need the position of our Canadian industries be prejudiced in any fair particular in competition with those of other countries.

"The only persons whose interests will suffer under a tariff thus revised are those groups of individuals who do not desire legitimate competition in matters of industry and trade, but who seek monopoly for the few at the expense of the many, and who, so long as they themselves may grow in riches, in ease and plenty, care little for the privations of the many in the humbler walks of life. Surely, in a land of plenty and in a day of new-won freedom, exception cannot be taken to a policy which looks primarily to the interests of the home and the satisfaction of its legitimate needs.

"I have spoken of our finances and of the need for economy, retrenchment, and publicity in all matters of public expenditure. I have touched upon the problem of our national railways and government merchant marine, and the need for a restoration of the supremacy of parliament and of ministerial responsibility, if public rather than private interests are to be conserved. I have referred to the tariff and the need for its revision in the interests of consumers and producers and for revenue purposes. I hope I have made clear wherein all three are part of the problem of the cost of government from which the problem of the high cost of living is inseparable. As the campaign progresses, I shall have opportunity to touch on other matters equally vital to constitutional government and national well-being. For the present, I must confine what I have further to say to the means by which the necessary reforms we seek are to be brought about, and the necessity in this connection, if we are to avoid a repetition of the evils of indecision and compromise to which coalitions give rise, of a strong and united party which will favor the special interests of none but be broadly representative of the fundamental rights and common interests of all.

**The Contending Forces.**

"All through history there are traceable two opposing forces, each contending for the control of government in the affairs of nations. The one is a reactionary force, born of the conservative instinct which all of us to some degree possess, but which, carried to extremes, develops an attitude wholly antagonistic to change and progress. It seeks at all costs, the maintenance of an existing order and the retention of rights and privileges for a favored few. That is the force in control of government in our country to-day. It is the logical sequence and natural outcome of the repressive attitude assumed by government, and possibly necessary and inevitable in time of war. It is altogether fatal to the work of reconstruction, and therefore wholly unsuited to a time like the present.

"The other is a liberalizing force, born of the aspiration for a wider freedom which all of us also share to some degree, the young in greater measure perhaps than the old. It is often impatient of the existing order in its desire to improve conditions for the mass of men. Carried to an extreme, however, it is apt to demand change merely for the sake of change, and regardless altogether of the cost or the enduring quality of the results.

With such an extreme in matters of government we are threatened to-day as a consequence of the extreme in reactionary methods to which the country has been subjected under the present administration. Between these two extremes lies the just balance, which is the secret spring of orderly progress and advance It does not forget the past; neither does it fear the future. It has both traditions and aspirations, and both are inseparably interwoven with the love of freedom. In a word, it is Liberalism in the broadest and truest sense, and it is a new era of Liberalism that Canada needs to-day if a higher and better economic and social order is to replace the old order which the war was fought to destroy.

**Unity Essential to Victory.**

"How is this new Liberalism to be attained? Surely it is not by the forces of freedom being divided in the face of a common enemy! Neither will it be possible through the shifty expedients of log-rolling and compromise which coalitions in matters of government inevitably bring.

"In political warfare, as between contending forces, great national parties, born of and corresponding in their aims to the instincts and aspirations I have mentioned, are the instruments by which unity is effected. That unity exists to-day in the forces of reaction to which the forces of progress are opposed. It is the means to that unity, so necessary to victory, that the Liberals offer to men and women of Liberal conviction and aim through the medium of a party, whose principles and policies have been framed regardless of race or creed, regardless of class. The party with us is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end, a wholly essential and necessary means. And it is because we believe that in no other manner can the battle be won, that throughout this dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we propose to place Liberal candidates in the field, not as expressing an antagonism towards any class or group who may share Liberal or progressive ideas, but solely to make sure of the triumph of Liberal principles and policies at the poll.

**Would End Coalitions.**

"There are some who say to those opposed to the return of the present administration, let us each run our own gait, and let us join forces after the battle is over. My friends, victory was never attained in that way. If it is the defeat of the enemy, and the triumph of your principles you wish, the time to co-operate is before, not after the nations verdict is pronounced. Let me add this. We cannot afford to experiment further with combinations and coalitions and unions in matters of government. We have before our very eyes at the moment a spectacle that should

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sicken us once and for all of conditions. Read your papers from day to day, and what do you see; one Tory-Unionist, so-called, going to the Senate; one Liberal-Unionist, so-called, going on to the bench; one Tory-Unionist being taken into the cabinet; another Liberal-Unionist being kept in office there; one Tory-Unionist being made lieutenant-governor in one provnice, and one Liberal-Unionist being proposed as lieutenant-governor in another.

"Nothing but a disgusting and degrading rewarding of political support by an administration has been so compromised by its ill-mated following that it could be held together only by the promise of life positions to the greater portion of its more active members. Was it not the Tory leader, Walpole, who said that 'every man has his price'? It would almost seem that we had a young Walpole at the head of affairs in Canada to-day. You wonder why there has been little or no constructive legislation since the war? There is the answer. Coalitions, sooner or later, become another word for compromise, and where there is constant compromise you may look in vain for the assertion of principle of any kind.

"I believe the people of Canada have had enough of coalitions; they want an end to coalitions. They want a government of one mind and of one purpose; not a group or class government, as some are advocating, nor another attempt at government by so-called Liberals and Conservatives, as some of our Tory friends in their despair are already suggesting. They want a government that will give stability; they want a government that will make for unity. That is only possible in a government which is broadly representative of all parts and classes in the country, and which has the undivided support of men of like thought and feeling as respects the principles and policies that are to be made to prevail. It was a government of that character which the Liberal party gave to Canada in 1896. It is a government of that character which the Liberal party is prepared again to give."

**Mr. Fielding's Speech.**

Mr. W. S. Fielding followed the Liberal leader with an address which combined a denunciation of Premier Meighen's "family compact" autocracy and an exposition of the tariff issue, supplementary to Mr. King's remarks.

Opening his address in reminiscent vein with reference to the time which has elapsed since his last old time political meeting and the "inspiration to return to the game" which the evening's audience gave him, the ex-minister of finance dealt first with Premier Meighen's qualities, personal and political. Mr. Meighen was described as "a most admirable gentleman," but a man "whose conception of politics is at variance with every instinct of twentieth century democracy." Amid appreciative laughter Mr. Fielding continued, "Mr. Meighen is a dyed-in-the-wool Tory, though he would probably shrink at the word. There is work for him in the world, however; they need him in Mexico. They have needed a man like him since they lost Diaz."

Mr. Fielding advanced evidence of what he called the premier's "profound contempt for parliament" outlining Mr. Meighen's methods in refusing to submit the administration of railway funds to supervision by the auditor-general, in denying publication of imperial correspondence regarding Canada's Washington ambassador, and in frequent employment of the closure. Against this latter evil the speaker was particularly bitter, and told his audience that had the Liberal party chosen to practise that method in 1911 it could have passed the reciprocity measure. "But Laurier said 'no,'" proclaimed Mr. Fielding. "He found a free parliament and he left it free. Meighen found a free parliament and he has gagged it so that he can pass anything. That's the difference between Laurier and Meighen. That's Toryism, autocracy, Meighenism."

Mr. Fielding heaped sarcastic scorn on the complexities of the new name of the Conservative party and said that "national" had been added to its other adjectives as a compliment to the nationalist element of Quebec who elected the Conservative government when they found Laurier too British for their taste. He said that it is hard to recognize a Tory under all his camouflage of to-day and took pride in the fact that his party has been content to remain simply "Liberal."

**Free Trade Principle Sound.**

Turning to the notorious tariff question Mr. Fielding explained the relation between the Liberal principle of free trade and tariff policies adopted in the past.

"The principle of free trade is sound," he said, "but no principle can be applied without reference to conditions. No man need be ashamed of being a free trader. It is the natural order of things. The divine creator has planned the wealth of nature so that man's happiness and health depends on the proper exchange of the fruits thereof. But, as Grover Cleveland once said, 'It is a condition and not a theory which confronts us.'"

Premier Meighen, Mr. Fielding said, has accused the Liberal party of failing to execute tariff reform when it has had opportunity, quoting tariff rates in proof. This argument the speaker condemned as either ignorant or malicious, since it does not recognize that great reform is possible and has been effected in the past without a change in the tariff rate, but by lowering rates of necessities and increasing them on luxuries. Mr. Fielding said that the Conservative party has violated its solemn promise in the speech from the throne by failing to revise a tariff which has remained unchanged since 1911.

Mr. Fielding described the world to-day as "a topsy turvy world" and said that Canada's political world is the same, though there is blue sky in the darkness in the almost certain defeat of the present ramshackle government. The coming winter, he said, is likely to be one of great hardship, and dwelling on unemployment he spoke with great feeling of the tragedy and shame of men who faced death for Canada now wandering the streets in destitution. The relief of this situation he believed to be the first call on the government, not in the form of doles but in supplying work. Canada's salvation, he said lies in the help and sympathy of all classes, in sacrifice, not in argument.

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# The Spotlight

## THE RENAISSANTS.

IT'S turning a good adjective into an impossible noun; but you know what it means—which is the chief end of language. Mr. King and Mr. Fielding at the Ravina last night were the star resurrectionists, the rebirthers, the restorers, of the Liberal party—the heralds of a renaissance. In them the conscriptionist Liberal and the anti-conscriptionist Liberal, like righteousness and peace, kissed each other, with a good conscriptionist like George Wilkie looking happily on; and several other equally fervent apostles of the war looking on also, and applauding, as was meet; but not getting too noisy at it.

Mr. Fielding revelled in renewing his youth. He said he had got out of the habit of addressing old-fashioned political meetings, but he soon showed that respite from popular appeals has not dimmed his effectiveness or stifled his variety. You don't often hear a juvenile of seventy-two enjoying himself, and see him tickling hundreds of other citizens, in sheer delight at being on a platform where a war can't depress his spirits or a union tie his tongue. The veteran loves the old-fashioned party, and the old-fashioned name. He burlesques the cognominal mutations of the party whose remainder is worshipping at the shrine of Meighenism, which is a very old brand of Toryism indeed.

MR. FIELDING is happy with the name which he has always borne, and of which even the war could not deprive him. A Liberal he was born, a Liberal he has lived, a Liberal he will die—and he spiced his devotion with a story.

A deaf old gentleman sat at a dinner party next a lovely and charming lady, she found great difficulty in carrying on a conversation with him. At last the fruit was passed, including bananas. "Ah!" she said to herself; "here's a topic he can see." So, "Do you like bananas?" "Ma'am?" was the reply, hand at ear. "Do you like bananas?" "Ma'am?" hand still at ear. "Do you like bananas?" "Oh, I'm sorry I didn't hear you the first time. No, I don't. I never wear them. I prefer the old-fashioned nightshirt."

Thus the merrier of the two renaissants; but as earnest as merry. At the front it seemed that his voice was not strong. It seemed to pipe some. And it is a little rough to pit this election to free the Liberal party from the necessity of making unions, coalitions, alliances, or any such thing with other groups. The sentiment reads worse than it sounded from the point of view of such groups as were represented in the rink by President Powers of the U. F. O. co-operative company, who a few years ago used to say that the old-fashioned name of Liberal was good enough for him.

Mr. King loves not only the name that was dear to Gladstone and Bright, but he loves some of the slogans with which they wooed a discriminating public. One was reminded of Mr. Gladstone fulminating against the enormity of a hundred-million-pound budget, and of his inculcating, with fiery zeal the need for retrenchment. Mr. King is mightily seized of the magnitude of the budgets, which the Draytons and Meighen's, having themselves become accustomed to them, do not realize that the country will never become used to them. We shall be bankrupt if the spenders are not soon spent.

LOOK at the truth and be warned. A hundred and forty millions of annual interest on the national debt. A hundred and thirty-five millions on pensions and soldiers' civil re-establishment. A railway deficit of seventy millions, likely to be a hundred millions next year. A total appropriation for government expenditures of five hundred and sixty millions. The high cost of government is taking $62.50 per head per annum, or $312.50 per family of five, even supposing we have nine millions, which the census will show we haven't. The high cost of government has considerable responsibility for the high cost of living. It must come down; but the fellows who have made it soar, don't know how to make it sink.

The tariff? Mr. King laughs at the sort of horns on which the smart Arthur invites him to impale himself—the horns of the protectionist principle or the free trade principle. Free trade is impossible in Canada. We must not have a tariff in the interests of trusts, combines, mergers, and the children of insatiable greed. The tariff must encourage industry without debasing the living of those engaged in basic industries. The platform of the Liberal convention which put Mr. King in the Laurier shoes states the position of the party very clearly. Mr. King will be guided by

See under

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London Advertiser D 5483 (1)
September ~~30~~ 21 1921

# TARIFF IS NOT THE ONLY ISSUE PEOPLE CONSIDER WHEN THEY PASS JUDGMENT ON MEIGHEN

## Leader of the Liberal Party Addresses Big Rally of West York Voters.

## BURDEN OF TAXATION TOO HEAVY AT PRESENT

## Government Accustomed To Spending People's Money In Millions.

## PEOPLE MUST HAVE CONTROL OF AFFAIRS

## Friends of the Party in Power Have Things Very Much Their Own Way.

TORONTO, Sept. 20.—"The Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers, not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers, such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be."

Thus did Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, summarize the position of his party on the tariff question at a great meeting held in West Toronto tonight, and which marked the opening of the Liberal general election campaign in this province.

**Forced Into Election.**

The Liberal leader claimed that Premier Meighen had been forced into declaring a federal election because the press supporting the Government had broken into open rebellion against his administration holding on to office any longer.

Mr. King maintained that the prime minister sought to narrow the issue down to that of the tariff. "But let me tell him," he continued, "that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by spoken or printed word to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of his Government."

**Strongly Condemned.**

Strong condemnation of the Government's attitude in refusing information to Parliament respecting expenditures on the government railways and merchant marine was voiced by the Liberal leader.

He urged the forces of Liberalism to unite and fight the common foe, not to be divided between those who wished to go to extremes in the matter of government, and those who choose to go more slowly towards a higher and better economic order. He said it would be a mistake for each to go their own gait now and unite after the elections. The country is tired and disgusted with coalitions. There must be a united party in support of Liberalism in its highest and truest sense.

**Replies to Premier.**

Referring to the challenge made by Premier Meighen in his London, Ont., speech that Mr. King definitely state his position in relation to the platform adopted by the Liberal party convention in 1919, Mr. King replied by quoting from his speech on that occasion. It was that he regarded that platform of principles and policies as a chart upon which was plotted the course it was desired the party should take and that in seeking to discharge the duties of his office he would rely on the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party.

**Position of the Liberal Party.**

"May I say just one word of a personal character," began Mr. King. "We are delighted to have with us tonight the Hon. W. S. Fielding. May I not rather say our province is greatly honored in once again having him as a guest in its capital city. I know you will agree with me when I affirm that no man in public life in Canada is held in higher esteem than Mr. Fielding. No man in public life has given to the affairs of our country a wider measure of disinterested and distinguished public service. Were it possible so to do, I should like to take advantage of this occasion to acknowledge something of what I feel I owe to his whole-hearted, chivalrous and constant co-operation, both in and out of Parliament, and publicly to thank him for it.

**Why Dissolution of Parliament Is Imminent.**

"Now let me come to the question which I asked a moment ago. What were the circumstances which caused the prime minister, in so short a space of time, to change his mind with respect to an early dissolution of Parliament? Were the truth known, it would be found that, having held on to power against the will of the people to the point at which his own party press had broken out into open rebellion, and the shattered remnants of his following could no longer be relied upon to give him support in the House of Commons, he preferred the defeat of his Government in the country to its defeat in Parliament; he preferred to appear before the people as a prime minister holding office rather than as a prime minister who, in office, had suffered defeat.

"I need not remind this vast gathering that the Liberal party, true to its tradition as the upholder of the rights of the people against autocracy or privilege in any form, once the war was over and demobilization of the war forces effected, consistently and persistently advocated the right of the people to a general election. At the opening of Parliament two sessions ago, we urged in the strongest terms the people's right to a representative parliament and a responsible ministry to deal with post-war problems and policies. This demand we repeated at the beginning of the last session, and maintained throughout. On all occasions, we were told that we were in the wrong, that what the public interest demanded was the postponement of a general election, at least until after redistribution had been effected.

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view of the prime minister's announcement, who, may I ask, was in the right and who is the wrong?

**The Government's Position.**

As Liberals, we have all along contended that, having regard to the circumstances and conditions under which the Unionist Government was elected in 1917, the act of Mr. Meighen in assuming and retaining office, after Sir Robert Borden and many of his colleagues had resigned, was the act of a usurper and, as such, was wholly foreign to the spirit of our constitution and of our time.

"I need not remind this gathering that the Government of Sir Robert Borden elected in 1917, was a War Government chosen for war purposes only, that it was a government composed ostensibly of members of both political parties. By no stretch of the imagination could such a claim be made for the Government of Mr. Meighen. It was from the beginning a government without a mandate, without a policy, and is now a government without a friend. This is the government which, battered and bandaged, with new splints and props freshly-applied, now comes before the people seeking an expression of their confidence. It is true that it has waited until it could wait no longer to take the step. Now that, to save complete dismemberment, the step has been taken, it is for the people to say whether, as regards the future, they will place their confidence in a government which, through the whole of its past, has had no confidence in them.

**Canada Is Alone.**

"As evidencing Mr. Meighen's little regard for the rights or the will of the people, this it would seem is an appropriate moment to remind the electors of Canada that the right to a general election has been denied the citizens of our country for a period longer than has obtained in the United Kingdom or in any of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire; longer than has obtained in any of the countries of the Allied and Associated Powers, with the exception only of Russia; longer than has obtained in neutral countries, or even in former enemy countries. In all parts of the world where government is supposed to be carried on by the will of the governed, the people, with the exception only of Canada, have long since been accorded the right of choosing a parliament representative of the popular will to deal with post-war problems and policies. We alone have still to exercise that right.

"In Great Britain, a general election was held almost immediately after the signing of the armistice. In South Africa, two general elections have been held. In New Zealand, in Australia and Newfoundland, general elections were held over two years ago. Of the allied and associated powers, Belgium France, Italy, the United States and Japan, have all had their general elections since the war. The peoples of Holland and other of the neutral powers of Europe; the peoples of Mexico and of the South American Republics; the peoples even of Germany and of other of the autocratic powers allied with her in the great war; all long since have been accorded this right. We alone have had it persistently denied.

**Other Issues Besides the Tariff.**

"Confronted with an indictment so unanswerable, is there not something lacking in the vision of the imagination of a prime minister when he tells the people of Canada that the issue of the election which he has at last been compelled to concede is solely that of the tariff. In the mind of the prime minister, the tariff may be the issue. In the mind of the people, however, the issue is the prime minister and what he and his colleagues represent of autocracy and extravagance in the management of public affairs.

"I have read with care the speech delivered by Mr. Meighen at London. Read it for yourselves, and you will find that all that it purports to say is that the issue in this election is not the question of defence, but solely that of the tariff. Who ever suggested that the question of defence was the issue? Who but the prime minister himself has sought to set aside the momentous questions before the people of Canada at the present time and narrow public discussion down to this single issue of the tariff? Mr. Meighen may believe that, through the medium of costly protectionist propaganda, he may succeed in obscuring or distorting the vision of a portion of the electorate. Let me tell him, however, that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by the spoken or printed word to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of the Government of which he has been a member and of the administration of which he is today the head.

**The Cost of Living.**

"What is the question of greatest concern to the people of Canada? Unless I am very much mistaken, men and women of all classes and from all parts of our vast Dominion will tell you that it is the problem of the cost of living, to which, at the present time, the cost of government is far and away the most important contributing factor. In the solution of the problem of the cost of living, the tariff and its revision is an important and far-reaching consideration. It is, however, but one of many considerations, and not less important than the tariff, in this connection, is the Government by which the tariff is to be revised.

"In any consideration of the cost of living and the cost of government, we must begin with conditions as we find them. The Canada of today is different from the Canada of the years prior to the war. The problems of government, as a consequence, are also different, and in almost every particular more difficult as well. The affairs of a nation resemble those of a household in that what may or may not be done depends primarily upon what is owed and what is owned. Where little is owed and much is owned many things are possible. Where, however, much is owed, until outstanding obligations are adequately met or cared for, the uses to which actual or potential wealth may be put are necessarily circumscribed.

**Our National Obligations.**

Ten years ago, the national debt of Canada amounted to some 340 millions of dollars. Today the national debt of our country is not by the millions, but in the billions. It has reached the colossal figure of two billions three hundred and fifty millions of dollars ($2,350,000,000).

Let us immediately concede that approximately two billions ($2,000,000,000) of this debt has been due to the war and conditions arising out of the war. Let us also immediately concede that, with respect to every dollar of war expenditure honestly and legitimately incurred, not a word of exception can be taken by any man or woman in this country. In estimating the price at which our freedom has been maintained and our liberties have been preserved, no financial obligation imposed on our own or succeeding generations can ever equal or compensate the extent of the sacrifice as measured in terms of human lives. Let us forget for the moment all there has been of unnecessary expenditure, of waste, and extravagance. Let us assume that all has been spent in a just and a good cause and in a right and proper manner. The fact nevertheless remains that our country carries today a mortgage of $2,350,000,000, whereas ten years ago the load was deemed excessive at the relatively small figure of $340,000,000.

**Interest on the Public Debt.**

Until the principal of that mortgage is paid, the men and women of this country must carry, in the form of taxes, directly or indirectly levied, a burden of debt on annual interest account alone of $140,000,000. Ten years ago the burden of taxation on account of annual interest on the public debt amounted only to the sum of $12,500,000. When we consider that, ten years ago, the amount required to be raised to meet the total expenditure on government account in all its branches and departments, including subsidies to railways and the amount payable as interest on the public debt, had never equalled $123,000,000, and that the amount now required to be raised in taxes solely to meet the interest on public debt is $17,000,000 in excess of that amount, we begin to get some idea of how conditions have changed, and of the need there is at the present time for economy and retrenchment in the outlays of government.

**Pensions and Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment.**

Failure to meet the interest on our public debt would spell insolvency and bankruptcy for the nation. There is, however, another charge upon the public treasury scarcely less large and vastly more sacred, from the point of view of national obligation, than the interest on the public debt, an obligation to fail to meet, which would spell

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not only insolvency and bankruptcy, but ingratitude and dishonor as well. This is the charge, amounting at the present time to some $130,000,000, in the nature of pensions payable annually to disabled soldiers and the dependent relatives of those whose lives were sacrificed in the great war, and on account of soldiers' civil re-establishment and other outlays incidental to what may be termed war veterans' account. This obligation we are determined at all costs to meet. Remember, however, it is an obligation which ten years ago had no place in our public accounts. Remember, too, that in amount it is an obligation vaster than the sum expended on all branches and departments of government ten years ago.

**The National Railways and Merchant Marine.**

But this is not the only new obligation. Since the year 1917, two vast railway systems have been transferred from private to public ownership. One of these transfers that of the Canadian Northern Railway System, was effected by the Government of Sir Robert Borden during the period of the war at a session of Parliament which was in the nature of an extension of its constitutional term, which extension had been arranged for on the understanding that no measure of public significance apart from immediate war necessities should be dealt with one way or the other.

The Grand Trunk Railway system, the other system to be acquired, was taken over in part by the Government of Sir Robert Borden and in part by Mr. Meighen's Government almost immediately preceding and subsequent to Mr. Meighen's accession to office. In both cases the method of acquisition was high-handed and arbitrary, the people in neither case having been consulted on the question of policy involved, and even Parliament having been denied the right of full and free discussion as to the method and terms of acquisition.

For the moment I shall speak only of the annual charges upon the treasury in consequence of these acquisitions. I shall refrain from making mention of the colossal amounts which would have to be paid were these systems to become the property of Canada free from all outstanding obligations. Last year the deficit on account of government-owned and operated railways amounted to some $50,000,000. This year the deficit had reached some $70,000,000. It is now taken for granted that the deficit for the coming year will be in the vicinity of $100,000,000. Sir Joseph Flavelle has warned the nation that for a period of years to come it may expect recurring deficits of possibly even greater amounts. Be this as it may, at this year's session Parliament was asked by the Government to vote on account only of railways and canals the sum of $165,000,000. Ten years ago the total outlay on account of railways and canals was $38,000,000. Here is an additional annual burden upon the shoulders of the Canadian people of $127,000,000, a sum again considerably in excess of the total expenditure on government account ten years ago.

Having grown accustomed to talking in millions, let us now look at what, as citizens, we are expected this year to contribute to the federal treasury in the form of taxes. Omitting some $35,000,000 voted on soldiers' land settlement account, which I have also not included in speaking of war veterans' account, and some $11,500,000 voted as loans to the provinces on housing account, both of which amounts are classed as advances to be subsequently repaid, the total amounts voted for expenditure during the fiscal year, March 31, 1921, to March 31, 1922, was over $550,000,000. The census will not be complete until the end of the present year. We are therefore unable to say just what at the present time the total population of Canada may be. I greatly fear that it will be found to be under rather than over nine millions, as is popularly supposed. Assume, however, that it should be nine millions; that would make the taxation for federal purposes alone equal to something over $62 per head of the population. When, however, it is realized how considerable is that portion of the population dependent on those who directly or indirectly must carry the burden of taxation, we soon discover that the average load of the individual taxpayer is considerably beyond this amount. For the family of five the average of taxation would exceed $310. This is for federal purposes alone. When you add the amounts to be collected for taxation on provincial and municipal accounts, you will begin to see the truth of what I have said when I spoke of the cost of government as being the most important of all the causes at present contributing to the high cost of living.

**Women's Interests in State.**

Let me at this point address myself more particularly to the women of our country. With the exception of some, who on grounds of naturalization are still being arbitrarily disfranchised, you are today in the same position as the men in the exercises of the rights of the franchise, which means the selection of those who are to be intrusted with the making of the nation's laws and control of government in our land. It may seem to you that the all-important questions of national finance, especially such as pertain to the ownership and operations of railways and the merchant marine; the revision of the tariff, military, naval and police expenditure, and to inter-imperial and international relations, are so far removed from the orbit of your accustomed thought that they are, so to speak, beyond you. Do not be surprised if you have a feeling of the kind. There is not one man in a thousand in our country who, were he to speak his mind honestly, would not say that he shares that feeling in considerable measure. The truth is, the problems of government today have become so vast that it is exceedingly difficult to find the men or the women who possess the natural ability and training to cope with them, and who at the same time are prepared to make the inevitable sacrifices of time and means and health which participation in public life involves.

In one particular, however, an understanding of the significance of all these problems is brought home in a very real way. Sooner or later it is discovered that every one of them affects our individual incomes and the family budget. Do not be misled into believing that, because taxation may be indirect instead of direct, you are thereby escaping carrying part of the load of the cost of government. Do not be led into believing that, because only incomes above a certain amount are taxed, persons whose incomes are less than this amount escape altogether carrying part of the burden of direct taxation. If your landlord, in consequence of the increased amount of income tax, yields to the temptation to raise your rent, that he may get from you something that has been exacted from him, you, not he, are carrying the burden of direct taxation. If you find it is costing you more than you formerly paid to purchase clothes or food or fuel, do not be deceived into believing that, because you are not handing over part of the amount in the form of a tax to some visible tax-collector, someone else is not exacting from you, in the price you are compelled to pay some proportion of the amount which through indirect taxation has been paid into the federal treasury. The five hundred and sixty millions of dollars voted by Parliament for Government expenditures in this one year has all to be raised in the form of revenue one way or the other, or the country must go that much deeper into debt. It must all come out of the pockets and earnings of the people. If, instead of it being $560,000,000, it were half or even two-thirds of that amount, the sum to be taken out of the pockets of the people would be proportionately reduced. That is why it is a matter of vital concern to every woman, as well as to every man, who is in power at Ottawa, and what the policies are in accordance with which the affairs of the nation are carried on.

**The Concern of Liberalism.**

It is in the name of the home and its needs that the Liberal party makes its appeal to all classes in this country. We do this in the belief that in the happiness, contentment and prosperity of our homes lies the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the nation. Happiness, contentment and prosperity are not necessarily bound up with great wealth or great fortune. Indeed, were the truth known, riches are more frequently a source of unhappiness than of joy. Privation on the other hand, if it be unduly great, serves only to thwart and blight the higher aspirations and nobler development of human lives. It is in terms of privation that all of us have have in some measure been obliged to take account of the cost of government as it has made itself felt through the greatly increased cost of living in recent years.

I spoke of the average yearly taxation for federal purposes coming to something like $310 per family of five.

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Have you ever considered what the difference of that margin might mean in the strain and stress of home and family life? To one family, it may come to mean the difference between ownership of and a mortgage upon the home; to another, the difference between comfort and overcrowding. To the head of many a family it will mean the difference between insurance against accident, sickness and death, and the inability to make this provision for those most loved. In cases of illness or misfortune, from which few homes are ever exempt, it may mean the difference between the care and attention which restore health and the inability to make the provision which prevents infirmity and which sometimes is necessary to the saving of life itself. To some homes, it will mean for children the difference between a higher education and the starting of life with a permanent handicap. To some individuals it may mean a little more than the loss of social enjoyments or accustomed pleasures; to most, however, save those of more than average wealth, it is likely to mean privation in some measure, and to many hardship and possibly actual want.

**Economy and Retrenchment Not To Be Expected From War-Time Government.**

I might quote many reasons why it is useless to expect economy or retrenchment from any government of which the present prime minister is the head. I shall mention only two. They are, however, so obvious that their unanswerable force will be quickly appreciated by you.

During the period of the war some two billions of dollars were loaned to the Government and spent by the Government of which the Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen was a member, and which he claims was to all intents and purposes the Government of which he is the present head. After all, human nature is human nature. You cannot over a period of years grow accustomed to spending millions and billions of dollars without coming to find it exceedingly difficult to think in terms of hundreds and thousands. In pre-prohibition days it used to be said that once cultivated, a champagne appetite could not be satisfied with ordinary beer. And yet it is to the humbler diet we must grow accustomed in our public expenditures if the burden of the people in taxation is ever to be lessened. It is not unnatural that the prime minister and his minister of militia and his minister of marine, and, for that matter, any other of the ministers associated with him during the period of the war, should, as respects the matter of expenditure, continue to think in terms of war. What is wanted in the administration of public affairs today is not only a recognition of the fact that the war is over, but also that it has left in its wake vast obligations, the like of which this country has never before experienced, and that, as a consequence, too great economy and supervision cannot be exercised in all outlays of public moneys.

**Barnacles and Unnecessary Cargo.**

The second point I wish to mention is that, in the course of the period of the war, and for that matter in the period since, many new branches of the administration were opened up and a vast army of employees drafted into the public service. In some of the departments, in the outside as well as the inside service, there has come to be as a consequence, not only overmanning of the staffs, but also much overlapping in the work itself. Sooner or later, barnacles accumulate on every ship. Notwithstanding that many clerks filling temporary appointments have been let out, or replaced in their positions by others; numbers of office holders remain whose continuance in the public service, or in the particular post they fill, is due solely to the influence which occasioned their appointment and which keeps them where they are. The ship of state in Canada today is burdened with unnecessary cargo and covered with barnacles which add materially to the cost of government. They will never be removed so long as the influence responsible remains. Nor need we expect say elimination of unnecessary or duplicated work so long as ministers find it to the advantage in political power or personal prestige to avoid the discontinuance of these superfluous posts and services.

**National Audit Necessary.**

Apart, however, from barnacles and unnecessary cargo, there is great need today of a fresh accounting with respect to our national liabilities and assets. There is every ground for believing that, in the desire to make the showing as favorable as possible, many existing services and undertakings are being placed to the credit side of the national ledger which ought to be on the debit side. Many of our so-called assets may be in the nature of liabilities. The present minister of finance so described some of our railway properties. I believe he might well have included the Government merchant marine.

Let it never be forgotten, we have been through four years of war, during which period two billions of dollars have passed through the hands of the Government. It is now nearly three years since the war ended, and we are still spending millions on demobilization account.

**No one really knows where the country stands in the matter of its undertakings and obligations, or the wherewithal to meet them. No one will ever know so long as concealment is rendered possible on the part of those who are responsible for waste and extravagance.**

In such circumstances, commonsense, not less than the national interest, demands a very obvious course; it is the course which every man in the management of his own financial affairs, every business and financial concern in the management of its affairs, after a time of crisis, would adopt; and that is to have a strict accounting, a fresh inventory, above all, an independent audit. This, I submit, can only be expected and effected in our national affairs by a government which has had no part or parcel in the matters into which inquiry is to be made; in other words, by an entirely new administration.

**The Closure Applied.**

When, at the last session of Parliament, with respect to proposed additional expenditures on the merchant marine, the Opposition made a determined effort to elicit information which would disclose the waste and folly of some of the transactions in connection with that enterprise, all opportunity was summarily ended by the application of the closure. An hour or two earlier the closure had been applied with respect to the voting of a sixth of the total supply for the present year, without discussion or debate of any kind having been permitted. This was the manner in which the new prime minister met the House of Commons in committee of supply for the first time after his accession to the premiership. Nothing so arbitrary or high-handed with respect to the voting of supply has ever before been attempted in the Parliament of Canada; there might as well have been no Commons to guard the public treasury. It is well that the people of Canada should understand just how far Mr. Meighen's Government has gone in this matter, and how far he may be expected to go if opportunity is afforded.

The management and operation of the National Railways and the Government marchant marine have been placed by the Government under a board of directors, the members of which are all the Government's own appointees, and, as was to be expected, with the possible exception of the deputy minister of railways and canals, whose relation to the board is virtually nominal, all immediate and close friends of the Administration. By statute, the members of the board of directors of the National Railways are freed from personal liability with respect to matters arising out of the management and operation of the roads.

One would assume that, under circumstances of the kind, the people's representatives in Parliament would be entitled to the fullest information as to the manner in which these gentlemen, freed from all personal responsibility, exercise their trust. Mr. Meighen and his colleagues, however, have taken the position that, having transferred to this board of directors control of the National Railways and Government merchant marine, they, the members of the board, are free to expend the appropriations made by Parliament on railway and merchant marine account in such manner as they think best, and that, with respect to how and to whom these expenditures are made, the people's representatives on the floor of Parliament are not to be entitled to information

**A New Family Compact.**

You have, on the one side, a small group of the Government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds, and exempted by statute from personal liability in the manner described. And you have, on the other,

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the small group comprising the Government itself, the few men who exercise political control, shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of Parliament in the matter of these vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right to information as to the nature and amount of expenditure and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable, and yet I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun.

**How Baneful Combination Works Out in Practice.**

To illustrate how this baneful combination works out in actual practice, let me give one or two examples from proceedings in the last session of Parliament. In the course of the session, we of the Opposition asked the Government to inform Parliament of the names of the members of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways, and also whether any or all of these gentlemen were directors of other important industrial concerns; and if so, the names of the concerns in question. With respect to the first part of the question, the Government replied giving the names of the board of directors, which, of course, were already publicly known; with respect to the second part of the question the Government replied that it had no information.

Subsequently the Government was asked whether any insurance had been placed upon the properties of the Government-owned railways, and if so, through what companies and to what extent. This surely was information to which the people's representatives in Parliament had reason to believe they were justly entitled. It was not information the disclosure of which could possibly prejudice the government roads in competition with those of private companies. The Government's reply was as follows: Here are the exact words:

**"The department has no returns in its record showing information asked for. These are transactions which are carried on by the Canadian National Railways as an incorporated company."**

The Government was asked a similar question with respect to the purchase of coal, as to the relative amounts purchased in United States and Canada; with respect to the calling for tenders in the loading and unloading of cargoes for the merchant marine; with respect to the purchase of cars and other rolling stock and supplies for the railways, and yet to one and all of these questions the Government replied to the effect or in the language to the reply I have already quoted. It could not be said that the giving of such information was drawing the railways into politics or giving to rival companies an unfair advantage. Considering that public moneys were involved in all these transactions, it was surely information to which the people's representatives in Parliament had a right to feel themselves entitled.

**Interlocking of Directorates.**

Let me carry this matter one stage further. Notwithstanding the Government's attitude in the House of Commons, before the session was over members of the Liberal Opposition were able, in the proceedings of one of the committees of Parliament appointed to deal with railway matters, to elicit sufficient information with respect to these questions to disclose why the Government might well have desired to refuse to give to Parliament the information requested. It was shown that, with the exception only of the deputy minister of railways and canals, three-fourts of the members of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways were also directors or the presidents and managers of some important industrial enterprise the business of which related to what in the nature of supplies, equipment or insurance might be required by the government railways and merchant marine; and that some of these gentlemen were directors of a considerable number of such companies.

**Insurance and Other Contracts.**

With respect to insurance, it was shown, for example, that the railway properties had been insured to the extent of over $140,000,000, of which under $33,000,000 had been placed in the company's insurance fund and $108,000,000 with insurance companies. With respect to the $108,000,000 placed with insurance companies, it was shown that practically the whole had been placed with one company, which did as it thought best with respect to re-insuring with other companies. This insurance, of course, was all paid for in advance.

**The investigation further disclosed that two of the members of the board of directors of the government railways were also directors of the assurance company with which the bulk of the $108,000,000 of insurance had been placed.**

If you look at the printed report of the proceedings and evidence before the committee on Canadian National Railways and shipping, a copy of which I have in my hands you will see that with respect to equipment ordered for 1918, 1919 and 1920 delivery contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000 were given to one company in Nova Scotia, and contacts for locomotives to the amount of nearly $8,000,000 to one company here in Ontario. Reference to the list of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways discloses that one of the directors is a director of the Nova Scotia company to which I have referred and that another of the directors is a director of the Ontario company to which I have referred. One might go on to cite contract after contract, for coal, for lumber, for supplies of a dozen different kinds, for loading and unloading of cars and vessels, all of which have gone to companies of which directors of the National Railways are also the officers or directors. So far as we have been able to ascertain, these contracts have been awarded for the most part without tenders having been called for. Contracts for the construction of sixty-odd vessels, now a part of the government merchant marine, were all awarded without a single tender having been called for.

Let me make my position perfectly clear. I am making no charges against the companies concerned, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting, either directly or indirectly, upon the integrity of any of the directors concerned. It is the Government that I am concerned with, and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of this country. The Government must take the responsibility for its own appointments, and the system it has devised for controlling expenditure on the National Railways. I contend that, apart altogether from the possibility of fraud or dishonesty in any of the transacions I have mentioned, there is disclosed such an interlocking of directorates as is sufficient completely to discredit the Government's whole method of dealing with these vast public enterprises. A member of Parliament who accepts a Government contract is supposed to lose his seat in the House of Commons, as having lost his independence. An official connected with any of the departments of Government, who at the same time was a director of a company obtaining contracts from his department of the Government would be instantly dismissed from the service.

Commenting on this amazing situation on the floor of Parliament, I ventured to express the opinion that our country's affairs were not being controlled by the people of Canada through their duly elected representatives in accordance with ary true theory of responsible government, but that the existing control was that of a baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, who working together and playing into each other's hands, the one for the sake of a monopoly of industrial control, the other for the sake of a monopoly of political control, were bringing this country to the verge of bankruptcy. I wish to repeat that statement tonight, and to say that, in the breaking of that combination and a full return to constituencies and responsible government, as respects all matters of public administration, lies the first necessary step in the solution of the railway or any other problem with which Canada is faced at the present time.

**Coming to the Tariff.**

Let me pass from the question of the railways to that of the tariff. I think enough has been said to make it clear why Mr. Meighen and his political and industrial associates would be glad to have the tariff made the chief, if not the sole issue in the present campaign. You, I trust, will see reasons equally strong why, though important, the tariff should, in the public interest, be regarded as only one of the issues at this time.

Mr. Meighen is very aggressive in his attitude towards all who do not express their views on the tariff in language identical to his own. In his first public address after he became prime minister, he spoke of those who did not see eye to eye with him as Bolshevists and nation wreckers. Not only did he thus divide the citizens of the Dominion into the two categories of the sane and the demented, but he further classified them as protectionists or free traders, those who viewed the tariff as he did be-

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ing, of course, in the protectionist and sane category, and all others in the free trade and demented category.

Speaking here in Toronto some little time later, the prime minister enlarged somewhat on this attitude. He said that in his belief a tariff could be framed only on one of two principles: the protectionist principle or the free trade principle. Referring to myself as leader of the Liberal party, he said that Mr. King could not be got to say on which of these principles he stood; a tariff on the protectionist principle or a tariff on the free trade principle. This somewhat ingenious statement was repeated over and over again until, one day in Parliament I ventured to point out that all talk about a tariff based on the principle of free trade was an absurdity, since, free trade implying in its very nature and essence the absence of all tariff, a tariff based on free trade principles was a contradiction in terms.

It is not to be supposed that this truth was not already known to the prime minister himself, or that it was without design that he sought and still seeks to make the issue one of protection versus free trade. He knows very well that, no matter what views men and women may held theoretically on the respective merits of free trade and protection, no government charged with the duty of administrating the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariffs under existing conditions either wise, patriotic or possible. No, the prime minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of extremes, in the hope that the course that avoids extremes may be overlooked altogether

That course, need I tell this audience, is not a possible tariff based on the principle of protection, nor an impossible tariff based on the principle of free trade; but a tariff based on the principle of revenue so framed as to avoid, under conditions as they exist in Canada today, the evils of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for protection, and the shortcomings of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for free trade.

**It is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party has stood in bygone years; it is for that principle the Liberal party stands today, and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party will continue to stand if returned to power in the present contest.**

Let me tell Mr. Meighen that, while it is impossible to have an issue between a tariff based on the principle of protection and a tariff based upon the principle of free trade, it is not impossible to have an issue on a tariff primarily for revenue as against a tariff primarily for protection; and that upon this issue we are prepared to fight, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding fought in 1896, and with expectations of a like return of prosperity and stability in matters industrial and commercial, should our policy be vindicated at the polls.

Having invited me to say "Yes" or "No" in one impossible position, and having for obvious reasons failed in that effort, Mr. Meighen now, for reasons equally obvious, invites me to say "Yes" or "No" in another position equally impossible. Laughable as it may appear, he now asks me to answer "Yes" or "No" to a question which, according to his own statement would not permit of either answer, without, at the some time, rendering me in public opinion unfit, as he says, for power. Let me read the prime minister's exact words as given in his address at London a few nights ago. Speaking of the platform of the Liberal party adopted at the convention held in August, 1919, Mr. Meighen said:

"Tonight I put on record the question: Does Mr. Mackenzie King stand pledged to put that platform in effect if returned to power? That question admits of two answers and two only; one is 'yes' and the other is 'no.' He cannot refuse to answer. Let the answer come . . . . If Mr. King answers 'Yes,' I say he should not have power because his platform is unsound and un-Canadian, false to the interests of our people of every class and occupation. If he answers 'No,' which I shall not presume until he says so, then I say he is unfit for power because he deliberately contemplates bad faith. If he refuses to answer at all then he is unfit for high office as lacking in frankness and candor."

Well, I do not propose to be thought as lacking in frankness or candor, so I shall not refuse to answer. Neither do I wish to be regarded as unfit for power, so I shall decline to make answer in the specific terms which Mr. Meighen has proposed, and either of which, according to his own statement, would, if used, render me unfit for power.

I shall answer, however, in the terms in which I accepted the responsibilities of the position of the leader of the Liberal party at the time the platform of the Liberal party was framed, and in the presence of the thousand or more delegates who attended the convention, at which it was adopted. My exact words will be found in the printed proceedings of the convention. In a word, they were to the effect that I regarded the platform of principles and policies as laid down by that historic gathering as a chart upon which was plotted the direction of the course it was desired the party should take, whether in opposition or in power; that in seeking to discharge the duties of my office in the manner in which I believed the party would wish them to be performed, I would rely upon the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party; and that at any given period or moment I would find in their collective wisdom the compass which would point the direction as we traversed the unknown seas of the future.

Need I do more than point to the resolution on the tariff which at the last session of Parliament was moved by Mr. Fielding, and which I had the honor of seconding, to show wherein I have been true to the attitude I expressed at that time?

I believe that my fellow members who without exception have so loyally supported me in the House of Commons during the two years and more in which I have been privileged to serve as the leader of the party will bear me out when I say that in matters of policy I have never attempted to dominate or dictate; that I have not only been willing and ready to accept counsel and advice, but have sought it in as many directions and from as many sources as time and opportunity would permit. I know they will be equally ready to say that, in being guided by the compass of collective wisdom, I have been not less true to the indications of the chart before me. The course which in this respect I have pursued in Parliament as leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition is the course which I propose to continue to pursue should I be called to fill the high and responsible office of prime minister of this country.

Let me say, not with relation to the tariff issue only, but as respects all matters of politics, not less than all matters of religion, that I believe there is no truer saying than that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." In reference to the question which he has propounded, no one knows this better than Mr. Meighen. I do not propose, by any acceptance of the letter, in the manner in which the prime minister desires, to be false to the spirit of the Liberal party or to any of the policies laid down by its members in convention assembled.

### An End to Coalitions.

There are some who say to those opposed to the return of the present administration: "Let us each run our own gait, and let us join forces after the battle is over." My friends, victory was never attained in that way. If it is the defeat of the enemy and the triumph of your principles you wish, the time to co-operate is before, not after the nation's verdict is pronounced. Let me add this: We cannot afford to experiment further with combinations and coalitions and unions in matters of Government. We have before our very large eyes at the moment a spectacle that should sicken us once and for all of coalitions. Read you papers from day to day, and what do you see? One Tory-Unionist, so called, going to the Senate; one Liberal-Unionist, so-called, going on to the bench; one Tory-Unionist being taken into the cabinet; another Liberal-Unionist being kept in office there; one Tory-Unionist being made lieutenant-governor in one province, and one Liberal-Unionist being proposed as lieutenant-governor in another. Nothing but a disgusting and degrading rewarding of political support by an administration has been so compromised by its ill-mated folowing that it could be held together only by the promise of life positions to the greater portion of its more active members. You wonder why there has been little or no constructive legislation since the war.

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There is the answer. Coalitions, sooner or later, become another word for compromise, and where there is constant compromise you may look in vain for the desertion of principle of any kind.

I believe the people of Canada have had enough of coalitions. They want an end to coalitions. They want a government of one mind and of one purpose; not a group of or class government, as some are advocating, nor another attempt at so-called Liberals and Conservatives, as some of our Tory friends in their despair are already suggesting. They want a government that will give stability; that want a government that will make for unity. That is only possible in a government which is broadly representative of all parts and classes in the country, and which has the undivided support of men of like thought and feeling as respects the principles and policies that are to be made to prevail. It was a government of that character which the Liberal party gave to Canada in 1896. It is a government of that character which the Liberal party is prepared again to give.

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# MACKENZIE KING IS STRONG FOR REVENUE TARIFF

## Liberal Leader Opens His Campaign in West Toronto With Claim of Program for Producers and Consumers.

## NOT IN INTEREST OF THE COMBINES, ETC.

## Urges That Progress and Freedom Unite in Face of Common Enemy.

TORONTO, Sept. 20.—"The Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers, not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be."

Thus did Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, summarize the position of his party on the tariff question at a great meeting held in West Toronto tonight and which marked the openin_ of the Liberal general election campaign in this province.

The Liberal leader claimed that Premier Meighen had been forced into declaring a federal election because the press supporting the government had broken into open rebellion against his administration holding onto office any longer.

Mr. King maintained that the prime minister sought to narrow the issue down to that of the tariff. "But let me tell him," he continued, "that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by spoken or printed words to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of his government."

**Refusal of Information.**

Strong condemnation of the government's attitude in refusing information to parliament respecting expenditures on the government railways and merchant marine were voiced by the Liberal leader.

He urged the forces of Liberalism to unite and fight the common foe, not to be divided between those who wished to go to extremes in the matter of government and those who choose to go more slowly towards a higher and better economic order. He said it would be a mistake for each to go their own gait now and unite after the elections. The country is tired and disgusted with coalitions. There must be a united party in su_ .rt of Liberalism in its highest and truest sense.

**The London Speech.**

Referring to the challenge made by Premier Meighen in his London, Ont., speech that Mr. King definitely state his position in relation to the platform adopted by the Liberal party convention in 1919, Mr. King replied by quoting from his speech on that occasion. It was that he regarded that platform of principles and policies as a chart upon which was plotted the course it was desired the party should take and that in seeking to discharge the duties of his office he would rely on the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party.

"Let me say," Mr. King asserted, "not with relation to the tariff issue only, but as respects all matters of politics, not less than all matters of religion, that I believe there is no truer saying than that 'the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' In reference to the question which he has propounded, no one knows this better than Mr. Meighen. I do not propose, by any acceptance of the letter, in the manner in which the prime minister desires, to be false to the spirit of the Liberal party or to any of the policies laid down by its members in convention assembled."

"The Liberal party stands for economy and retrenchment," said Mr. King. "We stand for an unbiased audit of the finances of this country and you will never get this until you have a change of government."

The meeting from a political standpoint was a marked success. Hon. Mr. King and party were escorted to the rink in which the rally was held, by a large procession headed by a band, along the streets and in the hall ovations greeted the Liberal leader and Hon. W. S. Fielding. The rink is estimated to hold nearly 8,000 people and was well-filled. The audience gave Mr. King an attentive hearing. Following his remark that "this government has demobilized everything except itself" some one shouted "we'll demobilize them." The crowd cheered this sally.

The audience included not only men and women of West Toronto but many present from York, Peel, Yorkton and other surrounding points.

Major Streight, the candidate, referred to Hon. W. S. Fielding as the minister who had guided Canada through its most glorious march in its history from a financial standpoint and spoke of Mr. King as the man who soon would use his great experience in industrial questions in the settlement of industrial unrest. Major Streight said he was ever ready to sacrifice party for the country if need be.

**Tribute to Workers.**

After referring to the announcement by Premier Meighen of an early general election which the Liberal leader characterized as a sudden change of mind on the part of the prime minister, Hon. Mr. King paid tribute to the service to the constituency and to Canada of the late Capt. Tom Wallace, who for many years represented West York in the house of commons, and to the latter's opponent in the last general election, Frank Denton, K.C., who has also died during the interval. He congratulated the Liberals of West York in the selection of Major J. E. L. Streight as their candidate.

The speaker expressed appreciation for the presence at the meeting of Hon. W. S. Fielding. "As long as in the moulding and carrying out of its policies," said Mr. King, "the Liberal party is in a position to combine the mature and cautious judgment of men like Mr. Fielding, who have had wide knowledge and experience in public affairs, with the new and progressive ideas of young men, the country need never have concern lest the management of its affairs should become, on the one hand, too radical, or, on the other, too reactionary.

"It is with this very danger that our country is faced at the present time. To support the government of today is to endorse reaction; to experiment with class in matters of government is to invite the unknown. The Liberal party with its traditions and aspirations offers a means of escape from both these extremes, neither of which is in the national interest."

**Mr. Meighen's Preference.**

Respecting the announcement of the premier of an early dissolution of parliament, Mr. King said that if the truth were known it would be found that, having held on to power against the will of the people to the point at which his own party press had broken out in open rebellion and the shattered remnant of his following could no longer be relied upon to give him support in the house of commons, he preferred the defeat of his government in the country to its defeat in parliament; he preferred to appear before the people as a prime minister holding office rather than as a prime minister who, in office, had suffered defeat.

Once the war was over and demobilization of the war forces effected, the Liberal party had consistently and persistently advocated the right of the people to a general election.

"As Liberals," Mr. King continued, "we have all along contended that having regard to the circumstances and conditions under which the Unionist government was elected in

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1917, the act of Mr. Meighen in assuming and retaining office, after Sir Robert Borden and many of his colleagues had resigned, was the act of a usurper, and as such was wholly foreign to the spirit of our constitution and of our times.

**Without a Mandate.**

"The government of Mr. Meighen was from the beginning a government without a mandate, without a policy, and is now a government without a friend. This is the government which, battered and bandaged, with new splints and props freshly applied, now comes before the people seeking an expression of their confidence. It has waited until it could wait no longer to take the step.

**Election Denied.**

"The right to a general election has been denied to the citizens of our country for a period longer than has obtained in the United Kingdom or in any of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire; longer than has obtained in any of the countries of the allied and associated powers, with the exception only of Russia; longer than has obtained in neutral countries, or even in former enemy countries.

"Confronted with an indictment so unanswerable, is there not something lacking in the vision or the imagination of a prime minister when he tells the people of Canada that the issue of the election which has at last been compelled to concede, is solely that of the tariff?" asked Mr. King. "In the mind of the prime minister the tariff may be the issue. In the mind of the people, however, the issue is the prime minister and what he and his colleagues represent of autocracy and extravagance in the management of public affairs.

**The London Speech.**

"Read Mr. Meighen's speech at London and you will find that all that it purports to say is that the issue in this election is not the question of defence, but solely that of the tariff. Whoever suggested that the question of defence was the issue? Who but the prime minister himself has sought to set aside the momentous questions before the people of Canada at the present and narrow public discussion down to this single issue of the tariff? Mr. Meighen may believe that, through the medium of costly protectionist propaganda, he may succeed in obscuring or distorting the vision of a portion of the electorate. Let me tell him, however, that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by the spoken or printed word to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of the government of which he has been a member, and of the administration of which he is today the head.

**Cost of Government.**

"Men and women from all parts of Canada will tell you that the greatest concern of the people of this country today is the problem of the cost of living to which at the present time the cost of government is far and away the most important contributing factor. In the solution of the problem of the cost of living, the tariff and its revision is an important and far reaching consideration. It is, however, but one of many considerations, and not less important than the tariff, in this connection, is the government by which the tariff is to be revised."

The speaker pointed out that conditions in Canada today were very different from before the war. Ten years ago, the national debt of Canada amounted to some $340,000,000. Today, the national debt of our country is not in the millions, but in billions. It has reached the colossal figure of two billions three hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

Mr. King said that in estimating the price at which freedom and liberties had been preserved by the war, "no financial obligation imposed on our own or succeeding generations can ever equal or compensate the extent of the sacrifice as measured in terms of human lives.

"Conceding that approximately two billion dollars of the debt was due to the war and forgetting any unnecessary expenditure or waste, the fact nevertheless remains that Canada carries today a mortgage of $2,350,000,000, whereas ten years ago the load was deemed excessive at the relatively small figure of $340,000,000. The interest alone on the present debt is $140,000,000 annually, whereas ten years ago it was only $12,500,000. Failure to meet the interest on the public debt would spell insolvency and bankruptcy of the nation.

**Another Obligation.**

There is, however, another charge upon the public treasury scarcely less large and vastly more sacred from the point of view of national obligation, than the interest on the public debt, an obligation, to fail to meet which would spell not only insolvency and bankruptcy but ingratitude and dishonor as well.

"This is the charge amounting at the present time to some $130,000,000 in the nature of pensions payable annually to disabled soldiers and the dependent relatives of those whose lives were sacrificed in the great war, and on account of soldiers civil re-establishment and other outlays incidental to what may be termed war veterans' account. This obligation, we are determined at all costs to meet. Remember, however, it is an obligation which ten years ago had no place in our public accounts. Remember, too, that in amount it is an obligation vaster than the sums expended on all branches and departments of government ten years ago."

**Railways Outlay.**

Referring to the government obligations incurred by taking over the C.N.R. and Grand Trunk Railways, he said:

"For the moment, I shall speak only of the annual charges upon the treasury in consequence of these acquisitions. I shall refrain from making mention of the colossal amounts which would have to be paid were those systems to become the property of Canada free of all outstanding obligations. Last year, the deficit on account of government-owned and operated railways amounted to some $50,000,000. This year the deficit has reached some $70,000,000. It is now taken for granted that the deficit for the coming year will be in the vicinity of $100,000,000. Sir Joseph Flavelle has warned the nation that, for a period of years to come, it may expect recurring deficits of possibly even greater amounts. Be this as it may, at this year's session parliament was asked by the government to vote, and did vote, on account only of railways and canals, the sum of $165,000,000. Ten years ago the total outlay on account of railways and canals was $38,000,000. Here is an additional annual burden upon the shoulders of the Canadian people of $127,000,000, a sum again considerably in excess of the total eypenditure on government account ten years ago."

**Per Capita Taxation.**

Mr. King continued that the total amounts voted for expenditure during this fiscal year were over $560,000,000. He feared the census would not show Canada's population nine millions, but if it did, it would mean taxation for federal purposes alone of something over $62 per head.

"The problems of government today have become so vast that it is exceedingly difficult to find the men or the women who possess the natural ability and training to cope with them, and who at the same time are prepared to make the inevitable sacrifices of time and means and health which participation in public life involves.

"In one particular, however, an understanding of the significance of all these problems is brought home in a very real way. Sooner or later it is discovered that every one of them affects our individual incomes and the family budget. Do not be misled into believing that, because taxation may be indirect instead of direct, you are thereby escaping carrying part of the load of the cost of government.

"Do not be led into believing that, because only incomes above a certain amount are taxed, persons whose incomes are less than this amount escape altogether carrying part of the burden of direct taxation. If your landlord, in consequence of the increased amount of his income tax, yields to the temptation to raise your rent, you, not he, are carrying the burden of direct taxation.

**Concern to Every Voter.**

"If, instead of the federal expenditure being $560,000,000, it were

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half or even two-thirds of that amount, the sum to be taken out of the pockets of the people would be proportionately reduced. That is why it is a matter of vital concern to every woman, as well as to every man, who is in power at Ottawa, and what policies are in accordance with which the affairs of the nation are carried out. It is in the name of the home and its needs that the Liberal party makes its appeal to all classes in this country.

**Of Direct Concern.**

"Once come to believe that, wherever you find it more difficult to live and to do your full duty by those who are nearest and dearest to you, you are experiencing something of the effect of the increased cost of government, and you will realize wherein all those questions of finance, of trade, of transportation and of defence are of direct concern to you and wherein you are interested in putting out of office a government which has lost all true perspective in the matter of public expenditures, and returning to power a government pledged, above all else, to a reduction of the burdens of taxation through rigid economy and retrenchment and policies which have for their beginning and end the home and the well-being of the home.

**Useless Expectations.**

"I might quote many reasons why it is useless to expect economy or retrenchment from any government of which the present prime minister is the head. I shall mention only two. Duirng the period of the war some two billions of dollars were loaned to the government and spent by the government of which the Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen was a member, and which he claims was to all intents and purposes the government of which he is the present head. After all, human nature is human nature. You cannot, over a period of years, grow accustomed to spending millions and billions of dollars without coming to find it exceedingly difficult to think in terms of hundreds and thousands. In pre-prohibition days, it used to be said that, once cultivated, a champagne appetite could not be satisfied on ordinary beer.

**In Federal Service.**

"The second point I wish to mention is that, in the course of the period of the war, and for that matter in the period since, many new branches of the administration were opened up and a vast army of employes drafted into the public service. In some of the departments, in the outside as well as the inside service, there has come to be, as a consequence, not only over-manning of the staffs, but also much overlapping in the work itself. Sooner or later, barnacles accumulate on every ship. Notwithstanding that many clerks filling temporary appointments have been let out, or replaced in their positions by others, numbers of officeholders remain whose continuance in the public service, or in the particular post they fill, is due solely to the influence which occasioned their appointment and which keeps them where they are. The ship of state in Canada today is burdened with unnecessary cargo and covered with barnacles which add materially to the cost of government. They will never be removed so long as the influence responsible remains. Nor need we expect any elimination of unnecessary or duplicated work so long as ministers find it to their advantage in political power or personal prestige to avoid the discontinuance of these superfluous posts and services.

**Needs Fresh Accounting.**

"Apart, however, from barnacles and unnecessary cargo, there is great need today of a fresh accounting with respect to our national liabilities and assets. There is every ground for believing that, in the desire to make the showing as favorable as possible, many existing services and undertakings are being placed to the credit side of the national ledger which ought to be on the debit side.

"It is now nearly three years since the war ended, and we are still spending millions on demobilization account. No one really knows where the country stands in the matter of its undertakings and obligations, the wherewithal to meet them. No one will ever know so long as concealment is rendered possible on the part of those who are responsible for waste and extravagance.

**Responsible Government.**

Serious as has been the extravagance and waste of the present government, even more serious in its national consequences has been the attitude of the prime minister and his colleagues with respect to the time-honored and fundamental right of the people's representatives in parliament to an accounting for every cent of public expenditure. It is not going too far to say in that in the attitude he has adopted with respect to the right of parliament to information on certain classes of public expenditure, Mr. Meighen has taken a position wholly subservient of the doctrines of responsible government. With the exception of expenditures necessitated by or arising out of the war, there has, in recent years, been nothing comparable in government outlays with the amounts paid out on account of the national railways and the government merchant marine.

**Railways and Canals.**

"The amount voted by parliament at the last session, on account of railways and canals, came to somewhere in the vicinity of $165,000,000; and, notwithstanding this vast sum, we are led to expect that at the end of this very year the country will still have to face on railways account, a deficit of $100,000,000. A sum of $70,000,000 has been spent or appropriated for the construction of a government merchant marine.

"Amazing and incredible as it may appear, the present government not only has refused to give full information to the people's representives in parliament regarding these enormous expenditures, but Mr. Meighen has gone the length of asserting that it is not in the public interest that such information should be given in answer to inquiries in the house of commons, and for two years past the government has arbitrarily maintained this attitude.

"The management and operation of the National railways and the government merchant marine have been placed by the government under a board of directors, the members of which are all the government's own appointees, and, as was to be expected, with the possible exception of the deputy minister of railways and canals, whose relation to the board is virtually nominal, all immediate and close friends of the administration. Mr. Meighen and his colleagues have taken the position that having transformed to this board of directors, control of the national railways and government merchant marine, they, the members of the board are free to expend the appropriations made by parliament on railway and merchant marine account in such a manner as they think best, and the people's representatives on the floor of parliament are not entitled to information.

**An Extreme Situation.**

"You have on the one side, a small group of the government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds, and excepted by statute from personal liability, and you have on the other, the small group comprising the government itself, the few men who exercise political control shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of parliament in the matter of these vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right of information as to the nature and amount of expenditures and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable, and yet I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun."

Mr. King condemned the action of the Meighen government refusing to give the opposition particulars with regard to the insurance of properties of the government owned

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railways, and in respect to the purchase of coal.

**Refusal of Information.**

"Notwithstanding the government's attitude in the house of commons," Mr. King continued, "before the session was over, members of the Liberal opposition were able in the proceedings of one of the committees of parliament appointed to deal with railway matters, to elicit sufficient information with respect to these questions to disclose why the government might well have desired to refuse to give to parliament the information requested. It was shown that, with the exception only of the deputy minister of railways and canals, three-quarters of the members of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways were also directors, or the presidents and managers, of some important industrial enterprise, the business of which related to what, in the nature of supplies, equipment or insurance, might be required by the government railways and merchant marine, and that some of these gentlemen were directors of a considerable number of such companies.

"If you look at the printed report of the proceedings and evidence before the committee on Canadian National Railways and Shipping, you will see that, with respect to equipment ordered for 1918, 1919 and 1920 delivery, contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000 were given to one company in Nova Scotia, and contracts for locomotives to the amount of nearly $8,000,000 to one company here in Ontario. Reference to the list of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways discloses that one of the directors is a director of the Nova Scotia company to which I have referred, and that another of the directors is a director of the Ontario company to which I have referred.

**No Charge on Integrity.**

"Let me make my position perfectly clear. I am making no charges against the companies concerner, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting, either directly or indirectly, upon the integrity of any of the directors concerned. It is the government that I am concerned with, and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of this country. I contend that, apart altogether from the possibility of fraud or dishonesty in any of the transactions I have mentioned, there is disclosed such an interlocking of directorates as is sufficient completely to discredit the government's whole method of dealing with these vast public enterprises.

**No Control by People.**

"I venture to express the opinion that our country's affairs are not being controlled by the people of Canada through their duly elected representatives in accordance with any true theory of responsible government, but that the existing control is that of a baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, who are working together and planning into each other's hands. In the breaking of that combination and a full return to constitutional and responsible government as respects all matters of public administration, lies the first necessary step in the solution of the railway or any other problem with which Canada is faced at the present time.

**For Fullest Publicity.**

"There are some evils in the curing of which publicity is more effective than penalty. The evils of waste, of extravagance, of fraud, of graft, in the use of public monies, belong to this class. With respect to all public expenditures, the Liberal party demands not only rigid economy and entrenchment, it demands also the fullest publicity.

"Mr. Meighen is very aggressive in his attitude towards all who do not express their views on the tariff in language identical with his own. In his first public address after he became prime minister, he spoke of those who did not see eye to eye with him as Bolshevists and nation wreckers. Not only did he thus divide the citizens of the Dominion into the two categories of the sane and the demented, but he further classified them as protectionists or free traders, those who viewed the tariff as he did being of course in the protectionist and sane category; and all others in the free trade and demented category.

**The Tariff Issue.**

"Mr. Meighen knows very well that, no matter what views men and women may hold theoretically on the respective merits of free trade and protection, no government charged with the duty of administering the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariffs, under existing conditions, either wise, patriotic, or possible. Now the prime minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of extremes in the hope that the course that avoid extremes may be overlooked altogether.

"That course, need I tell this audience, is not a possible tariff based on the principle of protection to avoid, under conditions as they exist in Canada today, the evils of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for protection and the shortcomings of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for free trade. It is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party has stood in bygone years; it is for that principle the Liberal party stands today; and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party will continue to stand if returned to power in the present contest.

"Let me tell Mr. Meighen that, while it is impossible to have an issue between a tariff based on the principle of protection and a tariff based upon the principle of free trade, it is possible to have an issue on a tariff primarily for revenue as against a tariff primarily for protection; and that upon this issue we are prepared to fight as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding fought in 1896, and with expectations of a like return of prosperity and stability in matters industrial and commercial, should our policy be vindicated at the polls."

**The Liberal Platform.**

Referring to Mr. Meighen's demand that Mr. King state his position in connection with the Liberal platform adopted in the party convention in 1919, the Liberal leader said:

"I shall answer, in the terms in which I accepted the responsibilities of the position of leader of the Liberal party at the time the platform of the Liberal party was framed, and in the presence of the thousand or more delegates who attended the convention at which it was adopted. My exact words will be found in the printed proceedings of the convention. In a word, they were to the effect that I regarded the platform of principles and policies as laid down by that historic gathering as a chart upon which was plotted the direction of the course it was desired the party should take, whether in opposition or in power; that in seeking to discharge the duties of my office in the manner in which I believed the party would wish them to be performed, I would rely upon the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party; and that at any given period or moment I would find in their collective wisdom the compass which would point the direction as we traversed the unknown seas of the future.

"I believe that my fellow members who without exception have so loyally supported me in the house of commons during the [illegible] years and more in which I have been privileged to serve as the leader of the party will bear me out when I say that in matters of policy I have never attempted to dominate or dictate; that I have not only been willing and ready to accept counsel and advice.

**Means To Amend.**

"There need be no mistaking the position of the Liberal party as respects the tariff. It regards the tariff, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end, according to Liberal policy, is threefold and to be effected not by aboli-

Extracted from Ottawa Daily Citizen

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"1—Its revision for purposes of revenue: This to be accomplished by making such revisions as are required to give greater effectiveness to the tariff as one of the means of realizing the revenues necessary to carry on the government of the country.

"2—Its revision for purposes of increase of production. This to be accomplished by facilitating more extended development of the industries based on the great natural resources of our country—agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing—by making the necessary instruments and implements of production available where possible at lessened cost.

"3—Its revision for purposes of decrease of the cost of living. This to be accomplished through rendering possible increased production in the manner already described, and by making certain of the necessaries of life available to the people at lessened cost.

**Tariff for Revenue.**

"In other words, the Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers; not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be.

"The Liberal party advocates a revision of the tariff in the manner described, not in the name of or for the exclusive benefit of any one class in our country but as being in the interests of all classes; in the interests of the towns and cities not less than in the interests of the rural communities; in the interests of employers not less than in the interests of employes; in the interests of the Canadian east not less than in the interests of the Canadian west; in the interests of trade and commerce as much as in the interests of manufacturer and agriculture."

**Comparison of Forces.**

The Liberal leader described existing political conditions in this country as a struggle between the Conservative forces seeking to retain rights and privileges of the favored few and the Liberal forces, born of the aspirations for a wider freedom and urged that the forces of progress and freedom be united in the face of the common enemy.

"There are some opposed to the present administration who would say, let us each run our own gait and let us join forces after the battle. Victory was never attained in that way. We cannot afford to experiment further with combinations and coalitions and unions in matters of government. We have before us the very spectacle that should sicken us once and for all of coalitions."

He referred to the appointment of Liberal Unionists and Conservative Unionists to the senate, the cabinet and other government positions.

**Pre-Election Appointments.**

"Nothing but a disgusting and degrading rewarding of political support by an administration that has been so compromised by its ill-mated following that it could be held together only by the promise of life positions to the greater portion of its more active members. Was it not the Tory leader Walpole who said that 'Every man has his price?' It would almost seem that we had a young Walpole at the head of affairs in Canada today. You wonder why there has been little or no constructive legislation since the war. There is the answer.

"I believe the people of Canada have had enough of coalitions; they want an end to coalitions. They want a government of one mind and of one purpose; not a group or class government as some are advocating, nor another attempt at government by so-called Liberals and Conservatives as some of our Tory friends in their despair are already suggesting. They want a government that will give stability; they want a government that will make for unity. That is only possible in a government which is broadly representative of all parts and classes in the country and which has the undivided support of men of like thought and feeling as respects the principles and policies that are to be made to prevail. It was a government of that character which the Liberal party gave to Canada in 1896. It is a government of that character which the Liberal party is prepared again to give."

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"If there is a real dyed-in-the-wool Tory of the family compact type, it is Arthur Meighen."

Mr. Fielding dwelt with much humor and not a little sarcasm with what he termed the constant change by the "Tories" of its name. The present government, he thought, put in the name "National" as a tribute to the Nationalists of Quebec, who helped put Borden in power in 1911, because they thought Laurier too British.

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"We could have put reciprocity through by adopting that gag in 1911," Mr. Fielding asserted. "But Laurier said, 'No, I found a free parliament; I will leave a free parliament.'"

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"The defeat of reciprocity was the greatest crime ever committed against this country.

"The cattle growers did not seem to realize what reciprocity meant until recently, when the Fordney Bill was passed by the United States congress. In reciprocity, cattle were on the free list. When Premier Meighen says the United States has raised a barrier against Canadian products he is wrong. Mr. Meighen and his party raised this barrier when they defeated reciprocity."

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"No man need apologize for being a free trader. Free trade is a part of the divine order of things and needs no apology, but it is not feasible to adopt under present conditions, but there is need of tariff revision. It is long overdue."

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He accused the present government of putting off tariff revision from year to year. They appointed a tariff commission which travelled over the entire country but accomplished nothing.

It would be possible to make the tariff much less burdensome on the people, particularly the poorer classes, without injuring industry and the Liberals when in power would do this, [illegible] materially lowered the

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There can be no question of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's plan of campaign for the coming weeks. If persistent reiteration can convince, he is going to get the people of Canada thinking that the tariff is only one, and possibly a minor one, of many issues, the greatest of which—to judge from his address last night—is the reprehensible course of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen in refusing to answer all of Mr. King's questions in Parliament. In a two-hour speech last night nearly an hour was given to an attack upon the attitude of the Government toward Liberal attempts to gain information in Parliament about the management of the Canadian National Railways and Merchant Marine, while the tariff issue received a scant twenty minutes.

Mr. King apparently is afraid that if the tariff is made the deciding issue his party will be caught between the extremes of protection and free trade and his followers in the heat of the controversy drift to either the Government or the Agrarian camp, thus the emphasis upon other issues.

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The Liberal leader's tariff statement last night was simply a repetition of previous declarations of the Liberal policy of a "tariff for revenue." He went a little further, however, by admitting that he would revise the tariff to cheapen the means of production—his way of referring to a cut in the protection given machinery and farm implements manufactured here, and he would also use it to lower the cost of living by permitting freer import of foodstuffs.

A great round of applause greeted Mr. King's valiant declaration that he would "answer" Hon. Mr. Meighen's demand for a "yes" or "no" reply to a question regarding his intention to put the Liberal platform, as it stood, into effect. But when the "answer" had been given there were no supplementary cheers. Few in the audience failed to follow his lengthy explanation of his position and those who did only gathered that the Liberal tariff plank was a chart to be followed, but that when the time came to act he would be guided by the wisest counsels available in the party. He made it clear, however, that there was no danger of the Liberal party attempting to impose free trade on the country.

Hon. Mr. Fielding, who was given a warm welcome, was in good voice and brought into his address a nice seasoning of humor so lacking in that of his more ponderous young leader. He did not attempt to deal fully with any question, touching lightly upon the Government's course in Parliament, the blossoming of the Government party under a new name, and the tariff. It is ten years since the people of Canada rejected so emphatically Mr. Fielding's pet project of reciprocity, and he has not ceased to grieve over its failure. The rejection of the pact, he declared, was "a crime against the best interests of Canada" and, according to Mr. Fielding, it was the Tories and not the people generally who killed it. Only one other address was given, that by Major Streight, Liberal candidate in West York, who did little more than pledge faithful service if elected. George W. Verrall, president of the West York Liberals, presided.

An interesting little incident was the arrival of Mr. King, headed by a band playing "O Canada," with two men in officers' uniforms—one wearing air force insignia, marching on before waving big Union Jacks.

**Tariff Only One Issue.**

Hon. Mr. King opened his address with references to the late member for West York, Capt. Tom Wallace, and his opponent in the last election, the late Frank Denton. Then he passed to a tribute to his veteran aide, Hon. Mr. Fielding. Getting down to his speech proper the Liberal king paid his respects to Hon. Mr. Meighen's decision in favor of a general election. He declared that Mr. Meighen would have longer resisted the demand for an appeal to the country but for the evidences of revolt in his party press and the fear that his majority would vanish in another session. Mr. Meighen, he said, had to choose between defeat in the House and defeat in the country and he had chosen the latter.

Mr. King, turning to the issue before the country, said that Mr. Meighen was trying to make the tariff the one and only issue. It was one issue, he admitted, though not in the way Mr. Meighen would have it, but it was only one of a number of great issues, the greatest of which was the high cost of living, the chief factor in which was the high cost of government. From this it was an easy step to a discussion of the increased debt of the country. Ten years ago the national debt was only $135,000,000, but today it had jumped to $2,350,000,000, an increase of over $2,000,000,000.

"Every dollar of that two billions that was spent on the war we accept, No exception can be taken to that," he declared.

**Country's Obligations.**

Mr. King proceeded to deal with the obligations before the country. He spoke of the national debt, and of the country's debt, its soldiers, an obligation that could not be got rid of without dishonor. Then there was the obligation assumed with the railways taken over. The Liberal leader emphasized the serious nature of Canada's railway burden, with its tremendous deficits. Mr. King insisted that the time had come for vigorous restriction of expenditure, for a return to a peace from a war standard of expenditures. "Economy and retrenchment were the first principles on which the Liberal party appeals to the country," he asserted."

**Matter of Expenditures.**

Mr. King launched upon an attack on the Meighen Government's attitude toward Liberal demands for details of expenditures. The Premier, he declared, had adopted an attitude "wholly subversive to the doctrine of responsible Government."

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An interesting little incident was the arrival of Mr. King, headed by a band playing "O Canada," with two men in officers' uniforms—one wearing air force insignia, marching on before waving big Union Jacks.

**Tariff Only One Issue.**

Hon. Mr. King opened his address with references to the late member for West York, Capt. Tom Wallace, and his opponent in the last election, the late Frank Denton. Then he passed to a tribute to his veteran aide, Hon. Mr. Fielding. Getting down to his speech proper the Liberal king paid his respects to Hon. Mr. Meighen's decision in favor of a general election. He declared that Mr. Meighen would have longer resisted the demand for an appeal to the country but for the evidences of revolt in his party press and the fear that his majority would vanish in another session. Mr. Meighen, he said, had to choose between defeat in the House and defeat in the country and he had chosen the latter.

Mr. King, turning to the issue before the country, said that Mr. Meighen was trying to make the tariff the one and only issue. It was one issue, he admitted, though not in the way Mr. Meighen would have it, but it was only one of a number of great issues, the greatest of which was the high cost of living, the chief factor in which was the high cost of government. From this it was an easy step to a discussion of the increased debt of the country. Ten years ago the national debt was only $135,000,000, but today it had jumped to $2,350,000,000, an increase of over $2,000,000,000.

"Every dollar of that two billions that was spent on the war we accept, No exception can be taken to that," he declared.

**Country's Obligations.**

Mr. King proceeded to deal with the obligations before the country. He spoke of the national debt, and of the country's debt, its soldiers, an obligation that could not be got rid of without dishonor. Then there was the obligation assumed with the railways taken over. The Liberal leader emphasized the serious nature of Canada's railway burden, with its tremendous deficits. Mr. King insisted that the time had come for vigorous restriction of expenditure, for a return to a peace from a war standard of expenditures. "Economy and retrenchment were the first principles on which the Liberal party appeals to the country," he asserted."

**Matter of Expenditures.**

Mr. King launched upon an attack on the Meighen Government's attitude toward Liberal demands for details of expenditures. The Premier, he declared, had adopted an attitude "wholly subversive to the doctrine of responsible Government."

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Particularly, he complained of the lack of information in respect to estimates for railways and canals. He spoke of the vast expenditure on the merchant marine and Mr. Meighen's claim that it was not in the public interest that certain information should be given. The application of closure apparently made Mr. King indignant, for he inveighed bitterly against this means of expediting the business of the House. The refusal of information about the National Railways was another ground for complaint. The Government had taken the position that having transferred to the Board of Directors the control of the National Railways and the Government Merchant Marine, they were free to expend the appropriations made by Parliament in such a manner as they thought best, and the people's representatives were not to be entitled to information.

Mr. King enlarged upon the subject showing the attempts the Opposition had made to get information upon various points and its failure in the face of Government Opposition.

Touching upon the question of interlocking directorates, Mr. King declared that notwithstanding the Government's attitude the Opposition were able in one of the committees to elicit sufficient information to disclose why the Government might well have desired to refuse information.

"It was shown," he said, "that with the exception only of the Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, three-fourths of the members of the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways were also directors or presidents or managers of some important industrial enterprise, the business of which related to what in the nature of supplies, equipment or insurance might be required by the Government Railways and Merchant Marine, and that some of these gentlemen were directors of a considerable number of such companies."

Mr. King charged that a very large part of the insurance was placed with one insurance company in which one of the Board of Directors of the Government Railways was a director. He charged also that one of the Canadian National directors was also a director of a Nova Scotia company which received contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000. One could go on, he said, to cite contract after contract for coal, lumber or supplies of different kinds, all of which had gone to companies of which directors of the National Railways are also the officers or directors.

"Let me make my position perfectly clear," he continued. "I am making no charges against the companies concerned, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting either directly or indirectly upon the integrity of any of the directors concerned.

"It is the Government I am concerned with and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of the country. The Government must take the responsibility for its own appointments and the system it has devised for controlling expenditure on the National Railways. I contend that apart altogether from the possibility of fraud or dishonesty in any of the transactions I have mentioned, there is disclosed such an interlocking of directorate as is sufficient completely to discredit the Government's whole method of dealing with these vast public enterprises."

Mr. King contrasted the situation to a system by which Ministers of the Crown were practically without exception to be directors of companies with whom the Government's business was necessarily carried on, and after awarding public contracts to their own companies were to expect that the public should have faith in the honesty and economy of public transactions financed in that way.

**Question of the Tariff.**

Coming to the question of the tariff Mr. King took direct issue with Premier Meighen's claim that the fight in Canada to-day was between protection and free trade. He insisted that Mr. Meighen knew differently.

"He knows very well that no matter what views men and women may hold theoretically on the respective merits of free trade and protection no Government charged with the duty of administering the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariff under existing conditions either wise, patriotic or possible. No, the Prime Minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of extremes in the hope that the cause that avoids extremes may be overlooked altogether.

"That course, need I tell this audience, is not a possible tariff based on the principles of protection or an impossible tariff based on the principles of free trade, but a tariff based on the principle of revenue so framed as to avoid, under conditions as they exist in Canada to-day, the evils of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for protection, and the shortcomings of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for free trade.

"It is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party has stood for in by gone years; it is for that principle that the Liberal party stands to-day and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal party will continue to stand if returned to power.

"Let me tell Mr. Meighen that while it is impossible to have an issue between a tariff based on the principle of protection and a tariff based on the principle of free trade, it is possible to have an issue on a tariff primarily for revenue, as against tariff primarily for protection and upon this issue we are prepared to fight."

**No Direct Answer.**

Mr. King referred to Mr. Meighen's challenge to him to declare whether he would put the Liberal tariff platform into effect—"yes" or "no." The Liberal leader said he was not going to give Mr. Meighen his answer in these specific terms. He would answer in the terms in which he accepted the platform at the Liberal Convention.

"In a word," he said, "they were to the effect that I regarded the platform of principles and policies as laid down by that historic gathering as a chart upon which was plotted the direction of the course it was desired the party should take: that in seeking to discharge the duties of my office, I would on the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party, and that at any given period or moment, I would find in their collective wisdom, the compass which would point the direction as we traversed the unknown seas of the future."

**Mr. Fielding's Address.**

Hon. Mr. Fielding, in opening, referred to the prevailing unrest which had not left Canadian politics untouched. There was a slackening of party ties and a breaking away from party lines. There was discontent and confusion, yet the outlook was not without hope—for the defeat of the present Government was absolutely assured. The veteran campaigner declared that he had not met a conservative, thoughtful man in the Dominion who believed the Dominion Government would be returned to power, and Mr. Meighen was as well aware of the certainty of defeat as anyone else.

Mr. Fielding thought Mr. Meighen should have gone to the country when he took office. Then he might not have won the election, but he would have won respect for taking a plucky course. He referred to Hon. Mr. Meighen as a man of great ability and high personal character, with many qualities that won him esteem and admiration, but the trouble with him was that he was a Tory, entirely at variance with the democratic spirit of the twentieth century.

Mr. Fielding poked fun at the new name of the Government party. He could not understand why they had not included Labor and Farmers, since they had "National" to cover their nationalist allies of 1911. "Liberal," which was good enough for the patriots of the past, was good enough for Liberals of to-day.

Mr. Fielding charged Mr. Meighen with "profound contempt" for Parliament, revealed by the treatment he has accorded it. He instanced the refusal to have the expenditures of the Canadian National Railways

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submitted to the Auditor General, an attitude which would have been considered unthinkable four or five years ago. "I am not suggesting that there is anything wrong," he said, "but when they failed to submit these accounts to the Auditor General they were flying in the face of one of the first principles of parliamentary government."

Another instance of contempt for Parliament was the Government's refusal to submit the correspondence dealing with the acquisition of the railways, and still another, its refusal to bring down data bearing on the proposal to send a Canadian representative to Washington.

Closure was not forgotten, and Mr. Fielding asked the Conservatives present what they would have said if the Laurier Government had brought in closure to pass reciprocity. They could have done it, but Sir Wilfrid Laurier had said, "No, I found a free Parliament, and with God's help I will leave it a free Parliament." Meighen found a free Parliament, and he gagged it and applied the guillotine so that he can now get through anything he wants."

Mr. Fielding brought a laugh by admitting that now that it had arrived, the closure would probably remain. "I don't propose that it should be repealed," he said.

**Clings to Reciprocity.**

Mr. Fielding declared that the defeat of reciprocity was a crime against the best interests of Canada and insisted that the cattle trade in the West was at a standstill today as a result of the defeat of reciprocity.

"Don't blame the Americans for the high tariff of to-day," he said. "Blame the Tories who turned down reciprocity in 1911." The father of the "pact" indulged in lengthy regrets over the failure of his scheme. The Americans had not always been generous but they had been generous toward Canada in 1911. It was the psychological moment."

Mr. Fielding said the Tory party was again going to raise the old flag and to try to make it appear that they were the only true British party and the others all Bolshevists or annexationists. In commenting on that he declared that the Conservatives had opposed the British preference en bloc.

The speaker maintained that Mr. Meighen was not fair in attempting to make the issue free trade versus protection. He said that no man need be ashamed of being a free trader. The principle of free trade was part of the divine order of things but as applied to the trade of the country it had to be applied with due regard to conditions.

Tariff reform was overdue at the close of the war, continued Mr. Fielding, but year after year the Government had put off revision. And finally the Tariff Commission had been appointed and had proceeded with its work. And what had followed it? The Government had abandoned tariff reform and was going to the country with the tariff untouched.

Mr. Fielding recalled the fears of 1896 that the Liberals would destroy the tariff and wreck the industries of the country and then asked his hearers to look back upon the era of progress and prosperity that followed under the tariff of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"The people were not fooled in 1896," he said, "and I believe they will not be fooled in 1921."

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September 21st, 1921.

# "TARIFF FOR REVENUE" IS KING'S REPLY TO PREMIER

## Liberal Campaign Opened In Toronto Last Night—Leader Appeals For Unity "To Fight Common Foe."

## MISTAKE FOR FACTIONS TO "GO THEIR OWN GAIT"

## Regards 1919 Platform "a Chart On Which Was Plotted The Course The Party Should Take."

TORONTO, Sept. 20.—"The Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers, not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers, such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be." Thus did Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Liberal leader, summarize the position of his party on the tariff question at a great meeting held in West Toronto tonight, and which marked the opening of the Liberal general election campaign in this province.

The Liberal leader claimed that Premier Meighen had been forced to declaring a Federal election because the press supporting the government had broken into open rebellion against his administration, holding onto office any longer.

MR. KING maintained that the Prime Minister sought to narrow the issue down to that of the tariff, "but let me tell him," he continued, "that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by spoken or printed word to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of his government."

Strong condemnation of the Government's attitude in refusing information to Parliament respecting expenditures on the Government Railways and Merchant Marine, were voiced by the Liberal leader.

He urged the forces of Liberalism to unite and fight the common foe, not to be divided between those who wished to go to extremes in the matter of government and those who choose to go more slowly towards a higher and better economic order. He said it would be a mistake for each to go their own gait now and unite after the elections. The country was tired and disgusted with coalitions. There must be a united party in support of Liberalism in its highest and truest sense.

REFERRING to the challenge made by Premier Meighen in his London, (Ont.) speech, that Mr. King definitely state his position in relation to the platform adopted by the Liberal Party convention in 1919, Mr. King replied, by quoting from his speech on that occasion. It was that he regarded that platform of principles and policies as a chart upon which was plotted the course it was desired the party should take, and that in seeking to discharge the duties of his office, he would rely on the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party.

"Let me say," Mr. King asserted, "not with relation to the tariff issue only, but as respects all matters of politics, not less than all matters of religion, that I believe there is no truer saying than that 'that letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' In reference to the question which he has propounded, no one knows this better than Mr. Meighen. I do not propose, by any acceptance of the letter, in the manner in which the Prime Minister desires, to be false to the spirit of the Liberal Party or to any of the policies laid down by its members in convention assembled."

A FEW [illegible] to the announcement by Premier Meighen of an early general election, which the Liberal leader characterized as a sudden change of mind on the part of the Premier, Hon. Mr. King expressed appreciation for the presence at the meeting of Hon. W. S. Fielding.

"As long as in the moulding and carrying out of its policies, the Liberal party," said Mr. King, "is in a position to combine the mature and cautious judgment of men like Mr. Fielding, who have had, wide knowledge and experience in public affairs, with the new and progressive ideas of younger men, the country need never have concern lest the management of its affairs should become, on the one hand, too radical, or, on the other, too reactionary. It is with this very danger that our country is faced at the present time. To support the government of today, is to endorse reaction; to experiment with class in matters of government is to invite the unknown. The Liberal party, with its traditions and aspirations, offers a means of escape from both these extremes, neither of which is in the National interest.

"Respecting the Premier's announcement of an early dissolution of parliament, Mr. King said, if the truth were known, it would be found that, having held on to power against the will of the people, to the point at which his own party press had broken out into open rebellion and the shattered remnant of his following could no longer be relied upon to give him support in the House of Commons, he preferred the defeat of his government in the country to its defeat in parliament; he preferred to appear before the people as a Premier holding office, rather than as a Premier who, in office, had suffered defeat.

ONCE the war was over and demobilization of the war forces effected, the Liberal party had consistently and persistently advocated the right of the people to a general election.

"As Liberals," Mr. King continued, "we have all along contended that, having regard to the circumstances and conditions under which the Unionist government was elected in 1917, the act of Mr. Meighen in assuming and retaining office, after Sir Robert Borden and many of his colleagues had resigned, was the act of a usurper, and as such was wholly foreign to the spirit of our constitution and of our times.

"The government of Mr. Meighen was from the beginning a government without a mandate, without a policy, and it is now a government

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without a friend. This is the government which, battered and bandaged with new splints and props freshly applied, now comes before the people seeking an expression of their confidence.

"It has waited until it could wait no longer to take the step.

"The right to a general election has been denied the citizens of our country for a period longer than has obtained in the United Kingdom or in any of the self-governing dominions of the British Empire; longer than has obtained in any other country.

"Confronted with an indictment, so unanswerable, is there not something lacking in the vision or the imagination of a Premier when he tells the people of Canada that the issue of the election which he has at last been compelled to concede, is solely that of the tariff?" asked Mr. King.

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"IN the mind of the premier, the tariff may be the issue. In the mind of the people, however, the issue is the Premier, and what he and his colleagues represent of autocracy and extravagance in the management of public affairs.

"Read Mr. Meighen's speech at London, and you will find that all that it purports to say is that the issue in this election is not the question of defence of his administration, but solely that of the tariff.

"The Premier has sought to set aside the momentous questions before the people of Canada at the present time, and narrow public discussion down to this single issue of the tariff. Mr. Meighen may believe that through the medium of costly Protectionist propaganda he may succeed in obscurring or distorting the vision of a portion of the electorate. Let me tell him, however, that it will take more confusion than he and his colleagues are capable of creating by the spoken or printed word, to cause the people to forget the many arbitrary and autocratic acts of the Government of which he has been a member and of the administration of which he is today the head.

"Men and women from all part of Canada will tell you, that the greatest concern of the people of this country today is the problem of the cost of living, to which, at the present time, the cost of government is far and away the most important contributing factors. In the solution of the problem of the cost of living, the tariff and its revision is an important and far-reaching condition. It is, however, but one of many considerations, and not less important than the tariff in this connection, is the government by which the tariff is to be revised."

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THE speaker pointed out that conditions in Canada today were very different from before the war. Ten years ago, the National debt of Canada amounted to some $340,000,000. Today the national debt of our country is not in millions, but in the billions. It has reached the colossal figure of two billions three hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

Mr. King said, that in estimating the price at which freedom and liberties had been preserved by the war, "no financial obligation imposed on our own or succeeding generations can ever equal or compensate the extent of the sacrifice as measured in terms of human lives."

"Conceding that approximately two billion dollars of the debt was due to the war, and forgetting any unnecessary expenditure or waste, the fact, nevertheless, remains that Canada carries today a mortgage of $2,350,000,000, whereas ten years ago, the load was deemed excessive at the relatively smal figure of $340,000,000. The interest alone on the present debt is $140,000,000 annually, whereas, ten years ago, it was only $12,500,000. Failure to meet the interest on the public debt would spell insolvency and bankruptcy of the Nation.

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"THERE is, however, another charge upon the public treasury scarcely less large and vastly more sacred, from the point of view of National obligation than the interest on the public debt, an obligation to fail to meet which would spell, not only insolvency and bankruptcy, but ingratitude and dishonor as well.

"This is the charge amounting, at the present time, to some $130,000,000 in the nature of pensions payable annually to disabled soldiers and the dependent relatives of those whose lives were sacrificed in the Great War, and on account of soldiers civil re-establishment and other outlays incidental to what may be termed war veterans account. This obligation we are determined, at all costs, to meet. Remember, however, it is an obligation which ten years ago had no place in our public accounts. Remember, too, that in amount it is an obligation vaster than the sums expended on all branches and departments of government ten years ago."

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REFERRING to the government obligations incurred by taking over the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk railroads, he said:

"For the moment, I shall speak only of the annual charges upon the treasury in consequence of those acquisitions. I shall refrain from making mention of the colossal amounts which would have to be paid were those systems to become the property of Canada, free of all outstanding obligations. Last year the deficit on account of government-owned and operated railways amounted to some fifty million dollars. This year the deficit has reached some seventy million dollars. It is now taken for granted that the deficit for the coming year will be in the vicinity of one hundred million dollars. Sir Joseph Flavelle has warned the nation that, for a period of years to come, it may expect recurring deficits of possibly even greater amounts. Be this as it may, at this year's session parliament was asked by the government to vote, and did vote, on account of railways and canals only, the sum of $165,000,000.

"Ten years ago the total outlay on account of railways and canals was $38,000,000. Here is an additional annual burden upon the shoulders of the Canadian people of $127,000,000, a sum again considerably in excess of the total expenditure on government account ten years ago."

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MR. KING continued that the total amounts voted for expenditure during the fiscal year was over $560,000,000. He feared the census would not show Canada's population nine millions, but if it did, it would mean taxation for federal purposes alone of something over sixty two dollars per head.

"The problems of government today have become so vast, that it is exceedingly difficult to find the men or the women who possess the natural ability and training to cope with them, and who, at the same time, are prepared to make the invariable sacrifices of time and means and health which participation in public life involves.

"In one particular, however, an understanding of the significance of all these problems is brought home in a very real way. Sooner

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or later, it is discovered that every one of them affects our individual incomes and the family budget. Do not be misled into believing that, because taxation may be indirect instead of direct, you are thereby escaping carrying part of the load of the cost of government. Do not be led into believing that because only incomes above a certain amount are taxed, persons whose incomes are less than this amount escape altogether carrying part of the burden of direct taxation. If your landlord in consequence of the increased amount of his income tax yields to the temptation to raise your rent, you, not he, are carrying the burden of direct taxation.

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"IF instead of the federal expenditure being $560,000,000 it were half or even two thirds of that amount, the sum to be taken out of the pockets of the people would be proportionately reduced. That is why it is a matter of vital concern to every woman, as well as to every man, who is in power at Ottawa, and what the policies are in accordance with which the affairs of the Nation are carried on. It is in the name of the home and its needs, that the Liberal party makes its appeal to all classes in this country. Once come to believe that wherever you find it more difficult to live and to do your full duty by those who are nearest and dearest to you, you are experiencing something of the effect of the increased cost of government, and you will realize wherein all these questions of finance, of trade, of transportation and defence are of direct concern to you, and wherein you are interested in putting out of office a government which has lost all true perspective in the matters of public expenditures, and returning to power a government pledged, above all else, to a reduction of the burdens of taxation through rigid economy and retrenchment and policies which have for their beginning and ending, the home, and the well-being of the home.

"I might quote many reasons why it is useless to expect economy or retrenchment from any government of which the present premier is the head. I shall mention only two.

"During the period of the war some two billions of dollars were loaned to the government and spent by the government of which the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen was a member, and which he claims was, to all intents and purposes, the government of which he is the present head. After all, human nature is human nature. You cannot, over a period of years, grow accustomed to spending millions and billions of dollars without coming to find it exceedingly difficult to think in terms of hundreds and thousands. In pre-prohibition days it used to be said that once cultivated, a champagne appetite could not be satisfied on ordinary beer.

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"THE second point I wish to mention is that in the course of the period of the war, and for that matter, in the period since, many new branches of the administration were opened up and a vast army of employees drafted into the public service. In some of the departments, in the outside as well as the inside, there has come to be, as a consequence, not only overmanning of the staffs, but also much overlapping in the work itself. Sooner or later, barnacles accumulate on ever ship. Notwithstanding that many clerks filling temporary appointments have been let out, or replaced in their positions by others, numbers of office holders remain, whose continuance in the public service, or in the particular post they fill, is due solely to the influence which occasioned their appointment and which keep them where they are. The ship of state in Canada today is burdened with unnecessary cargo and covered with barnacles, which add materially to the cost of government. They will never be removed so long as the influence responsible remains. Nor need we expect any elimination of unnecessary or duplicated work, so long as ministers find it to their advantage in political power or personal prestige to avoid the discontinuance of these superfluous posts and services.

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"APART, however, from barnacles and unnecessary cargo, there is great need today of a fresh accounting with respect to our National liabilities and assets. There is every ground for believing that, in the desire to make the showing as favorable as possible, many existing services and undertakings are being placed to the credit side of the National ledger, which ought to be on the debit side.

"It is now nearly three years since the war ended, and we are still spending millions on demobilization accounts. No one really knows where the country stands in the mater of its undertakings and obligations, the wherewithal to meet them. No one will ever know, so long as concealment is rendered possible on the part of those who are responsible for waste and extravagance. Serious as has been the extravagance and waste of the present government, even more serious in its National consequence has been the attitude of the Premier and his colleagues with respect to the time-honored and fundamental right of the people's representatives in parliament to accounting for every cent of public expenditure. It is not going too far to say that, in the attitude he has adopted with respect to the right of parliament to information on certain classes of public expenditure, Mr. Meighen has taken a position wholly subversive of the doctrine of responsible government.

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"WITH the exception of expenditures necessitated by, or arising out of the war, there has, in recent years, been nothing comparable in government outlays with the amounts paid out on account of the National Railways and the Government Merchant Marine.

"The amount voted by parliament at the last session on account of railways and canals, came to somewhere in the vicinity of $165,000,000; and, notwithstanding this vast sum, we are led to expect that at the end of this very year the country will still have to face, on railways account, a deficit of one hundred million dollars. Seventy million dollars has been spent or appropriated for the construction of a Government Merchant Marine.

"Amazing and incredible as it may appear, the present government not only has refused to give full information to the people's representatives in parliament regarding these enormous expenditures, but Mr. Meighen has gone the length of asserting that it is not in the public interest that such information should be given, in answer to inquiries in the House of Commons, and for two years past the government has arbitrarily maintained this attitude.

"The management and operation of the National Railways and the Government Merchant Marine have

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been placed by the government under a board of directors, the members of which are all the government's own appointees, and, as was to be expected, with the possible exception of the deputy minister of railways and canals (whose relation to the board is virtually nominal) all are immediate and close friends of the administration.

"MR. MEIGHEN and his colleagues have taken the position that, having transferred to this board of directors control of the National Railways and Government Merchant Marine, they, the members of the board, are free to expend the appropriations made by parliament on railways and merchant marine account in such manner as they think best, and the people's representatives on the floor of parliament are not to be entitled to information.

"You have on the one side a small group of the government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds and exempted by statute from personal liability. And you have, on the other, the small group comprising the government itself, the few men who exercise political control, shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of parliament in the matter of these vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right to information as to the nature and amount of expenditures, and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable, and yet, I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun."

MR. KING condemned the action of the Meighen government in refusing to give the opposition particulars with regard to the insurance of properties of the givernment-owned railways, and in respect to the purchase of coal.

"Notwithstanding the government's attitude in the House of Commons," Mr. King continued, "before the session was over, members of the Liberal Opposition were able, in the proceedings of one of the committees of parliament appointed to deal with railway matters, to elicit sufficient information with respect to these questions to disclose why the government might well have desired to refuse to give to parliament the information requested. It was shown that, with the exception only of the deputy minister of railways and canals, members of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways were also directors, or the presidents or managers, of some important industrial enterprise, the business of which related to what in the nature of supplies, equipment or insurance, might be required by the Government Railways and Merchant Marine, and that some of these gentlemen were directors of a considerable number of such companies.

"IF you look at the printed report of the proceedings and evidence before the committeee on Canadian National Railways and shipping, you will see that, with respect to equipment ordered for 1918, 1919 and 1920 delivery, contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000 were given to one company in Nova Scotia, and contracts for locomatives to the amount of nearly $8,000,000 to one company here in Ontario. Reference to the list of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways discloses that one of the directors is a director of the Nova Scotia company to which I have referred, and that another of the directors is a director of the Ontario company to which I have referred.

"Let me make my position perfectly clear. I am making no charges against the companies concerned, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting, either directly or indirectly, upon the integrity of any of the directors concerned. It is the government that I am concerned with, and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of this country.

"I VENTURE to express the opinion that our country's affairs are not being controlled by the people of Canada through their duly elected representatives in accordance with any true theory of responsible government; but that the existing control is that of a baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, who are working together and playing into each other's hands. In the breaking of that combination, and a full return to constitutional and responsible government, as respects all matters of public administration, lies the first necessary step in the solution of the railway or any other problem with which Canada is faced at the present time.

"There are some evils, in the curing of which publicity is more effective than penalty. The evils of waste, of extravagance, of fraud, of graft, in the use of public monies, belongs to this class. With respect to all public expenditures, the Liberal Party demands not only rigid economy and retrenchment; it demands also the fullest publicity."

"MR. MEIGHEN is very aggressive in his attitude towards all who do not express their views on the tariff in language identical with his own. In his first public address after he became Prime Minister, he spoke of those who did not see eye to eye with him as Bolshevists and nation wreckers. Not only did he thus divide the citizens of the Dominion into the two categories of the sane and the demented, but he further classified them as Protectionists or Free Traders, those who viewed the tariff as he did, being of course in the Protectionist and sane category; and all others in the Free Trade and demented category.

"Mr. Meighen knows very well that, no matter what views men and women may hold theoretically on the respective merits of Free Trade and Protection, no government charged with the duty of administering the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariffs, under existing conditions, either wise, patriotic or possible. No, the Prime Minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of extremes, in the hope that the course that avoids extremes may be overlooked altogether.

"THAT course, need I tell this audience, is not a possible tariff based on the principle of protection to avoid, under conditions as they exist in Canada today, the evils of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for protection, and the shortcomings of a policy which would have regard only or mainly for free trade. It is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal Party has stood in bygone days; it is for that principle the Liberal Party stands today; and it is for the principle of a tariff for revenue that the Liberal Party will continue to stand if returned to power in the present contest. Let me tell Mr. Meighen that, while it is impossible to have an issue between

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been placed by the government under a board of directors, the members of which are all the government's own appointees, and, as was to be expected, with the possible exception of the deputy minister of railways and canals (whose relation to the board is virtually nominal) all are immediate and close friends of the administration.

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"MR. MEIGHEN and his colleagues have taken the position that, having transferred to this board of directors control of the National Railways and Government Merchant Marine, they, the members of the board, are free to expend the appropriations made by parliament on railways and merchant marine account in such manner as they think best, and the people's representatives on the floor of parliament are not to be entitled to information.

"You have on the one side a small group of the government's own friends exercising complete control in the expenditure of millions upon millions of public funds and exempted by statute from personal liability. And you have, on the other, the small group comprising the government itself, the few men who exercise political control, shielding their friends from the possibility of any exposure on the floor of parliament in the matter of these vast transactions, and denying to the representatives of the people whose money is being expended the right to information as to the nature and amount of expenditures, and the methods adopted in connection therewith. The situation is so extreme that it seems altogether unbelievable, and yet, I have stated the exact position. I venture to say that nothing comparable to it will be found in any free country under the sun."

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MR. KING condemned the action of the Meighen government in refusing to give the opposition particulars with regard to the insurance of properties of the givernment-owned railways, and in respect to the purchase of coal.

"Notwithstanding the government's attitude in the House of Commons," Mr. King continued, "before the session was over, members of the Liberal Opposition were able, in the proceedings of one of the committees of parliament appointed to deal with railway matters, to elicit sufficient information with respect to these questions to disclose why the government might well have desired to refuse to give to parliament the information requested. It was shown that, with the exception only of the deputy minister of railways and canals, members of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways were also directors, or the presidents or managers, of some important industrial enterprise, the business of which related to what in the nature of supplies, equipment or insurance, might be required by the Government Railways and Merchant Marine, and that some of these gentlemen were directors of a considerable number of such companies.

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"IF you look at the printed report of the proceedings and evidence before the commiteee on Canadian National Railways and shipping, you will see that, with respect to equipment ordered for 1918, 1919 and 1920 delivery, contracts for cars to the amount of nearly $12,000,000 were given to one company in Nova Scotia, and contracts for locomatives to the amount of nearly $8,000,000 to one company here in Ontario. Reference to the list of the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways discloses that one of the directors is a director of the Nova Scotia company to which I have referred, and that another of the directors is a director of the Ontario company to which I have referred.

"Let me make my position perfectly clear. I am making no charges against the companies concerned, nor do I wish to be considered as reflecting, either directly or indirectly, upon the integrity of any of the directors concerned. It is the government that I am concerned with, and the manner in which it has been conducting the public business of this country.

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"I VENTURE to express the opinion that our country's affairs are not being controlled by the people of Canada through their duly elected representatives in accordance with any true theory of responsible government; but that the existing control is that of a baneful combination of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, who are working together and playing into each other's hands. In the breaking of that combination, and a full return to constitutional and responsible government, as respects all matters of public administration, lies the first necessary step in the solution of the railway or any other problem with which Canada is faced at the present time.

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a tariff based on the principle of Protection and a tariff based upon the principle of Free Trade, it is possible to have an issue on a tariff primarily for revenue, as against a tariff primarily for protection; and that upon this issue we are prepared to fight, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding fought in 1896, and with expectations of a like return of prosperity and stability in matters industrial and commercial, should our policy be vindicated at the polls."

Referring to Mr. Meighen's demand that Mr. King state his position in connection with the Liberal platform adopted in the party convention in 1919, the Liberal leader said:

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"I SHALL answer, in the terms in which I accepted the responsibilities of the postion of leader of the Liberal Party at the time the platform of the Liberal Party was framed and in the presence of the thousand or more delegates who attended the convention at which it was adopted. My exact words will be found in the printed proceedings of the convention. In a word, they were to the effect, that I regarded the platform or principles and policies as laid down by that historic gathering as a chart upon which was plotted the direction of the course it was desired the Party should take, whether in opposition or in power; that in seeking to discharge the duties of my office in the manner in which I believed the party would wish them to be performed, I would rely upon the counsel and advice of those who were outstanding in the ranks of the party; and that at any given period or moment, I would find in their collective wisdom the compass which would point the direction, as we traversed the unknown seas of the future.

"I believe that my fellow-members who, without exception, have so loyally supported me in the House of Commons during the two years and more, in which I have been privileged to serve as the leader of the party, will bear me out when I say that in matters of policy I have never attempted to dominate or dictate; that I have not only been willing, but am ready to accept counsel and advice.

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**"THERE need be no mistaking the position of the Liberal Party as respects the tariff. It regards the tariff, not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. That end, according to Liberal policy, is three-fold, and is to be effected not by abolition of the tariff, but by its revision.**

**"1—Its revision for purposes of revenue;** this to be accomplished by making such revisions as are required to give greater effectiveness to the tariff as one of the means of raising the revenues necessary to carry on the government of the country.

**"2—Its revision for purposes of increase of production;** this to be accomplished by facilitating more extended development of the industries based on the great natural resources of our country—agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing—by making the necessary instruments and implements of production available where possible at lessened cost.

**"3—Its revision for purposes of decrease of the cost of living.** This to be accomplished through rendering possible increased production in the manner already described, and by making certain of the necessaries of life available to the people at lessoned cost.

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"IN other words, the Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers; not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts, and mergers such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be.

"The Liberal Party advocates a revision of the tariff in the manner described, not in the name of, or for the exclusive benefit of, any one class in our country, but as being in the interests of all classes; in the interests of the towns and cities, not less than in the interests of the rural communities; in the interests of employers, not less than in the interests of employees; in the interests of the Canadian East, not less than in the interests of the Canadian West; in the interests of trade and commerce, as much as in the interests of manufacture and agriculture."

The Liberal leader described existing political conditions in this country as a struggle between the conservative forces, seeking to retain rights and privileges of the favored few, and the liberal forces, born of the aspirations for a wider freedom: and urged that the forces of progress and freedom unite in the face of the common enemy.

"There are some opposed to the present administration who would say, let us each run our own gait and let us join forces after the battle. Victory was never attained in that way. We canout afford to experiment further with combinations and coalitions and unions in matters of government. We have before us the very spectacle that should sicken us once and for all of coalitions."

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HE referred to the appointment of Liberal Unionists and Conservative Unionists to the Senate, the Cabinet and other government positions.

"Nothing but a disgusting and degrading rewarding of political support by an administration that has been so compromised by its ill-mated following, that it could be held together only by the promise of life positions to the greater portion of its more active members. Was it not the Tory leader Walpole who said that "Every man has his price?" It would almost seem that we had a young Walpole at the head of affairs in Canada today. You wonder why there has been little or no constructive legislation since the war? There is the answer.

"I believe the people of Canada have had enough of coalitions; they want an end to coalitions. They want a government of one mind and of one purpose; not a group or class government as some are advocating, nor another attempt government by so-called Li and Conservatives, as some Tory friends in their despair are already suggesting. They want a government that will give stability; they want a government that will make for unity. That is only possible in a government which is broadly representative of all parts and classes in the country, and which has the undivided support of men of like thought and feeling as respects the principles and policies that are to be made to prevail. It was a government of that character which the Liberal Party gave to Canada in 1896. It is a government of that character which the Liberal Party is prepared again to give."

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Morning Citizen Sept. 22nd 1921 D 5503

## LIBERAL LEADER AND CONTRACTS ON N.T.R.

### Mr. King Is Anxious to See the Reply.

TORONTO, Sept. 21.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King left tonight for Montreal, where he is to speak at the big banquet being tendered in the Arena to the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux.

Just before leaving Mr. King said to a reporter:

"I am anxious to see what reply will be forthcoming to the points raised in my speech last night regarding the manner of awarding immense contracts by the National Railways. I have only begun to mention the contracts which have been awarded by the directors of the National Railways to companies in which they are also directors. I will be glad, as opportunity affords, to enumerate some more of these awards. If any of my statements on this subject are questioned I will be willing to provide the public with an interesting list of such contracts."

## CLAIMS KING SPEECH MISREPRESENTATION

### Pres. Hanna of National Rys. to Reply to Liberal Leader's Statements.

TORONTO, Sept, 21.—"I certainly will reply to Mr. Mackenzie King," said President D. B. Hanna, of the Canadian National Railways today in referring to Mr. King's speech last night in which the Liberal leader assailed the government's policy in connection with the management of the C.N.R., particularly in regard to directors of the National Railways being also directors of other companies and these other companies often getting large contracts from the government-owned road.

"When I do reply to Mr. King it will be seen that his speech is not in accordance with facts at all. There has never been a contract let since the Canadian National Railway was inaugurated without a tender and in proper manner," said Mr. Hanna.

"I have asked repeatedly that a committee of the house should be appointed with whom we could take some of these matters up. It is not proper that the intimate costs and details of the national roads should be discussed on the floor of the house of Commons for the benefit of our competitors. That is not good railway business. And it is not keeping the railways out of politics.

"Mr. King's speech is loaded with mis-statements, and then he says he does not intend to reflect upon the integrity of the directors and others. He does that very thing all through his speech. It is a mass of misrepresentations. Yes, I will reply to Mr. King all right, but a little later."

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THE NEED FOR AN ELECTION

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Montreal Gazette
September 23rd 1921

# QUEBEC LIBERAL LEADERS JOINING MACKENZIE KING

## Hon. L. A. Taschereau Called on Gouin to Ally Himself With Federal Chief

## KING IN NORTH YORK

### Party's Interest Dictated Identity With Ontario, He Said—Mayor Martin's Act Remembered

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, will be a candidate in North York, Ontario.

This was one of the statements made by the Liberal leader at the great demonstration of that party at the Mount Royal Arena last night, when occasion was taken of the 25th anniversary of the entry of Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux into the House of Commons to launch the Liberal campaign in this province.

The scene at the Arena was one which is bound to go down in Liberal traditions, and to form the subject of oratory on many platforms. Mr. King sat at the right hand of Sir Lomer Gouin, the chairman. To the chairman's left was Premier Taschereau, and Premier and ex-Premier joined in acclaiming him as their leader, to which sentiment the guest of the evening, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, joined. Mayor Martin was the other member of the galaxy, being to the left of Mr. King, and the Liberal leader made it a point of referring to the mayor in terms of thanks for the fact that in 1911, when Mr. King was beaten in Waterloo, Mederic Martin had wired Sir Wilfrid Laurier offering him his seat of St. Mary's in Montreal. Hon Rodolphe Lemieux took occasion to call for cheers for the mayor, and also to thank him for being present, offering to reciprocate at the mayor's banquet next month, which, said Mr. Lemieux, was to be the prelude to the mayor's further civic victory.

Important also in the course of the evening was the reiteration by Sir Lomer Gouin, Premier Taschereau and Mr. Lemieux, of the need of protection for Canada. Urgent, too, was the plea for rigid economy, made to Mr. King as a line of direction when he shall be prime minister, after the elections.

That there should be an alliance between Sir Lomer Gouin and Mr. King and his lieutenants in the federal field was the wish of Premier Taschereau. Such an alliance, said Mr. Taschereau, would make victory certain and give confidence in all the country. Mr. Taschereau, talking of the task which Mr. King would assume when he was premier, called it a "fatal inheritance."

A definite declaration of belief in the Shaughnessy proposal regarding the Canadian railway problem was voiced by Hon. Mr. Lemieux. He, too, did not believe that the barriers of protection should be taken down, especially at a time when the United States had raised such a mighty wall against Canada. Mr. Lemieux believed that from 50 to 75 millions a year could be lopped off the budget, after paying interest, and the debts of honor due to the widows, orphans and the crippled of the war. Above all was the keynote in Mr. Lemieux's speech of an economic regime which would protect Canada against American absorption. Of Sir Lomer Gouin, Mr. Lemieux said that his presence in the party and his wise and deep opinion was something that was a salvation to Canada.

Sir Lomer Gouin painted a dismal picture of the state of the country, but withal called for confidence. He believed that salvation would come through leaders of tried worth, leaders of career. It is now a question of salvation or of catastrophe, said he. The problems of the national railways must be dealt with, there must be retrenchment, and serious thought must be given to the development of the country by a wise and sane immigration policy.

"As to tariff," added Sir Lomer Gouin, "whether the Liberal party gives us a tariff for revenue or no matter what it is called, let it be a tariff such as that of Laurier."

### 1,700 GUESTS PRESENT.

In the vast banquet hall were some 1,700 guests, including all the provincial ministers and many federal members, while the big galleries were filled with men and women, enthusiastic and cheering at each appeal.

The announcement that Mr. King will be a candidate in North York was accompanied by a statement containing the letter which Mr. King wrote yesterday, dated Montreal, and addressed to John Macneil, Summerside, P.E.I. This letter reads:

"The National Liberal organization committee, which received the deputation from Prince County, has since been in conference with the Liberal executive of North York, and has presented to that body the grounds on which, in the interests of the Liberal party as a whole, it was urged that I should, in the approaching contest, retain my present association with the constituency of Prince rather than seek election in the constituency of North York.

"The Liberals of North York have seen the force of the argument that I should be free to give my undivided time and energy to the party's interests throughout Canada, rather than to my individual candidature in any constituency, and have agreed with the national committee to relieve me of all local obligations.

"The executive of the committee, in view of this circumstance, asked me to join with them in a further consideration of all possible bearings of the situation. Conjointly, we have come unanimously to the conclusion that, everything considered, the national interests of the party will be best served by the identification of my candidature with the province of Ontario.

### STANDS IN NORTH YORK.

"While, therefore, I cannot too sincerely express my gratitude at the marked expression of continued confidence and good-will on the part of my friends in Prince, nor too gratefully acknowledge their many kindnesses both before and since my election as their representative in the House of Commons, I feel that my duty to the party permits me of no alternative other than to allow my name to remain in nomination as that of the Liberal candidate for North York. In sending this intimation to my friends in Prince, I feel that, having had so much at heart the interests of the party in the renomination so generously tendered, they will be the first to acquiesce in any step which, in the opinion of the national committee, is in the party's best interest at this time.

(Signed) "W. L. Mackenzie King."

The tribute which Sir Lomer Gouin paid the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux was so deeply tinged with feeling as to show that Sir Lomer recalled the many years of personal association, deep friendship and partnership in law with Mr. Lemieux. Nor did the ex-Premier mince his expressions of appreciation of the part which Mr. Lemieux has played in public life for 25 years.

This banquet, said Sir Lomer, will be an epoch in the history of our party because of the man we are honoring, and of the exceptional circumstances with which we are faced.

"I greet the leader of the Liberal party," said Sir Lomer, turning to Mr. King, and the crowd applauded heartily. "I greet, too, Premier Taschereau, who comes also to express his admiration of our friend, Mr. Lemieux." Sir Lomer touched briefly on Mr. Lemieux's career, and then turned to affairs of the day.

### PERIOD OF UNREST.

"We are going through a solemn hour," continued Sir Lomer. "When this fete was decided on there had been a hope of general elections, but no one expected that they would come so soon. Tomorrow in all the country will commence the battle which will mean the defeat of the Government and perhaps the salvation of Canada. A wave of evil is over our country. Never were our

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industrial, financial and commercial conditions so troubled. The crisis of unemployed is on, two hundred thousand men are without work, and the number of the unemployed will greatly increase this winter. Our debt is $2,300,000,000, and if you will add all obligations, direct and indirect, the total will reach three billions and the budget for the year is $600,000,000. The revenue of the country is falling in alarming proportions. Our commerce has fallen off greatly, and to add to the troubles of race, there threaten to be the added troubles of class. We are in chaos, and how will we come out?

"There is talk of advisers, but there is no need of advisers, but of rulers of career, and to such rulers the people of Canada are turning, and await but the occasion to choose them, and I am sure that they will give to Canada the government that it has need of.

"Despite all the evil, we must not despair," went on Sir Lomer. "We are a young country. We have a vast and rich country, and means of meeting difficulties, and, thank God, with the aid of all men of goodwill, we will pass through this day as through other difficult days in the past."

Sir Lomer went back to the days immediately before the general elections of 1896. Then there had been troublous times, and civil war had even threatened, men were without work, and there was strife of race.

"We do not need to be prophets to say that history will repeat. In a few weeks the successor of Laurier, the leader of the Liberal party, Mr. King, will take up the work of Laurier, and will continue it, and finish it. The task will be heavy. It is no use to hide that fact. It is clear. We must work to pay our debt. We must find work for our workmen, we must encourage our farmers, and find markets for their products. We must bring a new industrial and commercial prosperity. We must think, and think seriously. It is a question of salvation or catastrophe. We must find means to cut down expenses to the strict needs of administration. It is necessary—and I say it in the presence of our leaders—that we occupy ourselves with the problem of the national railways. We must see that the disastrous deficits which they produce each year, and which we must pay, shall disappear. We must as much as possible, diminish the burden of taxation, so that it will not bear so heavily on the people."

Sir Lomer then made his tariff statement, namely, that no matter what it may be called, it be a Laurier tariff.

"Let it be such that the people from one end of the country to the other will find in it prosperity. Who can give us this policy except the Liberal party, the successor of Laurier, and the leaders of the party who developed this policy under the inspiration of our great chief? It is necessary to continue the policy of the departed."

## HON. MR. LEMIEUX.

Hon. Mr. Lemieux replying, was greeted with prolonged applause.

Parliament had been elected many times since 1896, said Mr. Lemieux. Many had not answered the appeal each time, and as doyen of the House from Quebec he recalled with respect the memory of those who had gone, such as Sydney Fisher, Emmanuel Devlin and others. If men disappear, however, principles lived, and the time of test had come. Mr. Meighen asked that the past be forgotten, but it was necessary to look backward so as to see ahead. Looking backward for twenty-five years recalled the great faith of Laurier in the Canadian future, and the economic progress made in Canada. Laurier's political "Credo" was inspired from English Liberalism. He had wanted progress in order, he believed in the future of coming of democracy through evolution, not revolution; his principle was of equality for the races, not dominance of one over the other.

The war was cited as the excuse for many things, but to win the war had it been necessary to "sabotage" the constitution, ruin our finances and destroy the national unity? Had our sons fallen overseas to leave their country a heritage of ruins and hatreds?

The task that would fall to the government of tomorrow would be colossal, and much confidence would have to be bestowed in it.

"Think of the debt of almost three billions for a population of less than nine millions, of the fearful railway problem, of the economic crisis, of the thousands of unemployed. Add to this the class war and the wave of discouragement which, after much deception, discontent and faults, threatens to paralyze the best energy.

## A COLOSSAL TASK.

"To turn out a government responsible for all these disasters is easy. But the work of restoration which will fall on the Liberal party—made up of men and not of gods—is, under the circumstances, almost superhuman. A government, no matter how well disposed, can do nothing unless supported by a sane public opinion. The Liberal party, proud of its past, used to ungrateful tasks, remains true to its role in making appeal to all of good courage, to all of goodwill in the crisis through which we are passing."

Mr. Lemieux referred to a newspaper article in which three alternatives had been held out to Canada: annexation, repudiation or population. It was temerity to think of an intensive immigration in a country that was surtaxed and its cities filled with unemployed. As to the other two panaceas, Mr. Lemieux said he repudiated them as an insult to our dignity. A people careful for its honor does not repudiate its national debt, and speaking for his compatriots his feelings rebelled against any idea of annexation.

Mr. Lemieux believed that the four points presented by Premier Meighen at the London conference were dangerous, and neither the people nor Parliament had sanctioned such a policy, which tended to divide our loyalty and dissipate our resources. He reiterated his belief in Canadian autonomy, believing that it was not in the armed camps of Europe, nor on the plateaus of Asia that our descendants will find the solution of the many Canadian problems. It should be in Canada, and not long distances away, that our destiny should be fixed. Mr. Meighen, and his predecessor, Sir Robert Borden, wished Canada to have a voice in the direction of British politics, but it was at the Ottawa chapel, and not in London, that Canadians had a voice.

Mr. Lemieux turned to the financial question, which was so grave that it should turn away Imperial ideas. It was now necessary to diminish the debt, and there were not two methods to do so. The only way was to practice strict economy in the national budget.

## THE SHAUGHNESSY PLAN.

"I have on many occasions expressed my personal opinion on the railway problem. It was a fatal error for Canada, after the experience of Great Britain and the United States, to have taken over the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk. The proposition of Lord Shaughnessy appears to me to be the one solution possible, subject to revision in terms. Some one will cry of monopoly, but between two evils we must choose the lesser. I prefer monopoly to bankruptcy. The Railway Commission has powers which are absolute in the matter of tariff, and was created to protect the public."

In the matter of tariff, Mr. Lemieux did not believe there should be a dogma. As a pure theory, abstract, free trade was ideal, but the industries necessary in a young country cannot live on ideals, and furthermore there was the question of revenue. Despite what adversaries said, free trade had never been an integral part of the Liberal programme, and neither Mr. Blake, Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Mr. Fielding had thought of applying this theory to Canada. The whole question was for a government to determine to what extent industries needed protection. It was certainly not when the United States Congress raised a tariff wall against us that Canada should destroy its own. A tariff revision was necessary, believed Mr. Lemieux, but that was always a delicate operation. Under the direction of Mr. Fielding the tariff had been revised twice, and each time it had been the signal of greater prosperity. The greatest tribute to the Liberals in the matter of tariff had been the Conservative cry of 1911: "Let well enough alone."

"There are no visionaries in this gathering of the elite," added Mr. Lemieux. "There are patriots, true Canadians who want realities and who understand that the durable success of a party must be subordinate to the national interest. An alliance, the price of which would be the

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Sir Lomer went back to the days immediately before the general elections of 1896. Then there had been troublous times, and civil war had even threatened, men were without work, and there was strife of race.

"We do not need to be prophets to say that history will repeat. In a few weeks the successor of Laurier, the leader of the Liberal party, Mr. King, will take up the work of Laurier, and will continue it, and finish it. The task will be heavy. It is no use to hide that fact. It is clear. We must work to pay our debt. We must find work for our workmen, we must encourage our farmers, and find markets for their products. We must bring a new industrial and commercial prosperity. We must think, and think seriously. It is a question of salvation or catastrophe. We must find means to cut down expenses to the strict needs of administration. It is necessary—and I say it in the presence of our leaders—that we occupy ourselves with the problem of the national railways. We must see that the disastrous deficits which they produce each year, and which we must pay, shall disappear. We must as much as possible, diminish the burden of taxation, so that it will not bear so heavily on the people."

Sir Lomer then made his tariff statement, namely, that no matter what it may be called, it be a Laurier tariff.

"Let it be such that the people from one end of the country to the other will find in it prosperity. Who can give us this policy except the Liberal party, the successor of Laurier, and the leaders of the party who developed this policy under the inspiration of our great chief? It is necessary to continue the policy of the departed."

## HON. MR. LEMIEUX.

Hon. Mr. Lemieux replying, was greeted with prolonged applause.

Parliament had been elected many times since 1896, said Mr. Lemieux. Many had not answered the appeal each time, and as doyen of the House from Quebec he recalled with respect the memory of those who had gone, such as Sydney Fisher, Emmanuel Devlin and others. If men disappear, however, principles lived, and the time of test had come. Mr. Meighen asked that the past be forgotten, but it was necessary to look backward so as to see ahead. Looking backward for twenty-five years recalled the great faith of Laurier in the Canadian future, and the economic progress made in Canada. Laurier's political "Credo" was inspired from English Liberalism. He had wanted progress in order, he believed in the future of coming of democracy through evolution, not revolution; his principle was of equality for the races, not dominance of one over the other.

The war was cited as the excuse for many things, but to win the war had it been necessary to "sabotage" the constitution, ruin our finances and destroy the national unity? Had our sons fallen overseas to leave their country a heritage of ruins and hatreds?

The task that would fall to the government of tomorrow would be colossal, and much confidence would have to be bestowed in it.

"Think of the debt of almost three billions for a population of less than nine millions, of the fearful railway problem, of the economic crisis, of the thousands of unemployed. Add to this the class war and the wave of discouragement which, after much deception, discontent and faults, threatens to paralyze the best energy.

## A COLOSSAL TASK.

"To turn out a government responsible for all these disasters is easy. But the work of restoration which will fall on the Liberal party—made up of men and not of gods—is, under the circumstances, almost superhuman. A government, no matter how well disposed, can do nothing unless supported by a sane public opinion. The Liberal party, proud of its past, used to ungrateful tasks, remains true to its role in making appeal to all of good courage, to all of goodwill in the crisis through which we are passing."

Mr. Lemieux referred to a newspaper article in which three alternatives had been held out to Canada: annexation, repudiation or population. It was temerity to think of an intensive immigration in a country that was surtaxed and its cities filled with unemployed. As to the other two panaceas, Mr. Lemieux said he repudiated them as an insult to our dignity. A people careful for its honor does not repudiate its national debt, and speaking for his compatriots his feelings rebelled against any idea of annexation.

Mr. Lemieux believed that the four points presented by Premier Meighen at the London conference were dangerous, and neither the people nor Parliament had sanctioned such a policy, which tended to divide our loyalty and dissipate our resources. He reiterated his belief in Canadian autonomy, believing that it was not in the armed camps of Europe, nor on the plateaus of Asia that our descendants will find the solution of the many Canadian problems. It should be in Canada, and not long distances away, that our destiny should be fixed. Mr. Meighen, and his predecessor, Sir Robert Borden, wished Canada to have a voice in the direction of British politics, but it was at the Ottawa chapel, and not in London, that Canadians had a voice.

Mr. Lemieux turned to the financial question, which was so grave that it should turn away Imperial ideas. It was now necessary to diminish the debt, and there were not two methods to do so. The only way was to practice strict economy in the national budget.

## THE SHAUGHNESSY PLAN.

"I have on many occasions expressed my personal opinion on the railway problem. It was a fatal error for Canada, after the experience of Great Britain and the United States, to have taken over the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk. The proposition of Lord Shaughnessy appears to me to be the one solution possible, subject to revision in terms. Some one will cry of monopoly, but between two evils we must choose the lesser. I prefer monopoly to bankruptcy. The Railway Commission has powers which are absolute in the matter of tariff, and was created to protect the public."

In the matter of tariff, Mr. Lemieux did not believe there should be a dogma. As a pure theory, abstract, free trade was ideal, but the industries necessary in a young country cannot live on ideals, and furthermore there was the question of revenue. Despite what adversaries said, free trade had never been an integral part of the Liberal programme, and neither Mr. Blake, Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Mr. Fielding had thought of applying this theory to Canada. The whole question was for a government to determine to what extent industries needed protection. It was certainly not when the United States Congress raised a tariff wall against us that Canada should destroy its own. A tariff revision was necessary, believed Mr. Lemieux, but that was always a delicate operation. Under the direction of Mr. Fielding the tariff had been revised twice, and each time it had been the signal of greater prosperity. The greatest tribute to the Liberals in the matter of tariff had been the Conservative cry of 1911: "Let well enough alone."

"There are no visionaries in this gathering of the elite," added Mr. Lemieux. "There are patriots, true Canadians who want realities and who understand that the durable success of a party must be subordinate to the national interest. An alliance, the price of which would be the

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adoption of brilliant but inapplicable theories would be a 'mesalliance.'"

Mr. Lemieux concluded with a tribute to Mr. King, the heir of a great name, the possessor of great qualities, young, hard working and endowed with great eloquence.

"Faithful to the Liberal cause in good and bad times, we were happy to see him mount to the summits. Our hopes in him have not been deceived, but in politics adversity is more easy to suffer than prospertiy. We are now at a difficult time in our history, and I do not hesitate to say that our leader will be equal to the task when he assumes the very heavy responsibility of governing Canada."

PREMIER TASCHEREAU.

After extending the greetings of the Ancient Capital to Hon. Mr. Lemieux, the intimate and confidential friend and assistant of Laurier, and one who has played a big part in public affairs for twenty-five years, Premier Taschereau described himself as but a private in the federal Liberal army, and one who followed Mr. King with every confidence.

"To the leader of the Liberal party, the heir of a great name and noble traditions, I bring the homage of our province. Pointed out by Laurier himself as one of those in whom he placed his hopes, Mr. Mackenzie King was chosen whilst the remembrance of the great departed still hovered about us, and we unanimously acclaimed him from the moment he was elected to be our leader. He has since shown himself worthy of the position entrusted to him. A Conservative majority reduced from 70 to 20, and by-elections turned to Liberal triumphs, prove the skill and success of Mr. King's guidance."

Mr. Taschereau outlined his principles of Liberalism, respect for all races, beliefs and nationalities being included therein, each group to work out its destiny without ethnic fusion, so that from such diversity might arise a strong and vigorous people possessed of the best characteristics which each of the constituents has preserved intact.

"In my opinion Liberalism cannot be said to be based on such a question as the tariff, because a party to live and prosper must repose on permanent principles, and the tariff even in its widest considerations necessarily varies according to circumstances.

"How can a party that aims at including all the citizens of the country without their separating into groups, commit itself to a definite and permanent tariff, especially at the end of a war which has upset the whole of our social and financial world, which has changed economic conditions and modified our commercial relations with foreign countries?

KEEP UP BARRIERS!

"Is it at a time when our industries are going through a crisis such as this generation has never known before, when our neighbors and even the Mother Country are having recourse to protection against our products, when the mark is only worth a half-penny here and the European exchange is exceptionally favorable to us, that we ought to throw down all barriers and invite all foreign competition?

"My Liberalism calls for a tariff which protects the consumer indeed, but also our industries. These results are by no means incompatible, but may well be obtained by a tariff for revenue, such as was proposed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In my opinion, however, it is illogical to set up as an article of faith that a thing so variable as the tariff can never be changed, when like commerce, industry and finance, it necessarily must undergo fluctuations quite independent of any human will.

"May I say further on this subject that we ought to act with extreme prudence.

"It may be that for many years to come the tariffs of foreign countries will close their markets to our products, both manufactured and agricultural. We must then become, in a far larger measure, the consumers of our own goods. Now the agricultural interests cannot prosper, cannot survive without great centres to receive and distribute their products. Our towns, on the other hand, cannot increase and support their work people unless the rural folks buy their manufactured goods.

"Is it not then the first duty of those who direct Canadian policies to mould the tariff according to actual conditions, so that industry and agriculture—working hand in hand—may lend each other that mutual help which is indispensable to enable them to tide over the crisis in which the whole world is struggling?

"Is it not of the essence and within all the traditions of Liberalism to respond before all else to the needs of the country, and to meet any actual situation arising by whatever means offer, until a more ideal state of affairs is rendered possible by changed conditions and the co-operation of other nations?

WHO IS HIT?

"I am well aware that I am touching now upon one of the most thorny questions in our political programme. I know that our chiefs in the federal arena will be called on to devote to it their intelligence and their devotion, perhaps even to the extent of some humility when recalling former days and youthful orations, yet I do not see that there will be any forsaking of our political principles in adapting them to the exigencies of the troubled period through which we are now passing.

NO PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

"Again, no Liberal can approve the disastrous policy with regard to the railways and merchant marine fathered by the Meighen Government. I have confidence in the future of my country, and in its immense natural resources. The twentieth century will be Canada's, as predicted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and in three-quarters of a century it will support a population equal to that of the United States. But this mad adventure of state monopolies will lead us to the abyss, if we do not stay it. Our country cannot afford to pay $150,000,000 a year to meet the deficits of our railways. It means in the near future the total ruin of our credit, with consequences which no one cares to contemplate.

"Mr. King," continued Mr. Taschereau, "is not unmindful of the crushing burden which he will be called on to support on the morrow of his coming triumph. The finances in utter confusion, a railway policy that cannot be mended, the problem of the soldiers, our relations with the Mother Country which Mr. Meighen has only complicated, the re-establishment of union between the various provinces of Canada, these will form but a part of the fatal inheritance that Mr. King will be called on to liquidate before the close of this year.

QUEBEC THE KEYSTONE.

"When he comes to make out his inventory, he will not forget, I hope, to enter among his assets and at its real value to Canada, this venerable province of Quebec, with its fidelity to the best Canadian traditions, its stability, zeal for work, its uprightness and straightforwardness. No party can govern without it. It is still the keystone of the Confederation arch. It is not blown hither and thither by every passing wind. It has its own way of disposing of agitators and quack innovators, and on occasion it can act solidly.

If the Conservative party has ceased to exist here, it is because it tried to ignore us and dispense with our support. It misunderstood our ideals and aspirations. It denied our province the right to think and act according to its own ideals and traditions. Thus from a Conservative castle, Quebec has become an unassailable Liberal fortress.

EYES ON GOUIN.

"In our province there is a galaxy of politicians who can give precious aid to Mr. King.

"But just now all eyes are turned to one whom I will not name, for fear of offending his retiring disposition. I will only recall his accomplishments, the better to show what can be expected of him.

"For fifteen years he guided the Province of Quebec with a success unprecedented in our political annals. His name is attached to all the progress accomplished. He left no field uncared for. When still in his prime, but regarding his abundant harvest, he decided to seek retirement, a universal request was made of him to enter upon a larger scene of action, and it was pointed out that he could not rightfully withhold from the service of his country the ability and activity which he had placed at the disposition of his province.

"In alliance with Mr. King and his popular lieutenants, his name would be a gage of overwhelming victory. The other provinces would see in it an additional guarantee of stability and prudence in the conduct of the country's policy, and his entry into

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the lists would bring many and most valuable adherents to the Liberal party."

HON. MACKENZIE KING.

Hon. Mr. King, rising to reply to the toast of the health of Canada, was given a royal welcome, the crowd singing "He's a Jolly Good Fellow" in both languages, and several times for good measure. Mr. King said that it was a privilege for him to speak with the ex-Prime Minister of the province and the present Prime Minister, for one had given for 15 years, and the other was now giving, a Government to this province which was a model for any government in the world.

"I would like also to say that I think it a privilege to sit and talk with my old friend, Mederic Martin," continued the Liberal leader. "In 1911, when some of us unfortunately went down to defeat, Sir Wilfrid Laurier showed me a telegram from Mr. Martin to him, stating that he would like to give his seat to Mackenzie King. We were desk mates together at Ottawa."

"We have won the first battle in forcing the Government to give us elections, and the second victory is coming," said Mr. King. He said that he believed that it was the Liberal insistence for elections which had finally forced the Government to grant them.

Mr. King followed Sir Lomer Gouin's lead and went back to the days before 1896. The Conservative party of that time had not changed its name, but it had changed from one leader to another. Today there is a Government that has been reconstructed.

"The Prime Minister had the whole country to choose from, and now men are looking up works of reference to find out who the gentlemen are whom he has chosen for his Cabinet," said Mr. King. "Is it any wonder that men of outstanding ability hesitate to allow their names and fames to be joined to that of a dying Government? I believe history will look on these six gentlemen who have joined the Government as its pallbearers."

Mr. King said that often today it is said that Canada is a nation. When had Canada become a nation, he asked, and answered it by stating it was first proclaimed by Laurier at the Jubilee in London in 1897, when he had proclaimed Canada to be one of the galaxies of nations of the Empire. Mr. King believed that it was the stand of Laurier which had aided to bring self-government to South Africa later on.

LAURIER TRADITIONS.

The fifteen years of the Laurier regime had been the golden era, said Mr. King, and today we are standing at the beginning of another era. Without going into principles, platforms and ideas, he asked the people if there was any better course than that of following in the track of the old leader who had laid down policies which had brought benefits to the country. Can the country do better than follow the Laurier traditions, he asked.

Turning to the guest of the evening, Mr. King said that the whole country owed him a debt. Mr. Lemieux had been the cement which had worked to bring the provinces and races together, and at this point Mr. King made a feeling reference to the fact that Mr. Lemieux had made the greatest of parental sacrifices, in that he had given up his son to make stronger and maintain human freedom.

Mr. King went on to talk of the loss of responsible government of late years in Canada. "We compelled the government to go to the people and listen to the voice of the people," he declared. "We have been demanding Ministerial responsibility, as well as parliamentary responsibility, democracy as against autocracy.

"Our first and foremost effort will be to restore what has been destroyed, the constitutional usages and practices in government. Not only were the parliament buildings destroyed during the war, and human life, but old practices and customs, and regard for the rights of the people in the matter of government have been destroyed. They will not be restored until the men are back in power who, in the past, helped to make them what they are. On the success of that aim will depend the success of all things.

IMPOSE RIGID ECONOMY.

"What will be the next great purpose? The next thing to be done is to impose rigid economy, retrenchment in the matter of all public expenditure. What is the sense of talking about changes in tariff or not, for other measures for improving the condition of the people if along with that sort of thing there is to be wild extravagance. The burden of debt and of taxes is heavy. No one can take exception to every dollar legitimately spent for winning the war. Nothing can equal the cost of human life, spent to preserve the liberties we enjoy, so we will take no exception to money honestly spent in gaining the war.

Mr. King then spoke on railway matters, saying that the Government had taken over two vast railway systems in a high-handed fashion. He also criticized the Government for its alleged refusal to allow open discussion of railway administration affairs on the floor of the House of Commons. He turned his attention for a while to deficits of Government-operated railways, and, continuing in this vein, denounced the sum voted this year for public expenditure as extravagantly high, amounting, exclusive of soldiers' land settlements, and housing, $560,000,000. This sum would have to come out of the pockets of the people of the country, continued the speaker. He was not optimistic concerning the census returns giving it as his opinion that the final results would show fewer than 9,000,000 of population, which would mean that every individual in the country would be responsible for the payment of the sum of $62. Confronted by such a situation, the Liberal party today was making its appeal in the defence of the home and its needs, in the defence of the taxpayers.

Speaking again on railway questions, he turned his guns on the administration, saying that the Government was to be judged by the way it administered its affairs and that its appointments of officials in railway administration was a case in point. The Government had appointed a board of directors to administer the state railways, and all these railway appointees were friends of the controlling element.

Now that the Government had appointed a board of directors for these railways, it took the attitude that it was no longer responsible for the expenditures incurred by these officials, and that representatives of the people could be denied the right of receiving information concerning the administration of these railways on the floor of the House of Commons. Mr. King then drew an analogy between the Government and a private railway corporation, saying that in the case of the National Railways the people of the country correspond to the stock holders in a private corporation, and that the Government stands in the place of a board of directors. Mr. King declared, amid applause, that if the principle of representative government was to be maintained in Canada, the Government could not continue to refuse information concerning the administration of the national railways.

Mr. King then changed the topic of his address, taking the tariff as his theme. He again took issue with the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen on the latter's statement that the tariff was the main issue of the coming electoral struggle. Mr. King maintained that the main point at issue in the election was not the tariff, but the record of the Meighen Government.

"Mr. Meighen is trying very hard to make the issue in this country that of the tariff. Well, may he try to make it the issue. He knows the record his Government has. He knows how he stands in the hearts of the people of Canada, and the people of Canada are not going to forget his record, and are not going to be drawn aside in that way."

Continuing, Mr. King repeated his tariff faith, saying that the Liberal party does not stand for free trade in the fullest sense. The Liberal party did not stand for free trade in Canada today. The people of Canada would not countenance a change in the tariff of such a nature as to deprive the country of revenue so badly needed in view of the overwhelmingly heavy debt of $560,000,000. The issue, said Mr. King, was between the old Tory party and the Liberal party, the issue between high protection and a tariff for revenue. There was not a man or woman in Canada today who would take away from industry legitimate profits and thus damage the industrial life of the country by endorsing revolutionary free trade changes in the tariff.

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Referring to the respective tariff policies of the protectionists and himself, Mr. King said "The only difference between us is this: were they to revise the tariff, it would be revised in the interests of trusts, combines and mergers; if it is revised by us, it will be in the interests of producers and consumers, in the interests of the people as a whole."

Mr. King then described the Meighen Government as essentially a Government of reaction, intent on protecting the privileges of the few. It was a Government which was not in keeping with the new order of things as they exist at the present time. The speaker also described the opposite political tendency toward radicalism which, he said, had attained considerable force in the country. The ideal of the new Liberalism was to steer a middle course between these two opposite poles of political thought.

Mr. King emphasized the necessity for a strong national party devoted to Liberal ideals in Canada. He deprecated class movements as inimical to the general welfare of all, and declared that the country had also had sufficient of experimenting with coalitions. He expressed the opinion that the Liberals of the country would not come out of the struggle merely as a leading group, but that they would be very much ahead of the other groups. He prophesied a heavy Liberal vote on both coasts, although he expressed himself as not sanguine about the prairie provinces. Ontario would be a battleground, but losses there would be offset by the Quebec vote. This declaration was received with prolonged applause.

The Liberal leader concluded his address with some references to the choice of the riding in which he will count for his return to the House of Commons. He told of the offer of a nomination in Prince Edward Island, and also of the situation in North York. He said that he considered North York the battle centre in which the struggle for victory should be waged, and that as leader of the party, his place was where the fight promises to be the hottest. He concluded with a warm appeal to his hearers for the support of Liberal ideals and the preservation of the traditions of the party. He was given a rousing ovation.

BUREAU NOT RETIRING.

Ernest Lapointe was next introduced to the gathering by Sir Lomer Gouin. Mr. Lapointe referred to the long service of Mr. Lemieux in public life, and traced his long and interesting career in federal politics. Mr. Lemieux had struggled nobly for popular liberties, said Mr. Lapointe, in expressing the hope that his old friend would continue long in the fight.

"Mr. Lemieux had been an able lieutenant to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the reconstruction of public policies after his return to power in 1896. Laurier had worked for 40 years to build up a prosperous country, and his life work had been brought to nought by the conduct of the present Government during the past few years. Mr. Lapointe denounced class rule, and in conclusion voiced the motto: "No class domination, either from the right or from the left."

The Hon. Charles Murphy was the next speaker. He said that for the past quarter of a century Mr. Lemieux had fought to build up Canada. He had had the privilege of knowing Mr. Lemieux long before his political career, at college, at Ottawa. Mr. Murphy deprecated any reference to the tariff, saying that the issue was the record of the Meighen Government.

The Hon. Jacques Bureau spoke briefly, denying vigorously a rumor published in a Montreal afternoon newspaper to the effect that he had decided to retire in Three Rivers, following the appointment of Dr. Normand to the federal cabinet. He said that he had no intention whatever of deserting the fight in his county.

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Ottawa Citizen Sept-23rd 1921 D 5510

# MACKENZIE KING TO BE CANDIDATE IN NORTH YORK

## Declaration by the Liberal Leader at Banquet to Hon. Rodolphe Lemeiux Held in Montreal Last Night.

## 2 THOUSAND GUESTS LAUNCHED CAMPAIGN

## Gouin and Taschereau Tell of the Need for Protection and Economy.

(Canadian Press.)

MONTREAL, Sept. 22.—Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal opposition, will be a candidate in North York, Ontario, in the forthcoming general federal elections.

This was the declaration made by the Liberal leader at the Mount Royal arena here tonight when the 25th anniversary of the entry of Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux into the house of commons was celebrated at a banquet at which some two thousand guests were present and the occasion was taken to launch the Liberal campaign in this province.

Features of the speeches were the declarations by Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. Mr. Lemieux and Premier Taschereau of the need for protection in Canada and they also urged a strong plea for rigid economy to Hon. Mr. King should he become prime minister as a result of the elections.

**For Liberal Alliance.**

Premier Taschereau also made a plea for an alliance between Mr. King and Sir Lomer Gouin in the federal field, claiming that such an alliance would make victory certain and give confidence throughout the country. Hon. Mr. Lemieux made a definite declaration of belief in the Shaughnessy proposal for the solution of the Canadian railway problem.

Hon. Mr. King read a letter dated today which he had sent to Dr. John McNeill, of Summerside, P.E.I., in which he stated that conjointly with the National Liberal organization committee he had come to the conclusion that, everything considered, the national interests of the party would be best served by the identification of his candidature with the province of Ontario. He added that he felt that "my duty to the party permits me no other alternative than to allow my name to remain in nomination as that of the Liberal candidate for North York."

MONTREAL, Sept. 22. — Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, after reviewing his career in parliament with particular reference to the defeat of the Liberal party in 1911, spoke of conditions as at present and said that while the defeat of the present government would be an easy matter, the work of restoring the country with its enormous national debt, its railway problem, the economic crisis and the unemployment problem to face would be nearly a superhuman task.

The financial question was one of the most important and there was only one way to meet it, namely: by practicing the most implacable economy in the budget. By reducing expenses to the minimum the burden of taxation would be gradually lightened and the Canadian dollar would find its normal course. Interest payments, expense of administration and debts of honor contracted during the war could not be evaded, but all other expenses should be pitilessly cut to the bone or suppressed. The militia, the navy, public works, should be watched most carefully by the minister of finance.

**Nationalization of G. T. R.**

In regard to the nationalization of the Grand Trunk System, Hon. R. Lemieux said that the proposal of Lord Shaughnessy seemed to him the only possible solution with some revised terms. Though the cry of monopoly might be raised, he preferred monopoly to bankruptcy.

Right Hon. Mr. Meighen had, he said, chosen the ground on which the coming elections should be fought. According to the premier, the tariff would be the only election cry. The premier had claimed that the Liberal party would, if returned to power, wipe out the tariff. Mr. Lemieux pointed out that the Liberal party had never adopted free trade as a part of its program. The present time was one least of all when Canada could demolish her tariff wall when the United States congress had just erected one.

The whole tariff question rested on the point to what degree an industry needed protection in order to prosper and to what degree, on the other hand, it needed no protection in order to benefit by the spur of competition. The greatest mistake of all would be in a country as vast as ours, to make laws only for the benefit of a group, of a class. On the contrary, what was needed was to harmonize, to co-ordinate the interests of the west and the east. Short, however, of agreeing to absorption by the United States, we owed to our industries a measure of reasonable protection.

**Eulogy of Mackenzie King.**

Mr. Lemieux then pronounced an eulogy of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. He said: "I am particularly glad to greet him. He is the inheritor of a fine name—that of an ancestor of Canadian Liberalism—he possesses great qualities — he is young, industrious and gifted with a high degree of eloquence. Faithful to the Liberal cause in good and evil fortune, we have been happy to see him scale the heights. Our hopes in him have not been deceived. At this difficult turning in our history I do not believe I am deceiving myself in affirming that our leader will be on a par with his task when he takes over the very great responsibility of governing Canada."

**Premier Taschereau Speaks.**

Premier Taschereau, to whom was allotted the task of proposing the toast of Canada and the Liberal party, said the two went happily together since it was to the Liberal party that th country looked for recovery of its former vigor. Referring to Mr. Lemieux's career, Mr. Taschereau said: "He is a Liberal without qualifying epithet—that is one of his distinctions—he has continued the traditions which created our party, a party which had no need to borrow other people's titles in the vain attempt to regild its shield and recover popularity."

Mr. Taschereau also tendered the homage of the province of Quebec to Mr. Mackenzie King, remarking that a "Conservative majority reduced from 70 to 20 and by elections turned to Liberal triumph, proved the skill and success of Mr. King's guidance."

Discussing the questions of parties in the Dominion, Mr. Taschereau said: "From the Atlantic to the Pacific there is and there ought to be only a single Liberal party, as, indeed, I could wish there should be only one Conservative party. Break up these parties, confuse their lines of separation, and the constitutional system becomes a mere seesaw where every best movement is paralyzed. History will lay to the charge of the Conservative party the grievous fault of having aimed the first blow at our political system by founding the Unionist party. It is moribund today from the effects of this irreparable fault. The groups springing up everywhere, animated by no political traditions, knowing no discipline and heeding no motives but local interest and immediate advantage, are the natural children of the ill-assorted unions brought about of late in Ottawa."

**Tariff For Revenue.**

On the tariff Mr. Taschereau remarked that his Liberalism called for a tariff which protected the consumer and also the industries of the country. These results were by no means incompatible, but might well be obtained by a tariff for revenue, such as was professed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The speaker said that he was well aware that he was touching upon one of the most thorny questions in the political program of the party. He knew that the party's chiefs in the federal arena would be called upon to devote to it their intelligence and their devotion, perhaps even to the extent of some humility when recalling former days and youthful orations, yet he did not see that the. would be any foresaking of their political principles by adapting them to the

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La Presse D 5511 (1)

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UNE FETE LIBERALE

# MANIFESTATION POPULAIRE A L'HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX

**Banquet, présidé par sir Lomer Gouin, pour célébrer le 25e anniversaire politique du député de Gaspé. — Plusieurs discours.**

## QUESTIONS POLITIQUES DISCUTEES

Il y a environ un an, le célèbre Caruso dont le monde musical déplore aujourd'hui la perte, chantait à l'Arena Mont-Royal. Ce fut un succès. L'artiste dont la renommée n'était plus à faire, reçut les applaudissements frénétiques d'une foule en délire. On parla longtemps de cet événement et on se disait dernièrement encore, que la vaste enceinte ne serait pas de sitôt témoin d'une semblable manifestation ; le banquet libéral d'hier a prouvé le contraire alors que plus de quatre mille personnes sont venues dire à l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux leur admiration pour l'oeuvre qu'il a faite pour son pays et spécialement pour sa province, depuis son entrée à la chambre des Communes, c'est-à-dire, depuis vingt-cinq ans. Cette foule a acclamé celui qui pendant de nombreuses années a lutté pour son parti. Elle l'a acclamé comme le lieutenant fidèle de Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Le parti libéral du pays et plus spécialement les libéraux de la province de Québec, avaient voulu fêter les noces d'argent politiques de l'honorable M. Lemieux, en lui offrant un banquet populaire et ce banquet a marqué dans la province de Québec, l'ouverture de la campagne électorale. L'hôte d'honneur, de même que Sir Lomer Gouin, qui présidait le banquet, les honorables MM. King, le chef de l'opposition à Ottawa, Taschereau, premier ministre de la province, Murphy, ancien ministre dans le cabinet Laurier, Bureau, de Trois-Rivières, et M. Ernest Lapointe, député de Québec Est, ont prononcé des discours pour définir la ligne de conduite qu'entend suivre le parti libéral, au cours de la lutte qui va s'engager.

L'hon. M. Lemieux a fait le procès de l'administration Borden-Meighen et a déclaré qu'il est temps que le pays se débarrasse d'un gouvernement qui, dit-il, ne pense qu'aux siens et conduit le pays à la banqueroute. Il s'est attaqué à l'administration actuelle et l'a accusée et de dépenser sans compter, un arde ne pas respecter ses engagements gent que le peuple est appelé à payer.

L'hon. M. King a fait, lui aussi, le procès du gouvernement. Le chef de l'opposition a raconté l'histoire politique canadienne depuis dix ans. Il attaqua surtout le gouvernement sur sa politique des chemins de fer. "Le pays, dit-il, en avait assez à supporter, sans assumer une telle responsabilité." Il dit que le gouvernement actuel est loin d'avoir la confiance du peuple et que les prochaines élections vont le prouver. Il rappelle le souvenir de sir Wilfrid qui, dit-il, a consacré toute une vie de travail, à la cause du peuple, la cause libérale.

Quant à sir Lomer Gouin, il rappela que pendant de nombreuses années, il a été le collègue professionnel de l'hon. M. Lemieux. Il l'a toujours suivi et il est heureux de constater chez son ami, les qualités qui en font un véritable chef et un véritable homme d'Etat. Sir Lomer parle ensuite de l'administration Meighen et dit qu'il est temps que le gouvernement actuel disparaisse, si l'on veut que le pays retourne à la prospérité qu'il a connue autrefois.

Le premier ministre de la province a fait l'éloge de l'hon. M. Lemieux et dit que c'est un homme que le parti libéral doit être heureux de compter dans ses rangs. Il est assuré que le parti libéral reprendra bientôt la gestion des affaires du pays. M. Taschereau profite de la circonstance pour dire à sir Lomer qu'il devrait entrer dans l'arène avec le vaillant chef du parti, l'hon. M. King.

See page 5

M. Ernest Lapointe, de même que les honorables Bureau et Murphy croient eux aussi qu'il est temps qu'un changement se fasse à Ottawa.

Le président de la Jeunesse libérale, M. Emery Phaneuf, a répondu à la santé des dames.

Le banquet devait commencer à huit heures, mais dès sept heures, la foule commençait déjà à envahir l'immense arène. Le service d'ordre fut parfait. Le lieutenant Valmore Trudeau et une cinquantaine d'hommes de police dirigeaient le trafic à la porte de la salle.

Voici la liste des convives à la table d'honneur:

Président, sir Lomer Gouin; l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux, l'honorable William - Lyon Mackenzie King, l'honorable L.-A. Taschereau, premier ministre de la province de Québec, le sénateur Raoul Dandurand, l'hon. Médéric Martin, maire de Montréal; l'hon. Charles Murphy, l'hon. J.-E. Perrault, l'hon. Antonin Galipeault, l'hon. J.-A. Tessier, l'hon. N. Pérodeau, l'hon. Honoré Mercier, le sénateur Mitchell, le sénateur Jules Tessier, le sénateur J.-P.-B. Casgrain, MM. James-A. Robb, M.P., Alphonse Verville, M.P., Ernest Lapointe, M.P., Arthur Desaulniers, M.P., A.-R. McMaster, M.P., Dr J.-Théo. Gervais, M.P., J.-E. Marcile, M.P., H.-A. Fortier, M. P., Alfred Leduc, M.P., J.-E. Lesage, M.P., Arthur Trahan, M.P., Georges Boivin, M.P., J.-E. Prévost, M. P., Fernand Rinfret, M.P., Gustave Boyer, M.P., Joseph Demers, M. P., Georges Parent, M.P., Frederick Kay M.P., Lucien Cannon, M.P., Du Tremblay, M.P., M. Madden, M. P. P., Charles-G. Power, M. P., O. Brouillard, M.P., M.-S. Belisle, M. P., Jean-J. Denis, M. P., Thomas Vien, M. P., Edm. Savard, M. P., Emmanuel d'Anjou, M.P., Aimé Boucher, M.P., l'honorable W.-G. Mitchell, l'honorable J.-J.-B. Gosselin, M.-L. Péloquin, M.P., l'honorable J.-P. Paradis, l'honorable J.-L. Perron, l'honorable A. Allison Dysart, Edouard Ouellette, M. P.P., l'honorable Némèse Garneau, l'honorable E. Choquette, H.-E. Lavigueur, M.P., Joseph Archambault, M.P.

Suit un aperçu des discours qui ont été prononcés au banquet.

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Notre hôte, quoique jeune encore, a déjà fourni une carrière pleine d'oeuvres et de succès. Supérieurement doué, il a su développer ses nombreux talents par un labeur constant et des études sérieuses. Journaliste, avocat, professeur, député, ministre, partout où il a passé il a marqué brillamment sa trace par des oeuvres fécondes. Orateur-né, sa voix mâle, chaude et sonore, son éloquence spirituelle, vibrante, parfois éblouissante en firent l'idole des foules et lui attirèrent le respect et l'admiration de ses chefs, dès son entrée dans l'arène politique. Il portait au front la marque des hautes destinées, et c'est au premier rang qu'il se plaça tout naturellement du premier coup. A vingt ans, la vieille garde du parti l'appelait dans ses cadres; il en fut toujours depuis le tribun le plus vigoureux, se prodiguant dans tous les combats pour la défense et le triomphe de l'idée libérale, et il en est aujourd'hui le glorieux doyen. C'est à ce titre que nous le fêtons ce soir et que nous sommes heureux de lui offrir nos hommages de reconnaissance et l'assurance de notre amitié inaltérable.

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M. Lemieux a eu toutes les bonnes fortunes politiques, mais la plus heureuse, il me l'a dit souvent, fut de posséder la confiance absolue et l'amitié affectueuse de notre grand disparu, sir Wilfrid Laurier. C'est cette confiance et cette amitié, ajoutées à ses talents justement appréciés, qui ont valu à notre hôte le grand honneur de nous représenter en France, au Japon, en Suisse, en Afrique, en Angleterre et aux Etats-Unis, dans des missions délicates et importantes, dont il a su s'acquitter avec le tact, le charme, le brillant et la dignité qu'il a mis dans tous les actes de sa vie politique et privée.

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sement et prudemment choisie. Quant au tarif que l'on nous donnera, qu'on l'appelle tarif de revenu ou autrement le nom n'importe guère, pourvu bien entendu, que ce soit le tarif de Laurier. C'est la politique tarifaire de Laurier que le peuple réclame et attend, convaincu qu'il est, qu'elle nous ramenera aux beaux jours de notre prospérité.

## LE PARTI LIBERAL

Et quel parti pourra donner cette politique au pays, si ce n'est le parti libéral qui l'a inaugurée sous l'inspiration de son illustre chef.

Monsieur Lemieux, vous avez été un disciple fervent et longtemps le collaborateur dévoué de Laurier. Il vous incombe maintenant, avec notre chef, M. King, vos anciens collègues et vos compagnons d'armes du dernier parlement, dont la réélection est assurée, c'est écrit au livre de l'avenir, de prolonger l'oeuvre féconde de notre grand disparu. Ne me dites pas que vous avez fait votre part de travail et qu'assez longtemps vous avez servi votre pays, je vous répondrais en vous citant la parole du soldat de la vieille garde: "On n'a jamais fini de faire son devoir". Non, vous êtes trop bon patriote pour parler et agir ainsi et je sais que demain, comme hier, comme depuis trente ans, vous mettrez allègrement à la dispsition de la patrie les talents supérieurs dout vous a si largement doué la Providence. C'est ce qu'attendent de vous vos nombreux amis, ceux qui sont venus vous offrir leurs hommages et vous applaudir ce soir, et tous ceux que vous avez dans toutes les provinces du Canada.

Mesdames et Messieurs, je vous demande de lever vos verres et de boire à la santé de l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux et à celle de la gracieuse compagne de sa vie, Madame Lemieux.

## L'HON. M. LEMIEUX

S'il est vrai que le temps confirme ou brise l'amitié, dit M. Lemieux, comment vous remercier du témoignage éloquent que vous me donnez ce soir, de la solidité des liens qui nous unissent après vingt-cinq années de vie parlementaire?

Un quart de siècle, c'est une longue étape dans la vie humaine où les erreurs et les faiblesses sont trop souvent notre lot. Et pourtant, faisant la part large et aux erreurs et aux faiblesses, je puis avouer sans jactance que depuis le jour où, en 1896, mes électeurs de Gaspé me confièrent un mandat, je n'ai pas été tout à fait indigne de leur confiance.

J'ai toujours pensé que le parlement était le temple de nos libertés politiques et que nous, de la minorité, devions y donner l'exemple du labeur et du désintéressement.

A cet égard, les élus du 23 juin 1896 furent les privilégiés. Le nautonnier qui fuit l'orage peut cingler vers le port, toutes voiles déployées, s'il fixe son regard sur le phare lointain qui projette ses feux sur la mer.

Nous aussi, nous avons orienté notre barque vers une grande clarté qui forçait les yeux à voir, les coeurs à frissonner. L'exemple d'une vie faite d'honneur et de patriotisme, c'est un aiguillon salutaire pour la jeunesse de tous les temps et de tous les pays. Telle fut l'influence morale de Wilfrid Laurier sur ceux qui franchirent le seuil du parlement, le 23 juin 1896.

Le parlement s'est renouvelé plusieurs fois depuis 1896. Beaucoup, hélas manquent à l'appel. A titre de doyen de la députation libérale, je salue la mémoire de ces amis disparus—et parmi ceux-là, Sidney Fisher dont le dévouement et la haute probité faisaiest notre orgueil, et cet autre, dont la généreuse nature, dont le bon sourire semblaient un perpétuel défi à la mort, Emmanuel Devlin.

## APRES DIX ANS

Apres dix années d'agitations intenses, voici que le peuple est enfin appelé à se choisir un gouvernement. Personne, pas même le premier ministre, ne s'illusionne au point de croire que nous avons eu une élection en 1917. Il y eut à ce moment-là une fraude gigantesque, qui couvre d'opprobre ses auteurs et qui a anéanti un parti. En contemplant le désastre dont il est la cause première, sir Robert Borden peut dire à son successeur: **Ceci a tué cela!**

Le chef du gouvernement sort de l'illégalité pour rentrer dans le droit, mais le peuple fort de son droit reconquis, punira bientôt les violateurs de la constitution.

Il n'y a pas de régime politique qui soit exempt de fautes, mais de toutes les fautes, la plus criminelle, c'est celle que commet un gouvernement qui violente la constitution et défranchise ses adversaires. Plus que tout autre, M. Meighen est solidaire de cet attentat contre nos institutions représentatives.

Toujours magnanime, M.Meighen nous invite à oublier le passé pour ne songer qu'à l'avenir. Or, l'avenir est toujours chargé de passé et pour prévoir—c'est-à-dire voir en avant — il faut d'abord regarder en arrière.

La seule question qui se pose en ce moment, est celle de savoir sous quel drapeau les adversaires du gouvernement, qui constituent l'immense majorité dans le pays, doivent se ranger et s'unir.

## LES DEUX RACES

Au point de vue national — dans ce pays si difficile à gouverner — aucune des deux races ne devait dominer ni être dominée. "Justice égale, droits égaux", telle était sa devise. Amour de la justice et de la liberté, pratique de la tolérance, loyauté basée sur l'autonomie et le patriotisme, voilà **en résumé ses principes et ses idées** — et bien qu'il y ait des ombres au tableau — j'affirme ici que la masse du parti libéral partagea ce haut idéal et que pendant quinze ans, le pays tout entier s'en inspira.

Il faut le recul de l'histoire pour situer les hommes et les événements. L'on sait aujourd'hui sur quelle équivoque et à la suite de quelle campagne haineuse M. Borden forma son gouvernement en 1911.

Ici encore,c'est en quelques traits qu'il faut résumer toute une période. L'histoire dira qu'avec le torysme triomphant, c'est le règne de l'oligarchie qui s'est implanté au Canada. L'autorité souveraine du gouvernement a été méconnue, foulée aux pieds; la justice elle-même s'est complaisamment prêtée aux intrigues; privilégiés et profiteurs ont fait main basse sur le trésor public; la dette nationale a été portée à un chiffre fabuleusement élevé; le crédit national, à la suite de transactions et d'emprunts désastreux, a été sérieusement ébréché; les races ont été ameutées les unes contre les autres.

Ah! messieurs, la tâche qui incombe au gouvernement de demain, quel qu'il soit — sera colossale et il lui faudra faire large confiance.

## LA RESTAURATION

Renverser le gouvernement responsable de tous ces désastres, c'est chose relativement facile. Mais l'oeuvre de restauration qui incombe au parti libéral — collectivité d'hommes et non de dieux — est dans les circonstances presque surhumaine.

Le parti libéral fier de son passé, habitué aux tâches ingrates, reste historiquement dans son rôle, en faisant appel à tous les courages, à toutes les bonnes volontés, dans la crise que nous traversons.

Avouons-le, le pays est profondément divisé, l'unité nationale ayant été criminellement rompue pour d'éphémères succès de parti. Pour rétablir l'harmonie et la concorde il faut se pénétrer de l'esprit de la Constitution.

Un journal de cette ville, pris de panique devant la situation dont plus que tout autre peut-être il est responsable, offrait il y a quelque temps, l'alternative suivante comme remède à nos maux: **Annexation, repudiation or population.**

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La Presse
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Il est téméraire de songer à une immigration intensive dans un pays surtaxé alors que les villes regorgent de sans-travail.

Quant aux deux autres panacées, je les repousse comme une insulte à notre dignité.

Un peuple qui a souci de son honneur ne répudie pas sa dette nationale. Renier ses obligations n'est pas d'une haute morale.

Et s'il m'est permis de parler au nom de mes compatriotes, dont les ancêtres furent les découvreurs et les colonisateurs du Canada, je m'insurge contre toute idée annexionniste. Le Canada est notre patrie et si l'intérêt est la mesure des actions, notre intérêt à nous, c'est d'être Canadiens encore et toujours.

Les "quatre points" du premier ministre soumis à la dernière conférence de Londres, sont autant de propositions dangereuses qui engagent notre avenir.

Ni le peuple, ni le parlement n'ont sanctionné cette politique qui tendrait à morceler notre loyauté et à disperser nos ressources.

## L'IMPERIALISME

Les Dominions jouissent dans l'Empire, d'une autonomie chèrement acquise et toute ingérence dans la politique étrangère de la Grande-Bretagne nous conduit à l'impérialisme.

La génération actuelle aura passé, une autre viendra après elle et ce n'est pas dans les camps armés de l'Europe ni sur les plateaux d'Asie, que nos descendants trouveront la solution des multiples problèmes canadiens. C'est ici même, au Canada, non dans les lointaines aventures, qu'est fixé notre destin.

M. Meighen et avant lui M. Borden, demandent, exigent que le Canada soit consulté sur l'orientation de la politique anglaise. Les Canadiens ont voix au chapitre à Ottawa, non à Londres. C'est ce que pensaient et disaient Macdonald, Tupper et Laurier, et c'était le bon sens même.

Il y a au Canada, une question beaucoup plus actuelle et dont la gravité même devrait détourner les tenants de l'impérialisme de leur mirage. C'est la question financière.

Il faut de toute nécessité diminuer la dette et il n'y a pas deux méthodes pour atteindre ce but. Il n'y en a qu'une, c'est de pratiquer la plus impeccable économie dans notre budget.

En 1911, la dette nationale avait été portée à 340 millions, soit $12,500,000 d'intérêt par année. Aujourd'hui, le seul service des intérêts s'élève à 150 millions, soit 17 millions de moins que la totalité de notre budget en 1911.

Voilà une situation alarmante et à moins d'une rigoureuse économie nous marchons vers l'abîme.

## DEPENSES A REDUIRE

En réduisant les dépenses au plus strict minimum, le fardeau des taxes sera graduellement allégé d'autant et le dollar canadien retrouvera son cours normal.

Le service des intérêts, les dépenses d'administration et les dettes d'honneur contractées durant la guerre ne peuvent être évitées, mais toutes les autres dépenses contrôlables doivent être impitoyablement ou rognées ou supprimées.

La milice, la marine, les travaux publics, devront sous l'oeil vigilant du ministre des finances, subir une dure opération.

J'ai déjà, à maintes reprises, exprimé mon avis personnel sur le problème ferroviaire. Ce fut une erreur fatale pour le Canada, après l'expérience de la Grande-Bretagne, de la France, des Etats-Unis, d'assumer la propriété du Canadien Nord et du Grand-Tronc.

Il a fallu l'affolement de la guerre pour alourdir notre budget de cet énorme fardeau qui menace d'écraser le contribuable. La proposition de lord Shaughnessy me paraît la seule solution possible, sauf à en réviser les termes. L'on criera au monopole, mais entre deux maux il faut choisir le moindre. Je préfère le monopole à la banqueroute. La commission des chemins de fer dont les pouvoirs sont absolus en matière de tarifs a été créée pour protéger le public.

## LE TARIF

M. Meighen a choisi lui-même le terrain sur lequel, dit-il, la présente élection doit se faire. Le tarif serait l'nique enjeu électoral. Il y a plus d'erreurs que de mots dans cette affirmation. Il ne peut y avoir de dogme en matière économique. Comme théorie pure, abstraite, le libre échange, c'est l'idéal. Mais les industries nécessaires dans un jeune pays comme le nôtre ne vivent pas d'idéal. Et d'ailleurs, il faut des recettes au trésor et le tarif est l'instrument qui produit la recette avec en plus, l'impôt direct.

Nos adversaires, afin d'effrayer l'industrie et le travail, soutiennent que le parti libéral, ennemi des trusts et des monopoles, voudrait supprimer la protection, faire table rase du tarif. C'est là vieux jeu, car si loin que vous remontiez dans l'histoire du parti libéral, jamais le libre échange intégral n'a été adopté comme programme.

Ni M. Blake, ni sir Wilfrid Laurier, ni M. Fielding n'ont songé à appliquer cette théorie au régime économique du Canada.

Tous les hommes d'affaires admettent que la période libérale, de 1896 à 1911, fut l'âge d'or du Canada. Il n'y eut pas alors, entendez bien, de parti agraire, précisément parce que l'agriculture, comme les autres industries bénéficiait de la politique du "juste milieu" adoptée par le gouvernement Laurier.

L'Etat doit s'inspirer de son intérêt et pas d'autre chose. Les problèmes à trancher sont spéciaux pour chaque branche d'activité. Toute la question est de savoir dans quelle mesure une industrie doit être protégée pour se développer, et dans quelle mesure, au contraire, elle ne doit pas être, pour rester sous l'aiguillon de la concurrence. Ce n'est assurément pas au moment où le Congrès américain élève sa muraille douanière que le Canada doit démolir la sienne. Une révision du tarif est dans l'ordre des choses nécessaires, mais c'est toujours une opération délicate. Deux fois, le tarif fut revisé sous la direction de M. Fielding et chaque révision a été le signal d'un plus grand essor vers la prospérité. Le plus bel éloge de la politique libérale, ne l'oubliez pas, ce fut le "Let well'enough alone" de 1911, lancé par nos adversaires.

## COORDONNER LES INTERETS

La grande erreur serait, dans un pays aussi vaste que le nôtre avec des intérêts si divers, de ne légiférer qu'au profit d'un groupe, d'une classe. Il faut au contraire harmoniser, coordonner les intérêts de l'ouest et de l'est.

L'agriculture est l'industrie fondamentale, mais nous avons six mois d'hiver et nous ne semons pas de blé dans la neige. Nos manufactures sont alimentées par du capital canadien et elles donnent du travail à des milliers d'hommes. A moins de consentir à l'absorption américaine, nous devons à notre industrie une mesure de protection raisonnable.

Karl Marx a pu dire: "Les prolétaires n'ont pas de patrie", et Adam Smith: "Le capitaliste moderne est un citoyen du monde."

Ces deux affirmations expriment des vérités en tant qu'elles s'appliquent à des individus. Elles ne sont que sophismes et utopies si on les généralise, car tout homme, prolétaire ou capitaliste, fait partie d'une nation. Et on ne peut jeter par terre un système économique dont le ressort est la concurrence des nations et qui ne peut durer qu'avec celles-ci.

Mais j'abuse de votre patience. Il n'y a pas de visionnaires dans cette réunion d'élite. Il y a des patriotes, des Canadiens qui voient la réalité des choses et qui comprennent que le succès durable d'un parti doit être subordonné à l'intérêt national. Une alliance dont le prix devrait être l'adoption de théories brillantes mais inapplicables, serait une mésalliance.

Parmi tant de brillants collègues qui me font le grand honneur d'assister à cette fête, je suis particulièrement heureux de saluer notre chef, l'hon. M. King.

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La Presse

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Fidèle à la cause libérale, dans la bonne et la mauvaise fortune, nous avons été heureux de le voir gravir les sommets. Nos espoirs en lui n'ont pas été déçus, mais en politique l'adversité est plus facile à subir que la prospérité.

Voici que nous sommes à un tournant difficile de notre histoire et je ne crois pas me tromper en affirmant que notre "leader" sera à la hauteur de la tâche, lorsqu'il assumera la très lourde responsabilité de gouverner le Canada.

## POUR L'AVENIR

Et quant à moi, messieurs, je n'ambitionne pas d'autre honneur que de servir dans le rang, un autre quart de siècle. La Chambre des Communes est une grande école, c'est un merveilleux poste d'écoute.

Peut-être nous retrouverons-nous dans cette salle en 1946, pour célébrer mes noces d'or?

Embrassant alors du regard le cycle parcouru, je voudrais pouvoir témoigner qu'avec l'aide de Dieu, il ne faut jamais désespérer de sa patrie.

Je voudrais pouvoir dire que le Canada, menacé dans son existence, après avoir été bon combattant de la grande guerre, fut bon travailleur de la paix; qu'après des épreuves qui semblaient sans remède, où son étoile allait s'éclipser et disparaître, son relèvement fut rapide.

Enfin, je voudrais pouvoir dire que le parti libéral, fidèle à une tradition qui lui vient d'un lointain passé, sut non seulement relever les ruines, consoler les deuils, mais encore rétablir l'unité canadienne qui, hier, aujourd'hui, demain, toujours est le gage du progrès et de l'ordre.

## L'HON. M. MACKENZIE KING

Le chef du parti libéral s'excuse de parler dans la langue anglaise. J'aurai l'occasion, dit-il, de revenir dans cette province, au cours de la campagne dans laquelle nous sommes maintenant plongés, et je parlerai alors à mes auditoires dans la langue maternelle de ceux qui m'entourent ce soir.

Je suis grandement flatté d'être au milieu de vous pour acclamer et honorer notre ami, l'honorable Rodolphe Lemieux. Je suis également très privilégié de pouvoir adresser la parole devant un ex-premier ministre de cette province, qui, pendant quinze années, a su donner à cette province un gouvernement qui sert de modèle, non seulement aux autres provinces de ce Dominion, mais à tous les pays du monde. J'éprouve également beaucoup de plaisir à m'asseoir à la droite de mon vieil ami, l'hon. Médéric Martin, qui, au lendemain de la défaite de 1911, m'offrait son siège aux Communes, moi qui, durant de longues années, avait partagé son pupitre sur le parquet de la Chambre. Je suis également hautement heureux d'être entouré de tous ces loyaux amis de la Chambre, ceux avec qui j'ai travaillé pour obtenir des élections générales, et je leur dis: Nous avons gagné notre première bataille, nous gagnerons la seconde bientôt.

Deux dates sont appelées à être mémorables dans l'histoire de notre pays: l'une l'est déjà: 1896 et 1921. Il n'est pas vain de dire que l'histoire se répète.

En 1896, le Canada était plongé dans un malaise indescriptible. La population était mécontente d'une maladministration désastreuse. Il y avait également une autre circonstance que personne ne peut oublier: nous avions alors un gouvernement tory qui sentait venir la défaite, comme le gouvernement actuel sent venir la sienne. Mais quand, en 1896, on permit au peuple de se prononcer sur le choix du gouvernement, il a fallu peu de chose pour que l'électorat de tout le pays exprimât sa dissatisfaction en chassant ce gouvernement du pouvoir pour doter le pays d'un autre gouvernement en qui il pouvait avoir confiance.

## VICTOIRE PREVUE

Je réponds ce soir à la santé du parti libéral et du Canada. Il n'est pas vain de dire qu'ici, dans la province de Québec, un libéral se sent véritablement chez lui. J'affirme,de plus, que le soir de l'élection, les libéraux seront chez eux dans tout le pays comme nous le sommes ici.

Quel a été maintenant le changement qui s'est opéré en 1896. Tout d'abord, les libéraux placèrent à leur tête le plus grand Canadien que nous ayions eu dans la personne de sir Wilfrid Laurier. La première mesure de ce chef fut de s'entourer d'hommes capables, possédant une grande expérience, les meilleurs qu'il pouvait trouver dans le pays et il forma un gouvernement qui donna au pays la stabilité, l'élan et le progrès.

Nous avons aujourd'hui un gouvernemnet qui vient d'être reconstitué mais quels sont donc les hommes qui le composent. M. Meighen pouvait choisir dans le pays de véritables hommes d'affaires, des hommes de talent et de génie, mais aucun de ceux-là ne voulut accepter de lier son sort avec un gouvernement mourant. Nous avons les mêmes figures de ce gouvernement néfaste. Ce seront les porteurs des coins du poêle aux funérailles prochaines du gouvernement Meighen.

Quand les libéraux se mirent à la tâche en 1896, pensant à toutes les parties du pays, une transformation s'opéra. L'ouest se peupla d'une classe d'immigrants supérieurs, des chemins de fer sillonnèrent ces immensees prairies et le commerce se développa d'une façon extraordinaire, une ère nouvelle commençait en même temps que la démocratie était rétablie et que le peuple retrouvait son droit de se choisir lui-même ses représentants.

Le status du Canada changeait également. Nous sommes habitués depuis quelque temps à entendre dire que le Canada est une nation. Mais qui donc a opéré cette transformation de la petite colonie que nous étions en 1896. N'est-ce pas sir Wilfrid Laurier qui pouvait dire, au jubilé de la reine Victoria, que le Canada était une nation dans l'empire britannique? Il jetait les bases d'autres nations impériales qui devinrent bientôt le Sud-Africain et l'Australie et les autres dominions britanniques.

Cette période fut vraiment l'âge d'or au Canada.

## TRADITIONS A SUIVRE

Nous commençons ce soir une nouvelle ère. De nouveaux programmes sont émis. Mais je demande au peuple de ce pays, pour le plus grand bien du Canada: Peut-on mieux faire que de suivre les traces que nous a laissées le vieux chef disparu?

Une figure de 1896 est ici devant nous, celle de l'honorable M. Lemieux. Il entra en Chambre au moment où Laurier prenait le pouvoir. Ses qualités et son talent le distinguèrent. Je suis heureux ce soir de pouvoir me joindre à vous et lui dire tout ce que nous lui devons. Comme fils de la province voisine, je suis fier de lui dire que nous lui sommes reconnaissants du bien qu'il a fait pour son pays. M. Lemieux a accompli, au cours de la guerre, un sacrifice énorme par la perte de son fils unique qui est allé à la mort pour sauvegarder les principes de liberté et de justice dont nous jouissons, il est allé perdre la vie pour rendre plus solide le lien d'amitié et de liberté des peuples. Honorons-le, remercions-le, disons-lui que tant que nous aurons des hommes comme lui dans nos conseils, il n'y a pas à craindre de la manière dont seront conduites les affaires, non seulement du pays, mais aussi des autres pays avec qui nous sommes forcés de négocier.

M. King aborde ensuite l'avenir et dit ce que le parti libéral a l'intention de faire pour restaurer le pays sur les bases solides dont il bénéficiait avant 1911.

## MINISTERE RESPONSABLE

Depuis deux ans,nous combattons pour le rétablissement du peuple dans ses droits, nous avons enfin réussi en forçant le gouvernement à aller devant le peuple et de lui permettre d'exprimer sa volonté. Nous demandons un ministère responsable au peuple, nous l'aurons. On a foulé la constitution, au lieu de la démocratie, nous avons aujourd'hui l'autocratie. Ce n'est pas le parlement qui nous a gouverné, c'est un groupe qui ne travaillait que pour les intérêts de quelques-uns seulement et qui ne cherchait

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à se maintenir au pouvoir que par des compromissions honteuses.

Notre plus grand effort sera de restaurer ce qui a été détruit.

Le devoir du prochain gouvernement sera de pratiquer la plus stricte économie, mettre un frein à nos dépenses. Il est inutile de parler tarif si avec cela on n'a pas l'intention de réduire les dépenses. C'est le premier devoir à accomplir. La guerre est finie depuis trois ans, et à la dernière session le gouvernement faisait voter des crédits considérables pour fins militaires, y compris la démobilisation. Il faudrait la nuit pour vous citer les extravagances semblables du gouvernement.

## LA DETTE DU PAYS

M. King attaque ensuite la dette du pays et montre quel changement s'est produit depuis que les tories ont pris le pouvoir. Il faut aujourd'hui pour payer nos intérêts seulement une somme presqu'égale à celle dont nous avions besoin pour administrer toutes les affaires du pays à une époque des plus prospères. Nous ne pouvons renier nos obligations; le faire serait dire que le Canada est dans la banqueroute. Nous paierons ce que nous devons et nous ferons honneur à notre dette.

Mais nous avons un autre fardeau : les chemins de fer que le gouvernement a achetés à un prix fabuleux, sans le consentement des représentants du peuple.

M. King dit ensuite que si nous devons juger le gouvernement par la façon dont il a administré les chemins de fer, il faut conclure qu'il est un piètre administrateur et qu'il est temps qu'il abandonne les rênes du pouvoir si nous voulons éviter au pays d'autres désastres.

M. Meighen veut faire du tarif la grande question, mais il ne pourra faire oublier son record, et c'est aussi sur cela que se fera la prochaine lutte. M. Meighen pose deux extrêmes: libre-échange ou protection, mais le parti libéral n'a jamais voulu du libre-échange en ce pays. La question en jeu dans cette élection c'est le record des deux grands partis en présence dans cette lutte: protection à outrance ou bien protection modérée pour donner au pays les revenus dont il a besoin.

Le gouvernement ne peut plonger les industries du pays dans le malaise qui résulterait du libre-échange, méthode réactionnaire. Il y a une différence entre les deux révisions dont on parle. M. Meighen veut réviser le tarif pour continuer sa protection des trusts et des combines, des monopoles et des mergers; nous la voulons pour le producteur et le consommateur tout à la fois.

L'histoire nous a toujours donné l'exemple de deux grandes forces opposées: l'une, la conservation égoïste, et l'autre, la libéralité. Mais si cette dernière est poussée à l'extrême, elle devient dangereuse.

Vous vous demandez pourquoi il y a peu ou point de législation constructive depuis la guerre. Voici la réponse.

## PLUS DE COALITIONS

Je crois que le Canada en a eu assez des coalitions ; il veut une fin aux coalitions. Il veut un gouvernement d'un seul esprit et d'un seul but ; non un gouvernement de groupe ou de classe comme quelques-uns le conseillent ; ni une autre tentative de gouvernement par de prétendus libéraux et conservateurs comme quelques-uns de nos amis tory dans leur désespoir le suggèrent déjà. Il veut un gouvernement qui lui donnera la stabilité ; il veut un gouvernement qui prônera l'unité. Ceci n'est possible qu'avec un gouvernement qui soit largement représentatif de toutes les parties et de toutes les classes du pays et qui a l'appui unanime d'hommes de pensée et de sentiment qui respectent les principes et les programmes qui seront appliqués. C'est un gouvernement de cette nature que le parti libéral a donné au Canada en 1896 et qu'il lui offre maintenant.

M. King analyse ensuite le résultat qu'il anticipe le soir de l'élection, dans tout le pays et il déclare que le parti libéral sera assez fort pour former un cabinet solide, composé d'hommes compétents qui ont fait leur preuve, sans le concours d'aucun autre groupe à la Chambre.

## SA CANDIDATURE

Il aborde ensuite la question de sa candidature. Il y a quelque temps, dit-il, on m'offrait la candidature dans le comté de Prince. Il y a deux ans, mes électeurs de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard m'offraient la nomination dans le comté de Prince et subséquemment m'élisaient pour les représenter à la Chambre. Ils sont venus de nouveau pensant que le chef du parti ne pouvait briguer les suffrages dans un comté qui le forcerait à se désintéresser du reste du Canada. Mais les électeurs du comté de North York, en plein coeur de la province d'Ontario, m'offraient aussi la nomination ; la situation était délicate mais il fallait faire un choix qui ne compromit pas les intérêts du parti. Mais je crois que la position d'un chef est au coeur de la lutte, sous le feu direct de l'ennemi pour mieux conduire la lutte. Avec mes collègues du comité libéral ma décision fut prise de faire la lutte sous le feu direct de l'ennemi, car c'est en Ontario que se fera la lutte, et c'est en plein coeur de cette province que je la conduirai. Le parti libéral est assez puissant pour braver toutes les tempêtes, et il n'y a qu'une place pour le chef : à la tête de ses hommes, dirigeant la bataille. Avec ce parti nous combattrons jusqu'au bout et avec ce parti nous vaincrons.

## L'HON. M. TASCHEREAU

Le premier ministre est heureux d'exprimer à l'hôte d'honneur l'admiration des libéraux de Québec. "Je suis venu, dit-il, applaudir aux succès remportés par ce vétéran de la politique canadienne.

Vingt-cinq années ! L'étape paraît longue lorsqu'on n'est qu'au seuil; mais un coup d'oeil rétrospectif fait voir comme elle a été tôt franchie. En jetant un regard sur les sillons que le temps a laissés, M. Lemieux peut se consoler de la fuite rapide des ans, tant sont merveilleux les progrès que le Canada a réalisés.

Québec et Saint-Roch, où pendant quarante ans Laurier a retrempé le libéralisme qu'il prêchait, Québec et Saint-Roch se réjouissent de votre vingt-cinquième anniversaire politique, M. Lemieux, et vous offrent l'hommage de leur confiance et de leurs souhaits.

Au chef du parti libéral, continue M.Taschereau, l'héritier d'un grand nom et des plus glorieuses traditions, j'apporte l'hommage de toute notre province. Désigné par Laurier lui-même comme l'un de ceux en qui il avait mis tous ses espoirs, M. Mackenzie-King a été choisi alors que le souvenir du grand disparu planait sur nous, et nous l'avons tous acclamé dès l'instant qu'il a été fait chef. L'honorable M. Mackenzie-King est mon chef. Il possède ma confiance. J'ai foi en son étoile. Je le suivrai avec toute l'énergie dont je suis capable. Et je demande à tous mes compagnons d'armes de faire vaillamment et vigoureusement la lutte pour que demain M.Mackenzie-King soit le premier ministre du Canada.

## UNE PROFESSION DE FOI

C'est au chef du parti qu'il appartient de tracer un programme. Mais il ne me refusera pas le droit de faire ma profession de foi politique. Comme cette foi s'inspire des meilleures et des plus pures traditions libérales, je ne crains nullement de m'attirer une excommunication.

Mon premier article de foi est de proclamer que je suis libéral. Je ne sais si on le dit assez de nos jours. Je veux suivre les traditions et le libéralisme de Blake, de Mowat, de Laurier, de Mercier et de Gouin.

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à se maintenir au pouvoir que par des compromissions honteuses.

Notre plus grand effort sera de restaurer ce qui a été détruit.

Le devoir du prochain gouvernement sera de pratiquer la plus stricte économie, mettre un frein à nos dépenses. Il est inutile de parler tarif si avec cela on n'a pas l'intention de réduire les dépenses. C'est le premier devoir à accomplir. La guerre est finie depuis trois ans, et à la dernière session le gouvernement faisait voter des crédits considérables pour fins militaires, y compris la démobilisation. Il faudrait la nuit pour vous citer les extravagances semblables du gouvernement.

## LA DETTE DU PAYS

M. King attaque ensuite la dette du pays et montre quel changement s'est produit depuis que les tories ont pris le pouvoir. Il faut aujourd'hui pour payer nos intérêts seulement une somme presqu'égale à celle dont nous avions besoin pour administrer toutes les affaires du pays à une époque des plus prospères. Nous ne pouvons renier nos obligations; le faire serait dire que le Canada est dans la banqueroute. Nous paierons ce que nous devons et nous ferons honneur à notre dette.

Mais nous avons un autre fardeau : les chemins de fer que le gouvernement a achetés à un prix fabuleux, sans le consentement des représentants du peuple.

M. King dit ensuite que si nous devons juger le gouvernement par la façon dont il a administré les chemins de fer, il faut conclure qu'il est un piètre administrateur et qu'il est temps qu'il abandonne les rênes du pouvoir si nous voulons éviter au pays d'autres désastres.

M. Meighen veut faire du tarif la grande question, mais il ne pourra faire oublier son record, et c'est aussi sur cela que se fera la prochaine lutte. M. Meighen pose deux extrêmes: libre-échange ou protection, mais le parti libéral n'a jamais voulu du libre-échange en ce pays. La question en jeu dans cette élection c'est le record des deux grands partis en présence dans cette lutte: protection à outrance ou bien protection modérée pour donner au pays les revenus dont il a besoin.

Le gouvernement ne peut plonger les industries du pays dans le malaise qui résulterait du libre-échange, méthode réactionnaire. Il y a une différence entre les deux révisions dont on parle. M. Meighen veut réviser le tarif pour continuer sa protection des trusts et des combines, des monopoles et des mergers; nous la voulons pour le producteur et le consommateur tout à la fois.

L'histoire nous a toujours donné l'exemple de deux grandes forces opposées: l'une, la conservation égoïste, et l'autre, la libéralité. Mais si cette dernière est poussée à l'extrême, elle devient dangereuse.

Vous vous demandez pourquoi il y a peu ou point de législation constructive depuis la guerre. Voici la réponse.

## PLUS DE COALITIONS

Je crois que le Canada en a eu assez des coalitions ; il veut une fin aux coalitions. Il veut un gouvernement d'un seul esprit et d'un seul but ; non un gouvernement de groupe ou de classe comme quelques-uns le conseillent ; ni une autre tentative de gouvernement par de prétendus libéraux et conservateurs comme quelques-uns de nos amis tory dans leur désespoir le suggèrent déjà. Il veut un gouvernement qui lui donnera la stabilité ; il veut un gouvernement qui prônera l'unité. Ceci n'est possible qu'avec un gouvernement qui soit largement représentatif de toutes les parties et de toutes les classes du pays et qui a l'appui unanime d'hommes de pensée et de sentiment qui respectent les principes et les programmes qui seront appliqués. C'est un gouvernement de cette nature que le parti libéral a donné au Canada en 1896 et qu'il lui offre maintenant.

M. King analyse ensuite le résultat qu'il anticipe le soir de l'élection, dans tout le pays et il déclare que le parti libéral sera assez fort pour former un cabinet solide, composé d'hommes compétents qui ont fait leur preuve, sans le concours d'aucun autre groupe à la Chambre.

## SA CANDIDATURE

Il aborde ensuite la question de sa candidature. Il y a quelque temps, dit-il, on m'offrait la candidature dans le comté de Prince. Il y a deux ans, mes électeurs de l'Ile du Prince-Edouard m'offraient la nomination dans le comté de Prince et subséquemment m'élisaient pour les représenter à la Chambre. Ils sont venus de nouveau pensant que le chef du parti ne pouvait briguer les suffrages dans un comté qui le forcerait à se désintéresser du reste du Canada. Mais les électeurs du comté de North York, en plein coeur de la province d'Ontario, m'offraient aussi la nomination ; la situation était délicate mais il fallait faire un choix qui ne compromit pas les intérêts du parti. Mais je crois que la position d'un chef est au coeur de la lutte, sous le feu direct de l'ennemi pour mieux conduire la lutte. Avec mes collègues du comité libéral ma décision fut prise de faire la lutte sous le feu direct de l'ennemi, car c'est en Ontario que se fera la lutte, et c'est en plein coeur de cette province que je la conduirai. Le parti libéral est assez puissant pour braver toutes les tempêtes, et il n'y a qu'une place pour le chef : à la tête de ses hommes, dirigeant la bataille. Avec ce parti nous combattrons jusqu'au bout et avec ce parti nous vaincrons.

## L'HON. M. TASCHEREAU

Le premier ministre est heureux d'exprimer à l'hôte d'honneur l'admiration des libéraux de Québec. "Je suis venu, dit-il, applaudir aux succès remportés par ce vétéran de la politique canadienne.

Vingt-cinq années ! L'étape paraît longue lorsqu'on n'est qu'au seuil; mais un coup d'oeil rétrospectif fait voir comme elle a été tôt franchie. En jetant un regard sur les sillons que le temps a laissés, M. Lemieux peut se consoler de la fuite rapide des ans, tant sont merveilleux les progrès que le Canada a réalisés.

Québec et Saint-Roch, où pendant quarante ans Laurier a retrempé le libéralisme qu'il prêchait, Québec et Saint-Roch se réjouissent de votre vingt-cinquième anniversaire politique, M. Lemieux, et vous offrent l'hommage de leur confiance et de leurs souhaits.

Au chef du parti libéral, continue M.Taschereau, l'héritier d'un grand nom et des plus glorieuses traditions, j'apporte l'hommage de toute notre province. Désigné par Laurier lui-même comme l'un de ceux en qui il avait mis tous ses espoirs, M. Mackenzie-King a été choisi alors que le souvenir du grand disparu planait sur nous, et nous l'avons tous acclamé dès l'instant qu'il a été fait chef. L'honorable M. Mackenzie-King est mon chef. Il possède ma confiance. J'ai foi en son étoile. Je le suivrai avec toute l'énergie dont je suis capable. Et je demande à tous mes compagnons d'armes de faire vaillamment et vigoureusement la lutte pour que demain M.Mackenzie-King soit le premier ministre du Canada.

## UNE PROFESSION DE FOI

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vateur sera attribuée,dans l'histoire, la lourde faute d'avoir, le jour où il a fondé le gouvernement unioniste, porté la première atteinte à notre régime politique. Il meurt aujourd'hui d'avoir commis cette irréparable faute.

Le libéralisme que je professe a pour principe de respecter toutes les races, toutes les croyances et toutes les nationalités qui composent le Canada. C'est celui qui comprend que, dans un pays mixte tel que le nôtre, la fusion des divers éléments ethniques en une seule et même race est chose impossible, et qu'il faut au contraire que tous ces éléments vivent ensemble ,sur un pied d'égalité et dans un respect mutuel, pour que de cette diversité même surgisse un peuple fort et vigoureux des meilleures caractéristiques que chacun des éléments aura fournies et conservées intégralement.

Mon libéralisme est, par conséquent, celui qui donnera à la langue française droit de cité, et n'ostracisera pas la province de Québec parce que les nôtres veulent parler la langue de leurs mères et pratiquer la religion de leurs pères. Il n'ameutera pas les autres provinces contre nous au cri de "No French domination!"

La doctrine libérale, telle que je la conçois, comporte bien d'autres aspects.

## PRINCIPES IMMUABLES

A mon sens, le libéralisme doit reposer sur autre chose que sur une question de tarif, parce qu'un parti pour vivre et prospérer doit se baser sur des principes immuables, et que le tarif, même dans ses applications les plus larges, varie nécessairement selon les circonstances.

Est-ce au moment où notre industrie subit la plus grande crise qu'ait connue la génération actuelle, où nos voisins, et même la mère-patrie, se protègent contre nous et nos produits, que nous allons abattre toutes les barrières et subir la concurrence étrangère?

Mon libéralisme veut un tarif qui protège le consommateur, mais un tarif qui protège également nos industries—ce qui n'est pas incompatible, tant s'en faut, et qui peut fort bien se réaliser sous l'empire d'un tarif de revenu, tel que le comprenait sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mais il est illogique, à mon sens, de faire un article de foi de l'invariabilité d'une chose aussi variable que le tarif qui, tout comme le commerce, l'industrie et la finance, subit des fluctuations indépendantes de la volonté humaine.

N'est-ce pas le premier devoir de ceux qui dirigent la politique canadienne de plier le tarif aux circonstances actuelles, de manière que l'industrie et l'agriculture, travaillant de concert, se prêtent le concours mutuel qui leur est indispensable pour traverser la crise au milieu de laquelle le monde entier se débat?

N'entre-t-il pas dans l'esprit et dans les traditions du libéralisme de répondre avant tout aux besoins du pays, et de faire face à la situation présente par le seul moyen qui s'offre, en attendant que l'état idéal soit rendu possible grâce à un changement de conditions et à la coopération de toutes les nations?

Je ne sache pas que ce soit abandonner un seul de nos principes politiques que de les conformer aux exigences de l'époque tourmentée que nous vivons.

Le libéralisme que je professe ne se limite donc pas à une vaine discussion d'un tarif qui dépend des conditions dans lesquelles se trouve un pays. Il a des principes qu'il respecte et met en pratique. Il se refuse, par exemple, à gouverner le peuple par des arrêtés-en-conseil. Il veut que les Chambres soient le tribunal suprême où toutes les mesures se discutent et se décident.

Enfin, un libéral ne saurait accepter cette désastreuse politique de chemins de fer et de marine marchande à laquelle le gouvernement Meighen a attaché son nom Cette folle et triste aventure de la régie de l'Etat nous conduit à l'abîme, si nous n'y mettons pas fin. Notre pays n'a pas les moyens de payer près de $150,000,000 par année pour combler les déficits de nos chemins de fer. C'est à courte échéance la ruine totale de notre crédit, avec des conséquences que personne n'ose envisager.

## LE ROLE DE QUEBEC

M. King n'ignore pas le fardeau accablant qu'il aura à porter au lendemain du triomphe qui l'attend.

Quand il en fera l'inventaire, qu'il se rappelle de faire entrer dans son actif, à sa pleine valeur, l'apport que constitue pour le Canada la vieille province de Québec, avec sa fidélité aux meilleures traditions canadiennes, sa stabilité, son goût du travail, sa droiture et sa franchise.

Aucun parti ne peut gouverner sans elle.

Elle continue d'être la clef de voûte de la Confédération. Elle ne se laisse pas entraîner par tout vent qui passe. Elle a une manière à elle de reléguer les agitateurs et les prétendus novateurs, et elle sait, au besoin, faire bloc.

Si le parti conservateur y est anéanti aujourd'hui, c'est qu'il a voulu l'ignorer et se passer de son concours. C'est qu'il a méconnu ses idéals et ses aspirations. C'est qu'il lui a refusé de penser et d'agir suivant sa mentalité et ses traditions. Aussi, d'un château-fort conservateur est-elle devenue une forteresse libérale inexpugnable.

## LA TACHE A ACCOMPLIR

Fardeau accablant, ai-je dit, mais notre chef sera à la hauteur de sa tâche.

Rigoureuse économie dans l'administration publique et dans le service civil, sans livrer nos vieux employés et nos ministères à la merci de prétendus experts américains; fin aux dépenses militaires; juste répartition des impôts pour ne pas paralyser les industries et le commerce, non plus que l'effort individuel; tarif qui, tout en aidant le consommateur et l'agriculteur, favorisera nos industries et leur permettra de grandir; union de toutes les races et respect de toutes les croyances; gouvernement par toutes les classes et non par une seule; transport des grains de l'ouest par nos voies canadiennes; respect absolu de la constitution et de l'autonomie provinciale; coopération harmonieuse entre les provinces dans les domaines qui leur sont communs; loi électorale juste et équitable pour remplacer la loi scélérate qui nous gouverne; — autant de problèmes que M. King saura résoudre avec l'aide de ses collaborateurs.

## VERS SIR LOMER GOUIN

Dans notre province, il y a une pléiade d'hommes politiques qui apporteront à M. King un précieux concours.

Mais, en ce moment,les yeux sont tournés vers un autre collaborateur que je ne nommerai pas, pour ne pas blesser sa modestie. Je me contenterai de rappeler ce qu'il a fait pour mieux laisser prévoir ce qu'il est en état de faire.

Pendant quinze ans, il a dirigé la province de Québec avec un succès sans précédant dans les annales politiques. Il a attaché son nom à tous les progrès accomplis. Aucun domaine n'a échappé à sa solitude. Lorsque, laboureur non pas épuisé, mais satisfait de sa moisson, il a regagné son foyer, il n'y eut qu'une voix pour lui demander de se jeter dans une arène plus vaste, et pour lui dire qu'il n'avait pas le droit de refuser à son pays l'intelligence et l'activité qu'il avait mises au service de sa province.

Allié à celui de M. King et de ses populaires lieutenants, son nom serait un gage de victoire écrasante. Les autres provinces y verraient une garantie additionnelle de stabilité et de sagesse dans la nouvelle direction politique du pays, et son entrée en lice vaudrait au parti libéral de nombreuses et précieuses adhésions.

## UNE NOUVELLE FLORAISON

Il y a dix ans, Laurier perdit le pouvoir, grâce à la façon dont on calomnia sa politique tarifaire dans Ontario, et dont on diffama dans Québec sa politique navale, qu'il préconisait en vue de la guerre mondiale dont il avait le pressentiment.

Depuis lors, toute une époque de l'histoire s'est écrite et la dernière page est fermée.

Pendant ces dix années d'épreuves, le vieux chêne libéral a subi de rudes tempêtes. Plusieurs de

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ses feuilles se sont détachées et sont tombées dans un sol d'où on ne se relève pas. Mais l'arbre est resté fort et vigoureux, et aujourd'hui, il annonce une nouvelle floraison.

J'ai l'espoir que ce moment d'arrêt dans sa croissance n'aura fait que donner plus de vigueur aux rameaux, et que bientôt ces rameaux couvriront un Canada heureux et prospère, qui viendra chercher sous leur ombre la paix intérieure, la foi en l'avenir et l'harmonie entre ses fils — autant d'éléments indispensables pour atteindre les destinées que lui réserve une généreuse Providence.

## M. ERNEST LAPOINTE

Ce soir, dit le député de Québec-Est, la grande famille libérale de la province est en fête. Elle célèbre un glorieux jubilé. Nous sommes venus de partout rendre un hommage éclatant aux états de service, au talent, au courage et à la loyauté d'un homme qui a fait honneur à ses amis, à sa province et à son pays. Depuis vingt-cinq (25) ans Rodolphe Lemieux défend au Parlement Canadien toutes les causes démocratiques et populaires. La manifestation de ce soir prouve que le libéralisme n'est pas ingrat, qu'il sait se souvenir et qu'il aime ceux qui l'ont aimé.

Comme les guerriers antiques, Lemieux a toujours combattu au premier rang, supportant les coups et payant généreusement de sa personne. Ce n'est jamais de loin qu'il dirigeait ses batailles.

M. le Président, vous avez loué justement les rares qualités de l'écrivain, du journaliste, de l'orateur brillant, possédant une élévation d'esprit et une érudition qui lui ont permis de discuter, avec supériorité, toutes les questions qui ont passionné et tourmenté le dernier quart de siècle, ajoutant toujours une grâce persuasive aux dialectiques les plus impérieuses.

Permettez-moi simplement de rendre témoignage au dévouement, à la fidélité et à l'inaltérable loyauté de l'ami et du compagnon d'armes. Ceux qui ne sont venus à la politique que dans ces dernières années, ceux qui ont vécu trop loin de certains événements pour les avoir vus en pleine lumière, ne savent pas, ne sauront jamais peut-être toute la signification de mes paroles. Ami intime et disciple de Laurier, M. Lemieux a partagé ses joies et ses sacrifices, restant toujours fidèle, dans la mauvaise fortune, plus encore que dans la bonne, à l'homme d'Etat, au chef vénéré dont la grande figure se dessine déjà à l'horizon de l'histoire comme la plus belle de cette constellation glorieuse dont notre pays est justement fier.

## OEUVRE A CONTINUER

Messieurs, l'oeuvre de Lemieux n'est point achevée. Le parti libéral, la Province de Québec, le Canada ont encore besoin de lui. Nous, qui avons été ses collègues, qui avons lutté avec lui sous le même drapeau, animés de la même foi et poursuivant le même idéal, nous avons l'espoir de continuer avec lui la tâche commune, et de réaliser, avec le puissant concours d'adhésion précieuse, comme celle que vous nous avez promise, M. le Président, l'union fraternelle de toutes les forces vives du libéralisme pour le relèvement et la grandeur de notre commune patrie. Le devoir de l'heure présente est de préparer le pays au grand travail de sa reconstitution et de son renouvellement.

Il y a un peu plus d'un siècle, Napoléon Bonaparte lançait, aux chefs du Directoire, dans le jardin des Tuileries; en présence du peuple et de l'armée, une imprécation fameuse qui a retenti à travers l'histoire: "Qu'avez-vous fait de la France?" Ne croyez-vous pas que nous aurions le droit d'adresser une semblable apostrophe aux chefs du gouvernement qui croule aujourd'hui sous le poids du mépris et de l'indignation populaire. "Qu'avez-vous fait du Canada?"

Laurier leur avait laissé une nation prospère, un peuple heureux, un pays où régnait l'union, l'harmonie et la paix sociale. Qu'ont-ils fait de ce pays? Non seulement leur politique extravagante et désastreuse y a semé la ruine et les difficultés économiques et financières, mais ils ont fomenté les haines et les discordes, soulevant d'abord province contre province, race contre race, plus tard ameutant les classes les unes contre les autres, et divisant en fragments multiples le grand tout que Laurier avait unifié. Le grand Canadien avait consacré quarante années de sa vie, son beau talent et toutes ses énergies à édifier ce grand oeuvre national. Il n'a fallu que quelques années du régime Tory pour le détruire. Il faudrait cesser de parler de justice en ce bas monde si les sinistres auteurs de cette catastrophe restaient impunis.

## RECONCILIER LA NATION

Il va falloir reconcilier la nation canadienne.

Aux éléments épars de cette nation, divisés, dispersés, brisés de toutes manières, un chef doit parler, pouvant donner à leurs énergies leurs aspirations et leur enthousiasme une idée commune et l'unité d'un espoir sacré. Le chef, vous venez de l'entendre, et l'idée qu'il proclame est la grande idée libérale qui nous a donné le gouvernement responsable et a fait triompher en ce pays les principes éternels de la justice et de la liberté.

Nos adversaires sont pris de panique et leur détresse est sans dignité. Certes l'enfant débile que M. Meighen a présenté hier au pays, après un labeur pénible, n'a guère l'apparence d'un rédempteur! Il n'est pas né viable. Cette panique est la cause des rumeurs absurdes que les journalistes ministériels répandent, des ballons d'essai contenant dans leur nacelle des coalitions diverses imaginées afin de tirer les mains de M. Meighen de l'abîme qui les attend.

Le règne des compromissions abjectes des unions louches, des intrigues de couloirs, des alliances illégitimes et contre nature est à jamais terminé et disparaîtra ignominieusement de la vie politique canadienne avec le gouvernement national-libéral-conservateur.

Nous sommes les héritiers et les descendants politiques de Lafontaine, de Dorion, de McKenzie et de Laurier. Nous sommes des libéraux, et nous resterons des libéraux. C'est avec fierté que nous déploierons nos couleurs au grand ciel de la patrie, et cet étendard glorieux est le seul que nous arborons. Les tactiques de Sir Robert Borden et de l'hon. Arthur Meighen n'ont aucun attrait pour nous. Nous ne changerons pas de nom, de costume et de politique suivant les circonstances. Le parti libéral fait appel à tous les Canadiens, sans distinction de race, de croyance, de classe ou d'occupation.

La fin d'un gouvernement est le bien-être et l'avancement de toute la société et de tous les citoyens, non pas celui d'aucune classe privilégiée. Une nation n'est pas une simple aggrégation de classes différentes, cherchant à faire prévaloir leurs intérêts respectifs. C'est un grand tout ayant ses racines dans le passé et étendant vers l'avenir ses rameaux puissants.

Le libéralisme désire établir en ce pays un gouvernement pour tout le peuple et par tout le peuple. Nous sommes opposés au gouvernement de classe que le régime Tory a maintenu en ce pays. Mais nous sommes aussi opposés à tout autre gouvernemetnt de classe qu'une autre organisation voudrait établir.

Je soumets au peuple canadien comme motto de la présente campagne: "Pas de domination de classe, qu'elle vienne de la droite ou de la gauche". "No class rule either from the right or from the left".

## L'HON. CHARLES MURPHY

Le député de Russell dit qu'il connaît M. Lemieux depuis plus d'un quart de siècle et qu'il a toujours vu le lieutenant de Laurier sur la brèche, prêt à défendre le parti libéral. Il est heureux d'assister à ce banquet pour rendre à son ami de toujours, un témoignage sincère d'estime et d'amitié.

Il parle aussi un peu de l'administration de sir Robert Borden et de celle de l'hon. M. Meighen. "Le premier ministre, dit-il, veut faire de la question du tarif, son principal cheval de bataille pour la lut-

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te qui va s'engager. Sur la question du tarif comme sur les autres, le parti libéral est prêt à rencontrer le gouvernement actuel qui depuis dix ans, conduit le pays à la ruine."

Il termine en disant qu'il est temps que le peuple du Canada se choisisse une administration qui lui convienne.

## L'HON. JACQUES BUREAU

L'honorable Jacques Bureau, de Trois-Rivières, que la foule réclame, dit que son intention n'était pas de faire un discours, mais tout simplement de venir applaudir son ami M. Lemieux, et son chef, M. King. Il répond à un article que publiait récemment un journal anglais de cette ville et dans lequel il était dit qu'il ne se présenterait plus dans Trois-Rivières. "Si ce journal est représenté ici, ce soir, dit-il, je veux qu'il publie ouvertement que je n'ai jamais manifesté le désir de laisser mon comté et qu'aux prochaines élections je serai encore là, prêt à lutter et à vaincre celui que l'hon. Meighen a appelé pour un jour à faire partie de son cabinet. Les vieux ne sont pas des déserteurs, mais ce sont des combattants que la lutte aiguillonne."

Le député de Trois-Rivières fait ensuite l'éloge de son ami, M. Lemieux, et dit qu'il espère pendant de nombreuses années encore l'aider sur le parquet de la Chambre à combattre les bons combats de la cause libérale, la cause du peuple.

## M. EMERY PHANEUF

La Jeunesse Libérale vous est reconnaissante, dit M. Phaneuf, de ce que vous lui faites ce soir, l'honneur de répondre à la santé des dames.

Certes, Monsieur le Président, vous admettrez avec moi qu'il appartenait à la Jeunesse Libérale, de répondre à leur santé.

En effet, je ne puis facilement séparer de la femme cette idée de la jeunesse qu'elle incorpore si bien, pas plus que vous et moi ne pourrions tenir cette jeunesse loin de la femme.

"Autre temps, autres moeurs". Il semble que les politiciens sentant que tout vieillissait avec eux dans la vie politique, croyant peut-être que les principes perdaient de leur valeur et de leur véracité avec les ans, ont voulu un beau jour rajeunir et régénérer la politique. A ces fins ils ont donné le droit de voter aux femmes, et de suite cet essor de jeunesse s'immisçant dans notre vie politique, a donné à nos luttes un cachet nouveau, et qui n'est pas de nature à déplaire aux politiciens.

Le droit de vote aux femmes leur a donné de l'intérêt à la chose publique; et grâce à cet intérêt, il vous échoit monsieur le président de présider à la plus belle assemblée mixte que nous ayons jamais vue à Montréal. Vous présidez à une assemblée à laquelle il ne manque rien de ce qui pouvait l'enjoliver.

Lorsque je regarde autour de cette salle, et que je vois la multitude de dames qui s'y trouvent, lorsque miroitent devant mes yeux les mille couleurs qui font l'ornementation de leurs costumes, il me semble, monsieur le président, voir une immense couronne de fleurs, couronne remuante et vivante, couronne de victoire et qui présage bien pour la lutte où le parti libéral va bientôt s'engager. De même que la présence des dames ce soir couronne le succès de notre assemblée, leur présence au poll aux prochaines élections couronnera le succès du parti libéral.

La femme canadienne-française, dans une lutte récente, pour ne pas nommer Yamaska, a montré qu'elle savait se servir de l'arme puissante que le droit de vote lui a mise en mains. La femme canadienne tout court, vous le prouvera encore une fois demain, monsieur le président, quand dans toute l'étendue du pays elle donnera courageusement main forte au parti libéral pour chasser du gouvernement les dilapidateurs du Trésor public, et réinstaller au pouvoir les continuateurs des vieux principes libéraux, successeurs de sir Wilfrid Laurier.

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# LEMIEUX FAVORS SHAUGHNESSY PLAN AS SOLUTION OF NATIONAL RAILWAYS PROBLEM; KING WILL CONTEST YORK

## Federal Member for Gaspe is Acclaimed by Liberal Leaders at Montreal---Sir Lomer Gouin Lauds Hon. Mr. King

## PREMIER TASCHEREAU PLEADS FOR AN ALLIANCE OF PARTY CHIEFTAINS

Montreal, September 23—Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Opposition, will be a candidate in North York, Ontario, in the fo thcoming general Federal elections. This was the declaration made by the Liberal leader at the Mount Royal Arena here last night when the 25th anniversary of the entry of Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux into the House of Commons was celebrated at a banquet at which some 2,000 guests were present and the occasion was taken to launch the Liberal campaign in this Province.

Features of the speeches were the declarations by Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. Mr. Lemieux and Premier Taschereau of the need for protection in Canada and they also urged a strong plea for rigid economy to Hon. Mr. King should he become Prime Minister as a result of the elections.

Premier Taschereau also made a plea for an alliance between Hon. Mr. King and Sir Lomer Gouin in the Federal field, claiming that such an alliance would make victiory certain and give confidence throughout the country.

Hon. Mr. Lemieux made a definite declaration of belief in the Shaughnessy proposal for the solution of the Canadian railway problem.

**Answers Duty Call**

Hon. Mr. King read a letter dated to-day which he had sent to Dr. John McNeil, of Summerside, P.E.I., in which he stated that conjointly with the National Liberal organization committee he had come to the conclusion that, everything considered, the national interests of the party would be best served by the identification of his candidature with the province of Ontario. He added that he felt that "my duty to the party permits me no other alternative than to allow my name to remain in nomination as that of the liberal candidate for North York. Sir Lomer Gouin painted a dark picture of the state of the country, but withal called for confidence. He believed that salvation would come through rulers of tried worth, leaders of career. It is now a question of salvation or of catastrophe, said he. The problems of the national railways must be dealt with, there must be retrenchment, and serious thought must be given to the development of the country by a wise and sane immigration policy.

**Wants Laurier Tariff**

"As to tariff," added Sir Lomer Gouin, "whether the Liberal party gives us a tariff for revenue or no matter what it is called, let it be a tariff such as that of Laurier."

The tribute which Sir Lomer Gouin paid the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux was so deeply tinged with feeling as to show that Sir Lomer recalled the many years of personal association, deep friendship and partnership in law with Mr. Lemieux. Nor did the ex-premier mince in his expressions of appreciation of the part which Mr. Lemieux has played in public life for 25 years.

This banquet, said Sir Lomer, will be an epoch in the history of our party because of the man we are honoring and of the exceptional circumstances with which we are faced.

"I greet the leader of the Liberal party," said Sir Lomer, turning to Mr. King. "I greet, too, Premier Taschereau who comed also to express the admiration of our friend, Mr. Lemieux." Sir Lomer touched briefly on Mr. Lemieux's career, and turned to affairs of the day.

**Hour Is Solemn**

"We are going through a solemn hour," continued Sir Lomer. "When this fete was decided there had been a hope of general elections, but no one expected that they would come so soon. To-morrow in all the country will commence the battle which will mean the defeat of the Government and perhaps the salvation of Canada. A wave of evil is over our country. Never were our industrial, financial, commercial conditions so troubled. The crisis of unemployed is on, two hundred thousand men are without work and the number of the unemployed will greatly increase this winter. Our debt is $2,300,000,000, and if you will add all obligations, direct and indirect, the total will reach three billions, and the budget for the year is $600,000,000. The revenue of the country is falling in alarming proportions. Our commerce has fallen off greatly, and to add to the troubles of race, there threaten to be added troubles of class. We are in chaos, and how will we come out?

"There is talk of advisors, but there is no need of advisors but of rulers and to such rulers the people of Canada are turning, and await but the occasion to choose them, and I am sure that they will give to Canada the Government that it has need of

**Need Not Despair**

"Despite all the evil, we must not despair," went on Sir Lomer. "We are a young country. We have a vast and rich country, and means of meeting difficulties, and, thank God, with the aid of all men of good will we will pass tbrough this day as through other difficult days in the past."

Sir Lomer went back to the days immediately before the general elections of 1896. Then there had been troublous times, and civil war had even threatened, men were without work, and there was strife of race.

We do not need to be prophets to say that history will repeat. In a few weeks the successor of Laurier, the leader of the Liberal party, Mr. King, will take up the work of Laurier, and will continue it and finish it. The task will be heavy.

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It is no use to hide that fact. It is clear. We must work to pay our debt. We must find work for our workmen, we must encourage our farmers, and find markets for their products. We must bring a new industrial and commercial prosperity. We must think, and think seriously. It is a question of salvation or catastrophe.

**Must Cut Expenses**

"We must find means to cut down expenses to the strict needs of administration. It is necessary—and I say it in the presence of our leaders—that we occupy ourselves with the problem of the National Railways. We must see that the disastrous deficits which they produce each year, and which we must pay, shall disappear. We must as much as possible diminisb the burden of taxation, so that it will not bear so heavily on the people."

Sir Lomer then made his tariff statement, namely, that no matter what it may be called, it be a Laurier tariff.

"Let it be such that the people from one end of the country to the other will find in it prosperity. Who can give us this policy except the Liberal party, the successor of Laurie and the leaders of the party who developed this policy under the inspiration of our great chiefs. It is necessary to continue the policy of the departed."

**Hon. Mr. Lemieux**

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux after reviewing his career in Parliament with particular reference to the defeat of the Liberal Party in 1911, spoke of conditions as at present and said that while the defeat of the present government would be an easy matter, the work of restoring the country with its enormous national debt, its railway problem, the economic crisis and the unemployment problem to face would be nearly a super-human task.

The financial question was one of the most important, and there was only one way to meet it, namely, by practising the most implacable economy in the budget. By reducing expenses to the minimum the burden of taxation would be gradually lightened and the Canadian dollar would find its normal course. Interest payments, expense of administration and debts of honor contracted during the war could not be evaded but all other expenses should be pitilessly cut to the bone or suppressed. The militia, the navy, public works should be watched most carefully by the Minister of Finance.

**Endorses Shaughnessy Plan**

In regard to the nationalization of the Grand Trunk system, Hon. Mr. Lemieux said that the proposal of Lord Shaughnessy seemed to him the only possible solution with some revision. Though the cry of monopoly might be raised, he preferred monopoly to bankruptcy.

Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen had, he said, chosen the ground on what the coming elections should be fought. According to the Premier the Liberal party would, if returned to power, wipe out the tariff. Mr. Lemieux pointed out that the Liberal party had never adopted free trade as a part of its programme. The present time was one least of all when Canada could demolish her tariff wall when the United States Congress had just erected one.

**Against Class Government**

The whole tariff question rested on the point to what degree any industry needed protection in order to prosper, and to what degree, on the other hand, it needed no protection in order to benefit by the spur of competition. The greatest mistake of all would be in a country as vast as ours, to make laws only for the benefit of a group, of a class. On the contrary, all was needed was to harmonize, to coordinate the interests of the West and the East. Short, however, of agreeing to absorption by the United States, we owed to our industries a measure of reasonable protection.

Mr. Lemieux then pronounced an eulogy of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, whom, he said he was particularly happy to greet. "He is the inheritor of a fine name—that of an ancestor of Canadian Liberalism. He possesses great qualities—he is young, industrious and gifted with a high degree of eloquence. Faithful to the Liberal cause in good and evil fortune, we have been happy to see him scale the heights. Our hopes in him have not been deceived. At this difficult turning in our history I do not believe I am deceiving myself in affirming that our leader will be on a par with his task when he takes over the very great responsibility of governing Canada."

**Premier Taschereau**

Before proposing the toast of Canada and the Liberal party — the two go very happily together since it is to the Liberal party that Canada looks for the recovery of her former vigor—I want on behalf of the Liberals of the Ancient Capital, in whose name I may be permitted to speak, to express to our guest of honor the admiration we have for his personality, his abilities and great qualities. I am glad to voice here the sentiments of these friends and to be able to take part in this Liberal celebration which marks, not indeed the crowning of his career, but a glorious anniversary and a step towards fresh triumphs. I am here to applaud the success achieved by this veteran of Canadian politics and to wish him the strength to devote for many years yet to come his energy and gifts to the grand cause we serve, the one that unites us all to-night as members of the same family.

Twenty-five years! The stage looks long at the outset; but looking back it seems soon past. Glancing over the prints left on the sands of time, Mr. Lemieux can console himself for the rapid flight of the years with the marvelous progress made by Canada. Intimate and confidential friend and assistant of Laurier, Mr. Lemieux has had his part in all the great events of the past quarter of a century. He has in large measure directed them. A Liberal, and a liberal without qualifying epithets—that is one of his distinctions—he has continued the traditions which created our party, a party which has no need to borrow other people's titles in the vain attempt to regild its shield and recover popularity.

Quebec and St. Roch, where for forty years Laurier found inspiration and strength for the Liberalism which he preached, congratulate you, Mr. Lemieux, on your twenty-fifty political anniversary, and present you with the assurance of their confidence and best wishes.

**A Soldier Who Will Follow His Leader**

To the leader of the Liberal party, the heir of a great name and noble traditions, I bring the homage of our province. Pointed out by Laurier himself as one of those in whom he placed his hopes, Mr. Mackenzie King was chosen whilst the remembrance of the great departed still hovered about us and we unanimously acclaimed him from the moment he was elected to be our leader. He has since shown himself worthy of the position entrusted to him. A Conservative majority reduced from 70 to 20, and bye-elections turned to Liberal triumphs, proved the skill and success of Mr. King's guidance.

In the administration of our province a task has been imposed upon me of which I endeavor to acquit myself to the best of my ability. But, in the federal field, I am but a private soldier, the Honorable W. Mackenzie King is my commander. In him I have every confidence. I have faith in his star. I will follow him to the utmost of my power. And I call on all my fellow-soldiers to conduct so valiantly the fight that to-morrow Mr. Mackenzie King may be Prime Minister of Canada.

**A Profession of Faith**

It is for the leader of the party to lay out the programme, but I feel sure he will not refuse me permission to make my political profession of faith. As that faith draws its inspiration from the best and purest of the Liberal traditions, I do not fear incurring any excommunication.

The first article of my faith is the declaration that I am a liberal. Perhaps we do not insist enough upon it nowadays. I would follow the Liberal traditions of Blake, Mowat, Laurier, Mercier and Gouin.

From the Atlanti to the Pacific

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there is and there ought to be only a single Libera . party, as in eed I could wish there should be only one Conservative party. Break up these parties, confuse their lines of separation, and the constitutional system becomes a mere seesaw where every best movement is paralyzed. History will lay to the charge of the Conservative party the grievous fault of having aimed the first blow at our political system by founding the Unionist Government. It is moribund to-day from the effects of this irreparable fault. The groups springing up everywhere, animated by no political traditions, knowing no discipline, and heeding no motives but local interest and immediate advantage, are the natural children of the ill-assorted unions brought about of late at Ottawa.

The Liberalism that I profess holds for a principle the respect of all the races, beliefs and nationalities that go to make up Canada. It recognizes that, with a mixed population like ours, the fusion of the various ethnic elements into one new race is an impossibility, and that it is necessary that these elements should live together on a footing of equality and mutual respect, so that from such diversity there may arise a strong and vigorous people possessed of the best characteristics which each of the constituents have preserved intact.

My Liberalism, therefore covers with its protection the use of the French tongue and will not condemn the people of Quebec to isolation for speaking the language and practising the religion of their forbears. It will not incite the other Province against Quebec with the cry of "No French domination!"

**Involves Many Principles**

The Liberal creed, as I conceive it, involves many other prin iples.

In my opinion Liberalism cannot be said to be based on such a question as the tariff, because a Party to live and prosper must repose on permanent principles, and the tariff even in its widest considerations necessarily varies according to circumstances.

How can a party that aims at including all the citizens of the country without their separating into groups, commit itself to a definite and permanent tariff, especially at the end of a war which has upset the whole of our social and financial world, which has changed economic conditions and modified our commercial relations with foreign countries.

It is at a time when our industries are going through a crisis such as this generation has never known before, when our neighbors and even the Mother Country are having recourse to protection against our products, when the mark is only worth a half-penny here and the European exchange is exceptionally favorable to us, that we ought to throw down all barriers and invite all foreign competition?

My liberalism calls for a tariff which protects the consumer indeed, but also our industries. These results are by no means incompatible, but may well be obtained by a tariff for revenue, such as was professed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In my opinion, however, it is illogical to set up as an article of faith that a thing so variable as the tariff can never be changed, when like commerce, industry and finance, it necessarily must undergo fluctuations quite independent of any human will.

May I say further on this subject that we ought to act with extreme prudence.

It may be that for many years to come the tariffs of foreign countries will close their markets to our products both manufactured and agricultural. We must then become, in a far larger measure, the consumers of our own goods. Now the agricultural interests cannot prosper, cannot survive without great centres to receive and distribute their products. Our towns, on the other hand, cannot increase and support their work people unless the rural folks buy their manufactured goods. Is it not then the first duty of those who direct Canadian policies to mould the tariff according to actual conditions, so that industry and agriculture—working hand in hand—may lend each other that mutual help which is indispensable to enable them to tide over the crisis in which the whole world is struggling.

Is it not of the essence and within all the traditions of Liberalism to respond before all else to the needs of the country, and to meet any actual situation arising by whatever means offer, until a more ideal state of affairs is rendered possible by changed conditions and the co-operation of other nations.

I am well aware that I am touching now upon one of the most thorny questions in our political programme. I know that our Chiefs in the federal arena will be called on to devote to it their intelligence and their devotion, perhaps even to the extent of some humility when recalling former days and youthful orations, yet I do not see that there will be any forsaking of our political principles in adopting them to the exigences of the troubled period through which we are now passing.

The Liberalism that I profess is not then confined to a vain discussion of a tariff, which must depend upon the conditions in which the country is placed. It holds by principles in which it believes and which it puts in practice. It will not, for example, tolerate the government of the people by orders in council. It demands that Parliament be the supreme tribunal where all measures are to be discussed and decided. If the war with all its attendant horrors had not called forth those feelings of unresting fatalism which came over use during those four years of bloodshed, I believe that our people would have risen against the bolshevist autocracy of Ottawa. We were ruled, taxed and imprisoned by arbitrary orders in council. My Liberalism is opposed to such form of government. I see in it an odious contradiction of liberal principles that neither time nor circumstances can warrant.

Again no Liberal can approve the disastrous policy with regard to the railways and merchant marine fathered by the Meighen Government. I have confidence in the future of my country, and in its immense natural resources. The 20th Century will be Canada's as predicted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and in three quarters of a century it will support a population equal to that of the United States. But this mad adventure of State monopolies will lead us to the abyss, if we do not stay it. Our country cannot afford to pay $150,000,000 a year to meet the deficits on our railways. It means in the near future the total ruin of our credit with consequences which no one cares to contemplate.

**The Role of the Province of Quebec**

Mr. King is not unmindful of the crushing burden which he will be called on to support on the morrow of his coming triumph. The finances in utter confusion, a railways policy that cannot be mended, the problem of the soldiers, our relations with the mother country which Mr. Meighen has only complicated, the re-establishment of union between the various provinces of Canada, these will form but a part of the fatal inheritance that Mr. King will be called on to liqu date before the close of this year.

When he comes to make out his inventory, he will not forget, I hope, to enter among his assets and at its real value to Canada this venerably province of Quebec, with its fidelite to the best Canadian traditions, its stability, zeal for work, its uprightness and straightforwardness.

No party can govern without it.

It is still the keystone of the Confederation Arch. It is not blown hither and thither by every passing wind. It has its own way of disposing of agitators and quack innovators, and on occasion it can act solidly.

If the Conservative Party has ceased to exist here, it is because it tried to ignore us and dispense with our support. It misunderstood our ideals and aspirations. It denied our province the right to think and act according to its own ideas and traditions. Thus from a Conservative castle, Quebec has become an unassailable Liberal fortress.

**The Work To Be Done.**

A crushing burden I have called it, but our Chief will be equal to the task.

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Strict economy in the public administration and in the civil service, —without, however, handing over our departments with their old employees to the mercy of quacks from the United States; a stop put to the military expenditures; a fair division of taxation so as not to check industry and commerce or paralyze individual effort; a tariff which, whilst benefitting both consumers and agriculturists, will protect our industries and promote their growth; the union of all races and the respect of all creeds; government by all classes and not by one alone; the transportation of the grain from the West over Canadian routes; an inviolable respect for the constitution and the autonomy of the provinces; harmonious co-operation between the provinces in the fields which are common to them; a just and equitable electoral law to replace the infamous by which we are now ruled; all these are problems calling for their solution by Mr. King and those assisting him.

**Sir Lomer Gouin's Assistance.**

In our Province there is a galaxy of politicians who can give precious aid to Mr. King.

But just now all eyes are turned to one whom I will not name, for ear of offending his retiring disposition. I will only recall his accomplishments the better to show what can be expected of him.

For fifteen years he guided the Province of Quebec with a success unprecedented in our political annals. His name is attached to all the progress accomplished. He left no field uncared for. When still in his prime, but regarding his abundant harvest, he decided to seek retirement, a universal request was made to him to enter upon a larger scene of action and it was pointed out that he could not rightfully withhold from the service of his country the ability and activity which he had placed at the disposition of his Province.

In alliance with Mr. King and his popular lieutenants, his name would be a gage of overwhelming victory. The other Provinces would see in it an additional guarantee of stability and prudence in the conduct of the country's policy, and his entry into the lists would bring many and most valuable adherents to the Liberal party.

**A Second Spring of the Liberal Party**

Ten years ago Laurier fell from power, thanks to the manner in which his tariff policy was traduced in Ontario, whilst in Quebec they defamed his naval policy put forward in view of the world war which he foresaw. Since then a whole epoch of history has been written, and the last page is finished.

During these ten years of trial, the venerable Liberal oak has suffered cruel storms. Many of its leaves are gone buried in the earth for long repose.

But the tree still stands great and strong and to-day it puts forth new foliage.

I have a certain hope that the momentary arrest of its growth will but have given greater vigour to its branches, and that these will soon spread over a happy and prosperous Canada finding in their shade domestic peace, faith in the future and concord amongst its sons—all indispensable for the attainment of the high destines to which it is called by a benevolent Providence.

**Ernest Lapointe, M.P.**

Ernest Lapointe, who was introduced by Sir Lomer Gouin, referred to the long service of Mr. Lemieux in public life, and traced his long and interesting career in Federal politics. Mr. Lemieux had struggled nobly for popular liberties, said Mr. Lapointe, in expressing the hope that his old friend would continue long in the fight.

"Mr. Lemieux had been an able lieutenant to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the reconstruction of public policies after his return to power in 1896. Laurier had worked for forty years to build up a prosperous country and his life work had been brought to nought by the conduct of the present Government during the past few years." Mr. Lapointe denounced class rule and in conclusion voiced the motto "No class domination, either from the right or from the left."

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"THE LIBERAL POLICY OF PROGRESS"

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# APPEAL TO PEOPLE OF CANADA SHOULD BE TO HOME AND NEEDS---KING

**Liberal Chieftain Makes Eloquent and Powerful Address at Sherbrooke Rally in Opening Electoral Campaign in Eastern Townships Last Night—Hon. Dr. Beland Among Other Speakers**

Sherbrooke, Sept. 24—"The Liberal policy of progress, not of revolution nor of stagnation, is the only safe course for Canada to-day," declared Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, in his speech at His Majesty's Theatre last night. Mr. King declared that Canada was faced with two great dangers to-day, and one was in the reactionary policy of the present government, the other in those who sought change for change sake only and would experiment for the sake of trying out their ideals. Between these two stood the Liberal party in the safe course. The Liberal tariff policy, said Mr. King, was the only one placed before the people of Canada which considered alike the rights of producers and consumess. The Prime Minister had sought to make the issue between protection and free trade and thus blind the people to the blunders and extravagances of his government.

Mr. King declared that the first need of Canada was true economy and a reduction of the tax rate to bring about a reduction in the cost of living. Revision of the tariff was overdue, but it should be downward revision in the interests of all classes, such as would be carried out when the Liberal party was returned to power. Canada, he said, could depend upon the Liberal party to-day following in the footsteps of Sir Wilfrid Laurier whose regime had been one of unqualified prosperity in Canada.

Mr. King was given an attentive hearing by the large audience which filled the theatre.

**Members of Mr. King's Party**

Hon. Mr. King arrived in Sherbrooke this evening from Montreal. Members of Mr. King's party included George Boivin, M.P., Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons; James A. Robb, M.P., Chateauguay-Huntingdon; A. R. MacMaster, P. P., Brome; W. K. Baldwin, M.P., Stanstead; Hon. J. E. Perreault, Minister of Colonization for the Province of Quebec, and several other prominent Liberals. Speakers at the meeting besides the Liberal Leader were J. H. Lemay, M.P.P., for Sherbrooke; F. N. McCrea, M. P. for the Federal riding; G. Boivin and Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland; Senator Mitchell and Hon. W. G. Mitchell, of the Quebec Government.

Mr. Lemay declared that the Liberal tariff policy was one in the interest of the people as against the Government's policy of taxing the citizen and shielding the protectionist.

F. N. McCrea thanked the electors for again placing their faith in him as a candidate and assured them he was going into the fight to win. He attacked the Meighen government on the ground that it had preached economy, but practiced wanton extravagance and said that in this election it would meet its doom.

J. H. Lemay paid tribute to the leadership of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and also praised highly the good work of Mr. McCrea as representative of the constituency in the Federal House, in shielding the protectionist. Mr. Lemay extended a welcome to Hon. Mr. King, Mr. Boivin, Hon. Dr. Beland and other speakers.

Dr. Beland also paid tribute to the manner in which Hon. Mr. King had carried on the difficult task of leadership since he had succeeded the late chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Mr. King, he declared, had shown himself capable of overcoming the tasks which would confront him as next Premier of Canada.

**Meighen's Policy of Distraction**

Hon. Dr. Beland referred to the Union cabinet built up by Sir Robert Borden in 1917, including General Mewburn, Messrs. Calder, Small, White and McLean, all of whom were now out of the present government.

Mr. Meighen had brought forth the fiscal question as the issue in this coming election, said Hon. Dr. Beland. The Prime Minister had nailed the high protection flag to the mast and sought to distract attention from everything else which his government had to answer for.

The government which had hung on to office in the face of demands from the entire country had many things to answer for. The excuse "c'est la guerre," had perhaps served the government in the past, but it would do so no longer. The government must now answer to the country instead of hiding behind war time excuses.

**Hon. Mr. King**

Hon. Mr. King was given an ovation when he rose. To the local candidate, F. N. McCrea, M.P., Mr. King paid a high compliment and congratulated him on receiving the nomination for his constituency for the third time.

Canada, said Mr. King, had passed with other countries through a most trying period. A country was much like a household. What was owned must be balanced against what was owed. Ten years ago, Canada owed $135,000,000. To-day with the same property in hand, Canada owed over two billion dollars. The question to-day was how to keep down this debt and strive to pay it off. The interest on Canada's debt to-day was $140,000,000 more than was spent for the national expenses during Sir Wilfrid Laurier's time.

The high cost of government had a very great effect on the cost of living, if taxes direct and indirect were high then the person living in a rented house or buying goods must eventually pay that tax. The taxes were passed along to the "lesser bug" until finally everyone must bear his or her share.

**Appeal to Home and Its Needs.**

"The appeal to the people of Canada should be to the home and its needs," declared Mr. King. "If we are returned to power our first effort will be to reduce the cost of government and thus reduce the cost of living to the people of all classes. The present Government has cultivated the habit of extravagance and cannot get back to economy. We need an entirely new group of men in charge of affairs at Ottawa.

"This country," declared Mr. King, "needs an audit to show what we owe and what we own. The men to whose interest it is to hide the details of their maladministration are not going to let in the light. An entirely new group of men is needed to let in the light on Canadian affairs."

"The present ship of state is full of useless cargo and its hull is crusted with barnacles," Mr. King said. "It has been too long at the dock and a great change is needed."

So far as expenditures were the necessary outcome of the war, said Mr. King, no one would seek to avoid paying them, but there was plenty of room for cleaning out useless spending in order to reduce taxation. Mr. King dealt at length with railway matters and charged the Government with refusing to the House information as to expenditures, etc.

Mr. Meighen had declined to allow the House to hear any details as to the management of the people's roads by the government's friends.

**Meighen Clouding the Issue**

The Liberal leader dealt with Mr. Meighen's tariff declaration and said the Prime Minister was casting a cloud before the issue. The Prime Minister talked of a free trade tariff as against protection. "You could not abolish the tariff," said Mr. King. "Our tariff for revenue will also keep sight of the needs of industry. Mr. Meighen hopes the people will forget things the Government should answer for, and he wants to draw attention from other things by raising the free trade cry.

Both the Government and the Liberals were agreed that tariff revision was necessary, he said, but the latter sought a revision on a revenue tariff basis. Legitimate manufactures would not be injured by a Liberal revision, but where there was found any attempt at forming combines and monopolies to the detriment of the community these would be broken. The Liberal party believed in cheapening raw material by reducing the tax on implements of production.

**Plea for Unity and Harmony**

The Liberal tariff was the only one which was equally fair to residents of both city and rural area alike. It was the policy which would bring about increased production which was the need of Canada to-day. Mr. King made a plea for unity and harmony throughout the entire Dominion.

The reactionary tendency of the president government was one danger in Canada to-day. Another danger was the element which wanted change simply for the sake of change.

"Either of these forces without any check is dangerous. The Liberal party to-day is the only safe party for Canadians to tie to. We stand for progress, not for revolution nor for stagnation. We are ready to follow the example of our great leader who gave Canada fifteen years of the greatest prosperity she ever had. We will follow the path of good will to all as he followed it."

Moncton Transcript Sept 24th 1921

D 5526

# HON. MACKENZIE KING SPEAKS AT SHERBROOKE

## Says Liberal Policy is Only One Which Considers Alike Rights of Producers and Consumers.

Moncton Transcript Sept 24/1921

Sherbrooke, Sept. 23.—"The Liberal policy of progress, not of revolution nor of stagnation is the only safe course for Canada today," declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King in his speech at His Majesty's theatre last night. Mr. King said that Canada was faced with two great dangers today, and one was in the reactionary policy of the present government, the other in those who sought change for change sake only and would experiment for the sake of trying out their ideals.

Between these two stood the Liberal Party in the safe course. The Liberal tariff policy, said Mr. King, was the only one placed before the people of Canada which considered alike the rights of producers and consumers. The prime minister had sought to make the issue between protection and free trade and thus blind the people to the blunders and extravagances of his government. Mr. King declared that the first need of Canada was true economy and a reduction in the cost of living. Revision of the tariff was over due, but it should be downward revision in the interests of all classes, such as would be carried out when the Liberal party was returned to power. Canada, he said, could depend on the Liberal party today following in the footsteps of Sir Wilfrid Laurier whose regime had been one of unequalled prosperity in Canada.

Mr. King was given an attentive hearing by the large audience which filled the theatre.

MEMBERS OF PARTY.

Hon. Mr. King arrived in Sherbrooke on Friday morning from Montreal.

Members of Mr. King's party included George Boivin, M. P., Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, James A. Robb, M. P., Chateauguay-Huntingdon, A. R. McMaster, M. P., Brome, W. K. Baldwin, M. P., Stanstead, Hon. J. E. Perreault, minister of colonization for the province of Quebec, and several other prominent Liberals.

Speakers at a meeting held in His Majesty's Theatre besides the Liberal leader this evening were J. H. Lemay, M.P.P. for Sherbrooke; F. N. McCrea, M.P. for the federal riding; G. Boivin, Senator Mitchell and Hon. W. Mitchell of the Quebec government, and Hon. H. S. Beland. Mr. Lemay declared that the Liberal tariff policy was one in the interest of the people as against the government's policy of taxing the citizen and shielding the protectionist.

F. N. McCrea thanked the electors for again placing their faith in him as candidate and assured them he was going in to fight to win. He attacked the Meighen government on the ground that it had preached economy but practiced wanton extravagance and said that in this election it would meet its doom.

TRIBUTE TO MR. KING

J. H. Lemay paid tribute to the leadership of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and also praised highly the good work of Mr. McCrea as representative of the constituency in the federal house, shielding the protectionist. Mr. Lemay extended welcome to Hon. Mr. King, Mr. Boivin, Dr. Beland and other speakers.

Hon. Dr. Beland also paid tribute to the manner in which Hon. Mr. King had carried on the difficult task of leadership since he had succeeded the late chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. King, he declared, had had shown himself capable of overcoming the tasks which would confront him as the next premier of Canada. Hon. Dr. Beland referred to the Union cabinet built up by Sir Robert Borden in 1917, including General Newburn, Messrs. Calder, Rowell, White and McLean, all of whom were now out of the present government.

HON. MR. KING

Hon. Mr. King followed Hon. Dr. Beland.

Canada, said the opposition leader, had passed with other countries through a most trying period. A country was much like a household. What was owned must be balanced against what was owed. Ten years ago, Canada owed $135,000,000. Today with the same property in hand, Canada owed over two billion dollars. The question today was how to keep down this debt and strive to pay it off. The interest on Canada's debt today was $140,000,000 more than was spent for the national expenses during Sir Wilfrid Laurier's time.

The high cost of government had a very great effect on the cost of living, if taxes direct and indirect were high then the person living in a rented house or buying goods must eventually pay that tax. The taxes were passed along to "lesser bug" until finally everyone must bear his or her share.

WILL CUT COST OF LIVING

**"The appeal to the people of Canada should be to the home and its needs," declared Mr. King. "If we are returned to power our first efforts will be to reduce the cost of government and thus reduce the cost of living to the people of all classes. The present government has cultivated the habit of extravagance and cannot get back to economy. We need an entirely new group of men in charge of affairs at Ottawa."**

"This country," declared Mr. King, "needs an audit to show what we owe and what we own. The men to whose interest it is to hide the details of their maladministration are not going to let in the light. An entire new group of men is needed to let in the light of Canadian affairs."

"The present ship of state is full of useless cargo and its hull is crusted with barnacles," Mr. King said. "It has been too long at the dock and a great change is needed."

So far as expenditures were the necessary outcome of the war, said Mr. King, no one would seek to avoid paying them. But there was plenty of room for cleaning out useless spending in order to reduce taxation. Mr. King dealt at length with railway matters and charged the Government with refusing to give the House information as to expenditures, etc. Mr. Meighen had declined to allow the House to hear any details as to the management of the people's roads by the Government's friends.

The Government had put through its merchant marine expenditures and sixth of its total estimates by closure, shutting off debate.

Too Much Autocracy.

The people were entitled to full information as to every dollar of their money spent on railways or anything else. If there could not be Government ownership with responsibility, well then Government ownership could not succeed. There was too much autocracy in the present Government methods.

The Liberal leader dealt with Mr. Meighen's tariff declarations and said the Prime Minsiter was casting a cloud before the issue. The Prime Minister talked of a free trade tariff as against protection. "You could not abolish the tariff," said Mr. King. "Our tariff for revenue will also keep sight of the needs of industry. Mr. Meighen hopes the people will forget the things the government should answer for and he wants to draw attention from other things by raising the free trade cry.

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Mr. King made a plea for unity and harmony throughout the entire Dominion. The reactionary tendency of the present government was one danger in Canada today. Another danger was the element which wanted change simply for the sake of change.

"Either of these forces without any check is dangerous. The Liberal party today is the only safe party for Canadians to cling to. We are ready to follow the example of our great leader who gave Canada fifteen years of the greatest prosperity she ever had. We will follow the path of good-will to all as he folowed it."

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES CANADA
W.L. Mackenzie King Papers Volume D 10

Ottawa Citizen Sept-24th 1921 D 5527

# HON. W. L. M. KING GIVES ADDRESS AT SHERBROOKE

## Canada Faced by Two Great Dangers, the Present Government and the Experimental Party.

## THE TARIFF POLICY OF THE LIBERALS

## Leader Claims Only One Protecting Producers and Consumers.

SHERBROOKE, Que., Sept. 23.—"The Liberal policy of progress, not of revolutionary, nor of stagnation is the only safe course for Canada today," declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King in his speech at His Majecty's Theater tonight. Mr. King declared that Canada was faced with two great dangers today, and one was in the reactionary policy of the present government, the other in those who sought change for change sake only and would experiment for the sake of trying out their ideals. Between these two stood the Liberal party in the safe course. The Liberal tariff policy, said Mr. King, was the only one placed before the people of Canada which considered alike the rights of producers and consumers. The prime minister has sought to make the issue between protection and free trade, and thus blind the people to the blunders and extravagances of his government.

Mr. King declared that the first need of Canada was true economy and a reduction of the tax rate to bring about a reduction in the cost of living. Revision of the tariff was overdue, but it should be downward revision in the interests of all classes, such as would be carried out when the Liberal party was returned to power. Canada, he said could depend on the Liberal party today following in the footsteps of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose regime had been one of unequalled prosperity in Canada.

Mr. King was given an attentive hearing by the large audience, which filled the theater here.

A. R. McMaster referred to Mr. King's declaration that he would fight out his battle for a seat in the old county of York as one of the most striking incidents of the election campaign. Mr. King had determined to stay where the fight was the hardest, and he would have the support of all thinking Canadians in his battle on the ground where his grandfather had made such a noble stand for the rights of minorities.

**Those Who Spoke.**

Members of Mr. King's party included George Boivin, M.P., deputy speaker of the house of commons; James A. Robb, M.P., Chateauguay-Huntingdon; A. R. McMaster, M.P., Brome; W. K. Baldwin, M.P., Stanstead; Hon. J. E. Perreault, minister of colonization for the province of Quebec, and several other prominent Liberals.

Speakers at a meeting in His Majesty's Theater beside the Liberal leader this evening were J. H. Lemay, M.P.P. for Sherbrooke; F. N. McCrea, M.P. for the federal riding; G. Boivin, Senator Mitchell and Hon. W. Mitchell, of the Quebec government, and Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland.

Mr. Lemay declared that the Liberal tariff policy was one in the interest of the people as against the government's policy of taxing the citizen and shielding the protectionist.

F. N. McCrea thanked the electors for again placing their faith in him as candidate and assured them he was going into the fight to win. He attacked the Meighen government on the ground that it had preached economy but practised wanton extravagance, and said that in this election it would meet its doom.

J. H. Lemay paid tribute to the leadership of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and also praised highly the good work of Mr. McCrea as representative of the constituency in the federal house, shielding the protectionist. Mr. Lemieux extended w[illegible]me to Hon. Mr. King, Mr. Boivin, Dr. Beland and other speakers.

**Hon. H. S. Beland.**

Hon. H. S. Beland also paid tribute to the manner in which Hon. Mr. King had carried on the difficult task of leadership since he had succeeded the late chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. King, he declared, had shown himself capable of overcoming the tasks which would confront him as next premier of Canada. Hon. Dr. Beland referred to the union cabinet built up by Sir Robert Borden in 1917, including General Mewburn, Messrs. Calder, Rowell, White and McLean, all of whom were now out of the present government.

Mr. Meighen, said Dr. Beland, had brought forth the fiscal question as the issue in this coming election. The prime minister had nailed the protection flag to the mast, and sought to distract attention from everything else which his government had to answer for. The government which had hung on to office in the face of demands from the entire country, had many things to answer for. The excuse, "c'est la guerre," had perhaps served the government in the past, but it would do so no longer. The government must now answer to the country instead of hiding behind war-time excuses.

The war was ended, but the government, which was elected as a war administration, had demobilized everything before demobilizing itself.

**Hon. Mackenzie King.**

Hon. Dr. Beland was followed by Hon. Mr. King.

Canada, said the leader of the opposition, had passed with other countries through a most trying period. A country was much like a household. What was owned must be balanced against what was owed. Ten years ago, Canada owed $150,000,000. Today with the same property in hand, Canada owed over two billion dollars. The question today was how to keep down this debt and strive to pay it off. The interest on Canada's debt today was $140,000,000, more than was spent for the national expenses during Sir Wilfrid Laurier's time.

The high cost of government had a very great effect on the cost of living. If taxes, direct and indirect, were high, then the person living in a rented house or buying goods must eventually pay that tax. The taxes were passed along to the "lesser bug" until finally everyone must bear his or her shares.

"The appeal to the people of Canada should be to the home and its needs," declared Mr. King. "If we are returned to power our first sum will be to reduce the cost of government and thus reduce the cost of living to the people of all classes. The present government has cultivated the habit of extravagance and cannot get back to economy; we need an entirely new group of men in to carry out affairs in Ottawa."

**Needs An Audit.**

"This country," declared Mr. King, needs an audit to show what we owe and what we own. The men to whose interest it is to hide the details of their maladministration are not going to let in the light. An entirely new group of men is needed to let in the light on Canadian affairs.

"The present ship of state is full of useless cargo and its hull is crusted with barnacles," Mr. King said. "It has been too long at the dock and a great change is needed."

**Useless Spending.**

So far as expenditures were the necessary outcome of the war, said Mr. King, no one would seek to avoid paying them, but there was plenty of room for cleaning out useless spending in order to reduce taxation. Mr. King dealt at length with railway matters and charged the government with refusing to the house information as to expenditure, etc. Mr. Meighen had declined to allow the house to hear any details as to the management of the people's roads by the government's friends.

The government had put through its merchant marine expenditures and one-sixth of its total estimates by closure, shutting off debate.

The people were entitled to full information as to every dollar of their money spent on railways or anything else. If there could not be government ownership with responsibility then government ownership could not succeed. There was too much autocracy in the present governmental methods.

**The Liberal Tariff.**

The Liberal leader dealt with Mr. Meighen's tariff declarations and said the prime minister was casting a cloud before the issue. The prime minister talked of a free trade tariff as against protection. "You could not abolish the tariff," said Mr. King. "Our tariff for revenue will also keep sight of the needs of industry. Mr. Meighen hopes the people will forget the things the government should answer for and he wants to draw attention from other things by raising the free trade cry."

Both the government and Liberals were agreed that tariff revision was necessary, said Mr. King, but the latter sought a revision on a revenue tariff basis. Legitimate manufactures would not be injured by a Liberal revision, but where there was found any attempt at forming combines and monopolies to the detriment of the community these would be broken up. The Liberal party believed in cheapening raw materials by reducing the tax on implements of production.

The Liberal tariff was the only one which was equally fair to residents of both city and rural area alike. It was the policy which would bring about increased production which was the need of Canada today. Another danger was the element which wanted change simply for the sake of change.

"Either of these forces without any check is dangerous. The Liberal party today is the only safe party for Canadians to tie to. We stand for progress, not for revolution, nor for stagnation. We are ready to follow the example of our great leader who gave Canada 15 years of the greatest prosperity she ever had. We will follow the path of good will to all as he followed it."

Trade policy, as Mr. Meighen sought to show his London audience how it could be possible for the Conservatives, when they came into power, to have made reduction in that Liberal tariff.

Mr. Boivin, who spoke briefly, announced that he was in the fight as a straight Liberal.

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26 Sept. 1921 Sydney, N.S.

D 5528

THE EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE
CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Halifax Herald Sept-26th 1921

D 5529

# KING OPENS CAMPAIGN IN MARITIMES AT SYDNEY

Halifax Herald 27 Sept '21

## Upwards Of 4,000 Hear Liberal Leader In Bitter Attack Upon Government Of Mr. Meighen

## ERNEST LAPOINTE GETS IN THROUGH A WINDOW

### Hon. G. H. Murray, Chairman — Other Speakers Are William Duff, Lunenburg, And Dr. Chisholm, Inverness.

(By Canadian Press)

SYDNEY, Sept. 26—Addressing an audience of nearly four thousand in the Curlers' Rink, here, tonight, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, declared that only by the return of the Liberal administration could there be in any Canada any reduction in taxation and natural expenditures, and a consequent reduction of the cost of living. Mr. King charged the Government with unnecessary extravagance and also with refusing to accord the people the courtesy of being consulted on policies affecting expenditure of the public monies.

Ernest Lapointe, liberal member for Quebec East, another speaker, had some difficulty when he reached the rink a few minutes after the meeting opened. He convulsed his audience when he told of having to commit burglary to gain entrance, as he had to climb to the platform through a window, after exercising all the old football tactics he remembered.

Mr. Lapointe made an appeal for unity of all races and classes and for united stand behind the Liberal Party in its fight.

William Duff, M. P., Lunenburg, and Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M. P., Inverness, also spoke briefly. Hon. G. H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia, was chairman of the meeting.

Several hundred people stood in the aisles and hundreds of others tried in vain to gain admittance to the building which was filled to its utmost capacity.

HON. G. H. Murray, premier of Nova Scotia, introduced the leader of the Liberal party and said Mr. King had no more loya' supporters than the people of Cape Breton. Premier Murray said he himself had three times unsuccessfully contested the constituency in the federal house. This was not the first time he had heard the policy of protection for ruined interests.

"Had I been a prophet and should the electors of Cape Breton have known what was coming under Liberalism their verdict would have been different," said Premier Murray. "If any tariff policy different from that of the Liberals could add to the prosperity of this country why did not the government introduce it? If Mr. Meighen could introduce a tariff to alter trade conditions he should have done so long ago while his party was in its strength."

Mr. Murray said there would be no "dreadful things" happen to Canada because of the return of the Liberal party to power. On the other hand, the development of both the home and foreign markets would mean greater prosperity in Canada. There was not today a Conservative government in any of the provinces. Mr. Meighen, said the speaker, had been trying to "thimble-rig" for ten days and attracted mediocre men to the cabinet. The Liberal party already had a supply of great men to draw from. The men who in 1897, had brought about prosperity through a good tariff could again frame a tariff which would bring Canada to happiness and prosperity. The verdict of ballots would show a clear verdict for the Liberal party in Nova Scotia, Mr. Murray declared.

Labor, said Premier Murray would not vote for a government which had as Nova Scotia representatives Hector McInnes or Hon. F. B. McCurdy. "Neither of these men," said Premier Murray, "would be awake at nights worrying about the rights of Labor in Nova Scotia."

HON. W. L. Mackenzie King, introduced by Premier Murray as the coming premier of Canada, said he had never addressed a more inspiring audience in Canada. The name of Hon. G. H. Murray, said Mr. King, was a household word, as one of the leaders of Liberalism. He paid tribute to each of the Nova Scotia members who were on the platform with him. Mr. King said the people of Canada had been denied a full voice in the management of their country for ten or eleven years. The 1917 election had been fought on a war basis and such matters as the tariff were forgotten in the stress of greater problems overseas.

"Mr. Meighen asks your confidence," said Mr. King, "Mr. Meighen has shown no confidence in you, or your judgment, since he became Prime Minister. We have been denied a general election when allied, neutral and even enemy countries have held general elections. Only Russia and Canada refused that right to their people.

"Mr. Meighen has been driven to the country by the force of public opinion," the Liberal leader declared. "He goes to the people because he was afraid to face defeat in another session of the house. The Meighen government hasn't a friend in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"The Prime Minister owes it to the people to give them the date which he has chosen for the election, so that contracts may be closed and steps taken to bring about a revival of trade and business in Canada.

"MR. MEIGHEN wants to make the tariff the sole issue and thus make the people forget the other matters for which his government has to answer. The cost of living was a more important one, Mr. King claimed, and this was bound up in the high cost of government.

"Men and women must realize the bearing of the cost of the government on the cost of living."

The women especially were interested in the cost of living, and it was to women and the home that the Liberal party appealed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in this campaign.

Canada today was an entirely different country to Canada of a few years ago. Canada's debt had risen from $340,000,000 in 1911, to over $2,000,000,000 today, and interest on the public debt was $140,000,000, while some $123,000,000 was all that was required for all Canada's spending ten years ago. No one would suggest non-payment of just war debts, and payments for pensions and soldiers' re-establishment must be met as debts of honor. For soldier re-establishment, some $135,000,000, had been voted this year. That was a great debt alone.

SPEAKING of railway matters, Mr. King said that Canada had 22,000 miles of road taken over without consultation with the people. On these roads and the canals $165,000,000 was to be spent this year. This, again, was

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more than all government departments required ten years ago. The expenditure of the government at Ottawa in a year reached $650,000,000. That meant $310 per family of five persons; one dollar out of every person's pay envelope for each working day. Taxes were not on the rich alone. When the landlord was taxed, he passed the tax to his tenants and the merchant's tax was passed along to the buyer and consumer. "Big bugs have little bugs who have to grind their axes," quoted Mr. King.

The sum of $310 per year often meant the difference between a home and no home, or between giving to loved ones the food or education they needed, or not, said Mr. King. "Taxation is not a class matter. All the families of this country have a vital interest in what our taxes are to be.

"We are putting in candidates from the Atlantic to the Pacific today," said the Liberal chief, "because we believe that combined effort is necessary to bring down expenses of government and taxation."

You will never get any economy through Premier Meighen and such colleagues as the Minister of Militia and the Minister of Marine and Naval Affairs. Money has been spent in millons and new departments opened, with consequent additions of many new employees. You'll never get any economy until you get a new government at Ottawa and secure a careful audit of the books."

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MR. KING declared that, in and out of parliament, Mr. Meighen and his supporters followed an arbitrary course in many cases. Parliament was refused information because Mr. Meighen said "it was not in the interests," of the companies to give it. By probing in committee the Liberal members found millions of dollars worth of insurance and other contracts given to companies whose directors were also directors of the railway company.

The government blamed high wages for the railway deficits, said Mr. King. If wages were to be made public, then details of contracts should also be made public. The Liberal party stood for publicity and honesty in public affairs, and would continue to fight for this when it returned to power.

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said, if returned to power, it would be his aim to follow the policy laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which had brought prosperity. "We are not for free trade." declared Mr. King. "We are, however, for a revenue which is built up according to the revenue necessary. No legitimate industry need fear tariff revision by us," Mr. King declared, "but if there are any big combines or monopolies founded on a protective tariff, these will be the only ones crushed."

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THE tariff, said Mr. King, should be framed to develop the basic industries of the country—to develop the industries and bring them to a proper success.

In Cape Breton, liberals had fought for the development of the coal and steel industries. They would continue this fight until they brought back the prosperity which Canada enjoyed for the 15 years of the liberal regime. Only by returning to liberal administration, could Canada assure her return to prosperity, Mr. King claimed. The spectacle witnessed in Canada of government-supporting members being appointed to Supreme Court or Senate, showed the cement which had held the Meighen government together. That, said Mr. King, came of trying to hold together two or more groups whose ideals were opposed Mr. King referred to the National-Liberal and Conservative party as a party composed of all the reactionaries in the country today; against this were the Liberal forces. These included a new Farmer Party, which in parts said it believed in class rule, and in other places that it did not. The Labor Party and Grand Army of War Veterans were other parties imbued with Liberal ideals, as also were the women in their political affiliation. The Liberal Party, whose aims had been in behalf of all classes of the country, laid down a platform broad enough for all Liberal forces.

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HON. Mr. King said to the Labor men there was no doubt where he stood on labor matters. His work as deputy minister and minister of Labor was known to all. There were four parts in industry, capital, management, labor and the public community, said Mr. King, and all these were entitled to some voice in the management of industries. Instead of monopoly, there should be joint control by these four interests. The details of this management were something to be worked out in the future. Monopolies would never bring strength.

In parliament all classes should be represented, Mr. King, declared, but they should send men who came with special knowledge, and then worked for the benefit of all classes.

Dealing further with labor matters, Mr. King said the Liberals would not have as Minister of Labor a man who sat in the senate. This minister should sit in the commons, where he would be responsible to the people at all times.

In the war, said Mr. King, the Allies had come to unity of command for the good of the world. What was needed in Canada was unity of command in all the forces of Liberalism, whatever these might call themselves.

Mr. King closed with an appeal to all his hearers to join Liberals in "their march to win," which victory he predicted was certain.

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WILLIAM DUFF, M.P., for Lunenburg, said when Mr. Meighen was chosen Premier a new party was born and in the name of this party an attempt had been made to placate the "Blondins, the Lavergnes and the Bourassas," by adding "National" to the name. Mr. Blondin was the man who had talked of "shooting holes through the British flag" in order to breath freely.

Mr. Meighen, declared Mr. Duff, "was the father of the worst legislation the Tory government had to introduce."

Mr. Duff said the Prime Minister had done an improper thing when he forced through, under closure, the vote of $8,000,000 for further Merchant Marine expenditures. Mr. Meighen was the same man who, in 1917, wired from Manitoba that he needed so many thousand votes in Provencher, Springfield and other constituencies. Hon. Arthur Meighen was no friend of the working man.

Canada could not have a good government, said Mr. Duff, with one "sired" by Arthur Meighen, dammed by "Jim" Calder, brought into the world by Blondin and wet-nursed by Ballantyne." Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Mr. Duff said, had become known as "on again, off again, gone again Ballantyne."

Mr. Meighen's cabinet re-organization had been a joke, Mr. Duff claimed. The Prime Minister had "cut away the deadwood" by appointing the old minister's to the Senate at $4,000 a year. The new men had not given any improvement; the government had not a friend, said Mr. Duff. When the votes in the general election were counted the Liberals would be returned.

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DR A. W. CHISHOLM, M. P., Liberal candidate in Inverness, said an attempt was apparently being made to find a man to oppose him. However, when the ballots were counted, Inverness would be in the Liberal column where it had stood for years. The people of Inverness asked Cape Breton county to join them in voting Liberal.

Ernest Lapointe, member of Quebec East, who had succeeded in reaching the platform only by climbing through a window near

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the stage, was the final speaker.

Mr. Lapointe paid a tribute to D. D. McKenzie as a good fighter and also to Premier Murray, whose record, he said, was unequalled in Canada. Mr. Lapointe said he brought a message of friendship from Quebec. Even at a time when it was fashionable not to like Quebec, Nova Scotia had been still friendly.

The general election, said Mr. Lapointe, was coming on the instalment plan, like the Borden government by-elections. But Mr. Meighen had a consolation in that, before his ship took the high seas, it had left many rats behind. The government was still holding off the election and shivering on the brink.

The government has had no mandate for two years, said Mr. Lapointe. It not only had lost the people's confidence but had gained their contempt. The best men who went into Union Government had long since left. The new party which grew up had a name which included everything, but meant nothing. Liberals and Conservatives could not unite any more than could vice and virtue, or a square and a circle.

The Canadian people today demand sincerity in their public men and there could be no sincerity in the men who had formed such a party. The Premier, in seeking to make the tariff the issue wanted to confess "only his sins of omission", and be judged on what he had not done.

Tariff

"We are for a tariff for revenue", said Mr. Lapointe; "when Mr. Meighen talks Free Trade, he puts up a man of straw for the pleasure of knocking him down. You must have a tariff. Shall it be a tariff for certain classes or a Liberal tariff in favor of all people."

The coming campaign would be a regular Tory campaign, said Mr. Lapointe. In 1896 the Tories had prophesied, "blue ruin", but in 1911 they cried, "let well enough alone". Patriotic cries were also being raised by the Government. "We are proud to be British", said Mr. Lapointe, "but this election must be fought without anyone wrapping himself in the flag or claiming a monopoly of loyalty."

The people of this country wanted to restore democratic government, said Mr. Lapointe, who declared the Government methods had been autocratic. Contempt of parliament had been shown in the appointment of the purchasing commission, and in the Government's action on Article Ten of the Peace Treaty. Parliament was told that this must be accepted but afterwards the Canadian delegates voted against the clause.

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THE financial condition of the country admitted of only one way out; that was by economy of the strictest order. It was usedess for Mr. Meighen to blame "hard times." The creaking wheel always blamed the bad road. The United States and Birtain decreased their expenditures, while Canada persisted in increasing hers and increasing the great debt. The government talked of millions as if these were small change. There must be speedy retrenchment.

Mr Lapointe declared that the government sought to set section against section, and class against class. The Liberal party was big enough to appeal to all classes and all sections, provided they were willing to work together for the good of all.

Referring to Quebec's isolation, Mr. Lapointe said the entire Dominion was isolated from Meighenism. Quebec would be not largely Liberal, but wholly Liberal when the vote was counted, and it would return 65 members supporting Mr. King.

The slogan of the Canadian people ought to be "no class rule, either from the right or the left," Mr. Lapointe declared. There must be unity of all classes; and that unity was found in the Liberal Party, which stood for the rights of all of the people, all of the time.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

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D 5532

A SCOTIA'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER."

# rning Chronicle.

*Service Is The Highest Form Of Patriotism*

Nova Scotia, Tuesday, September 27, 1921. Twelve Pages. Price Three Cents.

# TS IN ST. JOHN LAST NIGHT

## LLOYD GEORGE CONSULTS THE KING



The King has been keeping in close touch with developments in the Irish situation during his visit to Scotland. The above photograph shows the King and Mr. Lloyd George on the steps of Moy Hall after b reakfast, at which the Irish

# LIBERAL CHIEFTAINS DELIVER STIRRING ADDRESSES AT GREAT RALLY HELD IN STEEL CITY

### DISSOLUTION SOON.

TORONTO, Ont., Sept. 27—Registrars in the riding of West York have received notice to cease preparations for the by-election, due on October sixth, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Tom Wallace, M. P., Colonel Bigger, chief returning officer, through the chief revision officer, Judge Coatsworth, states that dissolution of Parliament will be announced before West York's polling day.

## HON. C.F. McISAAC IS STANDARD BEARER

### Liberals of Antigonish and Guysboro Nominate Their Candidate at Enthusiastic

## Sydney Accor Enthusiastic Reception to Hon. W. L. ackenzie King's Statement Of Policy on the Tariff—Premier Murray's Splen did Speech—Thousands At The Meeting.

Specia o The Morning Chronicle.

SYDNEY, N. S. Sept. 26—In spite of the rain which poured during the earlier part of the evening, and threatened to resume at any moment, ten thousand enthusiastic citizens of Cape Breton County assembled to extend a demonstration of welcome and regard to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, who opened his speaking tour of Nova Scotia, with a magnificent address at the curling rink here tonight.

The meeting was advertised for eight o'clock but long before seven o'clock everyone of the 2,300 seats in the improvised auditorium was taken, by 7.30 standing room was at premium. and the police were beginning to refuse admittance.

At eight o'clock Hon. Mackenzie King and his party had literally to fight their way through a crowd estimated at over 6,000 persons who rounded the rink and blocked George

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(Continued From Page 1.)

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**Suffering From Too Much Tariff.**

The present industrial situation in Canada is not satisfactory. The aftermath of the war has brought about practically world-wide depression. If there is or was anything the matter with the Canadian tariff as at present constituted, it does not require an election to remedy it. The Tory Party had it in their own hands from 1911 to the present moment, to give Canada a protective tariff if they thought this would better the condition of affairs, but they did not exercise the power they had with respect to the tariff, and the reason they did not was that they could not improve it. The statement, in my judgment, that a re-arrangement of the tariff would to any extent cure any of the industrial depression of this country is absolutely unsound. In my judgment what the world is suffering from today is not too little tariff, but too much tariff. The abnormal economic conditions prevailing the world over are created largely by the fact that nations are prevented by exchange rates, by high tariffs and from other reasons from trading with one another. Give the world trade, fair legitimate trade, and this will have an undoubted tendency to cure much that is complained of.

**Markets Our Greatest Need.**

I just want to make two points clear, that when the Tory Party talks tariff and bases a claim for the confidence of the people upon this issue, they must be reminded of the fact that from 1896 to the present moment a Liberal tariff was in force in this country and that they had ample opportunity of changing it from 1911 to the present moment. It is too late now in 1921 to ask for a renewal of confidence in order to enable them to bring this about. If they intended to do it they could have changed the tariff and the reason they did not change was because they could not. In my judgment the tariff policy of 1897, with such changes as time and new conditions demand, will remain the tariff policy of this country in the future.

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That the aim of the fiscal policy of Canada should be the encouragement of industries based on the natural resources of the country, the development of which may reasonably be expected to create healthy inter-

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In conclusion let me say that I trust that our honored leader in his tour throughout Nova Scotia will receive that loyal reception from all our people to which he is entitled. I know that in every portion of this Province he will meet sane and intelligent men and women, a large majority of whom have remained steadfast to Liberal principles for many years. When the fight is over and returns come in there will be no part of the Dominion of Canada which will give a better account of itself in so far as the support of the Liberal Party is concerned than the Province of Nova Scotia. (Cheers)

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the best price. Canada today has 300,000,000 feet of lumber tied up for want of market. The problem confronting the people of Canada is to sell that lumber in the best markets the best price. Thousands of cattle roam the western prairies and their owners are confronted with the same problem. The great fishing industry of the Maritime Provinces faces the same situation, while like difficulties confront the apple growers of the Annapolis Valley, who desire to market a produce this year of over 1,500,000 barrels of apples. In my judgment the great question today is a market to sell in, not to buy in. Give Canada a chance to sell her great natural products in the markets of the world and that will bring a greater degree of prosperity to this country than anything I can conceive of.

**The Great Boon of Reciprocity.**

This was what the Liberal Party had in mind when they negotiated the Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States, which gave the advantage of a free market for all the great natural products of this country. The farmer of the West said give me a chance to sell my products in the best markets available; the lumbermen and fishermen of Canada said the same thing, but certain selfish interests in Canada said that this right should not be granted to men engaged in developing the great natural wealth of this country and denied to these men by fair and unfair methods that great boon which was lost to the Canadian people perhaps forever.

We hear a great deal today of the organization of classes. We hear of the farmer class, the workingman class. Was there ever an organization more selfish than that of the manufacturers of Canada who themselves were not hurt by the Reciprocity Treaty but who said that persons engaged in the great natural industries of this country should not be permitted to sell in the best available market. Is there any wonder that when the farmers of this country were told that they could not have the American market to sell their wheat in, they naturally became resentful and said that they would make an effort in this big country to give them that right. Why should they not exercise it? I am not a believer in the group system, but if I were a farmer in the West today and producing a crop of wheat on a Saskatchewan farm, I would consider that if any Canadian denied me the right to sell that wheat in the best available market he was not giving me that deal to which I was fairly entitled. You would not blame me if I made every reasonable effort to have that right given me.

MURINE FOR YOUR EYES
You Cannot Buy New Eyes
But you can Promote a Clean, Healthy Condition
Use Murine Eye Remedy "Night and Morning."
Keep your Eyes Clean, Clear and Healthy.
Write for Free Eye Care Book.
Murine Eye Remedy Co., 9 East Ohio Street, Chicago

...reso... of the Dominion:

That, ...le keeping this aim clearly ... mind, the House recognise ... hat in any readjustment of ... tariff that may take place, ... rd must be had to to existing ... onditions of trade, and changes ... ade in such a manner as well ... ause the least possible disturbance of business.

That the House, while recognizing that the obligations arising from the war must be met, and declaring its readiness to make all necessary provision for that purpose, regrets that the financial proposals of the Government are not made with due regard to the economy that is so urgently needed, and expresses the opinion that, before resorting to new taxation, the Government should make a substantial reduction in the proposed expenditure.

**Liberalism vs. Meighenism.**

The Tory Party always made the attempt to impress upon the people that they were the only Party which understood the science of government, and that sound government could only have existence in their hands. Is this statement true? If you look at the governments today in the Dominion of Canada you will find from the Pacific to the Atlantic no provincial administration in the hands of the Tory Party. There was a time that they figured largely in provincial administration. Provincial affairs come so closely to the interests of the people that one would have thought if they had any genius in government they would have dominated in this field. In the great West today there is no Tory government. In the great Province of Ontario there is none. In the great Province of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces there is none. Why is this? It cannot be said to be a matter of accident. The Liberal Party, if returned to power, in my judgment would form a Government of experienced and able men taken from the public life of this country, and I say this is true of the West and of the East. Do you think that if the Liberal Government was in power in Ottawa tomorrow they would be announcing that from the Province of Quebec, having two millions of people, they were taking in a Mr. Gauthier today and dropping him tomorrow? Do you think they would be coaxing and wheedling this man and that man? Mr. Meighen has not been able to get a prominent French-Canadian to take any prominent part in the government of this country. You must remember that they are practically one-fourth of the entire population of this country. They have their great men, men who have achieved distinction in the political life of this country. They have given their Province sound, intelligent government, some people say the most intelligent government in this country. Their people are prosperous. Why should they not be permitted to participate in the government of their common country? Is this the way to bring about

Ernest Lapointe, Liberal member for Quebec East, another speaker, had some difficulty when he reached the rink a few minutes after the meeting opened. He convulsed his audience when he told of having to commit burglary to get an entrance, as he had to climb through a window after exercising all the old football tactics he remembered.

Mr. Lapointe made an appeal for unity of all races and classes and for united stand behind the Liberal Party in its fight.

William Duff, M. P., Lunenburg. N. S., and Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M. P., Inverness, also spoke briefly. Hon. G. H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia, was chairman of the meeting.

Several hundred people stood in the aisles of the building and hundreds of others tried in vain to gain admittance to the building which was filled to its utmost capacity.

**Hon. Mackenzie King's Speech.**

Hon. Mackenzie King, introduced by Premier Murray as the coming Premier of Canada, said he had never addressed a more inspiring audience in Canada. The name of Hon. G. H. Murray, said Mr. King, was a household word as one of the leaders of Liberalism. Mr. King paid tribute to each of the Nova Scotia members who were on the platform with him. Mr. King said the people of Canada had been denied a full voice in the management of their country for ten or eleven years. The 1917 election had been fought on a war basis, and such matters as the tariff were forgotten in the stress of greater problems overseas.

"Mr. Meighen asks your confidence," said Mr. King. "Mr. Meighen has shown no confidence in your judgment since he became Prime Minister. We have been denied a general election. Only Russia and Canada refused that right to their people.

"Mr. Meighen has been driven to the country by the force of public opinion," the Liberal Leader declared. "He goes to the people because he was afraid to face defeat in another session of the House.

"The Prime Minister owes to the people to give them the date which he has chosen for the elections so that contracts may be closed and steps taken to bring about a revival of trade and business in Canada."

**The Cost of Government.**

Mr. Meighen wants to make the tariff the sole issue and make the people forget the other matters which his Government has to answer. The cost of living was a most important one, Mr. King claimed, and this was bound up in the high cost of Government.

Men and women must realize the bearing of the cost of the Government on the cost of living.

The women were especially interested in the cost of living and it was to women and the home that the Liberal Party appealed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in this campaign.

Canada today was an entirely different country from the Canada of a few years ago. Canada's debt had

...he poll...

...frid Laurier, wh... had brought prosperity. "We are not for free trade," declared Mr. King; "we are, however, for a revenue tariff which is to build up according to the revenue necessary, and no legitimate industry need fear tariff revision by us."

Mr. King declared: "But if there are any big combines or monopolies founded on a protective tariff, these will be the only ones crushed."

The tariff, said Mr. King, should be framed to develop the basis industries of the country. It would be the aim, he said to develop these industries and bring them to a proper success.

In Cape Breton Liberals had fought for the development of the coal and steel industries. They would continue this fight until they brought back the prosperity which Canada enjoyed for the 15 years of the Liberal regime. Only by returning to Liberal administration could Canada assure her return to prosperity Mr. King claimed.

**The Forces of Reaction.**

The spectacle witnessed in Canada of members of the Government's support being appointed to Supreme Courts or the Senate showed the cement which had held the Meighen Government together. That, said Mr. King, came of trying to hold together two or more groups whose ideals were opposed. Mr. King referred to the National-Liberal and Conservative Party as a party composed of all the reactionaries in the country today, against this were the Liberal forces. These included a new Farmer Party which in parts said it believed in class rule and in other places that it did not. The Labor Party and Great War Veterans were other parties imbued with Liberal ideals, as also were the women in their political affiliation. The Liberal Party whose aims had been in behalf of all classes of the country laid down a platform broad enough for all Liberal forces.

Hon. Mr. King said to the Labor men there was no doubt where he stood on labor matters. His work as Deputy Minister and Minister of Labor was known to all. There were four parts in industry, capital, management, labor and the public community, said Mr. King, and all these were entitled to some voice in the management of industries. Instead of monopoly there should be joint control by these four interests, said Mr. King. The details of this management were something to be worked out in the future, monopolies would never bring strength.

In Parliament all classes should be represented, Mr. King declared, but they should send men who came with special knowledge, and then worked for the benefit of all classes.

Dealing further with Labor matters, Mr. King said the Liberals would not have as Minister of Labor a man who sat in the Senate, but this Minister should sit in the Commons, where he was responsible to the people at all times.

In the war said Mr. King, the Allies had come to unity of command for the good of the world. What was needed in Canada was unity of

The Canadian people today demanded sincerity in their public men, and there could be no sincerity in the men who had formed such a party. The Premier in seeking to make the tariff the issue wanted to confess "only his sins of omission" and be judged on what he had not done.

"We are for a tariff revenue," said Mr. Lapointe. "When Mr. Meighen talks free trade he puts up a man of straw for the pleasure of knocking him down. You must have a tariff. Shall it be a tariff for certain classes or a Liberal tariff in favor of all the people?" The coming campaign would be a regular Tory campaign, said Mr. Lapointe. In 1896 the Tories had prophesied blue run, but in 1911 they cried "let well alone." Patriotic cries were also being raised by the Government. "We are proud to be British," said Mr. Lapoints, "but this election must be fought without anyone wrapping himself in the flag or claiming a monopoly of loyalty."

**Contempt of Parliament**

The people of this country wanted to restore democratic government, said Mr. Lapointe who declared the Government methods had been autocratic. Contempt of Parliament had been shown in the appointment of the purchasing commission and in the Government's action on Article Ten of the Peace Treaty. Parliament was told that this must be accepted, but afterwards the Canadian delegates voted against the clause. The financial condition of the country admitted of only one way out. That was by economy of the strictest order. It was useless for Mr. Meighen to blame "hard times." The creaking wheels always blamed the bad road. The United States and Britain decreased their expenditures, while Canada persisted in increasing hers and increasing the great debt. The Government talked of millions as if these were small change. There must be speedy retrenchment.

Mr. Lapointe said the Government sought to set section against section and class against class. The Liberal Party was big enough to appeal to all classes and all sections, provided they were willing to work together for the good of all.

Referring to Quebec's isolation Mr Lapointe said the entire Dominion was isolated from Meighenism. Quebec would be not largely Liberal, but wholly Liberal when the vote was counted, and it would return 65 members supporting Mr. King.

The slogan of the Canadian people ought to be "no class rule, either from the right or the left," Mr. Lapointe declared. There must be unity of all classes, and that unity was found in the Liberal Party, which stood for the rights of all the people all of the time.

SARNIA, ONT., Sept., 26—Fred Pardee, M. P., will once more carry the Liberal banner for West Lambton in the coming general election, according to the party chiefs.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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# AGAIN

## Gloucester Committee Holds Decision of Halifax Trustees as Final

Special to The Morning Chronicle.

GLOUCESTER, Mass., Sept. 26—The American Race Committee met today and unanimously voted not to [illegible] the entry of the schooner [illegible]er for the American Elimination race, set for Oct. 12th, off this port, to pick a defender for the International Race at Halifax, Oct. 2. The reason given was that vessels competeing must conform to the conditions of the deed of gift.

A letter to this effect was sent to F. Henry Hunt, Chairman of the Directors of the Mayflower Association.

Word came today that the Gloucester schooner Elsie, Capt. Alden Veele, sailed from Shelburne, N. S., for Gloucester with 200,000 pounds of salt fish on board. This was encouraging news, as the Elsie is looked upon here as the most likely contender for honors in the elimination race and the probable selecton as a defender. It is believed that she will lead the fleet on October 12.

### Trustees Backed Up

(By Canadian Press)

GLOUCESTER, Mass., Sept. 26—Entry of the Boston schooner Mayflower for the elimination races to

CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

**KINGSTON, Jamaica, Sept. 26—The British steamship Princess May which left Jamaica Saturday for New York, via Cuba, is ashore near Baracca, on the northeast coast of Cuba. The passengers are reported safe, and the stranded vessel is said to be in no danger. A wrecking steamer has gone to her assistance.**

# McTIGUE WON THE DECISION

### Canadian Title Holder Had Wide Margin Over Platts In New York Bout.

NEW YORK, September 27,—Mike McTigue, holder of the Canadian middleweight title, received the judges' decision over Gus Platts, of England, after a twelve round bout here tonight.

The McTigue-Platts bout was the headliner, and the decision went to Mike by a wide margin.

They started out like a couple of wild locomotives at the sound of the opening bell, and Platts was immediately the recipient of about every blow known to the boxing game. McTigue hit his opponent from every conceivable angle, and had Gus almost out in the first round, the bell saving him.

From that point on McTigue shot rights and lefts to head and body, and in the fourth round he closed Platts' eye with a wicked right. Platts found it hard to land on his opponent, but he kept boring in, taking everything that came his way. In the last four rounds the English boxer was punished unmercifully, and it was hard to see how he managed to keep on his feet. He was still inviting and absorbing punishment at the final gong.

# ARRESTED ON CHARGE OF CONSPIRING TO SHIP WEAPONS TO IRELAND

**NEW YORK, Sept. 26—Charged with being entangled "in a conspiracy to furnish subjects of the British Empire in Ireland with arms and munitions to be used against the British Empire and to instruct them of the weapons," George Gordon Rorke, a graduate of Georgetown University, was arrested here tonight and released on $3.000 bail for his appearance in the Federal District Court tomorrow.**

**Rorke, a commission dealer in arms and ammunition, residing on 16th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., was alleged to be implicated in the purchase and shipment of four hundred and ninety five automatic machine guns seized by government agents on the board the steamship East Side, at Hoboken, N. J., last June.**

party standard in the forthcoming Federal elections. There were two names before the convention, those of Hon. J. C. Torey and Mr. McIsaac. After the ballot, upon motion of C. W. Anderson, M. P. P., the nomination of Mr. McIsaac was made unanimous.

While the committee waited upon Mr. McIsaac to tender him the nomination the following resolution was passed:

Whereas John H. Sinclair, Esq., who has so long and so ably represented the Counties of Antigonish and Guysboro, has signified his desire to retire from the representation of the constituency of the united counties aforesaid.

Resolved that this convention of the Liberal Party in the united counties, in acceding to Mr. Sinclair's wishes, desires to place on record a feeble expression of its appreciation of the constant and untiring efforts of Mr Sinclair while the representative of these counties to further the best interests of the constituency as well as of the Dominion. His indefatiguable industry, wise counsel and devotion to duty gave him a standing in Parliament and in the councils of the party that reflected credit upon this constituency. The fervent hope of the convention and of his numerous personal friends and admirers in both counties is that he may long be spared to participate in the deliberations of the party and assist in the promotion of its continued success.

Further resolved that this resolution be spread on the minutes of the convention and a copy of it be communicated to Mr. Sinclair by the Secretary of the convention.

Hon. C. F. McIsaac, who has on several occasions in the past car-

CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

**HON. C. F. McISAAC.**



not having heard one [illegible] is confidently looked upon in [illegible] s district as next Premier in t[illegible] Dominion

Other hundreds, how[illegible]r, continued to swarm about t[illegible] building and through open wi[illegible]ows and otherwise were able to enjoy the high-lights of a meeting said to be without a parallel in this city since the visit of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1901, the last occasion upon which a Liberal Leader has visited the country.

Hon. George H. Murray presided and was given great an ovation as he mounted the speakers stand. Similar recognition was given Hon. Mr. King, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P., Mr. William Duff M. P., and other members of the party. Hon. Mr. King who was the first speaker, euolgized Mr. D. D. MacKenzie M. P., Premier Murray, Dr. A. S. Kendall ex M. P. and other Liberal stalwarts who were on the platform and created a most favorable impression from the start.

### Liberal Policy's Monument

Speaking in a steel and coal constitutency, he laid partic[illegible]r stress upon the Liberal policy [illegible] to the tariff and assured the workmen of Cape Breton regardless of what Mr. Meighen may say about the Liberals standing for free trade, that it was under a tariff of Liberal devising that the Sydney Steel Plant was made possible and surely they can safely leave it to the same policy to see that the industry is further advanced and brought back from the present conditions of an unemployment to the pitch of prosperity which it attained under the Liberal regime after 1896.

The statement of policy seemed entirely satisfactory judging by the prolonged applause. On the labor question Mr. King declared that he stands for the equal recognition of four forces of industry, namely capital, labor, management and the community. He assured his labor hearers that, if elected his policy should be so shaped as to see that no one of the four component parts of industry should obtain a stranglehold on any of the other three.

The meeting was of a most harmonious nature, broken only by rounds of cheering and applause. There was no heckling of any kind.

### Premier Murray's Address.

In opening the meeting Premier Murray said:

I desire to thank the committee for the honor of asking me to preside at this meeting tonight. I am sure I can congratulate them upon this great gathering. It is a good omen to have this evidence of the interest the people take in the discussion of the problems of the country, and to a large extent I am satisfied that this great gathering is a tribute that the citizens of this part of Nova Scotia desire to pay to the leader of the Liberal party and his eminent lieutenant from the Province of Quebec.

This is the first visit of Mr. King to this part of the Pr[illegible]e. He

[illegible] to the future of this great industry, and as time goes by we expect it to play a more important part in the industrial life of Canada than it does at present.

### Cape Breton's Warm Welcome.

I can give my honorable friend the assurance that if he knew Cape Breton people as well as I do he would know he would receive no warmer welcome in any portion of Canada, either personal or political, than he would receive from them.

My first thought was that the introduction of the speakers would be the only part I would take in this meeting, but upon reflection I felt it would not be too great a liberty for me to take with this audience were I to occupy a few moments in expressing some personal views on the present political situation. I do this by reason of the fact that in this constituency of South Cape Breton, joined as it was at that time by the Northern portion of this Country, I was the standard bearer at three important Federal Elections for the Liberal Party. On one of these occasions the Liberal Party of this then large constituency did me the honor of nominating me in opposition to Sir Charles Tupper, who offered in this constituency after he had been called upon to be Prime Minister.

### The Principles Triumphed.

I must confess, however, that in neither of these contests was I able to convince the electorate that I was entitled to their confidence. Nevertheless my personal disappointment in my early life could be well borne by reason of the fact that I was spared to live to see the principles for which I fought time and again eventually approved of by this constituency. A new generation has been since these memorable political battles, but if I read the times aright my judgment is that practically the same issues will be presented to this constituency by the Tory Party in an effort to obtain their confidence as were presented on the occasions to which I refer. The Tory Party grows old in years but there seems to be little change in their political doctrines.

Mr. Meighen now says to the people of Canada that he seeks their confidence mainly on a platform which ensures the permanency of protection and he pledges himself to enact such a tariff as will bring this about. His view is that a high tariff is best suited to the needs and requirements of this country. The question of a high protective tariff as a policy of the Tory Party is nothing new in this country. It was their policy from 1878 to 1896, and during that long period of time they continually traded upon the fears of the people by the assertion that the advent to power of the Liberal Party would mean a ruined industrial life in this country. The belief in this unwarranted statement more than

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Morning Chronicle
Sept. 27th 1921

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Sydney Post Sept 27th 1921

D 5533

# KING EVADED TARIFF ISSUE IN HIS SPEECH

By Sydney Post Sept 27/21

## Liberal Leader and Lieutenants Address Meeting at Rink

## HIGH COST OF LIVING.

## Question of Protection for Iron and Steel Products Ignored

Hon. William Lyon MacKenzie King, leader of the Liberal party of Canada made his first appearance before a Cape Breton audience last evening at the curlers rink. In point of attendance the meeting was a pleasing one to the Liberal leader. The rink was packed to capacity. It is estimated that about four thousand people were present. To the people of Cape Breton MacKenzie King, during the past year has been merely a name. Curiosity in as large an extent as a desire to hear Mr. King and his lieutenants discuss the issues of the day compelled a large attendance of the people of this city and the surrounding towns. As political meetings go, last night's could be called an enthusiastic one. The Liberal leader's cursory address as well as those of Ernest La pointe, William Duff M. P., and Dr. Chisholm, M. P., were accorded a fair measure of applause.

If Mr. King's address last evening is to be taken in all seriousness, the tariff is only a minor issue of the many on which his party will seek election. The chief issue, if one were to judge by his remarks on his party's policy, is the culpable action of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen in refusing to answer all the questions which Mr. King asked on the floor of parliament during the last session.

Mr. King spoke for slightly over an hour last evening. The tariff he merely passed over, not giving to it more than a brief ten minutes. He spent an hour bewailing the attitude of the government toward opposition attempts to gain information in parliament regarding the management of the merchant marine and the Canadian national railways.

In an industrial community such as Sydney is, Mr. King failed to explain to his audience why it is that the Liberal party following the platform adopted at the Ottawa Liberal convention in 1919, are going to lift the tariff on steel and iron products, by the manufacture of which this city and community exists. Last evening's audience expected this explanation. It did not come. Mr. King treated the tariff in a very general way. A more particular explanation on this point at least, would have been welcomed by the thousands of people, composed mostly of industrial workers who assembled to listen to him.

Mr. King in opening paid tribute to Premier Murray who presided at the meeting and also spoke in a complimentary manner of Mr. Lapointe, D. D. McKenzie, William Duff, Dr Chisholm, Kyte and Dr. Kendall, al his present or one time colleagues in the House of Commons.

Mr. King, turning to the issues before the country said that Mr. Meighen was trying to make the tariff the one and only issue. It was one issue but not in the way Mr. Meighen would have it. It was one of a number of great issues, the chief one of which was the high cost of living. Fronm here it was an easy step to a discussion of the increased debt of the country. Mr. King said that his party was wiling to assume the debt which was contracted by the late war In detail he explained how the national debt had been so increased and from his explanation to his audience it was gathered that the increase in the national obligation was contractedoy the participation of this country in the late war and that alone.

Mr. King proceeded todeal with the obligations before the country. He spoke for a period of fifteen minutes upon the national debt, and of the country's debt, of its soldiers, an obligation which could not be gotten rid of without dishonor. Then there was the obligation assumed when the railways were taken over. He emphasized the serious nature of this country's railway burden wth its tremendous deficits.

### Develops Censorious Mood

He then developed a censorious mood and launched upon an attack upon the Meighen government's attitude toward Liberal demands for details of expenditures He inveighed bitterly the refusal of information about the Canadian National railways. The application of closure apparently made Mr. King indignant, for he pronounced himself as much displeased with this method. The government had taken the position that having transferred to the board of directors the control of the C. N. R., and the Canadian mercantile marine, they were free to expend the appropriations made by parliament in the way they thought best.

Touching upon the question of interlocking directorates, Mr. King declared that, notwithstanding the government's attitude, the opposition were able in one of the committee meetings to get information which disclosed why the government might well have desired to refuse information. It was shown, he said, that with the exception only of the deputy minister of railways and canals, three-fourths of the board of directors of the Canadian National railways were also directors, presidents or managers in industrial enterprises.

Coming to the question of the tariff Mr. King took direct issue with Premier Meighen's claim that the fight in Canada today was between protection and free trade. He inisted that Mr. Meighen knew differently.

"He knows very well that no matter what views men and women may hold theoretically on the respective merits of free trade and protection no government charged with the duty of administering the nation's affairs would find the abolition of all tariff under existing conditions either wise, patriotic or possible. No, the prime minister's purpose was and is that of making the issue one of extremes in the hope that the cause that avoids extremes may be overlooked altogether.

### Other Speakers

At the conclusion of Mr. King's address, Mr. Duff, M. P., for Lunenburg, spoke briefly. Mr. Duff touched lightly upon the issue or issues on which his party will go to the country. His address was made up mainly of several funny stories told by him in illustration of points which he wished to outline and of an invective attack, not unlike the address of his leader.

Dr. Chisholm. M. P., for Inverness, spoke for several minutes and gave the assurance that the county which he represents would be firm in the coming election in its support of the party of which Mr. King is the head.

The address of Ernest Lapointe, M. P., for Quebec, gained an even larger measure of applause than that of the opposition leader. Mr. Lapointe, like Mr. King, had never before been heard in Cape Breton and the audience gave him the same ovation which a stranger in this country always receives.

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Montreal Gazette Sept-26th 1921

D 5534

# MACKENZIE KING IS WELCOMED IN LOWER PROVINCES

## Complains of Delay in Announcing Date of General Elections

## MAKES BID FOR SUPPORT

### Says Maritime Division of National Railways Should Be Administered From Moncton

(By Canadian Press.)

Sydney, N.S., September 25.—Citizens of Moncton, N.B., Amherst, N.S., and Truro, N.S., turned out in numbers to welcome Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, on his arrival at those cities en route to Sydney, members of Mr. King's party stated on arrival here today. On reaching Moncton, Mr. King was greeted by A. B. Copp, member of the Commons for Westmoreland, and by many other prominent Liberals. At Amherst, upwards of two thousand people were gathered on the station platform when Mr. King arrived, and the Amherst band played as the train pulled in. A similar demonstration was staged at Truro.

Addressing the crowds in both cities for the few moments while the train remained in the station, Mr. King made a strong appeal to the people of Nova Scotia to support the Liberal candidates and assure the return of the Liberal administration, which had brought to Canada fifteen years of prosperity from 1896 to 1911. The Laurier-Fielding tariff had injured no legitimate manufacturers, Mr. King claimed, but, on the other hand, it had been equally just to both manufacturer and consumer. If the Liberal party were returned to power, as he was sure it would be, Canada would be assured that tariff matters would be based on the counsel of that worthy son of Nova Scotia, Hon. W. S. Fielding, whose tariff policy had brought about the opening of factories which were closed or closing down when the Liberals assumed office in 1896.

### ALLEGES AUTOCRACY.

Mr. King criticized the Meighen Government for what he said were autocratic actions. Among these he classed the Premier's delay in announcing dissolution. If dissolution were announced and the merchants and others were informed of the date of the coming election, said Mr. King, they could arrange their business to take advantage of the settling down of things which would be sure to follow. As it was, Mr. Meighen quite apparently had decided upon the exact date when the election would be held, but he refused to concede to the people of Canada their undoubted right to that information.

Referring briefly to the administration of the Meighen Government, the Liberal leader drew cheers from the crowd when he stated that the Borden-Meighen Government's action of placing the entire control of the maritime railways in charge of a group of men residing in Toronto was unfair to the Maritime Provinces, and was on a basis with the Meighen idea of placing control of the people's business in the hands of a small group of the Government's own friends and associates. The maritime division of the Canadian National should be administered from Moncton or some other Maritime Province city, Mr. King declared.

The Meighen Government, he said, had been forced to the country by the insistent demands of the Liberal Opposition for an election, and now Mr. Meighen sought to use the tariff issue as a camouflage to distract attention from the Government's misdeeds and blunders.

At Amherst, Hance J. Logan, unsuccessful candidate in the 1917 election in Cumberland County, introduced Mr. King, who was cheered by the crowd, and at the close of the Liberal leader's remarks Mr. Logan announced that he would again be a candidate in the constituency under the banner of Mr. King, and that he was in the fight to victory.

Tariff

"Ottawa Citizen" Sept 26. reports similarly.

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Ottawa Citizen ed
Sept. 27th 1921

D 5535

# REDUCTION OF TAXATION IF LIBERALS WIN

## Claim of Hon. Mackenzie King to Sydney, C.B., Audience, Who Makes Charges of Extravagance.

## ALLEGES A REFUSAL TO CONSULT PEOPLE

## Premier of Nova Scotia Discusses Government's Tariff Policy.

(By Staff Correspondent Canadian Press).

SYDNEY, N.S., Sept. 26.—Addressing an audience of nearly four thousand people in the Curlers' Rink here tonight, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, declared that only by the return of the Liberal administration could there be in Canada any reduction in national expenditures and a consequent reduction of taxation. Mr. King charged the government with unnecessary extravagance and also with refusing to accord the people the courtesy of being consulted on policies affecting expenditure of the public monies.

Ernest Lapointe, Liberal member for Quebec East, another speaker, had some difficulty when he reached the rink a few minutes after the meeting opened. He convulsed his audience when he told of having to commit burglary to get an entrance, as he had to climb through a window after exercising all the football tactics he remembered.

Mr. Lapointe made an appeal for unity of all races and classes, and for united stand behind the Liberal party in its fight.

William Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, N.S., and Dr. A. W. Chisholm, M.P., Inverness, also spoke briefly. Hon. G. H. Murray, premier of Nova Scotia, was chairman of the meeting.

**Premier Murray's View.**

Hon. Mr. Murray, introduced the leader of the Liberal party and said Mr. King had no more loyal supporters than the people of Cape Breton. Premier Murray said he himself had three times unsuccessfully contested the constituency in the federal house. This was not the first time he had heard the policy of protection or ruined interests.

"Had I been a prophet and showed the electors of Cape Breton what was coming under Liberalism, their verdict would have been different," said Premier Murray. "If any tariff policy different to that of the Liberals could add to the prosperity of this country, why did not the government introduce it? If Mr. Meighen could introduce a tariff to alter trade conditions he should have done so long ago while his party was in its strength."

Mr. Murray said there would be no "dreadful things" happen to Canada because of the return of the Liberal party in Canada. On the other hand, the development of both the home and foreign markets would mean greater prosperity in Canada. There was not today a Conservative government in any of the provinces of Canada. Mr. Meighen, said the speaker, has been trying to "thimble-rig" for ten days and attract mediocre men to the cabinet. The Liberal party already had a supply of great men to draw from. The men in 1897 had brought about prosperity through a good tariff, could again frame a tariff which would bring Canada to happiness and prosperity. The verdict of ballots would show a clear verdict for the Liberal party in Nova Scotia, Mr. Murray declared.

**Driven to Country.**

"Mr. Meighen has been driven to the country by the force of public opinion," Mr. King declared in the course of his speech. "He goes to the people because he was afraid to face defeat in another session of the house. The Meighen government has not a friend in this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The prime minister owes to the people to give them the date which he has chosen for the election so that contracts may be closed and steps taken to bring a revival of trade and business in Canada. Mr. Meighen wants to make the tariff the sole issue and this makes the people forget the other matters for which the government has to answer."

"The cost of living was a more important one," Mr. King claimed, "and this was bound up in the high cost of government. Men and women must realize the bearing of the cost of the government on the cost of living. The women were especially interested in the cost of living and it was to women and the home that the Liberal party appealed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific in this campaign

**Full Quota Candidates.**

"We are putting in candidates from the Atlantic to the Pacific today," said the Liberal chief, "because we believe that combined effort is necessary to bring down expenses of government and taxation. "You will never get any economy through Premier Meighen and such colleagues as the minister of militia and the minister of marine and naval affairs. Money has been spent in millions and new departments opened with consequent additions of many new employes. You'll never get any economy until you get a new government at Ottawa and secure a careful audit of the books."

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said if returned to power it would be his aim to follow the policy laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which had brought prosperity. "We are not for free trade," declared Mr. King. "We are, however, for a revenue which is built up according to the revenue necessary; no legitimate industry need fear tariff revision by us."

Mr. King declared, "but if there are any big combines or monopolies founded on a protective tariff, these will be the only ones crushed."

The tariff, said Mr. King, should be framed to develop the basic industries of the country. It would be our aim, he said, to develop these industries and bring them to a proper success.

**On Labor Matters.**

Hon. Mr. King said to the Labor men there was no doubt where he stood on Labor matters. His work as deputy minister and minister of labor was known to all. There were four parts in industry, capital, management, labor and the public community, said Mr. King, and all these were entitled to some voice in the management of industries. Instead of monopoly there should be joint control by these four interests, said Mr. King.

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New Glasgow, N.S.

"A CHANGE TO A PROPER DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT"

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Halifax Herald
September 28th 1921

# HUNDREDS HEAR KING SPEAK IN PICTOU CO.

## Reception In Afternoon, Followed By Two Large Meetings In New Glasgow Last Night.

## LAPOINTE, SINCLAIR AND DUFF ARE SPEAKERS

## Liberal Leader Appeals To All To Join In "a United March To Victory."

NEW GLASGOW, Sept. 27—Approximately two thousand people gathered today at the depot for the arrival of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party. The train arrived on time, and Mr. King accompanied by William Duff, M. P.. and Earnest Lapointe, M. P., made his way to the waiting car of John H. Sinclair, M. P., and was greeted by cheers. Headed by the Pipers Band, the crowd and autos took their way to the Liberal committee rooms, in the Maritime building, which was able to accommodate only a part of the numbers assembled.

Mr. King and his colleagues had a busy few minutes shaking hands, after which each thanked those present for their welcome.

In his remarks, Mr. King spoke of the great services of John H. Sinclair, M. P., and made the significant statement that there was no intention of losing Mr. Sinclair to the Liberal party, which might be understood as meaning that an attempt would be made to find a seat for Mr. Sinclair outside his native county. After the reception, the visitors left for Mr. Sinclair's home on Abercrombie Road, where they were entertained until the hour of the evening meeting.

ELECTORS of New Glasgow and Pictou County filled two theatres here tonight to hear Messrs King, Lapointe, Duff, and other prominent Liberals expound their views of the Liberal platform.

The Itzit and Roseland theatres were filled to capacity and many people were unable to gain admittance to either. Local arrangements had been well laid out and several bands had been engaged for the evening.

Mr. Duff led off in addressing the overflow meeting at the Roseland Theatre, and the other speakers followed, after addressing the main meeting.

Mr. King made an appeal for all who sought "a change to a proper democratic government" to join together in a united march to the victory of the Liberal forces at the polls. The Allied nations had found it necessary to bring about unity of command in order that the Allied forces might sweep back those of oppression.

The Liberal party in its policy sought to give all the people of Canada a proper voice in the management of that country. Tariff revision was overdue, but it should not be revision by the Meighen Government, whose idea of Protection was for Protection for the favored few, while the Liberal idea was protection for all the people, with ronsideration of the needs of both consumers and producers alike.

Hon. C. F. McIsaac, candidate in Antigonish and Guysboro, also addressed the meeting in the Roseland Theatre.

ANTIGONISH, Sept. 27. — The people of Antigonish were given a chance to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, when the train reached here at one o'clock to-day. A demonstration had been arranged by the local Liberals, and when Hon. Mr. King reached the station, he was asked to address the crowd of several hundred people who had gathered while the train remained for a few minutes at the platform. H. H. Sinclair, sitting member for Antigonish-Guysboro; Hon. C. F. McIsaac, the candidate; Hon. J. C. Tory and other prominent Liberals welcomed Mr. King on behalf of the people of the county, and assured him of the loyalty of this section of the province to the Liberal party and his leadership.

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THE NEED FOR CANADIAN UNITY

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# HON. MACKENZIE KING, IN PICTOU SPEECH, APPEALS FOR A UNITED CANADA

## Liberal Leader Stresses Need For Unity On National Questions for the Benefit of The Dominion as a Whole—Shiretown Accords Hearty Welcome to Chieftain And Party.

Special to The Morning Chronicle.

NEW GLASGOW, N. S., Sept. 28—Following the two great political meetings held last evening in the interests of Liberalism the expression on the morrow was one of complete satisfaction. Hon. Mr. King's eloquent and earnest presentation of the political questions won for him a legion of enthusiastic admirers, and the appreciation for Mr. LaPointe's happy address was equally laudatory.

Not many years ago a moderate sized hall would have held all the listeners at a political discussion even in the heat of a campaign. Last night two large theatres failed to accommodate all those who sought admission. The Liberal Party in Pictou County was never so jubilant at the opening of an election campaign and it promisese to be an enthusiasm that will go far towards securing for them an overwhelming victory.

This morning Messrs. King, LaPointe and Duff were taken by motor about our industries and to the top of Fraser's Mountain, from which vantage point they enjoyed a comprehensive view of the surrounding country with varied resources. They then entrained for Pictou town, important unit that went to make up a peaceful and contented people. Nearly all business depended on the success of the farm. When the crop was good business was good, when the crop was not good it was not good for general business. He said the exhibition was much similar in its features to fairs in his own province of Quebec. He was glad to be in attendance to met the people of Pictou, to get acquainted, one with the other, and he would invite the people of Pictou to visit Quebec to see the exhibition there.

The addresses were well received and the speakers loudly cheered. Messrs. King, LaPointe and Duff and several local politicians were entertained to luncheon by Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Macdonald and left on the afternoon train for Truro, where they spent the night in their special car. They will proceed tomorrow over the Midland Railway to Windsor where Hon. Mackenzie King will address a meeting in the Armouries at 2.30 p. m.

### For Canada's Good

PICTOU, N. S. Sept., 28—(By Canadian Press Correspondent)—The great need of unity on national

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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# LEADER OF LIBERAL PARTY REPLIES TO PREMIER MEIGHEN

## Liberal Victory Will Mean Establishment of Government Such As Laurier Gave, With Strongest Men From All the Provinces, Hon. Mackenzie King Declares Before Grcat Audience at Windsor

Special to The Morning Chronicle.

WINDSOR, Sept. 29—Before an audience which packed and crowded the large Armouries of this town this afternoon Hon. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party, declared the policy of that party regarding the great public problems facing Canada and made an appeal for unity of the Liberal forces of progress against autocracy of the present Government which, he characterized as "unadultered old fashioned Toryism." Again and again was the audience swept by emotion which gave vent to rounds of applause.

To the older men and women present memory of the glorious days of Howe must have been very vivid. It was commented upon that in no part of Nova Scotia could a leader of the Liberal Party stand on ground more sacred to the cause of the people's liberty in the fight against autocrack than in the County of Hants which had been the fighting ground of Howe, champion of responsible government.

### LIKE AN OLD TIME SCENE.

The enormous hall, decorated with flags and banners hung from the rafters and over the walls, the pictures of the King, Fielding, Laurier and Mackenzie King draped with flags, autumn leaves and potted plants bedecking the speakers' platform even to "The Chronicle Rooster," hanging rampant over the chairman's table, all reminded one again of old time political customs with which the great fundamental principles of democratic government had been fought out in this country.

Dr. J. B. Black, ex-M. P., was chairman. The speakers were William Duff, M. P., Hon. Dr. Beland of Quebec, who was a prisoner of war in Germany for three years, Mr. D. D. Mackenzie, M. P., Mr. L. H. Martell, the County's nominee and Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. The Windsor Citizen Band played an excellent programme of patriotic airs while Scotch Pipers from Pictou, lent the martial skirl of bag pipes to an already animated scene.

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### Given Rousing Welcome.

The Liberal Party, aboard the special C. N. R. car attached to the Midland train, arrived at Windsor at nine o'clock. They were met at the station by hundreds of Windsor citizens and many from other parts of the County who had arrived to give the Liberal Chieftain a welcome. The meeting in the Armouries commenced at 2.20 o'clock, and the National Anthem was played at the close at fifteen minutes to six. During that long and not too cool afternoon hardly a man, woman or child left the auditorium, although scores of them were unable to obtain seats and stood for over three hours, such was the interest in the political situation of today, presented by the Liberal Leader, did the people of Windsor exhibit.

The party were entertained at dinner by Mr. L. H. Martell at Livingston's restaurant, and afterward a reception was held for the leader, when he met a large number of Windsor citizens.

### Plea For Unity and Co-operation.

Mr. King's address was a plea for unity, and in order that a united Canada might have a strong Government, composed of men with common aims and common hopes for their country. He dealt specially with the agrarian movement and group systems by placing in comparison all the platforms of the various parties with that of Liberalism. In them all were there many things which the Liberal platform contained, for the Liberal platform had been laid down by men representing all classes, all creeds, all occupations. He condemned in no restricted sense the autocracy displayed by Premier Meighen, and answered the Premier's recent speech by declaring it to be the "essence of unadulterated old-fashioned Toryism."

Dr. Beland, the French-Canadian, whose experiences during the war are of national knowledge, found a responsive audience in Windsor. He spoke briefly, but he gave a sweeping review of the political situation. Perhaps his strongest appeal came from his very presence, a French-Canadian before a Bluenose audience, two factors which more than any other have made Canada what she is.

### Where The Government Failed.

One of the striking points of Dr. Beland's address was his reference to Mr. Fielding's resolution of last year, calling upon the Government to negotiate with the United States for the reciprocity which was still on the statute books of the United States. This, said Dr. Beland, would have anticipated the Fordney Bill.

Mr. William Duff moved the audience to roars of laughter when he punned the Premier in the quotation from Proverbs, twenty-second chapter, twenty-ninth verse:—"Seest thou a man diligent in business? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean men."

Mr. King and party will leave on the special car attached to the D. A. R. tomorrow morning, transferring the car to the Halifax and Southwestern at Middleton, and proceding by that route to Bridgewater, arriving there at five o'clock tomorrow afternoon, where a reception will be held. The public meeting at Bridgewater is scheduled for Saturday afternoon.

Fine weather favored the meeting, even Nature itself seeming eager to welcome the visitors. The Midland, to which their special car was attached, arrived about nine o'clock, the party being met by the local reception committee consisting of L. H. Martell, Liberal candidate for Hants; Dr. J. B. Black, ex-M.P.; Dr. J. W. Reid, M.P.P.; E. M. McInnes, C. W. Church, H. B. McLaughlin, F. H. Manning, and Frank Pugsley. Headed by pipers of the Pictou Highlanders and the Windsor Citizens' Band, the party were driven to the Victoria Hotel, where breakfast was served.

### Spoke to the Children.

The public and collegiate schools were visited by the party during the morning, and Mr. King and Dr. Beland both delivered short addresses of a non-political nature. They urged the necessity of the school children taking an active part in the affairs of the country, and in order to give them a chance to attend the meeting in the afternoon, Mr. King asked Principal J. A. Smith to grant the children a half holiday. He urged the young citizens to take an optimistic view of things, to look on the bright side, to respect differences, and to always look for the good points in another person.

Dr. Beland spoke along the same lines, emphasizing the fact that those characteristics which the children showed when young would be further emphasized when they became older.

The afternoon meeting in the local drill shed was marked by enthusiasm and excellent addresses. On the arrival of Hon. Mr. King and his associates, the hall shook with cheers, which speaks well for the success of the local Liberal candidate in the forthcoming election.

### Many Women Present.

A marked feature of the audience was the large number of women present, probably forming over half of the two thousand people who crowded the capacity of the hall. Dr. J. B. Black, M.P. for Hants from 1904 to 1911, acted as chairman, and on the platform were Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. Dr. Beland, M.P.; Mr. D. D. MacKenzie, M.P.; Mr. William Duff, M.P.; Mr. L. H. Martell, Mr. T. B. Smith, and representatives of the Liberal Party from every section of the County

The chairman in his opening remarks thanked the local committee for the honor done him by appointing him to occupy the chair on this occasion, which, he declared, rightly belonged to Mr. Martell, who had been elected by the people of Hants in 1917, only to have seat stolen from him by the operation of that piece of iniquity, the "War Time Election Act." Liberalism was growing in Hants, and the late Provincial election had convinced him that the electors of Hants would give to Mr. Martell, the Liberal candidate, the largest majority in the history of the County.

Mr. T. B. Smith, as probably the oldest supporter of the party in the audience, was next called upon and reiterated his belief in the principle of Liberalism and his faith in the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King as the successor to the great chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

### See Error of Their Ways.

Mr. William Duff, M.P., introduced as the fighting member from Lunenburg, also lauded the ability of Mr. Martell and his belief in the leadership of the young chief, Hon. Mr. King. Mr Martell had "fought a good fight and had kept the faith,"

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only to be forced out of the position he had fairly won, by that most obnoxious measure, the "War Time Election Act." This was but one of the dastardly pieces of legislation enacted by the party led by Mr. Meighen. There had not been a real election since 1911. In 1911 the people of the Dominion had voted against reciprocity. In view of the changed condition of today and in the face of retaliatory legislation, such as the Fordney Tariff Bill, the great body of electors had seen the error of their ways, and some such measure as reciprocity was necessary to save the country. A better understanding between the two countries was needed and the Liberal Party was the only party who could be trusted to conduct the negotiations.

**From Bad to Worse.**

Mr. Duff then reviewed the history of the Borden administration, showing that the people had never trusted it from the first, and that under it conditions had gone from bad to worse. Three years had elapsed since the signing of the armistice, and only now were the electors being given a chance to show their wishes at the polls. The strongest men in the Union had either resigned or been relegated to the Senate. The new name of the party would deceive no one. It was indeed a contradiction in terms and would be more properly called "the goodness knows what" party. Mr. Duff said that even the Scriptures proved that no such party as the National Liberal and Conservative could exist, quoting from Proverbs 22, verse 29:—"Seest thou a man diligent in his business? He shall stand before kings; he shall not stand before mean (Meighen) men."

**Quebec and Nova Scotia.**

In his opening remarks Hon. Dr. Beland referred to his many close political associations with the Nova Scotian members, and to the prevalence of the good feeling between the two Provinces. He wished to join in the concert of praise for Mr. King, who, in spite of organised propaganda, was steadily climbing the road to popularity. He referred to the great discontent of the present time, and stated that the only solution was in a return to the stable and sane government under the Liberal regime, which had characterised the period from 1896 to 1911. There is no necessity to judge the Borden Government, for it is dead. It committed suicide.

Mr. Meighen would make the fiscal question the only issue in the forthcoming election, and, although the Liberals were willing to debate this question and believed that they had the only solution, yet this issue was far too narrow on which to conduct an election. The big question before the people of Canada is this, "Are you going to return this Government with its past record to power or are you going to throw it into oblivion?" There could be but one answer.

During his absence while a prisoner in Germany there had been foul winds blowing between the different Provinces. He had seized every opportunity to bring the various factions together, and to make for that mutual tolerance without which an united Canada was impossible.

**An Act of Desperation.**

No date had yet been set for a General Election, why the delay? The longer the wait the worse the Government will be defeated. The action of Premier Meighen in precipitating a General Election had been described by some papers as an act of bravery. Was it an act of bravery for a man to escape from a sinking ship when there was nothing else to do but take the plunge, a plunge into the infuriated waves of public indignation? And when he does take the plunge no helping hand will be outstretched to save him, but let him go to the bottom for he deserves it."

Dr. Beland criticised the Government which, while preaching economy had appointed no less than 23 Cabinet Ministers, by this means hoping to catch votes. The liberty loving people of Canada were tired of such measures as the Closure, the War Time Election Act and the Canadian Northern deal. He criticised the action of the Government in its squandering of funds, under the guise of war time emergencies. The public debt had increased enormously, aided by such leaks as the Ross rifle deal which accounted for three million, the advances to Greece and Roumania which ate up another fifty million, the Mackenzie and Mann deal which lightened the pockets of the Canadian people by another ten millions. He stated that demobilization had cost far more than was necessary.

**For High Protection.**

Whatever their statements to the contrary the Meighen group favor protective interests. They state they are for a moderate tariff but their trend is in the direction of high protection, in virtue a prohibitive tariff. Scratch a Tory and you will find an exponent of high protection," said Dr. Beland, amid laughter.

In his recent speech at Portage La Prairie, Mr. Meighen has attempted to patch up some of the weaker spots in the Government platform. The Premier had admitted that when the Fordney Bill went into operation in the United States Canada would have to find other markets for the 168 millions worth of goods she last year sold to the neighboring republic and why? It was a direct result of their having rejected Reciprocity in 1911. At the last session of the House, that stalwart exponent of Liberalism, Hon. W. S. Fielding (cheers), had moved that the Reciprocity agreement be again considered in view of measures similar to the Fordney Bill being enacted by the United States. He was backed by the Liberals but the Unionists to a man opposed him and the motion was defeated.

**The Liberal Platform.**

In closing Dr. Beland reiterated some of the main points in the Liberal platform. The party which was the direct descendant of that led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier from 1896 to 1911 advocated the cultivation of friendly relations with the United States not only for the material advantages which would accrue from such a union but also because of the great stabilizing factor the two nations would be for international peace. They advocated strict economy and retrenchment, a tariff that avoids either extreme, neither free trade no high protection, but rather the happy medium. The Liberal Party advocated that mutual forebearance that "bonne entente" between the different races and religions which make up the great Dominion. He was glad to see so many ladies present and urged them to support the principles of Liberalism in order that Canada may enter the march of happiness and prosperity it has known before.

**Back to the Old Prosperity.**

Mr. D. D. Mackenzie, M. P., for Cape Breton North in his opening remarks lauded both Dr. J. B. Black, the former member for Hants, and the present Liberal candidate, Mr. L. H. Martell. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier took over the reins of office in 1896 the wheels of industry were clogged. In a few years under the Liberal regime happiness, prosperity and contentment returned to the country. Conditions were similar today and it remained with the people to return the Liberals to power. The slogan of the Tories in 1911 was "Leave well enough alone." Today it was "Save the country." Things were going from bad to worse and there was but one solution. It seemed to be an article of

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the Tory faith that everybody is crooked and when they assumed office they tried hard to pick flaws and make disclosures which would compromise the Liberal Administration. But not one ten cent piece could they find missing. Under the Borden and Meighen regime the credit of the country had become such that the people were forced to pay high rates of interest on money borrowed. Even little Nova Scotia could get money at better terms than the great Dominion of Canada. It remained with the Government to give a satisfactory answer to conditions like these but they could not.

Mr. Mackenzie in his speech declared that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Liberalism stood solidly behind Hon. Mackenzie King. Canada had boundless resources and needed to have these developed. The Conservatives had not developed them, nor would they. After fifteen years, the Liberals had left office with a surplus in hand. When they regained power they would find huge deficits. Mr. MacKenzie said it appeared that by prohibitive freight rates and diversion of traffic the Government appeared to be trying to cut down the business of the Maritime Provinces. Freight which should pass through Maritime ports was sent to Portland, Maine. The I.C.R. pact should be carried out, and it would be expected to be carried out when the Government changed.

Mr. L. H. Martell in a brief speech, promised Hon. Mr. King that the election returns from Hants County would not be disappointing. The County stood firm and unswerving in its loyalty to Liberalism.

**Tribute to Joseph Howe**

In commencing his address Mr. King paid a graceful tribute to Joseph Howe which brought loud applause from the audience. He referred to the great Nova Scotian as one of the founders of the nation and that it was of the nature of treading on sacred ground to come to the County which had returned that great leader of Liberalism. In the chairman of the day Dr. Black, they had a distinguished advocate of a health department of the Government which, he must be gratified to see, had come to pass. Like himself Mr. Martell had not had the opportunity to reach the House of Commons owing to an iniquitous electoral franchise act for which there had been no excuse. He severely condemned the War Times Election Act and charged that the people had been defrauded by manipulation of the rightful choice of representatives. But on this occasion the people of Hants had the opportunity to return Mr. Martell to the House of Commons with a larger majority than they would have given him the last time (Loud applause)

**Premier's Violent Language**

In replying to Mr. Meighen Mr. King said that the speech delivered by the Prime Minister at Portage La Prairie last night, was to all intents the same speech he delivered at London Ont. a few weeks ago, except that the language is more violent and not so much becoming a Prime Minister. It was to all intents and purposes, the same as Mr. Meighen made at Sherbrooke Quebec over a year ago shortly after he became Prime Minister. At that time he said the issue mainly concerning the people of Canada was largely between protection free trade. He went as far as to describe those who agree with him as the sane and orderly members of society. Those who ventured to differ from him in opinion were described as "Bolsheviks" and nation wreckers." Mr. Meighen heard a good deal in the way of criticism of his extreme language after this speech and considerably modified his tone in the House of Commons, when he returned from England this year, after having heard the manner in which public men in the Old Country, discuss the public matters. His tone was quite different from what it was heretofore.

When he delivered his London speech many of his friends thought he had greatly profited by his association with the public men of the old world. Unfortunately he had lapsed back into his old style and now, he said, that all who do not see eye to eye are "reckless agitators," that they were guilty of "Chicanery, Infidelity and Prostitunion of trust, that they did not hesitate to beray hose whose support they seek and that, if placed in position of authority, they are likely to reduce the country to unstability and chaos."

**Unadulterated Old Fashioned Tory....ism**

"This is extreme language" said Mr. King, "for one holding the position of Prime Minister." Mr. King described it to the very evident delight of the audience, as unadulterated old fashioned Toryism."

He said there were such things as Conservativism and Liberalism. Conservatism he had some regard for but when it came to talking of "Chicanery, Prostitution and Infidelity," it had arrived at the extreme point. Mr. Gladstone had on one occasion described Liberalism as "Trust in the many, qualified by prudence" and Toryism as Mistrust of the many, qualified by fear."

Answering Mr. Meighen's question what kind of Government do you vote for, if you vote against the Present Government, Mr. King said that the people knew what they would vote for. Leaving Mr. Crerar to answer for himself, Mr. King said that "if you will vote for the Liberal Party you will vote for the kind of Government which came into power in 1896 under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who surrounded himself by the strongest men of every Province; the kind of Government which gave to Canada the golden era of administration. You can have a stable Government only by a combination of men with one mind and one purpose from Atlantic to Pacific."

Mr. Meighen was making the issue by saying "I tell you the issue is protection vs. free trade." He forgot that he was talking to the people of Canada, and the people of Canada would decide for themselves what the issue was.

**History Repeating Itself.**

History was repeating itself in a remarkable manner, and Mr. King proceeded to show that in England previous to the Napoleonic wars there was a well established Government meeting the people's wises. During that war, as in the late conflict, the people, desirous of achieving victory, placed great power in the Government and the Premier, allowing very much to be done by order-in-council. As a result, when the war was over England was under the control of a small group of men who desired to remain in power. They were eventually forced from power, and then commenced the great reform movements in social and economic and industrial life. There was today in Canada a striking analogy and repetition in history. Here was seen political power usurped by a Prime Minister without authority or mandate. Now the question was "shall we have the Goevrnment of autocracy continue, or should the country return to responsible Government?"

Dealing with the railway problem, Mr. King said that over twenty thousand miles of railway had been taken over by the Government, yet when the Opposition had asked in

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Parliament that the agreement by which the Grand Trunk was taken over be submitted to the House, Mr. Meighen had refused. This was contrary to any one of his predecessors in office, either Conservative or Liberal. Agreements of that nature had always been brought in and discussed by the people's representatives in Parliament. Mr. King declared that we need above every thing else today a return to responsible Government.

**Economy and Retrenchment.**

Speaking directly to the women, he urged them not to be discouraged by the magnitude of the problems they must study now they had the vote. One phase would come home to them more than anything else, and that was the cost of living, and no question so affected the high cost of living as the high cost of Government. The amount of money voted last year by the House of Commons for the Federal Government alone amounted to $62 per capita. In a family of five this meant $310. This proved that economy and retrenchment were the great questions of the day. Public affairs needed to be audited, but they would not be audited until a new Government would come into power, for it was not to be expected the members of the present Government were going to tell of mistakes they made.

In the matter of tariff, Mr. King said the great basic industries should be encouraged. All the wealth of the nation came from nature, and to develop those industries the implements required should be made as cheaply as possible. Revision of duties should be so distributed as to bear lightly on the necessaries of life In this revision, consideration will be given which will best meet the home and its needs.

**Hope of Divided Forces.**

Dealing with a recent cynical remark which Mr. Meighen had made, Mr. King said too much importance could not be attached to it. It was with reference to the Opposition to the Government being subdivided. Mr. Meighen, declared Mr. King, was secretly rejoicing that he saw in it the one hope for the triumph of reaction in the constituencies where the forces arrayed against him were not united. There was nothing antagonistic, said Mr. King, in the attitude of the Liberals toward Farmers or Labor, any more than toward any other group or class in society. The attitude was rather that of a desire for co-operation among all forces opposed to the present Administration. It was not sufficient that each should feel that it was in the right. The essential of unity was as necessary to success as was the righteousness of the cause.

He spoke specially regarding the attitude of the Women and the Great War Veterans toward their respective platforms, which seemed to be the wiser course. They did not want to share in Government primarily as women or returned soldiers, but as citizens. They desired to make their power felt for those candidates who stood for those principles they considered essential to good government.

**Support the Liberal Party.**

It would be better in the long run for Labor and Farmers to adopt the same attitude if they wished their principles to prevail, as only by a party, comprising all classes, places, sections, creeds and occupations, as broad as the continent, would it be possible to have that kind of co-operation between members of the House of Commons, which was necessary to the enactment of legislation desired. As an historic party, with its traditions of the past and its aspirations for the future, the Liberal Party could be relied upon to give to all classes a fair and square deal, but it needed the support of all to insure this result, for they were in the face of an enemy which was in possession of the Government of the country, of the patronage, of the electoral machinery and of powerfu linfluences of wealth and privilege. (Cheers.)

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Daily Telegraph & Sun.
Sept 30th, 1921

# HANTS WELCOMES THE HON. MR. KING

## At Great Mass Meeting in Drill Hall, Windsor, Liberal Leader, Beland, Duff and MacKenzie Speak

**Dr. Black, the Chairman, Declares L. H. Martell, Standard Bearer in Constituency, Was Wrongfully Deprived of His Seat Under the War-Time Elections Act in 1917, But That the Dishonest Deed Will Be Righted in 1921.**

(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)

Windsor, N. S., Sept. 29—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was welcomed to Hants county on his arrival here today. At a mass meeting in the Drill hall, the Liberal leader, Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P.; William Duff, M. P., and D. D. MacKenzie, M. P., were the speakers, and addressing a capacity audience, gave to the people of the county their views of Liberalism and national affairs. Dr. J. S. Black, ex-M. P., who presided at the meeting, declared that the seat had been taken from the Liberal candidate, L. H. Martell, under the war time election act in an unfair manner.

**Will Right the Wrong.**

T. S. Smith, the first local speaker, also declared that Mr. Martell had been "terribly wronged" in 1917, but he hoped that wrong would now be redressed. William Duff, M. P., Lunenburg, said that he and L. H. Martell had gone into politics together. It was a regret to find, however, that after being elected by the civilian vote, Mr. Martell was defeated by unfair manipulation of the overseas vote. Canada had not had an election since 1911, Mr. Duff asserted. At that time the Laurier government was defeated. Canadians today were being paid back for rejecting both reciprocity and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. "Had reciprocity gone into effect in 1911 we would not have heard of the Fordney bill," said Mr. Duff. "Retaliatory tariff measures are not the proper method of dealing with this situation; we would be better to have honest conferences between a Canadian Liberal administration and Washington," Mr. Duff claimed.

**The 1917 Contest.**

Referring to the 1917 election, Mr. Duff said he had no quarrel with those who conscientiously supported Union government. However, that government was elected for a purpose, but only certain members resigned when they considered their duty ended. The Lunenburg member declared Premier Meighen's name as premier was chosen "from a hat" by Sir Robert Borden. Then a new party appeared overnight and the Union government died. Mr. Duff dealt with various new members of the Meighen cabinet and said several of them had never been heard of in public life. The people had no confidence in these men. Several parties were entering candidates in various ridings this year but it would be to the interests of

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the entire Dominion to return Liberal candidates for every constituency.

**Hon. H. S Beland.**

Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P., declared Hon. Mr. King had steadily climbed the ladder of popularity since he was chosen leader of the Liberal party. The purpose of Canadian people, said Dr. Beland, gives every promise of choosing Mr. King as premier. In 1896 conditions were somewhat the same as today. There was poverty and stagnation then and now. The Borden government had not been killed but had suicided, the speaker declared. The supreme issue today was not the fiscal question but whether Canada would return Mr. Meighen's government or cast it into oblivion. The question of "bonne entente" and national unity was an immense problem. Dr. Beland said that on his return from imprisonment in Germany he found foul winds bearing hatred between sections of the Canadian people. There must be unity and national forbearance if Canada was to prosper. The prime minister had announced that an election was to come but delayed to announce the date, apparently hoping for something to turn up. But, said Dr. Beland, the longer he waits the greater the defeat. The infuriated waves of public opinion must overtake him.

**Iniquitous Measures.**

The prime minister's name had figured in several most iniquitous measures and passing odious laws by closure. The premier sought to confine discussion to the tariff alone. The Liberals were ready to discuss tariff but they also wanted to examine Mr. Meighen's record. During the war the Germans had excused all manner of gross cruelties on the ground that "it was war." The Meighen government, and the Borden government before it, had used the same reply when their actions were questioned. The Ross rifle debt, Greek and Roumanian loans and $10,000,000 payment to Mackenzie & Mann were not legitimate war debts. Nor were many supposed demobilization expenditures.

The Intercolonial Railway pact should be carried out and it would be expected to be carried out when the government changed, Mr. Mackenzie King declared. He declared that Mr. Meighen and his government were no friends of labor. The premier had shown that by actions during the Winnipeg strike, where he was instrumental in having labor leaders arrested at midnight and thrown into Stony Mountain penitentiary.

**Dr. Beland on the Tariff.**

Referring again to tariff makers, Dr. Beland claimed tariff revision by the government had been simply a succession of broken promises. Dr. Beland said he did not believe Mr. Meighen's declaration that he (the premier) was a moderate protectionist. "Scratch a Tory and you find high protection," said Dr. Beland. Under the Fordney bill, said Dr. Beland, Canada would sell $168,000,000 worth of farm products less this year to the United States than ordinarily. The speaker dealt with the Fielding reciprocity amendment moved in the House last session. This treaty, said Dr. Beland, was still on the United States statute books and could have been ratified. Mr. Meighen had led a strong attack against Mr. Fielding's measure while the Liberals voted solidly for the measure. There had been no change in the principles of Liberalism, declared Dr. Beland. Unity within the empire, friendship with the United States, strict economy and retrenchment in public affairs and a tariff avoiding high protection and integral free trade, were cardinal principles. The Laurier tariff policy was the best for all the people and development of unity in the Dominion was still the Liberal ideal. Dr. Beland closed with a strong appeal to both men and women to support the Liberal party.

**D. D. MacKenzie.**

D. D. MacKenzie, M. P., (Cape Breton North) declared that from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Liberalism stood solidly behind Hon. Mackensie King, the Liberal leader. Canada had boundless resources and neded to have these developed. The Conservatives had not developed them nor would they. In 1911 the slogan had been "let well enough alone" but now it was a cry of the people to come to the rescue. After 15 years, the Liberals had left office with a surplus in hand. When they regained power they would find huge deficits. Mr. McKenzie said that the Conservatives had sought in vain to find something wrong with the Liberal administration. Today the province of Nova Scotia stood better in the world's financial markets than did the Dominion.

**Tribute to Hon. Dr. Pugsley.**

He paid a tribute to Hon. William Pugsley and said he hoped that gentleman would come back to the federal house under Mr. King. Mr. McKenzie said it appeared that on prohibitive freight rates and diversion of traffic the government appeared to be trying to cut down the business of the Maritime Provinces. Freight which should pass through Maritime Province ports was sent to Portland, Me. The Intercolonial Railway pact should be carried out and it would be expected to be carried out when the government changed.

L. H. Martell, in a brief speech promised Hon. Mr. King that the election returns from Hants county would not be disappointing. The county stood firm and unswerving in its loyalty to Liberalism.

**Hon. Mr. King.**

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King said that much of the credit for the formation of a department of health was due to the efforts of Dr. Black, chairman of the meeting, while he was in Ottawa. Mr. King referred to the War Time Elections Act as iniqutious, the people had been deprived of their proper representation and had been defrauded. Referring to Mr. Meighen's speech in London, Mr. King declared the only change was that in Portage La Prairie, Mr. Meighen had used stronger language. At Sherbrooke, London and Portage La Prairie, the premier had declared the issue to be between protection and free trade. At Sherbrooke Mr. Meighen talked of "Bolshevism and nation wreckers"; now he appeared to be getting back to stronger language. The premier's talk of "chicanery and infidelity" said Mr. King was getting back to the old time Tory tactics.

"The real question today was whether the people would trust a man who did not trust them, or whether they wanted rule by all the people. "You know the issue," said Mr. King. "It is whether the people shall rule or an oligarchy." Turning again to Mr. Meighen's speech, the Liberal leader said that the people voting for the Liberal party would vote for a government of the character of that of 1896 when Sir Wilfred Laurier and his government opened to Canada her golden era of prosperity and development. "The people," said Mr. King, "do certainly know what sort of government they are voting against if not all know what they are voting for."

**Log Rolling Groups.**

The only "repercussion of log-rolling groups" in Canada, is that exemplified by Mr. Meighen and his government. "The choice is between that and a stable government where you have men with one mind and one policy, who are pre-

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pared to stand for and carry out that principle," declared Mr. King. The presence of "log-rolling groups" in the Meighen government, was shown, declared Mr. King, by the hurrying for senatorships and judgeships by the supporters of Mr. Meighen. They had been held together by the promise of these favors. As to declaring the issue, the Canadian people and not the premier were the ones to say what it should be. Drawing a parallel between conditions in Canada today and in Britain, one hundred years ago, Mr. King declared that history was repeating itself. During the Napoleonic wars, as in the last war, autocracy had grown up in government usage; that autocracy had been overthrown in England just as it would be overthrown in Canada. While war raged the people were willing to give great power to an executive. Today they demanded that the autocracy be brought to an end.

**People's Rights at Issue**

**The rights of the people to govern was the real issue at stake today. Canada, which had been denied a general election was practically the only country denied this right, Mr. King said. An election should have been held years ago. Now the premier was forced to an election by fear of defeat in the house. During the last two sessions Mr. Meighen voted down a demand that vacant seats in the house be filled. The government ignored the will of both the people and parliament.**

In railway matters neither parliament nor people were consulted when the government acted. The agreement between the government and Grand Trunk shareholders was submitted to the latter while Canada was denied a voice in the matter; nor had the people been consulted with regard to merchant marine policy or contracts. Four or five vessels had been lost, but still the people had not been consulted as to building it. The acceptance of a cruiser and two destroyers without any consultation of parliament or people was also condemned. Their acceptance was causing high and unnecessary expenditures.

**Addresses Women.**

Addressing the women in the audience particularly, Mr. King urged them to give attention to matters of government. Each new expenditure of public money meant necessarily new taxes; each Canadian was paying something like $62 per year, and that, said Mr. King, did not consider any provincial or municipal taxation.

**The Liberal leader said he was not criticizing proper war expenditure, including such necessary expenditures as pensions. But the Canadian Government had grown used to spending huge sums and could not now think in amounts less than millions. There must be reduced expenditures and a thorough national audit. "The great question for the people of Canada," said Mr. King, "is the need for economy and retrenchment."**

The Liberal party believed today in the tariff as applied by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal leader said. It was impossible to abolish the tariff, but there should be tariff revision, and that, not in the interests of small groups, but in the interests of both the great basic industries and of the people. Implements of productions must be cheapened. Necessaries of life must be given as light duties as possible. The framing of a tariff in the point of view of the home and its needs would be the aim of the Liberal party. In conclusion, Mr. King made an appeal to all who sought better government to stand together in national unity, to return to power the one party in whose platform was found the planks contained in the platforms of several smaller groups. Farmers, labor, women and war veterans, all sought the same progressive steps as did the Liberal party. "Why?" asked Mr. King, "should these parties not all work together to bring about the better conditions in Canada which we all so much desire. Class consciousness had grown up among farmers and labor."

**Should Have Representation**

"We think each should have representation," said Mr. King, "but we want co-operation; we want these groups, not as groups, but as members of this great party."

Unity of command, necessary in the war to give victory to the Allied forces was just as necessary in Canada, for men and women who thought alike and who wished to bring back to Canada a Solidified democratic government. War must be replaced by peace, and ill-will by good-will. The existence of groups does not make for a stable or unified Canada, but unity would help the cause of all Canadians.

This evening a reception was held in the G. W. V. A. rooms, at which citizens were presented to the Liberal leader and his colleagues. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. King will address a meeting at Bridgewater.

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Halifax Herald Sept-30th 1921

D 5549

# WE AIN'T, NEITHER, IS KING'S RIPOSTE

Halifax Herald

## Liberal Leader Says Only "Repercussion Of Log-Rolling Groups" In Canada Is Meighen Government Itself.

Sept. 30/21

## ACCUSES PREMIER OF USING "TORY TACTICS"

## Real Election Question Was "Whether The People Would Trust a Man Who Would Not Trust Them."

WINDSOR, Sept. 29 — (By Canadian Press) Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was welcomed to Hants County on his arrival here today at a mass meeting in the drill hall. The Liberal leader, Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P., William Duff, M. P., and D. D. McKenzie, M. P., were the speakers. Addressing a capacity audience they gave to the people of the county their views of Liberalism and national affairs.

Dr. J. B. Black, Ex-M.P., who presided, declared that the seat had been taken from the Liberal candidate, L. H. Martel, under the War Time Election Act, in an unfair manner. Dr. Black declared that liberalism was growing in the county, as in all Canada, and would continue to grow under the present leadership.

T. B. Smith, the first local speaker, also declared that Mr. Martell had been "terribly wronged" in 1917, but he hoped that wrong would now be redressed.

William Duff said he and L. H. Martell had gone into politics together. It was a regret to find however, that after being elected by the civilian vote, Mr. Martell was defeated by unfair manipulation of the overseas vote. Canada had not had an election since 1911, Mr. Duff asserted.

Referring to the 1917 election, Mr. Duff said he had no quarrel with those who conscientiously supported Union government. However, that government was elected for a purpose but only certain members resigned when they considered their duty ended. Several parties were entering candidates in various ridings this year, but it would be to the interests of the entire Dominion to return Liberal candidates for every constituency.

Dr. Beland declared Hon. Mr. King had steadily climbed the ladder of popularity since he was chosen of the Liberal party. "The purpose of Canadian people," said Dr. Beland, "gives every promise of choosing Mr. King as Premier."

D. D. McKenzie declared that, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, Liberalism stood solidly behind Hon. Mackenzie King. After 15 years, the Liberals had left office with a surplus in hand, when they regained power they would find huge deficits. Mr. McKenzie said the Conservatives had sought in vain to find something wrong with Liberal administration. Today the Province of Nova Scotia stood better in the world's financial markets than did the Dominion.

Mr. McKenzie said that on prohibitive freight rates and diversion of traffic, the Government appeared to be trying to cut down the business of the Maritime Provinces. Freight which should pass through Maritime ports was sent to Portland, Maine. The I. C. R. pact should be carried out and it would be expected to be carried when the Government changed.

L. H. Martell promised Mr. King that the election returns from Hants County would not be disappointing. The county stood firm and unswerving in its loyalty to Liberalism.

HON. Mr. King said that much of the credit for the formation of a department of health was due to the efforts of Dr. Black, chairman of the meeting, while he was in Ottawa.

Mr. King referred to the Maritime Elections Act as "iniquitous." The people had been deprived of their proper representation and had been defrauded.

Referring to Mr. Meighen's speech in London, Mr. King declared the only change was that in Portage la Prairie, Mr. Meighen had used stronger language. At Sherbrooke, London and Portage la Prairie ,the Premier had declared the issue to be between Protection and Free Trade. At Sherbrooke Mr. Meighen talked of "Bolshevism and nation wreckers," now he appeared to be getting back to stronger language. The Premier's talk of "chicanery and infidelity," said Mr. King, was getting back to the old-time Tory tactics. The real question today was whether the people would trust a man who did not trust them or whether they wanted rule by all the people. "You know the issue," said Mr. King. "It is whether the people shall rule or an oligarchy."

Turning again to Mr. Meighen's speech, the Liberal leader said that the people, voting for the liberal party, would vote for a government of the character of that of 1896 when Sir Wilfred Laurier and his government opened to Canada her golden era of prosperity and development. "The people," said Mr. King, "do certainly know what sort of government they are voting against. If not, all know what they are voting for. The only "repercussion of log-rolling groups" in Canada is that exemplified by Mr. Meighen and his gverament. The choice is between that and a stable government where you have men with one mind and one policy and are prepared to stand for and carry out that principle," declared Mr. King.

THE presence of "Log rolling groups" in the Meighen Government was shown by the hurrying for senatorships and judgeships by the supporters of Mr. Meighen. They had been held together by the promise of these favors.

As to declaring the issue, the Canadian people, and not the Premier, were the ones to say what it should be. Today they demanded that that autocracy be brought to an end. The rights of the people to govern was the real issue at stake today.

Addressing the ladies in the audience, particularly, Mr. King urged them to give attention to matters of government. Each new expenditure of public money meant necessarily new taxes. Each Canadian was paying something like $62 per year, and that, said Mr. King, did not consider any provincial or municipal taxation. The Liberal leader said he was not criticizing proper war expenditures. Such necessary expenditures as pensions. But the Canadian Government had grown used to spending huge sums and could not now think in amounts less than millions. "The great question for the people of Canada," said Mr. King, "is the need for economy and retrenchment."

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The framing of a tariff in the point of view of the home and its needs would be the aim of the Liberal party.

In conclusion Mr. King made an appeal to all who sought better government to stand together in National unity, to return to power the one party in whose platform was found the planks contained in the platforms of several smaller groups. Farmers, Labor, Women and War Veterans all sought the same progressive steps, as did the Liberal party. "Why," asked Mr. King, "should these parties not all work together to bring about the better conditions in Canada which we all so much desire." Class consciousness had grown up among farmers and labor?

"We think each should have representation," said Mr. King, "but we want co-operation, we want these groups, not as groups, but as members of this great party."

This evening a reception was held in the G. W. V. A. rooms, at which citizens were presented to the Liberal leader and his colleagues. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. King will address a meeting at Bridgewater.

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1 Oct. 1921 Bridgewater, N.S.

THE AUTOCRATIC ACTS OF MR. MEIGHEN

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Daily Telegraph & Sun
October 3rd 1921

# AUTOCRATIC ACTS OF MR. MEIGHEN

## Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Tells of Premier's Bad Record and of Combines Which Still Exist

### Liberal Leader at Bridgewater Quotes From Letter of James Murdoch Regarding Queer Doings of Administration—Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. Dr. Beland and Mr. Duff, M. P., Among the Other Speakers—Dr. Beland Appeals for Race Harmony.

(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)

Bridgewater, N. S., Oct. 2—"The prime minister asked at Montreal that I name a single autocratic act of his government, that I name a combine which his government has failed to break up. As for the former, it is not necessary to name any one action; the whole record of the government is one long record of autocratic acts, but I shall name many of them in this address. As for naming a combine many of you know what they are. But I give you an idea of what one man said who should have known." With these words and, in addition, with quotations from the letter of James Murdock, former member of the board of commerce, to Sir Robert Borden, Hon. Mackenzie King on Saturday afternoon replied to the Montreal speech of the prime minister, Right Hon. Arthur Meighen.

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Daily Telegraph & Sun D 5553 (2)

**Speaks in Digby Today.**

The Bridgewater rink was filled long before the meeting opened, numbers of people having come in from all parts of this constituency as well as from the adjoining county of Queens. Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. H. S. Beland and William Duff, M. P., also addressed the audience.

Afterwards, Mr. King and his colleagues left for Lunenburg, where a reception was held in their honor. On Monday Mr. King will speak at Digby.

C. U. Mader, president of the Lunenburg County Liberal Association, presided at Saturday's meetings.

William Duff, M. P., the Liberal party's candidate for this country, was the first speaker. He voiced a welcome to the visitors and the pride of the pride of the Liberal party in having Mr. King as leader. Mr. Fielding, the candidate declared, was looked upon as Canada's greatest finance minister and it was hoped that within three months Hon. Mr. Fielding would again be in the government. Of Hon. H. S. Beland, Mr. Duff said he was a worthy representative of Quebec. Mr. Duff took issue with a statement of Hon. F. B. McCurdy to the effect that parliament had approved of Hon. Mr. Ballantyne's shipbuilding policy; "that was put through by order-in-council," said Mr. Duff, "we simply had to vote $20,000,000 for contracts already let." As to Mr. McCurdy's claim that the ships had been built to a great emergency and without counting the cost, Mr. Duff claimed that there was plenty of time to call for tenders; the keels of only four ships had been lain when the armistice was signed but Hon. C. C. Ballantyne had gone on building. Today some sixty-two ships nad been built and the people had not been consulted. "The government," said Mr. Duff, "should have gone to the builders when the armistice was signed and paid them damages for cancellation. In that way they would have saved Canada $60,000,000." Mr. Duff also dealt with Mr. Ballantyne's figures on merchant marine earnings. These had been improper and untrue figures. The government would not give information when it sought a further vote of funds and a vote of $80,000,000 was put through the house under closure.

**Lost Immense Sum.**

The merchant marine had lost an immense sum instead of making a profit, and today the government ships were running at a loss and taking business which sailing ships should have had. That was sufficient to justify defeat of the government. The candidate said that himself and the Liberals of Lunenburg were behind Mackenzie King. They did not fear a fight but would advise the Conservatives in the riding to save themselves from a worse drubbing than they received in 1917, by deciding not to put a candidate in the field.

Hon. W. S. Fielding, former finance minister, predicted success for Mr. Duff in Lunenburg. "There is a rumor that there will be an election," said Mr. Fielding, "but thus far its only a rumor. Apparently Mr. Meighen has not made up his mind yet, otherwise he would have advised the people."

Mr. Fielding declared that Mr. Meighen was the only premier at the imperial conference who had not the confidence of the people. There should have been an election with the ending of the war or at least when Mr. Meighen succeeded Sir Robert Borden. "There would have been something to admire in that," said the veteran minister, "but now he is giving up office because forced to do so." The premier had held off the election, as he said, for redistribution. But now he had given up all thought of redistribution. Nova Scotia did not complain because she lost members each time. This time would probably mean coming down to thirteen members. Mr. Fielding declared the fathers of Confederation had bungled representation matters in this province. For party reasons Mr. Meighen and his friends had abandoned all idea of redistribution. Hon. Mr. Fielding said he did not believe there was any chance for Mr. Meighen coming back.

**Premier's Hopeless Case.**

The premier himself had no expectation of winning. He would not get a majority in the maritime provinces or Quebec, anyway. In Ontario the farmers would outnumber the government members and in the western provinces there would not be a corporal's guard of Conservatives. Defeat of the government was a foregone conclusion. In demanding that the tariff be the issue, Mr. Meighen sought to open a new account before the paying up the old one.

Each government must give an account of its stewardship but there had been no accounting since 1917. Dealing with reciprocity, Mr. Fielding declared "if ever there was a crime committed in the history of Canada it was opposition to reciprocity in 1911. This should not have been a political question. It was an economic question. Reciprocity had been sought by all Canadian governments," said Mr. Fielding, "and there never was a fairer arrangement than that we made in 1910. You realize now the need of reciprocity with the United States." The present United States tariff bill would practically shut out Canadian fish.

**Tariff Revision.**

Dealing with British preference, Mr. Fielding said this had always been opposed by the Conservatives. Tariff revision was long overdue, Mr. Fielding said. Revision had been promised year after year but even yet had not been carried out. The Meighen government showed it was unworthy of having the people's trust reposed in them.

Mr. Fielding said he believed in the two party system as the best that statesmen could devise. Unrest among farmers in western Canada had fed on defeat of reciprocity in 1911. The west had become hostile to the east and from that hostility and unrest the Farmer movement had sprung. Mr. Fielding did not look upon the farmer as a dangerous man, though many things in his political platform were not attainable.

The speaker did not believe in branding these men as "Bolshevists," as he said the premier had done. Fifteen years of Laurier government had given Canada prosperity, when in 1896 there had been predictions of blue ruin. "By their fruits ye shall know them," he asserted. The fruit of Liberal government was honesty, good government, unity and prosperity. It is on that record that we appeal for your support.

**Hon. Mr. King.**

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King paid a joint tribute to Mr. Fielding and to the local member, William Duff. The Liberal leader dealt with the speech of Premier Meighen at Montreal. "Boiled down to a paragraph," he said, "it is another assertion that the sole issue before the people is protection versus free trade." But the people are the ones to say as to that. There has been no real public accounting by the government for ten years, and the people demand that Mr. Meighen give an account of his stewardship. "There is no need of singling out any one account of autocracy," declared Mr. King. "The whole record of the government is a long record of autocracy. The taking over of government by Mr. Meighen was an act of autocracy. The people of Canada in 1917 elected Sir Robert Borden on alleged patriotic grounds, but they did not elect Mr. Meighen premier, nor did they intend doing so. Union government was a war coalition government; Mr. Meighen's government was neither. It was the duty of the present premier to have consulted the people when he was chosen leader. "Now Mr. Meighen goes to the people because he has lost support in the house and because he feared defeat there." Only Canada and Russia had been denied general elections since the war ended, Mr. King asserted. There could be nothing more autocratic, he declared, than Mr. Meighen's refusal to inform the people as to the date of election.

**Government Largely to Blame.**

The prime minister asserted that unstable conditions were forcing unemployment but, declared Mr. King, the government was largely to blame for that instability, which would continue until, as in 1896, there came into power a government having the confidence of the people and formed from the best men in the country. The Laurier government was blamed by Mr. Meighen for too

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Daily Telegraph & Sun.

October 3rd, 1921

much railway construction, but there had been infinitely greater outlays on construction since 1911. There was a vast difference, said Mr. King, between building roads for colonization and development purposes and building roads where they were not needed. Mr. King declared that 20,000 miles of the present Canadian National Railway system had been taken over without consultation of the people. Parliament, which had been given all information on railway transactions of the Laurier government, was refused all information by Mr. Meighen. Application of the closure had been also an autocratic act, asserted the Liberal leader, but with this weapon the premier had put through one-sixth of the estimates and a merchant marine item of some $80,000,000. Mr. King also branded as autocratic acts what he termed the prime minister's refusal to give to parliament and the people information as to public expenditures under the heading of railways. It was not until matters were brought up in committee that Liberal members were able to learn anything as to operation and administration of the railways and merchant marine. The whole problem of the government railways today, said Mr. King, rose from the method by which the roads were taken over and the way they were administered. Representative and responsible government were necessary to solve the railway problem and save this country from further losses.

### The Naval Question.

Referring the naval matters, Mr. King said that in view of the movement for disarmament and the government's lack of policy, the government had no right to accept warships and submarines without the consent of parliament; and these had apparently been given away without the authority of the British parliament. Yet this fleet was costing Canada millions of dollars annually. The Liberal leader said tariff revision to wipe out combines and monopolies was a Liberal aim. The prime minister had asked at Montreal that these combines be named. "Well, many of you know them," said Mr. King, "but I will give you an idea of what one man said who should have known." The board of commerce had found combines but its efforts to combat them were thwarted by the government. Mr. King declared James Murdock, of Toronto, had tried to keep the board alive and accomplish something, but finally he had been forced to give up in disgust. In resigning, Mr. Murdock made certain charges and these the government had not yet refuted. Mr. Murdock had reported discoveries of combines, excessive profits, and apparent illegalities which nothing was being done to combat. Mr. Murdock found the people being "held up" by combines, etc., formed under the government policy of high protection. Mr. Murdock said it was useless for the people to look for relief to this government. In Toronto recently, said Mr. King, Mr. Murdock had come out against class government, and as a labor man he had said that the Liberal party was the one for the people to support. Mr. King declared that the forces of progress must unite behind the Liberal party, which was as broad as the whole dominion and had room for all. "We have been fighting the battles of the farmers and the working men even since there have been Liberals in Canada."

"We are facing a united enemy and we must stand together, presenting a united front, a common idea with a common aim and aspiration," Mr. King urged.

### Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P.

Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P. for Beauce, declared that there were many important questions before the public today; the paramount one was the need between French and English Canadians of a great spirit of tolerance, forbearance, and a vital Canadianism. The issue today, was not a narrow one, such as Mr. Meighen would make it. Canada, with bountiful resources still had stagnation and unrest. "What is the matter with Canada," asked the speaker, and, answering himself, said it was that Canada had a bad government. Only two of Sir Robert Borden's government were now left, they are Mr. Meighen, the usurperer, and Mr. Guthrie, the hanger-on, said Dr. Beland. Dealing with the new French-Canadian members of the cabinet, Dr. Beland said that in twenty years of parliamentary life he had scarcely heard of their existence. The new ministers had neither the ability nor training to tackle the great problems of today.

### Wanton Extravagance.

The prime minister, said Dr. Beland, might well hesitate regarding the election. He apparently was waiting until "something came up" but the longer Mr. Meighen waited, "the worse he would be beaten." "When the government seeks to blame the added debt upon the war," said the speaker, "we cannot object to any legitimate war debt, but we do condemn the wanton extravagance which has been practised by this government."

The extension of credits to Roumania and Greece, nad the spending of money from the credits among the government's friends, the voting of ten millions to Mackenzie and Mann, and the seventy millions for merchant marine. These were not legitimate war debts and neither, said Dr. Beland, was much of the money voted for demobilization expense. Responsible government, economy of the strictest nature, a moderate tariff, the cultivation of friendship with America and of national good-will and friendship at home, these were the outstanding items of the Liberal policy, said Dr. Beland. He referred to the Fielding reciprocity amendment of last session and said the acceptance of this by the government would have made a starting point toward agreement with the United States. As to Canada's part in international and empire affairs, it was first necessary, said Dr. Beland, to "put our own house in order" before straightening out aonther's affairs. He appealed to English and French alike to work in unison for the return of a Liberal government in the interests of all classes.

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3 Oct. 1921 Digby, N.S. D 5555

A PLEA FOR UNITY OF LIBERAL
AND FARMER GROUPS

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Halifax Herald

October 4, 1921

# KING FOR UNION OF MEIGHEN OPPONENTS

## Liberal Leader Says Party Went Down to Defeat In 1911 Fighting Battle Of Farmers.

## BELAND PLEADS FOR UNITY IN DOMINION

### Fielding Tells Digby Audience Conservatives, Not United States, To Blame For Tariff.

(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)

DIGBY, Oct. 3.—If the Liberals in 1911 had not gone down to defeat fighting the battles of the farmers in the reciprocity pact, there might be some excuse for putting Farmer candidates in every riding in Canada, declared Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, at tonight's meeting in the roller rink here. But as it is they are dividing the forces of progress in seeking not alone a voice in the government but a group in the government of their country. It would not be surprising if the common enemy of Farmers and Liberals had been responsible for many of the Farmer candidates being placed in the field.

"I see my friend Mr. Davidson (the sitting member) in the hall. Wouldn't he enjoy seeing a Farmer candidate in the riding to take votes away from Dr. Lovett, who represents the Liberals and who will be the next member for Digby-Annapolis ?"

Hon. Mr. King was well received in Digby. Though a heavy rain fell during the entire evening well over two thousand people filled the roller rink for the occasion and gave the speakers of the evening close attention. Hon. H. S. Beland, Hon. W. S. Fielding and Dr. L. J. Lovett, Liberal candidate, also addressed the gathering.

DR. F. HOGAN, of Weymouth, presided. He referred with particular pleasure to the great number of women attending the meeting. Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P. for Beace county, Quebec, thanked th Digby citizens for the cordial welcome accorded the party. The advent of women into politics, said Dr. Beland, would make far more acrimony in debates and also far shorter speeches from the mere men. Dr. Beland made an appeal for national goodwill and unity. Canadianism was bigger, he declared, than creed or race.

Quebec sent a message of lasting goodwill and brotherhood to Nova Scotia. The only party in Canada today which was able to secure the proper harmony and bonne entente was the Liberal party led by Hon. Mackenzie King, and Canada must have this unity to properly develop the resources given her by a bountiful providence.

Dealing with tariff Dr. Beland asserted that the only fiscal policy for Canada was that laid down by Sir Wilfred Laurier a few weeks before his death. That was the Liberal tariff policy and by that the Liberal party stood. But the premier could not make the tariff the sole issue and avoid the reckoning for his government record.

MR. Meighen, said Dr. Beland, could not apply the closure outside of parliament but must discuss his record. The party now in power was surrounded by powerful financial and industrial interests. A Meighen government tariff revision would be one to admit of further profiteering under high protection and therefore the government had been afraid to face the people with it.

Mr. Meighen had been forced to the country but he brought along the election on the installment plan. The Canadian people, however, had decided to change the government whenever the time came.

"The war", declared Dr. Beland, "has long been the blanket to hide all the government's sins. But it no longer serves that purpose. There are hundreds of millions of squandered dollars which are not legitimate war debts." The merchant marine, Dr. Beland said, was the costly toy of Mr. Ballantyne. To Canada it was a white elephant.

Dealing with the regular army in Canada the member for Bruce said there were 22 generals at present for 2,000 soldiers.

Dr. Beland outlined the Liberal platform and principles and declared that Canada needed economy. A moderate tariff, friendliness with United States, maintenance of the British tie and unity between all classes of the dominion for the betterment of all. The Liberal party was in the fight for all the people.

HON. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, declared that Canada and Liberalism were the better for the sage counsels of such men as Hon. W. S. Fielding and Hon. H. S. Beland. Mr. King declared that as it was the peoples right to govern and to say who should govern. Mr. Meighen, he claimed was an old time Tory who decided those rights.

Sir Robert Borden and not Mr. Meighen had been elected in 1917 but Mr. Meighen had seized and hung on to the reins of office.

Mr. King dealt with costs of living and the bearing on these of national spending. "You can't dodge taxation", he declared, though in escaping direct taxes you may think you go free. Income and other taxes directly paid by the wealthy eventually found their way in rents and higher prices to those less able to bear them."

Canada's war borrowings and expenditures and the interest on public debt had increased the national debt immensely. Interest on public debt alone reached $140,000,000 as against a total annual expenditure of $123,000,000 ten years ago, "and above all," declared Mr. King, "our obligation to the returned soldier and the relatives of those who did not return, is one we must care for, though, the interest on our debt goes unpaid."

Taking over 20,000 miles of railway without consulting the

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Halifax Herald

October 4, 1921

# KING FOR UNION OF MEIGHEN OPPONENTS

## Liberal Leader Says Party Went Down to Defeat In 1911 Fighting Battle Of Farmers.

## BELAND PLEADS FOR UNITY IN DOMINION

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(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)

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Halifax Herald.

people added from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 to annual deficits alone, and there was little hope of reductions there. Mr. King reminded his audience, that annual government expenditures of some $650,000,000 meant adding $310 per year to the average man's expenditures. This was a matter that struck directly at the home.

"And it is the home and the life of the home that we consider first, last and all the time in framing our tariff policy. We are not considering any special group or interest," Mr. King declared.

Canada needed a proper audit of her books by men who were not seeking to cover up wrong doing and extravagance.

"There may be some places where economy is difficult", declared the Liberal leader, "but there are expenditures which should be reduced to the minimum". Disarmament was to be discussed in conference at Washington. Then there was no need for military, naval and air force expenditures which to-day were double those of before the war. Ten years ago the Liberals had been accused of gross extravagance in these regards.

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"THERE is no one in our party who believes free trade is a possibility in this country", said Mr. King, "our policy is not based on the interests of one class of industry only, it is based on the needs of all. All industries and all interests grow with increased production and our aim is to bring about that increase".

Those who believed in the rule of the people instead of the rule of plutocrats must not allow themselves to be subdivided into groups. The great principles of liberal, farmer, labor, war veterans and women's parties were similar. They were facing a united force of autocracy. Their fight should be made in union, allowing none to divide them, but sweeping together in a great wave of progress to bring about government of the people by the people at Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. King declared that Liberals in 1911 had been defeated while fighting for reciprocity in the interests of the farmer. The Government probably had much to do with placing many farmer candidates in the field. Mr. King thought, since their effort was to divide the forces of liberalism and progress.

Dr. L. J. Lovett, Liberal candidate, said the aim of liberalism was to reduce taxation and make life less of a grind for the working man. He appealed for support as the candidate of the Liberal party which sought equality and justice for all, and which would give Canada a decent government.

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HON. W. S. Fielding said that in the present case it seemed that Mr. Meighen, though finally forced to allow an election, was afraid of fixing a date. Although Mr. Meighen would deny it, he was an old time reactionary Tory, though the name of his party meant nothing to anyone. The Liberal party, said Mr. Fielding, stood unchanged and unchanging as the party which had always fought for freedom. If ever a crime was committed, Mr. Fielding asserted, it was the defeat of reciprocity by the Conservatives in 1911. Governments had sought it time after time until the agreement was finally arranged that year.

Mr. Fielding outlined the history of the fight against the agreement and said the manufacturers of Canada had had nothing to fear from it. Had that agreement been effective Canada would not have been hampered by the Fordney bill, which shut Canadian cattle out of American markets. It was Mr. Meighen and his friends who raised the barrier, and Canada had no right to complain of any American tariff action.

Canadian fish were also shut out of the American market by the American tariff laws. Some time ago an American Congressman had said the next move was up to Canada. It was part of the Liberal policy, said Mr. Fielding, to offer the United States either the 1911 reciprocity treaty or something similar to it. Mr. Fielding atacked the statement that the Liberals had made no tariff reforms.

The Canadian people, said Mr. Fielding had a right to hold Mr. Meighen responsible for the actions of the Borden Government, Mr. Meighen was Sir Robert's "heir and assign" and his chief party in business.

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St. John Daily Telegraph Oct-4th 1921

D 5558

# MASQUERADING AS FARMERS

## Meighen Government Lieutenants May Be Responsible for Putting Up Many of the Agrarian Candidates, Says Hon. Mr. King

## Liberal Leader in Addressing Magnificent Meeting at Digby Intimates That Deep Game is Being Played—Reminds Farmers That His Party Was Defeated in 1911 Fighting Their Battles—Hon. H. S. Beland, Hon. W. S. Fielding and Dr. Lovitt Make Strong Speeches Also—Conservative M. P. in Great Audience.

(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)

Digby, N. S., Oct. 3—If the Liberals in 1911 had not gone down to defeat fighting the battles of the farmers on the reciprocity pact, there might be some excuse for putting farmer candidates in every riding in Canada, declared Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, at tonight's meeting in the roller rink. But as it is, they are dividing the forces of progress in seeking not alone a voice in the government, but a group in the government of their country. It would not be surprising if the common enemy of the Farmers and Liberals had been responsible for many of the farmer candidates being placed in the field.

**Twits Mr. Davidson**

"I see my friend, Mr. Davidson" (the sitting member), he said, "in the hall. Wouldn't he enjoy seeing a farmer candidate in the riding to take votes away from Dr. Lovitt, who represents the Liberals and who will be the next member for Digby-Annapolis?"

Hon. Mr. King was well received in Digby. Though a heavy rain fell during the entire evening, well over 2,000 people filled the rink for the occasion and gave the speakers of the evening close attention.

Hon. H. S. Beland, Hon. W. S. Fielding and Dr. Lovitt also addressed the gathering.

**Many Women Present.**

Dr. F. Hogan, of Weymouth, presided at this evening's meeting. He referred with particular pleasure to the great number of women attending.

Hon. H. S. Beland, M. P., for Beauce County, Que., thanked the Digby citizens for the cordial welcome accorded the party. The advent of women into politics, said Dr. Beland, would make for less acrimony in debates and also, he added, for shorter speeches from the mere men. Dr. Beland made an appeal for national good-will and unity; Canadianism was bigger, he declared, than creed or race. Quebec sent a message of lasting good will and brotherhood to Nova Scotia. The only party in Canada today which was able to secure the proper harmony and bonne entente was the Liberal party, led by Hon. Mackenzie King, and Canada must have this unity to properly develop the resources given her by a bountiful providence.

**All Have Vanished.**

Canada has resources and men said Dr. Beland, the only thing wrong here is the government. This is not the government of Sir Robert Borden. What has become of General Mewburn, Sir Thomas White, Hon. T. A. Crerar, and Hon. A. K. Maclean; they have all vanished. So has the leader himself. Only two of the 1917 government remain. They are Mr. Meighen and Mr. Guthrie.

Dr. Beland said the cabinet was being added to daily. "The government needed new blood," he said, "it was dying of inaction, having only two legs left."

The Quebec members of the Meighen cabinet, said Mr. Beland, were unknown in public life and without public experience. Canada could not afford to fall back on inexperienced legislators and statesmen. "Who in this riding except the sitting member had a voice in choosing Mr. Meighen as premier?" Dr. Beland asked.

**All Things To All Men.**

The premier, said Dr. Beland, sought in the naming of his party to make it all things to all men.

Dealing with the tariff, Dr. Beland asserted that the only fiscal policy for Canada was that laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier a few weeks before his death. That was the Liberal tariff policy and by that the Liberal party stood. But the premier could not make the tariff the sole issue and avoid the reckoning for his government's record.

The party, said Dr. Beland, now in power was surrounded by powerful financial interests. A Meighen government tariff revision would be one to admit of further profiteering under high protection and therefore the government had been afraid to face the people with it.

**Election on Installment Plan.**

Mr. Meighen had been forced to the country but he had brought along the election on the installment plan. The Canadian people, however, had decided to change the government whenever the time came.

"The war," declared Dr. Beland, has long been the blanket to hide all the government's sins. But it no longer serves that purpose. There are hundreds of millions of squandered dollars which are not legitimate war debts." The merchant marine, Dr. Beland said, was the costly toy of Mr. Ballantyne. To Canada it was a white elephant.

Dealing with the regular army in Canada, the member for Beauce said there were twenty-two generals at present for 2,000 soldiers.

Dr. Beland outlined the Liberal platform and principles and declared that Canada needed economy, a

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(2) St. John Daily Telegraph
Oct-24th 1921 D 5559

**moderate tariff, friendliness with the United States, maintenance of the British tie, and unity between all classes of the Dominion for the betterment of all. The Liberal party, Dr. Beland declared, was in the fight for all the people.**

**Hon. Mr. King.**

Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, declared that Canada and Liberalism were the better for the sage counsels of such men as Hon. W. S. Fielding and Hon. H. S. Beland. Mr. King declared that it was the people's right to govern and to say who should govern; Mr. Meighen, he said, was an old time Tory who decided those rights.

Sir Robert Borden and not Mr. Meighen had been elected in 1917, but Mr. Meighen had seized and hung on to the reins of office.

**The rights of the people, declared Mr. King, had been trampled under foot during the war; customs and usages had been wiped out when there was urgent need of speedy action. The government, given a free hand, came to think of such freedom as its divine right. It became used to spending millions and refusing information regarding public funds to parliament and people. The real issue in the present contest was whether to continue autocratic government or return to real democracy and the right of the people to name their government.**

**Economy Necessary**

Increasing taxes and cost of government were the real questions today. And these taxes and expenditures would not be cut down with Mr. Meighen in power; "economy" and "retrenchment" are today's watchwords, the Liberal chieftain asserted.

Mr. King dealt with costs of living and the bearing on those of national spending. "You can't dodge taxation," he declared, though in escaping direct taxes you may think you go free. Income and other taxes directly paid by the wealthy, eventually found their way into rents and higher prices to those less able to bear them.

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**Strikes at the Home**

Taking over 20,000 miles of railway without consulting the people, added from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 to annual deficits alone. There was little hope of reductions there. Mr. King reminded his audience that annual government expenditures of some $650,000,000 meant adding $310 per yeor to the average man's expenditures. This was a matter that struck directly at the home.

And it is the home and the life of the home that we consider first, last and always in framing our tariff policy. We are not considering any special group or interest, Mr. King declared. Canada needed a proper audit of her books by men who were not seeking to cover up wrong-doing and extravagance.

"There may be some places where economy is difficult," declared the Liberal leader, "but there are expenditures which should be reduced to the minimum." Disarmament was to be discussed in conference at Washington. Then there was no need for military, naval and air force expenditures which today were double those of before the war. Ten years ago the Liberals had been accused of gross extravagance in these regards.

**Liberal Tariff Policy**

**"The Liberal tariff policy," declared Mr. King, "was wide enough for all the dominion." He enumerated the different industries found in the surrounding area which included the four great basic industries. Other industries were dependent on fishing, agriculture, lumbering and mining. "The natural resources of the country must be fully developed," the Liberal leader declared, and implements and instruments of production should be relieved as far as possible from taxation to encourage fullest production. There we would revise the tariff.**

**There is no one in our party who believes free trade is a possibility in this country, said Mr. King. Our policy is not based on the interests of one class of industry only; it is based on the needs of all. All industries and all interests grow with increased production, and our aim is to bring about that increase.**

The necessities of life, he declared, should be as free as possible from taxation, that is an aim in the interests of men, women and children alike. The tariff must be for purposes of revenue, and not to aid any special interests. There is a great national policy, and we believe as this policy is carried out so Canada will be improved and make a better place for all to live.

**Present Rule of Autocrats.**

Those who believed in the rule of the people instead of the rule of autocrats, must not allow themselves to be subdivided into groups the great principles of Liberals, Farmer, Labor, War Veterans and Women's parties were similar. They were facing a united force of autocracy; their fight should be made in unison allowing none to divide them, but sweeping together in a great wave of progress to brnig about government of the people by the people at Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. King declared that Liberals in 1911 had been defeated while fighting for reciprocity in the interests of the farmer. The government probably had much to do with placing many farmer candidates in the field, Mr. King thought, since their effort was to divide the forces of Liberalism and progress.

Dr. L. K. Lovitt, Liberal candidate, said the aim of Liberalism was to reduce taxation and make life less of a grind for the working man. He appealed for support as the candidate of the Liberal party which sought equality and justice for all, and which would give Canada a decent government.

**Hon. W. S. Fielding.**

Hon. W. S. Fielding, Liberal candidate in Shelburne and Queens, said that in the present case it seemed that Mr. Meighen, though finally forced to allow an election, was afraid of fixing a date. Although Mr. Meighen would deny it, he was an old-time reactionary Tory. The Liberal party, said Mr. Fielding, stood unchanged unchanging as the party which had always fought for freedom. Mr. Meighen seeks to evade paying his score, declared Mr. Fielding. I would ask when was an accounting given of the handling of public business from 1911. If ever a crime was committed, Mr. Fielding asserted, it was the defeat of reciprocity by the Conservatives in 1911. Governments had sought it time after time until the agreement was finally arranged that year.

Mr. Fielding outlined the history of the fight against the agreement and said the manufacturers of Canada had had nothing to fear from it. Had that agreement been effective Canada would not have been hampered by the Fordney bill, which shut Canadian cattle out of American markets. It is Mr. Meighen and his friends who raise the barrier against us, declared Mr. Fielding. We have no right to complain of any American tariff action.

Canadian fish were also shut out of the United States market by the tariff laws, Mr. Fielding asserted. Some time ago a United States congressman had said the next move was up to Canada. It was part of the Liberal policy, said Mr. Fielding, to offer the United States either the 1911 reciprocity treaty or something similar to it. Mr. Fielding attacked the statement that the Liberals had made no tariff reforms. The Canadian people, said Mr. Fielding, had a right to hold Mr. Meighen responsible for the actions of the Borden government. Mr. Meighen was Sir Robert's "heir and assignee" and his chief party in business.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(1) The Island Patriot- Oct-5-th 1921 D 5560

# LIBERAL ENTHUSIASM REACHED HIGH TIDE IN DIGBY'S WELCOME

## Declarations of the Principles of the Liberal Faith by Messrs Beland, King and Fielding met with cheering response from great audience representative of the two counties.

DIGBY, N. S., Oct. 4.—There was heard here tonight a declaration of Liberalism, an appeal for national unity and a call to all the forces of progress and justice against reaction and autocracy that should ring throughout the land. It is not given often in the life of man to listen to such impassioned appeals for national unity as that which was voiced by Hon. Dr. Beland, former Postmaster General of Canada that gifted and eloquent French-Canadian, nor is it often that men have the opportunity to hear such a clear, logical and reasonable presentation of these fundamental truths, that are the spirit and the letter of Liberalism, which was presented tonight by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, and Hon W. S. Fielding, ex-Minister of Finance before an audience filling from end to end the big curling rink of this town.

Those who heard it will never forget it. Those who are yet to come will hear in the long years yet to be of the vision of a Canadian nation unified, prosperous, strong and happy under the principles of Liberalism, such as were enunciated by these three leaders of the Liberal Party tonight.

Time and time again did the vast audience respond to the speakers. Time and time again were their addresses momentarily interrupted until the wave of applause swept away into silence. When Mackenzie King appeared on the platform, the band playing "O Canada," the audience burst into one mighty shout of welcome drowning out every sound of the band. When the latter rose to address them the audience rose too as one man and with women waving handkerchiefs and men hats and umbrellas, the good natured pandomonium broke loose until the popular desire to welcome the chief had subsided.

At every mention of Fielding's name the same great voice swept through the hall, the voice of two thousand people representative of the best of two of the finest Countries of Nova Scotia. It would almost seem that after these years of "cutting out of policies" that the people are now relieving their pent up feelings and breaking loose into the fullest expression of acclaim of those great principles which were nursed and fostered in this historic cradle of Canadian Liberalism.

**Dr. Beland's Thrilling Messages.**

Dr. Beland was the first speaker of the evening. This French-Canadian orator, a man of compassion for his fellow men, with a great vision of a united Canada, brought a message from the great Province of Quebec which must have thrilled the dullest most sluggish heart in the audience. His declaration of his Canadianism, his appeal for unity, his eloquent surge of patriotism, his ardent devotional love of Canada, his description of the spirit of patriotism and Liberalism, the former a deep sense of national honor, backed up by love of home and pride of race and maintenance of traditions, a Liberal man who fears God, honors the King, loves his neighbor, covets not the other man's good, resists usurpation and autocracy —all this moved men and women with emotion, which they will feel as a mighty leavening influence for many years to come.

Dr. Beland aroused the audience when he declared that the only thing wrong with Canada was the Government. And as a result of its blunders and extravagances Canada today lay almost prostrate.

**Two Outstanding Issues.**

That Mr. Meighen will not be allowed to make the tariff the issue of this election was made evident by the fighting speech which Mr. King gave tonight. There were two outstanding issues in this great electoral fight, said Mr. King. The first was the real issue whether we shall have government as it is now, autocratic and by an executive, or whether it is to be responsible and representative government. The other was the question of cost of living as affected by the cost of government and, said Mr. King, there will be no solution of that problem if men accustomed to spend on the par basis were kept in power.

Mr. King too has the ability to bring his audience to the appreciation of the serious problems through their sense of humor, when describing the system of taxation he paraphrased the old doggerel of "The big fleas and little fleas" by big bugs have little bugs, who help to pay the taxes, and little bugs have lesser bugs who help to grind the axes." The audience was convulsed into spasms of laughter which showed their appreciation of the couplet.

He set in review the increasing expenditures of the Government their extravagances, the deficits on railways the enormous cost per capita of running the country against the practice of strictest economy, the revision of the tariff in the interest of the basic industries and resources, which the Liberal Party advocated. The alpha and omega of the Liberal tariff were the interests of the home. It was a policy that was not in the interests of one class but of every class and occupation a policy to make Canada united and happy.

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The Island Patriot

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D 5561

"There may be some places where economy is difficult," declared the Liberal Leader, "but there are expenditures which should be reduced to the minimum." Disarmament was to be discussed in conference at Washington. Then there was no need for military, naval and air forces expenditures which today were double those of before the war. Ten years ago the Liberals had been accused of gross extravagance in these regards.

"The Liberal tariff policy," declared Mr. King, "was wide enough for all the Dominions.

**The Interests of All**

"There is no one in our party who believes free trade is a possibility in this country," said Mr. King. "Our policy is not based on the interests of one class of industry only, it is based on the needs of all. All industries and all interests grow with increased production, and our aim is to bring about that increase."

The necessities of life, he declared, should be as free as possible from taxation that is in the interests of men, women and children alike. The tariff must be for purposes of revenue, and not to aid any special interests.

Those who believed in the rule of the people instead of the rule of autocrats, must not allow themselves to be subdivided into groups, the great principles of Liberal, Farmer, Labor, war veterans and women's parties, were similar. They were facing a united force of autocracy. Their fight should be made in unison, allowing none to divide them but sweeping together in a great wave of progress to bring about government of the people by the people at Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. King declared that the Liberals had been defeated while fighting for reciprocity in 1911 in the interests of the farmers. The government probably had much to do with placing many farmer candidates in the field, Mr. King thought, since their effort was to divide the forces of Liberalism and progress.

**Afraid to Revise Tariff.**

Mr. Fielding declared that Mr. Meighen was afraid of bringing about the revision of the tariff before an election. Union Government should have ended with the war, but instead Mr. Meighen took over and hung to office. "The Government does not expect to win this election. What ever else may happen the Meighen Government is defeated." Mr. Fielding again declared. He again reiterated his solid belief in the old two party system. The farmer and Liberals had much in common and should work along together.

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4 Oct. 1921 Kentville, N.S.

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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CANADA

Morning Chronicle Oct 5th 1921

D 5563

# TRIUMPHAL TOUR OF LIBERAL LEADER

## Enthusiasm Not Equalled Since Confederation Days Says Hon. H. H. Wickwire

## TWO ROUSING MEETINGS HELD AT KENTVILLE

### Both Theatres Packed to Overflowing With Cheering Crowds—Dr. Beland and Mr. Duff Score Hon. F. B. McCurdy for Attack on Mr. King

Special to The Morning Chronicle.

KENTVILLE, N. S., Oct.4—"It is time for a change so demand the people of Canada," declared Hon. Mackenzie King, speaking here tonight, and he proceeded to show in one of the greatest political addresses ever delivered in this County the reasons why it was time the Meighen Administration gave way to a Liberal Government. Mr. King challenged Mr. Meighen to refute one statement he had charged against his administration regarding the railways of the country.

Mr. Meighen wanted to draw the issue to the tariff across the record of his Government in order that he might obscure that record from the public in this coming contest, but that the Prime Minister will not be able to escape the great problems facing the country by presenting the tariff issue is more and more apparent as Mr. King continues his tour.

With the Liberal chieftain tonight was Hon. Dr. Beland of Quebec, who also brought forth into the white light of analytical discussion the colossal expenditures and extravagance of the Government which they are endeavoring to cover up, Dr. Beland said, under the same cry which Germany used to cover all her atrocities during the conflict by the reply "it is war."

**Great Rally to Arms**

From the centre to the circumference the Western Counties of Nova Scotia have answered the call to arms of the Liberal leaders. Meetings at Windsor and Digby and receptions all along the line have been of a nature, which Hon. H. H. Wickwire, chairman of tonight's meeting here, described as a tour not equalled by anything of its kind since the days of Confederation. These popular receptions were repeated in this town tonight when the citizenship turned out en masse, packed the Strand Theatre from pit to gallery and to the street and then overflowed to the Nicolet Theatre, which was also packed with the "standing room only" sign made conspicuous by the crowded doorway. By the reception accorded the Liberal chieftain here tonight one is led to believe that King's County will become once again King's County.

**Resents The Attack.**

Perhaps the most sensational moment of the meeting came when Mr. Duff referring to the slurs made by Hon. F. B. McCurdy at Amherst regarding Mr. King's war record, called the Minister of Public Works a coward and challenged him to come to any platform with the Liberal leaders and repeat the charge he had made at Amherst.

Mr. Duff said that Mr. McCurdy was in the House of Commons on the occasion on which Mr. King made an explanation to Parliament regarding his war record and that, when Mr. King was applauded by both sides of the House Unionist and Liberal, then was the opportunity for Mr. McCurdy to criticize Mr. King, but he had not done so.

With Mr. King on the platform were Hon. H. S. Beland, former Postmaster General in the Laurier Cabinet and Mr. William Duff, member for Lunenburg. Mr. Duff rejoined the party today at Middleton having been detained at his home at Lunenburg. Hon. W. S. Fielding proceeded from Annapolis to Caledonia, and was not able to attend the meeting at Kentville. Hon. H. H. Wickwire, M. P. P., was chairman at the Strand Theatre, and Mr. James Seeley was chairman at the Nicolet Theatre.

**Got Enthusiastic Responses.**

The audiences were exceedingly responsive. Mr. King received long and enthusiastic ovations when entering the halls and when concluding his addresses. He was frequently interrupted when the truth of his telling points struck home to his audience. In the Strand Theatre the platform was filled with many prominent King's County men and women. The women being numerous at both audiences. Mr. L. H. Martell, Liberal candidate in Hants County, was one of the speakers at the Nicolet Theatre.

Mr. Duff made a striking reply to Hon. F. B. McCurdy's speech at Amherst last night specially referring to that portion in which Mr. McCurdy attempted to criticize Mr. King's war record. Mr. Duff said that Mr. McCurdy was as a man living in a glass house he should not throw stones. Mr. McCurdy in future, he said, should not lay himself open to have his war or any other record discussed.

He charged him with political manipulation when the war was at its height and, although he said that he did not wish to be personal Mr. McCurdy's charges against Mr. King was of such a nature that he (Mr. Duff) felt compelled to call attention to Mr. McCurdy's record. Mr. King was not engaged in taking the money of women and children, widows and orphans for inflated stock of unsound companies. If Mr. McCurdy or Mr. Meighen or any other member of the Meighen Cabinet wish to discuss the war record of any one, they had best look to themselves first declared Mr. Duff. Much as they disliked personality Mr. McCurdy had started them and it is not fair to leave Mr. McCurdy's charges baseless charges unanswered.

**Dr. Beland Captures Audiences**

Dr. Beland again warmed himself into the hearts of the Bluenose people by his whimsical and charming wit and eloquence, by his cultural conception of politics and his fine sense of humor. His description of his years in a German prison when he prayed for the welfare of his country and his countrymen fighting at home and abroad for the salvation of liberty moved the audience to waves of emotion while his description of wasteful expenditures which the Meighen Government were endeavouring to hide, behind the guise of demoblization, turned the audience into convulsions of laughter and roars of applause. Those who had heard him before say that he was at his best. Mr. King said that in 1911 the Conservatives, then the Opposition cried all over the country "leave well enough alone." That was the compliment they paid to the fifteen years of Liberal Administration. Today after ten years of Conservative Government, from one end of Canada to another the people demand we want a change.

Among the reasons why a change was demanded were first, a new electorate had grown up since 1911. Women had been given the franchise secondly, during the ten years past the country had gone through the greatest crises in its history and the problems of government had become completely changed; third, an examination and audit of what Canada owns and owes was necessary, but such an audit could not be expected by the present Administration. Fourth, the present Premier was an usurper, he had no mandate from the people of Canada to be Premier.

**Passed at Paradise.**

Mr. Meighen, the Prime Minister, and Mr. King, the Liberal Leader, met at Paradise today. Mr. King was on the "up" train and Mr. Meighen was on the "down" train; some one was unkind enough to say that he was likely enough bound to purgatory. Mr. King and his party left Digby by the east-bound or up train of the D.A.R. for Kentville. Mr. Meighen, instead of crossing from St. John to Digby by boat, was coming around by train and proceeding to Digby by the D.A.R. The two trains with their distinguished passengers crossed at Paradise, a small station between Annapolis and Middleton. Some of the Liberal Party said that had they known where we were to have met the Prime Minister, at Paradise, the following message should have been sent him the night previous: "Tomorrow we shall be with thee in Paradise."

The west-bound train bearing the Prime Minister passed at full speed. Mr. Mackenzie King and Dr. Beland had alighted from their train and stood at the side of the track ready to pass the customary greetings of at least hand-waving, but when the Prime Minister's private car went past no one appeared of the Premier's party to return the compliment.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES CANADA

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Halifax Herald
October 5, 1921

# DISCUSS NATIONAL PROBLEMS BROADLY

## Liberal Leader's Advice At Kentville, Speaking "From A Bigger Viewpoint Than Party."

## DECLARES PREMIER HAS NOT REFUTED CHARGES

## "Forces Of Liberty And Progress," Facing "A Strongly - Entrenched Enemy," As He Sees It.

(By Canadian Press.)

KENTVILLE, Oct. 4.—In 1911, after 15 years of Liberal administration, the Conservative Party, then in opposition stumped this country with the slogan "Let well enough alone," declared Hon. MacKenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party, in his speech here tonight. "Can you find today, after ten years of Tory rule, one person who will say that?" Mr. King asked. "The cry today from one end of the country to the other is, 'give us a chance and get rid for all time of this government which has increased our debt, our taxes and our expenditures.'" The Premier, said Mr. King, had charged the Liberals with avoiding the tariff issue by talking about railways and other matters. "Mr. Meighen," declared the Liberal leader, "has not refuted any of the charges of autocracy and extravagance which I have made and I challenge him to do so." The government refused to practice economy, but continued to make large expenditures on army and air force, while taxes and the cost of living continued to soar.

The three Liberal speakers each were required to speak twice during the evening, as an overflow meeting had to be arranged.

WILLIAM Duff, Lunenburg and Hon. H. S. Beck also addressed the meeting. The former charged Hon. F. B. McCurdy with making an unfair attack on Hon. MacKenzie King, at Amherst, and declared that Mr. McCurdy would gain nothing by precipitating a discussion of war records.

HON. H. H. Wickwire, chairman, announced that it had been found necessary to hold an overflow meeting and that each of the speakers would address both meetings.

The enthusiasm which had greeted Mr. King in Nova Scotia had never been equalled since Confederation, Mr. Wickwire declared. Kings County had been practically without representation for five years. Kings had been a low tariff county and though mistakes had been made in recent years, the county would this time return a Liberal.

HON. Mr. King referred to the splendid receptions tendered him at all points in the province visited. These receptions were an expression of the people's interest in public affairs after having been denied a voice for many years. It was ten years since Canadians had voted on really domestic problems. The 1917 election had been founded on war issues and that of 1911 on Reciprocity. In the latter case, after 15 years of Liberal administration, the cry of the Conservatives was "leave well enough alone,' 'now after ten years of Conservative government, the people were crying "it is time for a change."

Mr. King said he proposed to discuss the problems of the day from a bigger viewpoint than that of party. Many new electors had grown up since 1911, therefore, it was urgent to carefully consider National affairs. In the last ten years this country had undergone a remarkable change. National expenditures had soared. Before the war the National debt had been $340,000,000; today it was increased by more than $2,000,000,000. Interest on the National debt now amounted to $140,000,000, as against $12,000,000 ten years ago.

MR. King declared that these huge expenditures warranted a close checking. Government departments had been inaugurated and carried on after need for them ended. "We'll never know the truth until all these accounts see the light of day,' 'said Mr. King. "The report of the auditor-general will show that vouchers which should have passed through his hands never reached him." Another reason for a change was that nobody had elected Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen as Prime Minister. "He simply seized power and hung on," the Liberal leader asserted.

"The only excuse for asking people to forget party politics in 1917," said Mr. King, "was on the cry of winning the war. It was Sir Robert Borden's duty to have called an election when the war ended. How much more then was it the duty of Hon. Arthur Meighen to ask for a mandate?" Canada had been denied a general election for years, and even now the people did not know what time an election was coming. The real issue was whether an autocracy or the people's will would govern in Canada. Return of Mr. Meighen meant more autocracy. It would be the return of government which ignored the people. The whole rights of the people to govern themselves were at stake in this issue. At a time when public expenditures were as enormous as at present, the right of Parliament to check expenditures of public money was of prime importance.

NO true Canadian would object to expenditures for soldier re-establishment and pensions. These were but a return to the men who fought for freedom, and without that freedom, life would not have been worth living. Enormous railway expenditures had been incurred without consulting the people. The Canadian Northern deal had been put through partly under closure. On the Grand Trunk agreement, Mr. Meighen demanded that parliament pass it without seeing it, though the London shareholders had passed on it. "That is extreme autocracy," asserted the Liberal leader. "If we want freedom and democracy, we must first get rid of this government."

Canada's annual tax bill came to some $60 per individual. The head of a family of five paid practically one dollar each working day. "The little fellow" did not escape taxation, because he did not pay it direct. Canadian workmen and their families, through privation, were paying their share of Canada's federal outlay of $650,000,000.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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5 Oct. 1921 Amherst, N.S.

MEIGHEN'S MANIFESTO

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(1) Amherst-Daily News Oct 6th 1921 D 5566

# HON. MCKENZIE KING ANSWERS MANIFESTO OF PREMIER MEIGHEN AT BIG LIBERAL MASS MEETING

## Liberal Leader says manifesto begins and ends with statements not wholly true.

### William Duff, M. P., and Dr. Beland delivered speeches at the big meeting

A large audience of Amherst and Cumberland County citizens, estimated to include some 2500 persons, gathered yesterday afternoon in the Arena Rink to hear Hon W. L. MacKenzie King and other prominent Liberals discuss the problems of the day. The Liberal leader declared that the Prime Minister's manifesto began and ended with statements which were not wholly true. Mr Meighan began by claiming for his government the credit of conducting the war, and ended by declaring that his government had extended the franchise to women voters. But, Mr King asserted there was no one who believed that the government of Hon Arthur Meighen had carried on the war, and no one who did not know that Mr Meighen and his friends had refused the vote to three quarters of the women of Canada. The record of Mr Meighen had been one of reaction when reconstruction was needed, said the Liberal leader, and one of autocracy when the country was crying out for a return to democracy, freedom, economy and retrenchment in public expenditures.

The Premier himself had brought in the closure to prevent the Liberal members from discussing this year's merchant marine expenditures. Mr. Meighen, he said, had proven himself unfit to continue as premier of Canada.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Duff said was even afraid to announce the date of the election though finally dissolution had come.

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's Digby statement that the member for Lunenburg had voted for the Merchant Marine expenditures, Mr. Duff declared that he had not voted for one dollar of it.

C. A. Lusby was chairman of the meeting and spoke briefly in introducing the visiting speakers.

Hon W. L. MacKenzie King declared that the Liberal party in Canada had always fought for the people's rights and liberties. Nova Scotia, said Mr. King, had given him self and his associates a splendid welcome. The Liberal leader congratulated Hance Logan on receiving the nomination and also upon the announcement of his engagement to a Parrsboro lady. He predicted a victory for Mr. Logan on election day.

Mr. King paid a compliment to Hon E. N. Rhodes, Speaker of the Commons and Cumberland's representative since 1917 for his impartiality in the House.

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's manifesto the Liberal leader asserted there was nothing surprising in it. The Prime Minister talked of conduct, of the war, reconstruction, the tariff and women's vote. It was along the line of Mr. Meighen's speeches.

The premier said Mr. King, sought to brand all his opponents as "among the great unwashed." The Liberal leader declared he preferred being in the latter group rather than in that which considered itself "too good to deal with the common people."

From Mr. Meighen's manifesto it appeared that the Premier sought to take unto his government credit for the conduct of the war. In 1917 Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Meighen and others had appealed for support in winning the war. They asked the people to forget past government records and unite to win the war. Then there was to be a return to old parties. "The government of 1917 was a coalition to win the war" declared Mr. King "will anyone say the present governemnt is a win-the-war coalition. Yet Mr. Meighen seeks praise and support on his predecessors' war record. If it is the same government why change the name and change the leader?"

Mr. Meighen also spoke in his manifesto of the need of reconstruction. "Mr. Meighen and his government have had a year and a half to get their reconstruction under way. What policies have they given this country? What have they done, except to prove themselves incapable of carrying out reconstruction?" Mr. King declared. "Instead of Reconstruction we have had reaction at every step.

"The first step in reconstruction should have been to consult the people in a general election. Every other country but Canada and Russia conceded this right to their people. And we don't know yet when we are to have that right. Yet Mr. Meighen says his government is concerned with the policies of reconstruction."

Last session Mr. King said, the Liberal opposition had moved to bring on by-elections to fill vacancies On orders from Mr. Meighen the government supporters followed the reactionary course of voting down the motion. The Spinney Bill, opening the Civil Service to patronage, had been a most reactionary measure. So was the government's action in introducing closure to prevent discussion of expenditures.

The taking of one sixth of the total estimates under closure was also reactionary. The whole manner of Mr. Meighen's government was reactionary.

"If these things are not true let Mr. Meighen come out and deny them," said Mr. King "He can't deny so he tries to take refuge behind the tariff as the one and only issue."

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"The first step in reconstruction should have been to consult the people in a general election. Every other country but Canada and Russia conceded this right to their people. And we don't know yet when we are to have that right. Yet Mr. Meighen says his government is concerned with the policies of reconstruction."

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(2) Amherst Daily News, Oct 6, 1921 D 5567

Precedents and customs had been crushed aside by Mr. Meighen, the Liberal leader asserted. The most sacred of these was the right of parliament to scrutinize all public expenditures. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had dissolved Parliament to consult the people on Reciprocity; but the Borden-Meighen governments took over 20,000 miles of Railway without a word with or from the people. The Grand Trunk agreement was forced down the throat of Parliament. This was a government of autocracy, not of democracy. Mr. King reiterated his charge that the government had refused information on Railway administration, and said four-fifths of the Canadian National directors were interested in companies which dealt with the Railway.

This was a good example of how government was carried on today controlled, said Mr. King by political autocrats and industrial plutocrats. "Until that combination is broken (and the people now have their opportunity) you cannot have free and proper government" Mr. King declared.

After enormus war expenditure the need today was for retrenchment and economy, the liberal leader said. two billions had been spent during the war to try and end war. Surely now there was need of reducing further warlike expenditures. If these were cut down there would be more money to re-establish returned men where they needed it.

The Liberals, declared Mr. King, had said "go easy on navy, army and air force outlays," especially while disarmament was to be discussed. The unauthorized acceptance of unauthorized gifts of warships had simply added to Canada's expenditures and of increasing the Empire bonds might lead to straining them.

Mr. King referring to Canada's status, said Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been denounced for demanding that Canada grow beyond the colony stage and to nationhood.

There was no true Canadian who did not believe in and hope for the tightening of the bond between the different parts of the Empire.

Today conditions were like those of 1896, Mr. King declared. Then from stagnation the Laurier-Fielding tariff made every industrial town in Canada busy. "There was unemployment before this election became a certainty,, he said. "It was because this government brought about stagnation. Mr. Meighen talks Free Trade. No man in Canada could talk of free trade as today's tariff policy in Canada.

"We must keep a tariff and so far as the Liberal party is concerned we intend to keep a tariff. But there is need of tariff revision."

James Murdock had told the country he found the people being robbed under the protective tariff and no action being taken to protect them. If Mr. Meighen revised the tariff it would be in the interests of his friends. Tariff revision by the Liberals would be in the interests of all the people in the country.

Referring to the industries and resources of the province Mr. King declared these should be developed. The implements of production in the basic industries should be as free of taxation as possible. "You'll only build up Canada as you make these industries prosper and develop them" the Liberal leader asserted.

Necessaries of life should also be made as cheap as possible to the people "In one word, the home and its needs are what we are going to think of, first last and all the time" said Mr. King "The home is the very heart of the nation, and we want to make these homes happier places for the people."

Mr. Meighen's manifesto had begun and ended with statements that were not wholly true. "The government now in office extended to you the franchise according to Mr. Meighen" declared the Liberal leader. "That government denied the franchise three years ago to 45 per cent of the women in the country.

"I believe the Liberals in that Union government fought for the women's vote. I don't think you have to thank Mr. Meighen for the vote you've got, and certainly none of the others in this government were in that one. And no Liberal ever opposed giving women the vote"

The Meighen government had been found wanting in regard to reconstruction and it could not be depended on for economy or retrenchment. But it was strongly entrenched, with the machinery of election in its hands, and the forces of reaction were united. The forces of progress which were divided, must get together and shoulder to shoulder fight the common enemy of Liberals, farmers and labor men. In many essentials their platforms were the same, though the Farmer party platform went into a lot of demands which could never be put through the two Houses of Parliament and were therefore useless planks, Farmers, labor men and returned soldiers were all needed in Parliament but they would serve their country better as members of the Liberal party than as representing narrow groups.

Hon. H. S. Beland, who spoke in both French and English, referred to a statement that he should preach harmony in Quebec. Every province must plead guilty to having raised a few mischief makers, said Dr. Beland, but they were an infinitely small majority. He paid a tribute to Hon. Rodolph Lemieux, who, he said, had been attacked by a mudslinger. There was no man in Canada more loyal or more patriotic, Dr. Beland asserted, than was Hon. Mr. Lemieux.

Mr. Meighen's manifesto was a "Hymn to protection" Dr. Beland declared. There were five points in the manifesto, said Dr. Beland. 'First, Mr. Meighen says, "I am right; second 'my opponents are bad;' third 'I am good;' fourth, 'Mr. King is wicked; and fifth 'I am the descendent of Abel and Mr. King is the descendant of Cain." Mr. Meighen was a false prophet declared Hon. Dr. Beland, just as the blue ruin prophets of 1896 had been false.

"With the record of Mr. Meighen's government he might well hesitate to bring on the election" the member for Beauce asserted. Mr. Meighen came before the people now because he could not carry on any longer. He could not chance seven byelections, said Dr. Beland, so decided to make the plunge "now" he declared "Mr. Meighen is swimming down the Annapolis Valley at the rate of three meetings a day, against the beating waves of public opinion. But as sure as the sun shines at noon from a cloudless sky he will be defeated and Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King will be the next Prime Minister."

The bogey of annexation had been raised before and was just as false today as in the past. The Liberal tariff course was the happy middle course, Dr. Beland asserted. Theirs was a tariff policy in the interests of every Canadian whether he was producer or consumer.

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Halifax Herald
October 6, 1921

# KING SAYS MANIFESTO IS FALSE

## Liberal Leader And Lunenburg Member Tell Amherst Audience They Voted Against Government Measures.

## AGAIN CLAIM CLOSURE INVOKED BY MEIGHEN

## Declare People Should Have Been Consulted Regarding Purchase of 22,000 Miles Of Railways.

AMHERST, Oct. 5—(By Canadian Press)—An immense audience of Amherst and Cumberland County citizens, estimated to include six thousand persons, this afternoon gathered at the Arena rink to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and other prominent Liberals discuss the problems of the day.

The Liberal leader declared that the Prime Minister's manifesto began and ended with statements which were not wholly true.

Mr. Meighen began by claiming for his government the credit of conducting the war and ended by declaring that his government had extended the franchise to women voters. But, Mr. King asserted, there was no one who believed that the government of Hon. Arthur Meighen had carried on the war, and no one who did not know that Mr. Meighen and his friends had refused the vote to three quarters of the women of Canada. The record of Mr. Meighen had been one of reaction when reconstruction was needed, said the Liberal leader, and one of autocracy when the country was crying out for a return to democracy, freedom, economy and retrenchment in public expenditures.

WILLIAM Duff, member for Lunenburg, declared that, contrary to the Premier's statements, the Liberals had not condoned nor supported the Government's expenditure on the Merchant Marine, and the Liberals, said Mr. Duff, had demanded that the Government cancel ship contracts when the emergency passed, but the Government had refused. The Premier himself had brought in the closure to prevent the Liberal members from discussing this year's merchant marine expenditures. Mr. Meighen, he said, had proven himself unfit to continue as Premier of Canada. The Prime Minister, Mr. Duff said, was even afraid to announce the date of election, though finally dissolution had come. Dealing with Mr. Meighen's Digby statement that the member for Lunenburg had voted for the merchant marine expenditures, Mr. Duff declared that he had not voted for one dollar of it.

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Last session, Mr. King said, the Liberal opposition had moved to bring on by-elections to fill vacancies. On orders from Mr. Meighen the government supporters followed the reactionary course of voting down the motion. The Spinney bill, opening the civil service to patronage had been a most reactionary measure. So was the government's action in introducing closure to provent discussion of expenditures.

The taking of one sixth of the total estimates under closure was also reactionary. The whole manner of Mr. Meighen's government was reactionary.

"IF these things are not true, let Mr. Meighen come out and deny them," said Mr. King. "He can't deny, so he tries to take refuge behind the tariff as the one and only issue."

Precedents and customs had been crushed aside by Mr. Meighen, the Liberal leader asserted. The most sacred of these was the right of parliament to scrutinize all public expenditures.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier had dissolved parliament to consult the people on reciprocity, but the Borden—Meighen governments took over 20,000 miles of railway without a word with or from the people. The Grand Trunk agreement was forced down the throats of parliament.

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Halifax Herald
October 6, 1921

This was a government of autocracy, not of democracy. Mr. King reiterated his charge that the government had refused information on railway administration and said four-fifths of the Canadian National directors were interested in companies which dealt with the railway."

"This is a good example of how government is carried on today, controlled by political autocrats and industrial plutocrats. Until that combination is broken (and the people now have their opportunity) you cannot have free and proper government," Mr. King declared.

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TODAY conditions were like those of 1896, Mr. King declared. Then, from stagnation the Laurier-Fielding tariff made every industrial town in Canada busy. There was unemployment before this election became a certainty, he said. It was because this government brought about stagnation. Mr. Meighen talked free trade. No man in Canada could talk of free trade as today's tariff policy, he said.

Necessities of life should also be made as cheap as possible to the people. "In one word, the home and its needs are what we are going to think of, first, last and all the time," said Mr. King. "The home is the very heart of the nation and we want to make these homes happier places for the people." Mr. Meighen's manifesto had begun and ended with statements that were not wholly true. "I believe the Liberals in the union government fought for the women's vote. I don't think you have to thank Mr. Meighen for the vote you've got, and certainly none of the others in this government were in that one. And no Liberal ever opposed giving women the vote.

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HON. H. S. BELAND, who spoke in both French and English, referred to a statement that he should preach harmony in Quebec. Every povince must plead guilty to having raised a few mischief makers, said Dr. Beland, but they were an infinitely small minority.

He paid a tribute to Hon. Rodolph Lemieux.

Mr. Meighen's manifesto was a "hymn to protection" Dr. Beland declared. There were five points in the manifesto. First Mr. Meighen says "I am right." Second. "My opponents are bad." Third. "I am good." Fourth, "Mr. King is wicked," and Fifth, "I am the descendant of Abel and, Mr. King is the descendant of Cain."

Mr. Meighen was a false prophet, declared Hon. Dr. Beland, just as the blue ruin prophets of 1895 had been false.

With the record of Mr. Meighen's government he might well hesitate to bring on the election. Mr. Meighen came before the people now because he could not carry on any longer. He could not chance seven bye-elections said Dr. Beland, so decided to make the plunge.

"Now," he declared, "Mr. Meighen is swimming down the Annapolis Valley at the rate of three meetings a day, against the beating waves of public opinion, but, as sure as the sun shines at noon from a cloudless sky he will be defeated and Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King will be the next premier."

The bogey of annexation had been raised before and was just as false today as in the past. The Liberal tariff course was the happy middle course, Dr. Beland asserted. Theirs was a tariff policy in the interests of every Canadian whether he was producer or consumer.

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6 Oct. 1921 Charlottetown

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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The Island Patriot
Oct-7th
1921

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p. 10

# Wondrous Welcome Accorded Liberal Leader

The wondrous welcome accorded the brilliant young leader of the Liberal Party, Hon. W.L. MacKenzie King and his able lieutenants, Messrs McMaster and Duff, and the popular Liberal candidates, Messrs Sinclair and McKinnon at the remarkable demonstrations held in the Strand and Prince Edward Theatres last night are among the many signs that point to Prince Edward Island going one hundred per cent Liberal when the people follow up their cheers with the ballot.

The remarkable enthusiasm, spontaneous as it was sincere, indicates that in this province Liberalism will be triumphant in 1921, as it was triumphant in 1917. though the people's will on the latter occasion was partially thwarted, by methods which all self-respecting Conservatives are repudiating today.

The Liberal leader, since he entered upon his present tour, starting in the heart of the enemy's territory, that old time Conservative stronghold, Toronto, and continuing eastward has everywhere been received with the most encouraging demonstrations of loyalty and affection.

Prince Edward Island, the smallest of all the provinces showed last night that she was not the least so far as her warmth of greeting to the coming Premier of Canada was concerned.

## HAIL TO THE CHIEF.

The Market Hall, otherwise known as the Strand Theatre has been the scene of memorable ovations to distinguished men and the ovation tendered Hon. MacKenzie King on this, his third visit to our fair and fertile province, which was proud to own him as one of its representatives in Parliament, was one that will ever be remembered.

As he entered the hall, and again when he rose to speak, the great throng that crowded the spacious building, greeted him with thunderous applause, and cheering.

It was a worthy tribute to a great political leader, orator and statesman.

It proclaimed the fact that the people are longing for the return of the Liberal Administration, under which Canada has enjoyed the greatest period of prosperity in her history.

It was surely an inspiration to any public man to receive such a notable manifestation of the people's confidence so emphatically expressed.

Mr. King despite his strenuous campaigning in the other provinces was in splendid form and spirits. Well founded optimism and confidence in the outcome of the great contest, were reflected in his words and manner.

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## PEERLESS ORATOR.

Inspired by the warmth of the reception, and conscious of the responsibility developing upon him as leader of a great party in this critical period of Canada's history, he presented the issues of the day, with his characteristic energy and sincerity.

Warming to his subject as he proceeded, he soon had the audience in the grip of his matchless oratory, as he drove home his points one by one.

He began his speech with a graceful acknowledgement of the floral bouquet, presented to him by a young lady, and of the verbal bouquet handed in the form of an address read by the President of the Queens County Liberal Association. After paying tribute to Mr. John E. Sinclair, his fellow member of Parliament and to Mr. D. A. MacKinnon, Mr. Sinclair's colleague as Liberal candidate for this County, Mr. King took up the recently published manifesto of Premier Meighen.

## DEMOLITION OF TORY PLATFORM.

This platform when carefully analyzed is found to contain only five planks worth considering. These planks, Mr. King dealt with one by one, exposing their inaccuracies and inconsistencies.

Under his incisive criticism, these planks were reduced to kindling wood or demolished as one would demolish rotten timber.

The record of the autocratic and extravagant government was mercilessly and eloquently reviewed, the need of economy and retrenchment in these days of galling taxation, the tariff question, a comparison of the platform of the different parties, the enunciation of that great cardinal feature of the Liberal policy, tariff for revenue, were all dwelt upon by Mr. King in speeches lasting over an hour and the closing peroration, in which he appealed for unity under the Liberal banner of the various forces fighting freedom's battle was the finest ever heard in Charlottetown raising his hearers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm.

The demonstration accorded him as he later proceeded to the Prince Edward Theatre was a repetition of that witnessed at the Strand.

The addresses by the other speakers were also most effective, as the political situation was discussed in many phases, and Premier Meighen and his associates who come here next week, have a contract beyond their powers, if they hope to counteract the splendid effect of the Liberal leader's opening meetings in Prince Edward Island.

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## CROWDS ACCLAIM THE LEADER.

Hon. Mr. King spent the forenoon in his rooms at the Victoria Hotel attending to correspondence, and he also received a number of friends.

In the afternoon he was given a reception in the Legislative Assembly chamber where quite a number of ladies and gentlement were introduced to him, all being charmed by his genial and likable manner.

In the evening he was escorted to the Strand Theatre by a torchlight procession headed by the band.

Every seat was taken some time before the opening of the meeting and by the time the Liberal Leader had entered there wasn't even standing room, a number being unable to obtain admittance.

The Prince Edward Theatre was also crowded to overflowing, there being on an estimate over 3,000 people at both meetings, not only the city, but other parts of the county being represented as well, in the crowds that acclaimed the Liberal leader.

## PRESENTED WITH AN ADDRESS AND BOUQUET.

Mr. Nelson Rattenbury, President of the Queens County Liberal Association who was chairman of the meeting in the Strand, read the following address:—

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## ADDRESS TO THE LIBERAL LEADER.

To the Honourable,

William Lyon Mackenzie King, M.P., C.M.G., M.A., LL.B., Ph. D. Leader of the Liberal Party in the Dominion of Canada.

Sir:—

On behalf of the Liberals of the Province of Prince Edward Island, we extend to you a right royal welcome to our shores.

This occasion will be the third time hat you have honoured us with your presence. For a little over two years you have been the leader of the great Liberal Party in our vast Dominion of Canada, and leader of the Liberal Opposition in Parliament. In responsibility and endeavour your position almost equals that of the Prime Minister.

During this period you have strikingly evidenced that you are in every sense fitted to discharge the duties laid upon you, and that the mantle of our lamented chieftain, Sir Wilfred Laurier has fallen upon worthy shoulders. In the House of Commons, as representative for Prince County in this Province, you have signally distinguished yourself, and abundantly manifested that you possess in an eminent degree the fighting qualities of your illustrious ancestor.

As Canada's first Minister of Labor in the Laurier ministration, you easily demonstrated your exceptional executive ability, and those qualities of statesmanship which singled you out for elevation to the highest office in the gift of the Liberal Party. Since assuming the Leadership, both in the House of Commons, and on the platforms throughout the length and breadth of Canada, you have won for yourself the affectionate regard of the people, and the enviable reputation of being one of the most brilliant orators of the Dominion.

We believe Sir, that by your life's study of labor problems, as well as by your authorship of that great work, "Industry and Humanity," you have proved yourself to be "the man of the hour," and we confidently look forward in the near future to hail you as the Prime Minister of Canada.

We have watched with unspeakable pride the marvellous success that has attended your present political tour. Your splendid speeches have been largely distributed by the press, and show beyond successful contradiction that your criticisms of the Borden-Meighen Administration and your enunciation of the constructive policy of the Liberal Party have at last forced the Government to make their belated appeal to the people.

In honouring you, Sir, as our Leader we feel that we are honouring ourselves. We fear that it will require almost more than human wisdom to extricate our beloved Canada from the deplorable condition into which she has been plunged by the unfortunate extravagant and reckless Conservative Administration; and not only in our Province, but also far across the continent, between the two great oceans, the farmer, the fisherman, the lumberman, the miner, the business man, and the artizan—all the people are anxiously looking to you for that wisdom, statesmanship, and guidance, that we believe you are so splendidly fitted to exercise—after you have become the Leader of the Mackenzie King Liberal Government. We realize to some extent the herculean task which lies before you, and we fervently hope that the vigour, courage and ability which have characterized your actions before and since you assumed the Leadership may remain with you during the trying times, that lie before our country.

Therefore, it is with the sincerest pleasure that we welcome you to Prince Edward Island, and again acclaim you as our tried and trusted Leader.

NELSON RATTENBURY, Pres.

MARK R. McGUIGAN, Secy.

Queen's County Liberal Association.

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Mr. King was also presented with a beautiful bouquet by Miss Mary C. Riley, daughter of Mr. T. B. Riley, Vice President of the Liberal Association for Queens County.

Before the presentation of the address and bouquet, Mr. Nelson Rattenbury made a few appropriate opening remarks.

He was followed by Mr. John E. Sinclair, M. P., who spoke for about twenty minutes. He was followed by Hon. Mr. King, Mr. Andrew McMaster, Mr. D. A. MacKinnon, K. C., and Mr. William Duff, the meeting closing about eleven o'clock.

In the Prince Edward Theatre His Worship Mayor Riley presided, and the speakers in order named were Messrs MacKinnon, McMaster, Duff, Hon. Mr. King and Mr. Sinclair.

## HON. W. L. MacKENZIE KING'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

I am sure that, seeing me with a bouquet of one kind in one hand and a bouquet of another kind in the other hand, and after listening to the words just read by your chairman, Mr. Rattenbury, you will not find it strange if I cannot find words in which to convey my thanks. May I at once say that it would be difficult indeed to express the feelings that I experience at the moment in once again having the privilege and opportunity to meet with the citizens of Charlottetown.

As you well know, it has been my privilege during the last two years to regard myself, in a certain sense, as a Prince Edward Islander, as I have had the privilege of representing one of your constituencies in Parliament, and I can assure you that as long as I live Prince Edward Island will always be held in my affections as a place that will be memorable and never forgotten.

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# Wondrous Welcome Accorded Liberal Leader

(Continued from Page One.)

I should like at once to thank the good friends of Charlottetown and of the Island for the very hearty reception which they have given my colleague and myself since coming to Charlottetown. Last evening we were met by a very large representation of the citizens, in which was included the Prime Minister, the Mayor, Members of the Council and others. May I say that, in this tribute paid, I realize there is something very much larger than anything of a personal character. You realize that in our efforts as public men we are seeking to give voice to the sentiments of a very large number of the people of our country, and that in the effort which we are making at the present time to review the actions of the present Government, we are doing our utmost to preserve the freedom and extend the democracy of our free Dominion.

May I say that ever since we have had the privilege of being in the City we have met with nothing but great kindness I thank the many citizens who generously came to call upon Mr. McMasters, Mr. Duff, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. MacKinnon and myself. It is always a privilege to meet the people whom one is seeking to serve and to make new acquaintances. We were greatly pleased to have the opportunity which we had this afternoon. I wish also to express what I think of your chairman, Mr. Rattenbury, and I know you will agree with me that it would be impossible for me to say anything about him that wasn't very fine. He has gone the limit (in the address read) but I do appreciate the expressions of good will.

### Tribute to Mr. Sinclair.

If in any way it has been possible for me, as leader there, in the two years not to disappoint the expectations of some of my kind friends, it is due to the loyal and splendid support in the House of Commons from the Liberal members, and from the Liberal member in this County, Mr. Sinclair. May I once say that you will not find in any constituency, a member more ready to support us in every way possible by the utmost loyalty and fidelity than your member with whom I am delighted to be on the same platform. You all know Mr. Sinclair, and it is unnecessary for me to say anything in regard to his many splendid qualities. I suppose no man in the Parliament of Canada has a higher reputation for integrity, quiet sensibility and agreeableness than my friend, Mr. Sinclair. Whenever he gets up to speak in the House he is listened to by the Government members as well as by the Opposition because he is careful in what he says. He doesn't speak often for the reason that whenever he speaks it is on a matter of importance and he wishes to be heard.

I have had the privilege of being in the House with him during this last time and I have seen the way in which in season and out of season, he speaks of the interests of his constituency. I feel that you surely will agree with me that when you have found a man of the sterling qualities which your representative has, you cannot do a better thing than return him to Parliament to carry on the work. I can speak more particularly of Mr. Sinclair because we both have been Island representatives, and have both discussed before the sittings of Parliament matters of concern in this province. If it is true that many things have not been done for the well-being of the Island, it is not his fault or mine. we have made our representations, but they have turned a deaf ear to us for the most part. All I can say is that having turned a deaf ear to us and having paid little or no attention to our representations as will be found in the Hansard; it is for you to see that they do not get the support which they are seeking. If we are returned, as I fully expect we will be, I think you can count on Mr. Sinclair and myself doing all in our power to make good for some of the omissions during the last years. As to Mr. McKinnon who is being nominated for the coming Parliament as Mr. Sinclair's assistant in the Constituency, you all know Mr. McKinnon and it is therefore, unnecessary for me to say anything about him.

There is one line that seems to me is deserving of very special notice in the address which your chairman presented. It is that in which he speaks of the vastness of the task of our coming before the Canadian people at this time. He speaks of the task that lies ahead of any Government in Canada. I doubt if any of you appreciate just how true these words are. The questions facing the Government are on a scale that are unparalleled and the only way to have them met is to elect men of wide experience.

### Sinclair and MacKinnon a Strong Team.

You have in Mr. McKinnon a gentleman who has already served in politics, who has held the highest office in the province in being made public Administrator, and who has a wide knowledge of the affairs not only of this Province but of the Dominion. Mr. Sinclair has a very special knowledge of the problems of the rural farmers of the Country, and Mr. McKinnon of the problems of the City I couldn't imagine a better pair to represent one constituency than those two gentlemen who know so intimately and well the different questions to be dealt with. I hope you will make it a point to see that both of these gentlemen are returned to parliament. to do all that they can, not only on behalf of the Island but of our Dominion at a time when we need the ablest men to send to Ottawa.

### The Meighen Manifesto.

I have asked myself what particular subject you would like to have discussed this evening, and it has occurred to me that probably the subject uppermost in the minds of those present is the manifesto which Mr. Meighen has just issued to the people of Canada. I see it reported fully in the "Guardian," and, while I cannot agree with all that is in the "Guardian" particularly in politics, I think we can feel that the report of the Manifesto will be accurate. I will speak on the Manifesto because it represents what Mr. Meighen considers his platform, and I want you to draw your own conclusions. I have read through the Manifesto very carefully, and it seems to me that, broadly considered, there are some five different points. The first point that is brought out in the Manitesto which Mr. Meighen seeks to have the people consider as important is that their Government is the government that carried out the war, that carried out demobilization, and that if there is any distinction attached to the winning of the War, why he and his colleagues are the ones to receive credit on that.

The second point is that now the time is come when we should have policies for the purpose of reconstruction, seeing that we are through with war, that we are now in a period of reconstruction.

The third point he makes is that Canada's future as well as her present is bound up as a Nation within the British Empire.

The fourth, that the tariff is the real issue and the only issue practically in this present election, and the fifth is an appeal to the ladies in which he sets forward the ground on which he thinks the women should support the present administration. They cover practically the whole of this Manifesto of Mr. Meighen—some of them brought out at greater length than others. You will be able to judge how much importance is to be attach-

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ed to the utterances of Mr. Meighen in regard to the questions before the people.

Mr. Meighen has the habit of saying different things about those who don't agree with him. His first speech was made in one of the towns of Ontario, and he said then that those who were Protectionists were sane and ratonal, and that the rest of the people were Bolshevists and Nation wreckers. The other night he was speaking at Portage La Prairie—the first speech he made since the election was announced—and he was addressing a meeting composed largely of farmers. He said practically the same thing again only instead of speaking of those who would not agree with him as Bolshevists, he said that anyone who supported the Liberals were the victims of chicanery, chaos would result. Extraordinary language for a Prime Minister to use. Mr. Meighen has the habit of saying that I should be more honest. I would quote to Mr. Meighen the old passage, "Judge not, be not judged; for with whatsoever you mete, it will be meted to you again." I leave it for you to judge how honest this statement is.

### The First Point.

Take the first point, of Mr. Meighen's Manifesto, that his government is the government that had to do with the winning of the war, and goes on to endeavour to give himself credit in that connection. To use his exact words. "I have been a member of the Government for eight years, and its leader for something more than one year. This Government has taken Canada through a devastating war and survived the crisis that a war brings in its train."

Doesn't that very clearly imply that for eight years he has been member of a Government which has been carrying on the affairs of the country and that he is more or less deserving of the credit which should be attached to that period. Eight years, that brings us back to 1913. That was the old government of Sir Robert Borden and the Government which Mr. Meighen formed a year ago and the one which he has been constructing during the last few days is the same government. I leave it to you to judge if it is the same. I won't go back further than 1917 when the Unionist Government was formed. What were you told in regard to the Government of Sir Robert Borden? Were you told that the Unionist Government was the Government of Sir Robert Borden, or that the whole purpose was to get away from the old Party Government? That was the appeal made on every Platform. We were told that the Country was in the midst of a war, that we should forget our party politics and that the Liberals should forgive the sins of their opponents and should combine with the Conservatives for the purpose of winning the War. We were to have a Coalition Government, and a Government to carry on during the period of the War. I will ask you this question, "Is Mr. Meighen's Government a War Government; is it a Coalition Government; is it the Government that was in power during the period of the War? Look at its personnel. You won't find more than two men—one Mr. Meighen. Take the men who left the Government before Mr. Meighen became Premier, Mr. Carvell, Mr. McLean, Mr. Rowell, Sir Thomas White. Mr. Crerar Sir Robert Borden. All of these gentlemen had left the old Unionist Government before Mr. Meighen was called upon. How under the circumstances can Mr. Meighen claim that he has been the Member of the Government for eight years. Which Government is now appealing to the people of this Country? If he is going to put his claim to such in the form of a Manifesto, he ought to be more careful in the manner in which - he expresses himself. If you can't believe his first statement, how is it possible to believe the other statements? Let me turn to the last statement. I think you will find that it is incorrect. I said the last statement was an appeal to the women, a special appeal to the women. Listen to what he says, and I think it is an old time honoured custom to say that when a man is talking to ladies or to a lady he ought to be particularly careful about his words. He should not say anything that isn't absolutely true. This is the statement which he makes to the women of Canada. The Government now in Office supported by the body which I have the honour to lead, extended to you three years ago the Federal Franchise." Now, is that true? And I ask you to read this morning's Guardian so that there will be no possibility of misconstructing the words. You can see how far you can put reliance on what Mr. Meighen says. Isn't the truth this, that the Government of which Mr. Meighen is a member absolutely denied the franchise to three quarters of the women. They gave one quarter of the women the right to vote and they denied it to every other woman in the Country. You all know that the only women who had the right to vote were those who were fortunate enough to have relatives Overseas, **but it was denied to every other woman, even though she may have worked for the Red Cross and worked day and night doing her part in winning the War. Unless she happened to have a relative Overseas, the right to vote was denied her, and yet Mr. Meighen appeals for the support of the women of this country because he gave them the franchise.**

The Unionist Government was composed of some Liberal and some Conservative Members. The Liberal members of that Government—and particularly Mr. Rowell—had been strong advocates of the rights of women. But when he came to bring it before his Conservative Colleagues in the Cabinet, they said, "Oh. No, we won't give the women the right to vote, but we will compromise with you. We will give a faction of the women the right to vote at this Election. Then later on we will allow all them to vote as a means of satisfying popular clamour."

### CANADA'S DESTINY.

Mr. Meighen also says that the Dominion of Canada aspires to one destiny and one only—a destiny in which there is no nobler nationhood within the British Empire, convinced that there is no single thing more vital than that the British Empire as constituted should be maintained. Is there one man from the Atlantic to the Pacific who will not agree with that? We all believe that Canada's destiny lies within the British Empire. We all want to see our Empire grow as a Nation.

**Who was responsible for Canada's becoming a Nation? Who was the first man to speak of Canada as a Nation? It was old Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and if Canada is a Nation today there are two things that have made it—one the fight of th eLibcrals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier to get away from the status of a Colony to the status of Nation, and the other, the men who went Overseas and laid down their lives for the Country, giving to our Country a new place in the World. (Applause).** This is not an issue that can be drawn into the political arena at the present time.

We all want Canada to keep the British connection, believing that in this lies the fullest guardian of peace, harmony and good-will, not only between Canada and the British Empire, but between the British Empire and other Countries of the World.

The only two remain, two points of this manifesto. One relates to the policy of Reconstruction, and the other in relation to the Tariff. Listen to what the manifesto says. "We must now face with courage the gigantic task of Reconstruction. We must sustain and improve services already established for assisting those who suffered from the War. We must map out our course. We must choose policies that accord with our aspirations as a nation that are suited to the present stage of our development to our surroundings in the world and to the troubled age in which we live.' After the War is over, Mr. Meighen has held off for over a year on the ground that part of his duty was to commence

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the work of Reconstruction, that the Government was formed not only for the winning of the War, but for the purpose of aiding in Reconstruction. Mr. Meighen has been Premier for over a year. He has had his opportunity but he has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. (Applause.) **During the 1½ years in which he has usurped the Government of this Country he has not put before the people of this Country any Policy for purposes of reconstruction, nor does he put any in this Manifesto, and that is** the ground on which I take main issue with him. Now is the time. We have the question of unemployment; we have the question of the high cost of living,and the high cost of taxation in this Country at the present time. Read his Manifesto and you won't find a single mention of one of those questions one way or the other. There is no outline of any policy, because they have found themselves incapable of shaping any policy, and that is the reason why he should not be further trusted with the carrying on of the Government of this Country. (applause.) It would not be so bad if the man had simply failed in the matter of reconstruction, but he has gone to the other extreme and not only shown himself incapable of shaping any policy of Reconstruction in accordance with the needs of our times, but has absolutely gone back along the line of reaction, and given us a type of Government not known for half a century. The very first thing necessary for reconstruction is to have a Parliament that would represent the people, a Parliament that would be formed for the purpose of dealing with these problems.

As soon as the War was over he should have gone to the people with a policy an dsaid, Now is the time for Reconstruction. Give me a Parliament that is composed of Representatives of the people of the Country." What did he do? Instead of attempting anything of the kind, he took possession of the Government without any mandate and now the Government stands before the Country without any friends. Mr. Meighen has been unsurping the power. The people of this Country never put the power of Government into Mr. Meighen's hands. When you supported Sir Robert Borden did you think you were handing the Government over to Mr. Meighen and his friends to carry on for over a year, Meighen says "I will administer the affairs of this Country as I think best." And he has denied the people the right to have a Representative Parliament of their own choosing. Canada is the only Country in the British Empire that has not given to its people the right to elect a representative Parliament. In Britain an election was held after the signing of the armistice. In South Africa two general elections have been held. In New Zealand, Australia general elections, New South Wales, Newfoundland were held over two years ago. France, Belgium, Netherlands, United States, Japan, China—all these had an election—even the enemy country, Germany held an election. We and Russia are the only people who have been denied this right, and yet Mr. Meighen comes before the people of this Country and talks about reconstruction, and says he ought to have the governing of the people of this Country.

I will ask this audience a question. There are a number of Conservatives here, I am sure. Is there one who will stand up and tell me when we are going to have a General Election? There isn't a man or a woman in this room or in this County that can stand up and say, "We are going to have a General Election." This Autocrat, indifferent altogether tothe will and wish of the people, keeps in his own mind a particular date to be given out at whateever time he may think best. Yet he comes before the people an dsays,"I am the man you should support." **I don't call that.. "Government by the People." I call that "Government by an Autocrat," and that is the issue—whether we are going to have another five years of autocratic Government or whether we are going to try to get back.. to. Democracy.. (Applause.)** What is the dearest of all the liberties of the people? Isn't it the right of Self-Government?

## AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

We take pride in the fact that we have "Government by the people, for the people and with the will of the people," but we got away from all that during the war, during the war because of war necessity, little by little the people's representatives in Parliament allowing Executive to do things, simply because there was a war on. They never thought of doing that any other time, but during the War it wasn't always wise to take up time in Parliament. It wasn't always wise to let the enemy know what you were proposing to do, and under the stress of the times the people's representatives gave up more and more of their rights to the Executive and allowed the Executive to carry on, but that was only for Patriotic purposes, but here is the unfortunate part of it. Some of these gentlemen who had charge of affairs thought they were a greater power than the people; they were going to rule.During the period of the war the people loaned the Government two billions of dollars. Two billions of dollars are now owing o the people of Canada for advances nade at that time. Having spent this vast amount, having assumed power under these conditions, these gentlemen got so used to being autocratic that they can't come back again to think of themselves as servants of the people, which is the only attitude to take. The serving of the public— that is the great issue at the present time. Are you going to place the government of this Country in the hands of men whose policy is to ignore the people, who have taken control and management, indifferent to the best interests of Canada.

## A STRICT ACCOUNTING NEEDED.

There is a more important question than appealing to the people, and it is one of great importance. The most sacred duty of all of the representatives in Parliament is the supervision of the expenditures and to have a strict accounting in Parliament for every cent of the public accounts. I would like to talk about just how heavy the taxation of this country has become. Let me give a few figures. Before the War we had a public debt in Canada amounting to something like $235,000,000. Today our public debt is $2,350,000,000. The interest on that public debt before the war was $12,500,000. Today it is $140,000,000. All that it cost to run the whole of Canada ten years ago, including subsidies to Railways and the payment of public debt was something like $123,000,000. Yet today the interest on our public debt alone is $140,000,000.

Failure to meet the interest on our public debt would spell insolvency and bankruptcy forthe nation. There is, however, another charge upon the public treasury scarcely less large and vastly more sacred, from the point of view of national obligation, than the interest on the public debt, an obligation to fail to meet which would spell not only insolvency and bankruptcy, but ingratitude and dishonour as well. This is the charge amounting at the present time to some $130,000,000, in the nature of pensions payable annually to disabled soldiers and the dependent relatives of those whose lives were sacrificed in the Great War and on account of Soldiers Civil Re-estab-

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lishment and other outlays incidental to what may be termed War Veterans' Account. This obligation we are determined at all costs to meet. Remember, however, it is an obligation which ten years ago had no place in our Public Accounts. Remember, too, that in amount it is an obligation vaster than the sums expended on all branches and departments of government ten years ago.

Meighen, without ever consulting the people has taken over the Grand Trunk Pacific, and today we have 22,000 miles of railway in the possession of this Country and the people have had no chance to say whether they wanted them or not. Last year, the deficit on account of government-owned and operated railways amounted to some $50,000,000. This year, the deficit had reached some $70,000,000. It is now taken for granted that the deficit for the coming year will be in the vicinity of $100,000,000. Yet at this year's session, Parliament was asked by the Government to vote, and did vote, on account only of railways and canals, the sum of $165,000,000. Ten years ago the total outlay on account of railways and canals was $38,000,000. Here is an additional annual burden upon the shoulders of the Canadian people of $127,000,000, a sum again considerably in excess of the total expenditure on government account ten years ago.

That has to come out of the pockets of the people. Altogether this Session of Parliament voted between five and six hundred Million Dollars. (To be correct $560,000,000) for the purpose of carrying on the Government this one year.

### $310 PER FAMILY.

We have a country of nine millions. Divide that up, and you will find that the cost to each individual is $62.00, or for a family of five, $310.00 for Federal purposes alone. That doesn't include your provincial and municipal taxes down.You begin to see now what the problem is. I had a lady to see me today and she said that she doubted if many of the women knew the problems of the Government. The truth of the matter is that only one man in 500 really begins to understand those questions.

Taxes are of two kinds—direct and indirect. Incomes under $2,000 are exempt. Because your income is not over that amount, you may think that you are not paying any of that Tax. When a wealthy Landlord pays high taxes, he necessarily increases the rent, and in this way the Tenant is payingthe taxes. The same way with indirect taxation, which is added to the price of commodities, and so long as man requires to purchase shoes, dresses or to get his food,you are paying the Taxes. None of us ever get a way from the question of taxation. The fact is that sooner or later every family will come to realize the problems of the Government. If you are unable to send your sons to College or give your daughter the education she is to receive, if you are unable to do for them the things you would like to do, the explanation is that you have had to pay your share of this large increase of indirect tax and you are, therefore, vitally interested in all these question of taxation.

The need of economy and retrenchment by men responsible for dealing in millions is quite apparent. There are large numbers of Officials kept in Public Life appointed during the period of war and are still kept in office although really of no service to the Country, but kept there simply because they are of service to those who put them there. And until you have a change we will go on carrying a whole load of Officials and the people will go on paying them. Is this not time for a change?

### ADVOCATES STANDARDIZATION OF THE GAUGE.

I touched a moment ago on Railway question. Mr. Sinclair and I have tried to have the Standardization of the Island Railway effected. I have written the Minister of Raiways a half dozen times in this regard. **It seems to me that if there is anything that is necessary for the Island it is that there should be a Standard Gauge so as to avoid the necessity of re-shipment of commodities to different parts.** But when you ask them.. regarding this question they reply, "That the Railways have been put in the hands of a Board of Directors and we will pass this on to them and let them deal with this as they feel best." The Government is taking no responsibility in the matter at all.

We have got to get back to the administration of the Railway and everything else. We have tried to find out why the deficits are so large. Members are asking the Government what is responsible for the large outlay. They reply: "We have no information. We have transferred the management into the hands of a Board of Directors whom we have appointed." We asked: "Who are this Board of Directors? Are they Directors of any other companies, if so, what companies?" The Government gave the names of the Directors but no other information about them. We asked if there was any insurance placed on the Railways and they said "No information." Then we asked about Government contracts, whether contracts had been let for Railway equipment, if so, to what Companies, and their rates. "No information." We protested against this, and finally brought a resolution (if I mistake not, I moved it myself) that wherever possible the fullest accounting should be given to the Members of Parliament through the Ministers. Wasn't that in your interests? Wasn't that a wise thing to do? The whole party voted against the resolution. Half the Farmers voted one way, and half the other way—just to show how independent they were.

### INTERLOCKING OF DIRECTORATES

We investigated a little farther. We found when we came to look at it that three quarters of this Board of Directors were composed of gentlemen who were Directors of other Companies supplying the Government with equipment and insurance.

We found that the Railway properties had been insured to the extent of over $140,000,000, of which under $33,000,000 had been placed in the Company's insurance fund, and $108,000,000 with insurance companies. With respect to the $108,000,000 placed with insurance companies, it was shown that practically the whole had been placed with one company, which did as it thought best with respect to re-insuring with other companies. This insurance, of course, was all paid for in advance. The investigation further disclosed that two of the members of the Board of Directors of the Government Railways were also Directors of the Assurance Company with which the bulk of the $108,000,000 of insurance had been placed.

Contractors of one company had a contract running for over nine years and a director of one of these was a director of the Canadian National Railway and in another case was President and Manager.

That is the way things are being run at the present time. The first thing we need is to get back to the old Liberal form of government and until we get back to that we have no economy nor retrenchment in our public life. We have been trying to get the Government to realize what its responsibility to the electors in regard to the expenditure of public money. I believe the government of the country today is in the hands of a little oligarchy two sets of men, one political autocrats, the other industrial plutocrats seeking political power, and that we will have no Free Government in Canada until that combine is effectively broken. It is for the people of this country to say whether or not they want that to continue.

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**Economy Needed.**

We take no exception to any moneys that were legitimately expended in the war. We take no exception to anything that may be necessary in the way of improving conditions. What we do say is that, after the vast expenditure during the war, we should no go in for any more extravagance in naval and military matters, but that we should cut down on the ordinary military expenditure. They are twice as great as what they were before the war commenced. When you begin to analyze those expenditures you will see how absolutely absurd they are. What danger is there in this country's being menaced at sea at the present time? The point is that the government is still voting money for demobilization. They voted $100,000,000 right after the war was over, and $9,000,000 this very year, and they will never get through with demobilization. **Somebody said we are willing to vote money for demobilization if only to demobilize yourselves That is the only thing left to demobilize."** (Applause.) We voted an amount to keep the navy going, and they told us that they had accepted five ships from England, two submarines, two destroyers, and a cruiser and they asked us to vote $2,000,000 for the upkeep of those vessels, for the upkeep of the naval fleet brought over from the other side. They never asked Parliament if they would accept those ships. The whole thing was done by this group of autocrats themselves. There was no opportunity for the people or their representatives to say anything one way or the other. We read in the newspapers today that a Committee of Investigators were appointed in the English Parliament and they report that some members of that Parliament without considering the taxpayers have been giving away property that belongs to the British and among them these very ships that came to Canada. In other words, instead of building up an Empire you are helping to separate them. That is the way in which the Government is being carried on. I am sure that there are Conservatives here who will remember the way Sir John McDonald and others used to carry on business. When Sir John A. McDonald entered into an agreement he brought that agreement into Parliament he laid it on the table and let the members discuss it. Sir Wilfred Laurier adopted that policy with regard to the Grand Trunk Pacific. When Mr Meighen took over the Grand Trunk Railway he absolutely refused to discuss it. We never saw it until after it was signed, sealed and delivered, and before it was accepted by our Government it was shown to the English bond holders and they accepted the terms on the other side. In other words, the British bond holders were allowed to see it, while the people who were to pay for them were denied that right. That is what I call autocratic government. I am just mentioning these things in order that you may see what the real issue is.

**The Tariff Question.**

There you have the explanation why Mr. Meighen talks about the tariff. He says that the issue is between Protection and Free Trade. His whole reason and purpose is that he wants to conceal from the people all his record. He will come here and if I am not mistaken he will spend the evening talking on Free Trade. I would like him to come here and answer these charges I have made here tonight. If I have made a misstatement in any way I would like him to put it right. (Applause.) I have been making the same statements to other audiences in Canada. We don't intend to let Mr. Meighen make the issue. The people will make the issue.

He is not now in Parliament. He has got to go before the people and give an account to the people of this country. The Tariff is an issue but not the only issue. It is an issue because it affects the cost of living, and the high cost of living is a big problem in the country today. What is the Liberals' position in regard to the Tariff? It isn't a question of protection and free trade. The Liberal party stands for a Tariff for revenue. We say the Tariff is a tax, and being a tax it should be made to bear as lightly as possible upon the people as a means of getting the necessary revenue to carry on the Government.

The Liberal policy is that of a tariff for revenue, in the interests of producers and consumers; not a tariff in the interests of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers such as a tariff based primarily on the principle of protection is all but certain to be.

To show the great need for some such revision of the tariff, I have only to remind this audience of what Mr. James Murdock has already told the country of the restraints of trade the monopolies, the combines, and the trade agreements affecting the food, the clothing, and the shelter of the people, as he came to know of them from inside knowledge of conditions obtained while a member of the Board of Commerce.

That Report is being made public. Mr. Murdock tried to get the people at act upon it, and he says there is no solution to this question except to vote for the Liberal Party. We want a revision of the Tariff in the interests of consumers and producers. During this last day or two I have had the privilege of visiting Nova Scotia and we have seen before our eyes the great natural resources. You have a variety. In the first place, the great fisheries with their wealth, then the mines, the forests an finally the agricultural interests in their different branches, such as cattle raising, etc.

**INCREASING PRODUCTION.**

I have been speaking of the enormous taxation. The only way in which we can pay off our public debt is to have the wealth that in in nature brought out and transformed. We want more production. That is the only way it can be done. We want the raw materials taken and manufactured into commodities that can be used and transferred here and there. That being the case, we see that taxes must be made as low as they can. You need men as well as nature to get the wealth. Mines and forests are of little value unless we have the labor to work with. But you want more than labor. You must have the necessary equipment. That equipment is in the nature of capital. For that reason we believe in making the duty as low as we possibly can. It isn't simply because it is in the interests of the farmers to have cheap agricultural implements, but we say what is in the interests of the farmers in that regard is in the interests of the city, because if the farmers can produce more cheaply, they can sell more cheaply. It is better for the merchants, better for the railway companies and better for various interests to have a larger production than a small one.

**LIBERAL POLICY IN INTERESTS OF THE HOMES.**

That is a policy that is in the interests of all homes of htis country, of all parties of this country. We all need certain necessaries of life, food, shelter, boots and shoes, etc. There are some things that all of us can get along without. There are a number of things which all of us must have. They are in the nature of necessaries of life. We would revise the tax in the interests of the great majority in this country. We begin with the home and its needs. We see that our policy is based on the needs of the home—not in the interests of some

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manufacturing groups. We are going to see, first, last and always to the home because we believe that in the prosperity, happiness and contentment of the home lies the prosperity of the country. (Applause.) **We want the Tariff revised in the interests of the producers, a tariff in the interests of the consumers. That is a kind of policy that is in the interests of all.** (Applause.)

You may have all the reforms you wsih, you may seek to bring about all the changes in the Government, but there is only one way to do it and that is to have a party that is strong enough to be able to put the enemy out of business. At the present time the Government of this country is in the hands of autocrats. They have possession of the Government; they have back of them the great big interests of this country. They are supported by influential groups that are interested in keeping them in power and enable them to keep the special privileges for the few rather than for the many.

**COMPARISON OF PLATFORMS.**

I have here altogether different platforms of different political parties. I have on the other hand the platform of the Liberal Party. This platform was drawn up at a Convention of delegates from all parts of this country. They represent the manufacturing interests, the business interests and the great mass of consumers. For three days they worked over what they termed a programme of legislation. They sent out their representatives from the Atlantic to the Pacific without respect to class, race, creed or sections, and were all prepared to stand, fight and work for that platform. I hold another platform in my hand, a new National Policy—a Farmers' Platform—voted by a party which has had its origin in the West. It stands for very much of what is in the Liberal platform—reduction of taxation, revision of the tariff, economy and retrenchment, the bringing down of the high cost of living, the return to power of esponsible and representative Government. But it goes further than the Liberal platform and contains planks which no Parliament can carry out, at least for some years to come. If you have no chance of getting a platform into legislation, what is the good of it. Our platform represents the forces of freedom, and a wider liberty in the home.

The platform of the Liberal Conservative party, call it by any name you like—stands for the kind of Government we have had during the last year.

(Hon. Mr. King then referred to the platforms of the G. W. V. A., the National Council of Women, and the platform of the Labor Party. The platform of the Farmers' party, the G. W. V. A., National Council of Women and the Labor party together with the Liberal party represent five groups really in opposition to the Government.

Whilst the Farmers and Laborites have formed a separate party, the others are willing to support the party that promises to carry out their platforms. If there ever was a party that has fought for the interests of the workingman and the farmer, it is the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party went down to defeat in the Battle of Reciprocity. If the party had not been true to the farmers, I would say that there was some reason for the farmers starting a party for themselves. The Liberal Party and the Farmers have worked together in the past more than any other party have ever done.

Hon. Mr. King here stated that the Conservative leader when he attacked the Farmers so fiercely had a motive in doing this—to get the farmers roused to nominate candidates in the hope of drawing away the Liberal vote and dividing the forces of freedom.)

**Appeal For Unity.**

In conclusion he then delivered the peroration given elsewhere saying: "We want all represented in our party but we want them not as class representatives but as citizens of Canada. As a citizen of Canada I want you to join me in this great cause. It is in the interests of the people as a whole. In the great war which has just been fought, England was in the right, France was in the right, Belgium was in the right, Italy was in the right, Russia was in the right—for a time—and they all fought for the cause of freedom, but were unable to overthrow the enemy which represented autocracy and oppression Russia was driven into a condition of chaos, and the enemy forces were driven through Belgium and almost to the gates of Paris.

Chief, Germany was driven back and the forces of freedom prevailed as they will always prevail when fighting the battle of mankind. Our slogan is, **"United we stand divided we will be** vanquished." (Applause.) When we are united under our Leadership we will move as a great army advances against the Conservative stronghold. We are face to face with an enemy that is strong but we see victory in our grasp. We should help to make our principles and policies prevail. Look at our programme or platform and take our history of 100 years. It is for political, religious and economic freedom in one form or another, and the Liberals will continue to fight for it long after you and I have crossed to the other shore. If you wish to see freedom triumph, continue to follow us and stand together and two months hence we will have power at Ottawa, and will bring this Country progress, prosperity and happiness because it stands for the people as it has stood for all time.

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

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## INSPIRING AND MEMORABLE MEETING.

The thousands who listened to Honourable MacKenzie King, M. P., last night must have gone to their homes convinced that in choosing him as the Leader of the great Liberal Party in Canada, no mistake was made. Indeed we venture to assert that every intelligent man and woman, boy and girl, who heard his inspiring and magnificent address, must have felt that he is preeminently qualified for the position of the Premiership of this Dominion.

The occasion was one of the most inspiring and memorable in the history of our Province. From the Victoria Hotel, to the Market Hall the streets were lined with people, and at the entrance to the hall, the crowd was simply immense. Mr. King and those who accompanied him walked into the hall between living walls of people. Both the Market House, capable of accommodating at least 1700 and perhaps 1800 persons, and the Prince Edward Theatre into which might be packed 1100 persons, were crowded to their utmost capacity, and as the Liberal Leader entered he received an ovation, worthy of our people,—worthy of his splendid reputation, and significant of the trend of public opinion. It is truth to state that a more inspiring, encouraging and educative speech has never been given in this city or Province. The greatest statesmen of the past have all, with few exceptions spoken here, and MacKenzie King's deliverance last night in our estimation, places him as the peer of the greatest. It will never be forgotten !

Is it any wonder then, that the Liberals are so proud of MacKenzie King, and let the result of the elections be what they may, he is certainly the outstanding figure in the public life of our country today. The speech was a masterly exposition of the Liberal policy, and a convincing, slashing criticism of the Borden-Meighen Administrations. He dealt with Premier Meighen's latest manifesto, which consisted of about five points worth dealing with. These were, first:—In regard to the Government carrying on during the war and its conduct then and since; War reconstruction; Canada and the Empire; the Protective Tariff, and the appeal to the women. Mr. King completely exposed the fallacy of the reasons why Premier Meighen should take any credit to himself or his Government regarding these. Although this manifesto only appeared here yesterday, yet Mr. King was able even within this limited time to analyze it and to literally tear its chief arguments to pieces. This was but another evidence of the grasp of public affairs and the debating powers of the Liberal Leader.

Mr. King's presentation of the Liberal Policy, which he declared would be put into operation after the Liberal Government had been formed, showed to all how, even in the face of the present wreck of public affairs, brought about by misrule, it was still possible to lift Canada out of such and give our people not only good Government, but also a reduction in the high cost of living and also reconstruction in the various departments of public endeavour. Some of the features of the speech were as follows :

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Mr. Meighen talked of Bolshevism and nation wreckers. Now he appeared to be getting back to stronger language. The premier's talk of "chicanery and infidelity" said Mr. King was getting back to the old time Tory tactics.

"The real question today was whether the people would trust a man who did not trust them, or whether they wanted rule by the people." "You know the issue," said Mr. King. "It is whether the people shall rule or an oligarchy." While war raged the people were willing to give great power to an executive. Today they demand that the autocracy be brought to an end.

The rights of the people to govern was the real issue at stake today. Canada, which had been denied a general election was practically the only country denied this right. Mr. King instanced the countries that have had elections since the war, namely, England, New Zealand, Australia, New South Wales, ,Belgium, Japan, and even Germany. The only two in which elections had not been held were in Russia and Canada. An election should have been held years ago. Now the premier was forced to an election by fear of defeat in the house. The government ignored the will of both the people and parliament.

In railway matters neither parliament nor people were consulted when the government acted. The agreement between the government and Grand Trunk shareholders was submitted to the latter while Canada was denied a voice in the matter; nor had the people been consulted with regard to the merchant marine policy or contracts. Four or five vessels had been built, but still the people had not been consulted as to building it. The acceptance of a cruiser and two destroyers without any consultation of parliament or people was also condemned. Their acceptance was causing high and unnecessary expenditures.

Addressing the women Mr. King urged them to give attention to matters of government. Each new expenditure of public money meant necessarily new taxes; each Canadian was paying something like $62 per year, and that, said Mr. King, did not consider any provincial or municipal taxation.

The Liberal leader said he was not criticizing proper war expenditure, including such necessary expenditures as pensions. But the Canadian Government had grown used to spending huge sums and could not now think in amounts less than millions. There must be reduced expenditures and a thorough national audit. "The great question for the people of Canada," said Mr. King, "is the need of economy and retrenchment."

The Liberal party believed today in the tariff as applied by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal leader said. It was impossible to abolish the tariff, but there should be tariff revision, and that, not in the interests of small groups, but in the interests of both the great basic industries and of the people. Implements of productions must be cheapened. Necessaries of life must be given as light duties as possible. The framing of a tariff in the point of view of the home and its needs would be the aim of the Liberal party. Mr. King made an appeal to all who sought better government to stand together in national unity, to return to power the one party in whose platform was found the planks contained in the platforms of several smaller groups. Farmers, labor, women and war veterans, all sought the same progressive steps as did the Liberal party. "Why ?" asked Mr. King, "should these parties not all work together to bring about the better conditions in Canada which we all so much desire. Class consciousness had grown up among farmers and labor."

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"We think each should have representation," said Mr. King, "but we want co-operation; we want these groups, not as groups, but as members of this great party, as Canadian citizens."

Unity of command, necessary in the war to give victory to the Allied forces was just as necessary in Canada, for men and women who thought alike and who wished to bring back to Canada a solidified democratic government. War must be replaced by peace, and ill-will by good-will.

There were many matters of vital importance in Mr. King's speech, and as it will appear subsequently verbatim in the Patriot's columns, it is therefore unnecessary to go into it further.

The leader paid glowing tributes to our Liberal candidates, Messrs John E. Sinclair, and D. A. McKinnon. He referred specially to Mr. Sinclair's excellence as a representative for Queen's County, and he sincerely hoped that both gentlemen would be elected. They would be a source of strength to the new Liberal Government particularly in the reconstruction period which lies before us, when the best men and brains of our country are so urgently needed in public life.

Throughout his speech Mr. King was enthusiastically applauded, and when he resumed his seat, after an exceptionally brilliant peroration the vast audience cheered and cheered again. The impression made upon our people by the Liberal Leader's visit, and message will be a lasting and happy memory to all who have met him, and heard him.

Mr. Andrew R. McMaster, M. P., and Mr. William Duff, M. P., as well as Mr. Sinclair, M. P., and Mr. McKinnon, the two Liberal candidates, also received a splendid hearing. Their speeches were varied, and the audiences were capitally informed on the issues that are now before us. They were necessarily brief in their remarks, but they evidenced that in debating ability MacKenzie King will have strong and able men at his back from the Maritime part of our Dominion.

All who have read Mr. McMaster's speeches, particularly upon the Tariff, know that he is second to none in the Canadian Parliament in ability and knowledge in dealing with this difficult and intricate matter. We have had the pleasure of reading many of Mr. McMaster's speeches in the House of Commons, and it was a bright thought on Mr. King's part to bring such a thoroughly informed, able, and polished speaker to the Maritime Provinces. First it shows the calibre of the Liberals in the Upper Provinces supporting Mr. King, and next it gives to our people a clearer understanding of what the Tariff, as defined in the policies of the three parties actually means. Any man who is capable of handling the fiscal policy or the financial problems of any country is justly regarded as being especially fitted for a position in the Cabinet. Mr. McMaster caught the audience at the beginning, although it was a somewhat late hour when he took the platform, with a story of a French soldier, and how the brave warrior found his individuality in the trenches—guarding the line. It was a great story dramatically told!

Our people will always look forward with the greatest pleasure to a return visit from Mr. McMaster. He has made hosts of friends here, and has won for himself the admiration of all in the vast audiences who listened to his speeches last night.

Mr. Duff is surely a campaigner! His speech was in a very happy vein. He immediately caught the popular fancy, and many times was greeted with enthusiastic and tumultuous applause. Mr. Duff strikes straight from the shoulder; he hews to the line, let the chips fall where they may. He told many blunt and cruel stories of Tory rule and our people now have a better knowledge of the iniquities of the Borden-Meighen government. Roars of laughter attended Mr. Duff's original interpretation of the new name National-and Liberal Conservative party.

These mass meetings go far to arouse the public to the importance of their duty in regard to the governing of our country. They also stimulate interest and their beneficial and educative results are far reaching. Liberals today are jubilant and rejoicing and MacKenzie King's name is on every lip.

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(1) Charlottetown Guardian Oct-7th 1921 D 5585

# Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King Speaks in Charlottetown

## He Reviewed the Prime Minister's Manifesto and Touched Lightly on the Tariff Repudiating the Free Trade Plank in the Ottawa Platform.

There was a large attendance at the Strand Theatre last night to hear Mr. W. L. MacKenzie King, M. P. the Liberal Leader, speak on the political issues of the day. The meeting opened at 8 o'clock with Mr. Nelson Rattenbury, President of the Provincial Liberal Association in the chair.

Mr. Nelson Rattenbury acted as Chairman and in a few preliminary remarks in which, referring to Mr. MacKenzie King as the "Advance Agent" of good times to come, and welcoming the Liberal Leader to the province, he introduced Mr. J. E. Sinclair, whom he described as the most able representative the County had ever had in Parliament.

Mr. Sinclair said that it was not necessary for Mr. Rattenbury to flatter him because he had simply done his duty. He welcomed the ladies "into the circle of Canadian electorate" and expressed the belief that they would cast a wise ballot on election. The Liberal Party, he said, had nothing to fear because it stood for principles that had been tried and that had won the approval of the people He said that his colleague in the last general elections, Mr. Warburton, was defeated by a manipulation of the soldier's votes and he hoped that he and his colleague on this occasion would receive the hearty support of the people. Referring to the National Liberal and Conservative party, he said that the province of Quebec having been successfully appealed to in 1911 to defeat the Laurier government on the Reciprocity issue. Mr. Meighen felt it necessary and advisable to include the word "National" in the new title of the party he led. The tariff issue, he declared, was raised by the Prime Minister merely as a means to distract the attention of the electorate from the record of the government, during the past 10 years because they feared a discussion of the acts of the various Conservative administrations that had been in power since 1911. He charged the Government with wasteful extravagance and mismanagement, particularly in connection with the railways and the Mercantile Marine. The control of the railways had been taken out of the hands of the people's representatives and the government had denied them all information asked for in Parliament. He also charged the government of Sir Robert Borden with wrongful expenditure of the people's money in paying compensation for prohibiting the manufacture of the Ross rifle, which was being turned out of the factories six months after it had been condemned overseas. Referring to Mr. McMaster. he described that gentleman as a good type of low-tariff. He asked that he and his colleague be returned to Parliament to support Mr. King as the next Prime Minister.

A complimentary address to Mr. King was then read by Mr. Rattenbury on behalf of the Liberal party, and, before replying, the Liberal Leader was presented with a bouquet by Miss Mary C. Reilly, the charming young daughter of Mr. T. B. Reilly, of Charlottetown. Mr. King bowed his acknowledgment to the young lady and proceeded to address the meeting. He said it was difficult for him to find words in which to express his thanks for the hearty welcome he had received. He was glad of the opportunity to meet the citizens of a province which he had had the honour to represent in part during the past two years. He considered himself. in a way, a native of Prince Edward Island; it any rate, as long as he lived, the province would always hold a warm place in his affection. Mr. King said he came as a representative of an historic party that had fought the battles of freedom, and given voice to the sentiments that had inspired the people of Canada, during the past century. He paid a compliment to Mr. Sinclair, than whom. he said, no man had been more constantly at his side ready to support him in every way possible. Messrs. McKinnon and Sinclair, he thought, would make good representatives.

Mr. King then proceeded to review the Manifesto of Premier Meighen as it appeared in the Charlottetown Guardian. He read them, first, in consecutive order, summarising them, as he understood their purport, as follows:

1. That the Government, led by Mr. Meighen had carried on the war to a successful conclusion; 2, that there should be reconstruction; 3, that Canada's future, as well as her present, is bound up within the British Empire; 4, that the tariff is the real and only issue; and, 5, an appeal to the ladies setting forth grounds on which they should support the government.

Regarding the first point, that the Meighen Government had brought Canada out of the war, Mr. King contended that the present government was not one and the same with that elected in 1917, for Sir Robert Borden had, at that time, told the electors that the Unionist government was to be a new administration. Only two members of the Unionist government is Mr. Meighen and another minister were in the present Meighen administration. All the other members of the Unionist Government had left.

Taking up the fifth point in the appeal of the Prime Minister's manifesto to the women for support on the ground that the party led by Mr. Meighen had extended the franchise to them three years ago as Mr. King contended that the Government of which Mr. Meighen had been a member had really denied the franchise to three-fourths of the women of the country. Those who were fortunate enough to have relatives in the war at the time were given the vote, but women who had not, even though they were Red Cross workers and patriotic citizens, were deprived of the privilege. The old Unionist government was composed of Liberals and Conservatives, and it was the Liberals, notably Mr. Rowell. who were the strong advocates for the women's franchise, while the Conservatives, opposing them, had compromised by conceding it to a part of the women of the country.

As regards that part of the Prime Minister's manifesto declaring for unity with the Empire, Mr. King said that all loyal people of the Dominion were of the same mind; but he held that Sir Wilfrid Lau-

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rier was the first Canadian who procaimed Canada's nationhood. The Liberal Party had always worked for recognition of a national status, and if Canada was a nation it was that party that had achieved the end.

As to the need for reconstruction Mr. King argued that the Meighen Government was without a policy. Immediately the war was over, he said, it was the duty of the Government to have offered to the people to elect a new administration on a definite policy of reconstruction on a peace basis. But Mr. Meighen held on to office, and he had been weighed in the balance, with his government, and found wanting. He declared that the Prime Minister had usurped office, the people never having given him a mandate to carry on the government. The Manifesto, he said, took no cognisance of the problems of unemployment and high cost of living that would be serious this winter; and the great railway question, which was a vital issue, it ignored. Almost every government in the civilized world, including enemy countries, had given their electors the right to choose new parliaments since the war, but the Meighen and the Russian governments were the only ones that had denied their people that privilege. Even now, no one knew when there would be an election. He described the Meighen government as an autocracy. It had refused to give to the people's representatives in Parliament any information regarding public expenditures, and particularly in connection with the railways. He went into comparing of the national debt between that of the last year and ten years ago.

The policy of the Liberal party, he said, was one of economy and retrenchment and the dismissal of useless officials. The real issue was the question: Is it not a time for a change?

He deprecated the group system, declaring that the people woud never serve their purposes by electing class representatives.

Speaking on the tariff, Mr. King said that he stood for a tariff for revenue. He said there should be greater production as a means to the reduction of prices, and there could not be any increase in production unless the implements of production were available at reasonable prices. The tariff therefore should bear as lightly as possible on these things. The Liberal position on the tariff was not a question of free trade and protection, but a tariff for revenue, and the duty should be as light as possible on the necessaries of life and all the implements of production in the basic industries.

Tariff

In his peroration Mr. King grouped the Liberal platform and those of the Farmers, the Labor Organization, Nation Council of Women and the War Veterans, stating that they were all practically identical and opposed to the government's platform. He expressed the conviction, in closing, that the Libera party would be triumphant at the polls.

Mr. McMaster followed, and the meeting concluded with the National Anthem.

At the Prince Edward Theatre the seating capacity was nearly all taken up. His Worship Mayor Riley presided and at 8 o'clock called upon Mr. D. A. McKinnon, Liberal candidate for Queen's.

Mr. McKinnon was followed by Mr. A. R. McMasters, M. P., who criticized the government for the War Time Election Act; for the disfranchisement of women voters at the last election; for remaining in office long after the time for which they were elected had expired, for by hyprocrisy in claiming to have abolished patronage and for destroying the united Canada that existed prior to the war. He concluded with some remarks upon the tariff and with the tolerant attitude of Quebec.

Mr. MacMasters was followed by Mr. William Duff, who declaimed at some length against the extravagance of the Liberal Conservative Government.

At 10 o'clock Mr. MacKenzie King, having delivered his address at the Strand Theatre, appread on the platform and was introduced by the Chairman. Mr. King spoke for an hour and a quarter, criticizing the various points of Premier Meighen's manifesto, along the same lines as his earlier address.

The meeting concluded with the singing of the National Anthem.

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# THE NEW LIBERAL LEADERS IN CH'TOWN

## Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Mr. Ernest LaPointe Address Large Gatherings But Not Much Enthusiasm Evinced.

H[illegible] W. L. Mackenzie King and party arrived in Charlottetoyn yesterday at noon and were met at the station by a delegation of Liberals and conveyed to the Victoria Hotel, where they were the guests of honor at a luncheon at which Mr. S. A. Macdonald, Chairman of the Committee, presided. The menu was a credit to the hotel, and the speeches were given by the visitors, Messrs. King and LaPointe, and Messrs. Premier Bell, A. B. Warburton, John E. Sinclair, M. P., and J. J. Hughes. There were upwards of 100 guests present and on the right of the Chairman sat Mr. King, and on his left Mr. LaPointe.

To the right of Mr. King were Premier Bell; Mr. John E. Sinclair, M.P.; Mr. J. J. Hughes, ex-M.P.; and Attorney General Johnston.

To the left of Mr. LaPointe were Mr. A. B. Warburton, ex-M.P.; Hon. Wm. Lea; Hon. George E. Hughes and Hon. F. J. Nash.

At the same table were other members of the Provincial Legislature; Mr. Alexander Hayden, general secretary of the National Liberal Association, Ottawa; Mr. Nelson Rattenbury, Mr. Frank R. Heartz, Mr. H. J. Palmer, ex-Premier and Mr. Benjamin Rogers.

There were also many representative Liberals and others.

After the menu had been disposed of, the following toast list was taken up:

The King.

"God Save the King."

"The Provincial Parliament," Premier Bell.

"The Parliament of Canada," J. E. Sinclair, M.P., J. J. Hughes, ex-M.P., A. B. Warburton, ex-M.P.

"Our Guests," Hon. Mr. King; Mr. [illegible]inte, Mr. Hayden.

Two public meetings were held in the evening, one in the Market Hall, presided over by Premier Bell, and the other in the Opera House at which Mr. Nelson Rattenbury presided.

Both places were crowded to capacity but not much enthusiasm was aroused by the speakers, who addressed each gathering in turn.

Mr. King began by saying that if ever there was a compliment that could be paid a speaker it was to confront such a splendid audience as he had the pleasure of seeing last night. That large turnout he took to be an indication of the interest with which the people of Canada were following the politics of the country.

All over the country there were indications of a revived interest in public life and public questions. It was natural that that should be so, and there were many reasons why at the present time, after the world had gone through a great convulsion such as it had just passed through, every citizen should have an added interest in the affairs of the country and an added desire to see it well governed, and to see a larger share of freedom secured to the mass of men than heretofore; and so from one end of Canada to the other men were witnessing just such demonstrations as those of last night. Before he touched upon questions of public policy, he said, he desired to thank not only the citizens of Charlottetown but the people of P. E. Island generally for the great honor which they had done him in permitting one of their constituencies to elect him as its representative for the Parliament of Canada. Whatever the future might afford

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him in the way of opportunity, would at least impose in the way lasting obligation a deep feeling the utmost gratitude to the peo of this province for having perm ted him, with new responsibilit which had come through the go will of his fellow Liberals, to ter the Parliament of Canada the door of this province. doubted if, from one end of country to the other, one wo find people whose natures were universally kind, courteous a generous as those of the peopl this province. He said this in spirit of praise or flattery, simply as expressing what h been a matter of obligation to h in the little time he had been pr ileged to be associated with Prin Edward Island.

Mr. King then proceeded to d with the questions affecting the licy of the Liberal party and t differences which he said disti uished Liberalism from Conserv ism. It was impossible, he sa to separate the past from the p sent, and equally impossible to se arate the conditions in Cana from those of the outside wor and it was onl fair to both poli cal parties that that circumstan should be fully understood, becau we are living in a period of histo unparalleled so far as the wor had known heretofore. During t war a tide of emotion had swe through the breasts of men and w

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# The New Liberal Leaders

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men such as they had never experienced before. The people of this province lived in such close contact with the sea that they were familiar with the aftermath of every storm; they knew that the sea did not fall back again into the quietness it once had. It was exactly the same with human feeling throughout the world today, and it would take some time before life regained the placidity which it formerly enjoyed.

One thing should be clearly understood whenever the questions of public importance were discussed, said Mr. King, and that was the fact that people should learn to be patient with the great movements which they saw demonstrating themselves throughout the country and which were evidences of a revived aspiration and energy on the part of the people.

There were, he continued, three great movements in Canada at the present time, namely, the great agrarian movement as seen in the west, in which the farmers were coming to the fore; the labor movement in industrial centres, in which labor was evincing a desire for larger freedom; and thirdly, the great movement emanating from the men returned from overseas, who, having fought for a higher civilization, wanted to see it realized in our midst. In these movements he saw evidences of a revival of liberalism throughout the country and he welcomed them, because, bespeaking an aroused conscience on the part of the people, they gave promise of better government as a consequence.

Mr. King then proceeded to deal with the three movements stated. The farmers' movement in the West, he said, was perfectly natural. It as inevitable once reciprocity was defeated, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier had prophesied that unless the farmers of the country had not been given the markets which were available for their products they would consolidate in a determination to win what was denied them. He therefore claimed that the farmers' movement in the West was a fulfilment of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's prediction. He advocated reciprocity in natural products, and stated that the Liberal party stood for such a policy. He instanced the recent election in Ontario and the overthrow of the Hearst Government as what he claimed to be an indication of a Liberal tendency on the part of the people of that province, and said that the farmers had resolved to unite particularly after tre refusal of the Dominion Government in 1918 to receive a large rural deputation that waited upon them in order to present their views to the Administration. They had determined when the time came to show their resentment of such treatment, and the Ontario election was the evidence of that determination.

The Liberal Party, Mr. King went on, sympathized with this agrarian movement, and felt a like sympathy with the great mass of laborers—men and women — who worked in factories, on railways and in shops, and those who spent their lives in mechanical labor of various kinds. There was one fault to which all classes of the nation were prone, and that was the fact that people failed to see in the lives of others conditions and aspirations similar to their own. Every class was inclined to think it was the only class that suffered any hardship and needed more of freedom and consideration; and so far as he had studied industrial problems he had observed that there never was an industrial dispute amounting to anything which did not as a matter of fact arise out of the unwillingness of one man or group of men to give others a fair mede of consideration. Liberalism aimed at giving all men the same consideration; and it was only natural to expect that the working classes of the country should seek to have a larger voice in shaping the conditions respecting their lives,—the conditions in factories shops, railroads, etc.

There were, said Mr. King, four parties whose co-operation was essential to the success of industry namely, labor, capital, the state and the community, and they should all receive due consideration.

Mr. Lapointe had moved in the House of Commons that the men who worked in the national railways of the country should be entitled, out of their numbers, which ran up into thousands, to name one or two at least to act as directors on those railways, and this was a good thing. He had had a good deal to do with railway organizations and among the heads of the large brotherhoods he had found testimony of ability and intelligence probably not equalled and certainly not surpassed by the management of any kind of industry. There was everything to gain, and nothing to lose by bringing together in a joint relationship to help control industry wherever it might be possible, representatives of all groups necessary, in order to see that industry was properly carried on.

Mr. King next dealt with the third movement in his list—that of the war veterans. "If there is one class in the whole of society which more than another is deserving of all consideration, which it is possible for the state to give, it is that great body of men who have served overseas," he said. Consideration should go out not merely to the men who had come back but in equal measure to the fathers and mothers who had lost their boys and the girls who had lost their brothers. He thought that the War Veterans were wise in forming the organization which they had established. It was the duty of the Government, he said, to give the most careful consideration to whatever legitimate demands might be made on behalf of those who had played their part in the war.

Mr. King then went on to say that there was a universal desire for change, and in every part of the world men were showing a tendency to substitute new institutions for long-established ones, and there was a danger is going too far in that direction.

He viewed with some concern the tendency which was asserted on the part of some to have government changed from one of great stability through the maintenance of strong progressive parties, to one of relative instability through the growing up of different groups each trying to get control for itself. The question that must be faced was whether or not we should look for government to any single group of interests, or look to a party strong and broad enough to embrace all the classes comprising the nation. It was the work of Liberalism to serve these various interests and to bring them into harmonious co-operation. The form of government which his party aimed at was that laid down by a British statesman, of the reign of Charles the First—that which disposed every part and member of the state to the common good. This ideal could not be realized if one interest fought against another and each tried to obtain control. The country could not be well governed by financial interests alone, nor could proper government result from a monopoly on the part of labor or of farmers. And if the government of the country were in the hands of the Returned Soldiers there would be a condition as in days of Cromwell and the "last state would be worse than the first." The common welfare must be the object of true government and this the Liberal party stood for.

Mr. King then contrasted the broad principles of Liberalism and Conservatism as he conceived them,—the former as the embodiment of progress and freedam, the latter the opponent of change and the protagonist of privileged interests.

The Liberal party, said Mr. King advocated and stood for a policy of tariff reduction along the lines of farm and other implements of production, and in footwear, clothing and food; and was prepared to increase the preference in favor of Great Britain from 33 1-3 per cent. to 50 per cent.

In regard to the Returned Sol-

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diers he would appoint a committee of Liberals in the House of Commons to investigate and air any grievances that came before them with a view to obtaining redress therefor.

Mr. King then concluded with a eulogy of Mr. Lapointe and an appeal for the confidence of the people in the Liberal Party.

At the People's Theatre at eight o'clock Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was introduced by the Chairman, Premier Bell, who refrained from making any prefatory remarks. The audience was large and the speakers, apart from occasional interruptions from over enthusiastic supporters, were given an attentive hearing.

## MR. LAPOINTE AT THE PRINCE EDWARD

The Prince Edward Theatre was completely filled last evening with citizens not only of Charlottetown but by many from out-lying sections of the province anxious to hear the loudly-heralded Liberal Leader Hon. MacKenzie King and his associate, Mr. Ernest LaPointe.

At 8 o'clock there was not a vacant seat to be had in the body of the theatre, the balcony and all the boxes being filled as well as the entire stage front, where reservations had been made for Liberals of the extra-special blend.

Two large signs bore in bold letters phrases calculated to cheer the distinguished twain.

The one in front contained a sentence designed to convey a heartening message:—"Welcome to Our Coming Premier," while the other over the front of the balcony read:—"Welcome to Mr. LaPointe, M. P.."

Mr. N. Rattenbury, President of the Liberal Association, presided, and introduced the first speaker of the evening at the Prince Edward Theatre, Mr. LaPointe, "the able Liberal representative of Quebec East," and "who," said Mr. Rattenbury, "is justly regarded as one of the best public speakers in Canada."

Mr. LaPointe was received with applause as he made his appearance.

He first gave a short address in French which he spoke with the pleasing fluency of those only who have that language at their full command. His remarks in his native tongue evidently fell on receptive ears and were punctuated by frequent applause.

Mr. LaPointe began his address by conveying his hearty thanks for the reception accorded his leader and himself and for the kind remarks of the chairman. He declared that he was very glad to have been accompanied by his leader, Hon. Mr. King to Prince Edward Island. "I have learned something," said he, "since I reached your Island yesterday. I thought that we in Quebec held the record for hospitality but I find there are others."

He expressed himself as glad to get acquainted with this province, which gave birth to Confederation. While not the largest place it could give lessons to all races and classes along the lines of unity.

Mr. LaPointe is a pleasing speaker. He has the happy gift of humor and it was his apt manner at times of using bright phrases which won him what measure of applause came his way last night.

He began by stating that he was not surprised that P. E. Island had elected a good Liberal Government This was due he said to the fact that there is no narrowness here and no microbes and no microbes means Liberalism.

At no time he said was there greater need of a strong government in Canada and yet the country, he lamented has the weakest government since Confederation. For the last two years the country has been staggering between two parties the ship of state swept back and forth by storms.

There is a strong feeling he said that things should come back to normal and politics back to normal—normal of course being Liberalism.

Union Government he characterized as an unmistakable lie—setting race against race, province against province and elements against elements. Solemn pledges had been broken and the country which under Laurier had a great united government was now broken into fragments and supporting a hypocricy.

The government machine, said Mr. LaPointe had broken down and the engine was now going under its own momentum.

The Prime Minister is sick he continued, and no one regrets it more than I, and has left the ship of state drifting while the crew are left hibernating at Ottawa waiting for his return.

Mr. LaPointe characterized affairs as being in a terrible state of which everyone is complaining and which the people cannot tolerate.

He quoted humorous articles from the Financial Times, the Montreal Star and the Gazette to bear this out and that the audience enjoyed these extracts was plainly manifest by the hearty outbursts of laughter which followed the depiction of this sad state of affairs.

A Halifax paper he said, had declared it to be useless to attack the Government as it was not necessary to flog a dead horse. The only thing to do said Mr. LaPointe humorously is to move it to the morgue or somewhere from view.

Mr. LaPointe gave out the assuring word that Quebec is "safe and sane," and incidentally threw in a remark that the Liberal party and its leader were in the same happy state.

He paid tribute to the aims and aspirations of Mr. King, who he said bears an honored name and knows the needs of the people of Canada, having made a thorough study of the problems which face the Canadian people today. Upon his shoulders has fallen the mantle of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, than whom said he, no greater Canadian has ever lived and who from his grave is still the leader of the Canadian people, whose lessons would never be forgotten.

Mr. King, he declared to be broad minded and worthy to be the successor of the great man who is gone. He is a good Liberal said he, and added "so am I."

Mr. LaPointe put up a strong plea for party politics, declaring Liberalism to be the only panacea to soothe the ills which beset the country.

Parties, he added in the next breath are only means to an end, and country must be first.

He censored those who styled themselves as Independents and threw some hot shot at the head of Sir Robert Borden who for some reason or other was slavishly supported by his followers, though why no Liberal could understand.

You remember the title question, said Mr. LaPointe. Most of the members supported the resolution in regard to abolishing knighthoods, etc., Yet at the end of the debate Sir Robert told Parliament members that if he was prevented from giving titles to his friends he would resign and go home and they took him at his word and swallowed their opinions.

Mr. King went on to say that the present parliament does not represent the people and the ministers are ashamed to look the people in the face. They said it was a war parliament. Well, they have demobilized everything else; let them now demobilize themselves. (laughter.)

This present parliament he went on, is no more a representative parliament than a smuggler is a free trader.

He denied that there was any desire in the country to invite all parties and conduct affairs of state as a solid whole, and challenged the Government to go to the people. "The present worn out government," said he, "has no right to speak the word for Canada or pledge our future." Canadian policies he added must be decided in Ottawa and nowhere else, Canada is a nation and must not be allowed to go back to the status of a province. We all love our country—there is no finer, but the cheap politician can't talk of it without wrapping himself in the British flag.

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This country has always suffered by flag-waving he went on, and when they start then we get suspicious that someone is trying to steal something.

Liberalism, he claimed to be coming into its own in Canada. The country he said must be settled by people of various races and creeds who must be dealt with in a spirit of moderation and charity.

Mr. LaPointe said he was proud of his race and origin and proud of being a Canadian.

He wound up with a eulogy of Liberalism "which gave respectable government to Canada and which will re-give it."

At the conclusion of Mr. LaPointe's address which was moder ately applauded he was followed by

Mr. J. E. Sinclair M. P., of the honor conferre present visit and took thank the electors prese assisted in his election

Mr. MacKenzie King ered his address.

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Island Patriot
October 8th 1921

# YESTERDAY WAS A MEMORABLE DAY FOR THE LIBERALS OF KING'S

## One of the most enthusiastic Conventions in the history of the County nominates Mr. J. J. Hughes. Convention followed by great demonstrations addressed by Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, and other prominent speakers. Liberal leader tendered a wonderful reception.

Georgetown was the scene yesterday of two memorable events in the history of the capital town of Kings: One was the selection of Mr. J. J. Hughes at the County's standard bearer; the other wasthe visit of the brilliant Liberal Leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and other prominent Liberals from the other provinces:

With the nomination at Georgetown of Mr. J.J. Hughes, the Liberal ticket in Prince Edward Island is complete.

Mr. Hughes received the unanimous nomination at one of the greatest conventions ever held in the Country,there being about 350 delegates, including women in attendance, practically a full representation from every poll.

Mr. W. L. Poole, President of the Liberal Association for King's County presided.

The nomination of Mr. Hughes was moved by Mr. S. S. Hessian, M.P.P. of Georgetown, seconded by Mr. Horatio Nelson of Montague and carried unanimously amid tremendous applause and a standing vote, every person standing.

He accepted the nomination in a brief speech, thanking the delegates for the honour conferred upon him, assuring them that he would do his best to carry the Liberal Standard to victory.

At the close of the Convention, which was held in the Town Hall, the delegates then proceeded to the skating rink, there to extend welcome to the Liberal Leader, Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, and his assiciates.

* * *

### DEMONSTRATION IN SKATING RINK.

The meeting addressed by the Liberal Leader, and other prominent speakers, was one of the biggest demonstrations ever held in King's County. The rink was crowded to overflowing many persons being unable to obtain admittance. There were many ladies in the audience. Mr. W. L. Poole presided.

The speakers in order named were Mr. J. J. Hughes, Mr. William Duff, M. P., Lunenburg, N. S., Mr. A. R. McMaster, M.P.; Brome, Quebec, and Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King.

The entry of Mr. King and the other speakers into the rink was a signal for tremendous applause and cheering. Mr. King was tendered the following address from the Liberals of Kings.

To The Honorable,

William Lyon Mackenzie King,
Leader of the Liberal Party in the Dominion of Canada.

Sir: —

We, the Liberals of King's County assembled in Convention, welcome you to Georgetown, and assure you that we highly appreciate the courtesy of your visit. We wish to renew our expressions of confidence in your leadership and pledge ourselves to uphold the principles of the Liberal Party so ably expounded by you.

The election to be held in December next is without doubt the most important since Confederation. Broadly speaking it will decide whether Canada is to be ruled by the Canadian people or by a junta of politicians, financed and controlled by the predatory interests, which have grown strong and arrogant during the last ten years.

The great war, which should have appealed to the unselfishness and patriotism of all Canadians, was made the occasion of scandalous profiteering and, instead of standing guard over the Treasury and protecting it, the Borden-Meighen administrations apparently were ready to join forces with the raiders. But infamous as was this wholesale robbery of the people, the destruction of Responsible Government in Canada was, perhaps, a still greater crime. Even while Parliament was sitting, it was seldom consulted, and the most important measures were passed by Orders-in-Council and discussion prevented by closure, and information on questions of the most vital importance sneeringly refused. Thus we see that, while our soldiers were sacrificing their lives abroad to preserve the liberty of the world, our Government were trampling upon the rights of the people at home. Becoming hardened in their encroachments on the constitutional liberties of the people and defying public opinion as expressed at the by-elections, the Meighen Government decided to hold on to power till the last moment. Finally, however, even some of their own supporters became alarmed at the growing indignation of the public and, fearing the Government would be defeated on the floor of the House, thought it better to take the plunge, hence the election at this late date.

A tremendous task awaits the incoming Liberal administration. To stop the growing public debt, to make revenue and expenditure meet, to revive our failing trade, and give confidence to the country as a whole will tax the energy and ability of the most experienced statesmen Canada can produce. We feel confident, however, that under your guidance the political party and the policies, which changed the trend of events in 1896 and gave us fifteen years of unprecedented prosperity,will be equal to the task.

We, the Liberals of King's County, promise to aid in this work to the best of our ability by sending to support you in the next Parliament of Canada Mr. J. J. Hughes, the man who was robbed of his seat in the last Parliament by the most iniquitous and dishonorable means that a conscience-

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less Government, bent upon destroying the Constitution and thwarting the expressed will of the people, could devise.

**W. L. POOLE, President,**
**D. J. MACDONALD, Secretary,**
Kings County Liberal Association.

The meeting opened shortly before 3 o'clock and lasted till about 5.30. Mr. King spoke for an hour and a half, dealing with the various issues, with his characteristic eloquence and vigor, making a magnificent impression uponthe vast throng of people.

The Leader motored to Georgetown with Mr. F. R. Heartz and on route visited Montague, where they had lunch at the Macdonald Hotel. Accompanying the Leader was his Private Secretary also Mr. A. R. McMaster, M. P., and the Canadian Press representative Mr. Longstaff.

This is Mr. King's first visit to King's County, and he was most favourably impressed with the fine country through which he passed and the evidence of prosperity which he saw on every hand.

* * *

## THE SPEECHES.

Following is the summary of the speeches.

### MR. J. J. HUGHES, M.P.

Mr. Hughes who gave way to the visiting speakers, addressed the audience for a few minutes only thanking the electors for their support in the past and declaring that he felt sure of their hearty support to redeem the County at the coming election.

### ADDRESS BY MR. WILLIAM DUFF M. P.

Mr. Duff twitted Mr. Meighen with bringing on the election on the instalment plan. The Prime Minister had brought on an election after having had a talk with his advisers in Montreal and because he feared defeat in Parliament.

Mr. Meighen did not know his own mind. Dissolution had been announced by Senators Reid and Calder though it was Mr. Meighen's duty to give the information. The Union Government had been elected for the war period only, but Sir Robert Borden and his friends clung to office, knowing that they would be defeated at the polls. Many members of the Government had left him however.

In 1911 the Conservatives with the aid of the Nationalists had raised racial and religious cries to divide Canada and defeat Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Nationalist element had been kept in Mr. Meighen's followers because the Prime Minister could not get others to take their places. Mr. Duff charged the Government with gross extravagance, both during and since the war. It had loaned millions to foreign powers in order to assist its business friends. $75,000,000 had been spent for Mercantile Marine which was losing money for Canada every day.

Parliament had not approved, nor had it been asked to approve Government building and ownership of ships. The work was started and contracts let on orders-in-council. The first vote of $20,000,000 was allowed to pass as a war measure but when the armistice was signed the Liberals expected and demanded that building be stopped. He challenged Mr. Meighen to produce at Charlottetown any act of Parliament authorizing the building and operation of ships.

The Borden-Meighen Government had done nothing to develop the fishing industry because the Minister and officials of the Department knew nothing of conditions or the needs of the industry. An experienced man should administer such an important department of the Government.

### ADDRESS BY MR. McMASTER.

Mr. Andrew McMaster spoke of the coming election as one of the most important in the history of Canada. The 1917 election had been in the nature of a selective parliamentary draft. The problem of today was the bread and butter question. The national housekeepers had not been making ends meet and the public debt had steadily increased. Canada had been borrowing instead of paying her way. The only outcome of that was bankruptcy. Unless we adopt a different attitude towards national expenditures there is only ruin ahead.

Canadian soldiers had given their all for Canada. Unless their fellow Canadians were willing to give their best to reduce expenditure and debt there would be no hope of reaching national solvency. Strict economy was urgently needed.

Last election was neither fair, just nor honest, Prince Edward Island had elected four Liberals, but they had been counted out.

### THE LIBERAL LEADERS ADDRESS

Hon. Mr. King assured the electors of his interest in the affairs of Prince Edward Island. The real question to be discussed is whether men who seized power without a mandate should be allowed to return to Ottawa and impose their authority on the majority. During the elast four years Canadians had almost been robbed of the rights of free and representative Government. It was now for the people to say whether they would give a free hand to an arbitrary group or whether they would demand their proper representation.

He drew a parallel with conditions one hundred years ago, when the English people had been compelled to rise and demand their rights and freedom and overthrow authority.

The Government today had come to think that no one else had a right to govern. The question before Canadian people today was, whether a representative parliament and a responsible ministry should govern.

Canada was entitled to an election years ago but her people had been denied the right. The Government elected for the war period had hung on for three years after the war ended, and even yet the date of the election is a secret.

No stronger indifference to the will of the people could be expressed. Mr. Meighen had no mandate from the people. His acceptance of the leadership was unconstitutional. When Mr. Meighen takes and holds office for over a year, spends millions of dollars, makes thousands of appointments and brings in measures, the like of which had never been known before, then he has shown himself unfit to receive the support of the people.

Addressing the ladies, Mr. King urged them not to be discouraged if they had difficulty in understanding fully the national problems. Not one in ten men has any idea of enormity of some of them.

Today Canada's net debt, interest on the debt and other charges placed Canada in position of having a heavy mortgage against her property and future. Charges for pensions and soldiers re-establishment must be met and there were in addition, all the heavy charges for administration. Vast railway deficits must be paid from the pockets of the people. Men, women and children all had an interest in the cost of government, since this, cost came home to them sooner or later.' Mr. King then pointed out that the tax was $62 per head or $310 on every family. "That may mean the difference between life and death, comfort and discomforts, education and ignorance," declared the Liberal Leader."

The people could not look to the present government for any retrenchment. Its members had proved them-

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selves unable and unwilling to reduce expenditure. The time had come for a change, and a close checking up of the country's business.

After referring to the refusal of the Government to supply information to the Liberals regarding the railways and Merchant Marine, Mr. King spoke of the autocratic Government voting $70,000,000 by applying the closure. Mr. Meighen is demanding the people's votes. It is their privilege to let him have them, but they will have to pay for it.

Mr. King then touched on the extravagant expenditures on account of army, navy and air forces. It cost $4,000,000 to supply the navy, double the expenditure of the previous year.

In 1911, $770,000 was spent on the Mounted Police. In 1921, they spent $4,000,000.

Where the Liberals can cut out extravagance and save the people's money they are going to do it. Extravagance must be ended if expenditures are to be reduced, and there must be a reduction in order to give the homes of Canada a chance to fulfill their ideals and objects.

After the war, there were men who left Government for private life or elsewhere, but a selfish combination of politicians and an equally selfish group of business interests stuck together for their own mutual benefit. This combine must be broken to save the country from bankruptcy. Meighen is using the tariff to divert attention from other matters, Free Trade is not an issue. Even the farmers are not out for absolute free trade.

Mr. King then dwelt on Liberal Tariff policy which is a tariff for revenue, in the interests of the consumers and producers in the interests of the people, as opposed to the Conservative tariff policy of high protection for the interests and combines.

The Liberal leader reiterated his belief that the four great basic industries must be developed by increased production and to do this the cost of production must be made as low as possible, the machinery used must be made as free from taxation as the revenue will permit.

Ie is not a question of free trade. We must have a revenue. The home must be considered in revising the tariff.

Mr. Meighen would revise the tariff upwards in the interests of a small industrial group and his friends. The Liberals would revise it in the interests of consumers and producers.

In conclusion Mr. King paid a splendid tribute to Mr. J. J. Hughes and made an eloquent appeal for the healing of differences, and the development of a larger good will among men and nations.

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10 Oct. 1921 Kensington, P.E.I.

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Morning Chronicle Oct-12-1921

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# PRINCE COUNTY WELCOMES THE LIBERAL CHIEF

## Hon. MacKenzie King Speaks in His Present Constituency —Messrs. McMaster and Duff Assail Government's Wastefulness.

KENSINGTON, P.E.I., Oc. 11.—(By Canadian Press, Staff Correspondetn)— The political campaign shifted yesterday largely to the constituency of Prince which has been represented in the House of Commons since the Fall of 1919 by Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the Liberal party. Last evening with two well attended meetings Mr| King opened the campaign in his own riding which is being contested in the Liberal interests by A. E. MacLean. Today the Prime Minister and his colleagues will be speaking at Summerside while Mr. King and his party will be addressing a section of the Island to the westward but still in the constituency of Prince. Mr. King's speech last night was devoted to thanking his constituents for support they had given him in the by-election by which he was eected to Parliament, assuring the Liberals of Prince County and the Island generally of his interests in their affairs, making a plea for the return of Mr. McLean to support him in the House of Commons and also urging union between the farmer, Liberal and other forces opposing the present Government that their strength might not be lost to them on election day through divisions of the forces.

A. R. McMaser, of Brome County, Quebec, and William Duff, Lunenburg, N.S., both figured in an attack on the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, the former laying down a series of charges and challenging Hon. C. C. Ballantyne to produce facts and figures to refute them. Mr. McMaster's charges were the Government merchant marine vessels were being operated at a loss by the Minister of Marine rather than have the Government admit that its investment was a bad one.

The two available halls in Kensington were crowded to capacity and the speakers were given an attentive hearing and loudly applauded as different points in their speeches were brought out. At the opening of his speech the Liberal leader was presented with an address by the Secretary of the Prince County Liberal Association and also with a bouquet of flowers.

A. E. McLean, Liberal condidate for the County, referred with regret to the fact that Hon. Mr. King had been unable to stand for Prince in the coming election. However, said Mr. McLean, Prince County and the Province as a whole would be assured of having in Mr. King a staunch friend who knew the transportation and other difficulties which the people of the Island had.

An address of welcome was presented to Mr. King as he rose to speak. Hon. Mr. King thanked the people of Prince County for having elected him to Parliament in 1919. He explained that at the time of accepting the Prince nomination he had also accepted the North York nomination. Ontario would be the battle ground this year, said Mr. King, and since the place of Laurier was in the thick of fighting, he and the National executive had felt that he should remain in the North York fight. Mr .King said that in the future the Island and Prince County would have a warm friend in himself. He hoped to have from Prince and the other counties members who would support him in the fight.

The Liberal chief warned against the danger of Government supporters being returned in three cornered fights. The Prime Minister seemed to be trying to goal the farmers into putting up candidates and thus splitting the vote. The Farmers had everything to gain by standing together behind the Liberal Party, Mr. King asserted, and they had everything to lose by dividing their forces. He referred to the fact that Mr. McLean was a farmer and declared that there should be farmers and Labor men and representatives of other classes in Parliament. But they should be there not as groups but as representing their classes in the Government of the whol Mr. King asserted.

"The Liberal party", Mr. King declared, "is wide enough to have represented within it every class and creed and section in the country." The country must now decide whether it would perpetuate a spirit of division or have a national spirit of unity. No group or section could succeed if pitted against the rest of the country. The Farmers' movement as a class movement was defeating its own ends and turning the people of other classes against the farmers. There was need of unity, Mr. King declared, if the fight of farmers, labor men and Liberals against their common enemy were to be successful. The greatest problem of today was whether the people of an autocratic group would govern this country.

### "Rampant Toryism"

Mr. King dealth with the return of Union Government in 1917 and declared that it should have resigned when the war ended. Canada had been denied a general election for years by the man who was now asking for support from the people. The issue today was not between Liberal and the best type of Conservative, but rather between Liberalism and a rampant Toryism which rode rough shod over the people and their right. Today expenditure was so vast that the people were vitally interested in getting rid of needless public expenditure. The public debt had increased to $2,350,000,000 and the annual interest was $140,-000,000.

Mr. King reiterated that the pensions and returned soldiers expenditures must be a first charge on the country, though the interest on the public debt was not paid. Railway expenditures and deficits took huge sums.

This year Parliament had voted $560,00,000 for carrying on the government of the country. Every man and woman in Canada must pay his or her share of the huge amount and sooner or later in that way taxation had its bearing on the cost of living. The homes and the families must eventually pay taxes Mr. King declared.

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It was an injustice for the Government to continue to operate the present narrow gauge railways on the Island. He had at various times urged the government to lay down a standard gauge road but the Government replied that the management of the roads controlled such matters. This, declared Mr. King, was a matter of policy and should be decided by the Government rather than by the Board. The Meighen Government, Mr. King asserted, had consistently refused all information to Parliament regarding operations of the Canadian National Railways. "You have got to decide, he said, "whether you want to continue that sort of government or get back to government in the interests of all the people along the lines for which our forefathers fought."

**Plea For Unity**

Dealing with the platforms laid down by the Liberals and Farmers, Mr. King said the latter went further than the former in some instances. "But what use is that" he asked "when you cannot possibly hope to pass those measures." "Why can we not work together as far as possible" he asked, "and later see what forms of progress may be necessary. It is only by working together for the things that we have in common that we can make a stand against our common enemy. It is not an enemy to be considered lightly. Let us not divide in the face of a common foe. Let us begin with good will as between class and class, race and race, Province and Province, then we will have a strong national front and our fight will be not only in the interest of our Dominion but in the interests of all mankind.

**McMaster on Extravagances.**

A. R. McMaster of Brome, Quebec, was also given a warmn welcome when he rose to speak. He spoke of the Libera leader as a man who fought like a man with the strength of ten and who brought to the leadership all the best qualities to be found in public men. Mr. McMaster dealt with the political life of Canada and that the first thing to be done was to wipe out sectarian bitterness which were constantly being introduced into public affairs.

"The things that unite are greater than those which divide us" Mr. McMaster asserted. "We must have a national Canadian spirit. Unless we put Canada first, we will never get anywhere as a Nation. Canadians should be the proudest title any one could hold.

The member for Brome turned his attention to extravagances. We were in a pretty bad railway mess at the present time, he declared. There had been expenditure which were outrages. Toronto Harbor had been the scene of expenditures which could not be of value unless there was a 30 foot channel to the sea. On the Welland Canal expenditure there had been much waste also. "What we have got to do," said Mr. McMaster, "is to cut our coat according to our cloth."

Dealing with the need of economy, he declared it was well the women were coming into politics so they could use up the scraps sometimes and see that there was real economy. The tariff had been capitalized, Mr. McMaster stated. He quoted the Dominion Textile Co. as an organization which had paid fifty percent on its capital. There was no farmer making 50 per cent on his investment. Under reciprocity the Maritime Provinces would have been nearer the great New England states than would 85 per cent of the rest of the United States.

**Mr. Duff Speaks Out.**

William Duff, Lunenburg, N. S., charged Mr. Meighen with being "All at sea" regarding an election and refusing to trust the people. The member for Lunenburg paid considerable attention to Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, who, he said, had announced he would resign and then tried to stay. Mr. Meighen should have brought on an election a year ago, Mr. Duff said. There had been no vote on domestic problems since 1911. Mr. Tuff also dealt with the retirement of Sir Robert Borden and the choice of Hon. Arthur Meighen as his successor. With the appointment a new party was formed which was a conglomeration of men of different political views who had hung together because they had no where to go. Mr. Blondin, declared Mr. Duff, was "the same man who in 1917 went about talking of shooting holes in the British flag and advising young fellows not to worry about Conscription because they could easily slip across the line into the United States.

The name Liberal had been held to please Messrs. Guthrie and Calder and the word Conservative for Mr. Meighen who in 1912 was charged by R. B. Bennett, now Minister of Justice, with being the phonograph of MacKenzie and Mann. Mr. Meighen, said Mr. Duff, was the man who had wired Sir Robert Borden in 1917 to switch 5000 soldiers ballots into Springfield and other constituencies. "The man guilty of those actions was not fit to be Premier of this country," Mr. Duff declared.

**The Merchant Marine.**

The Merchant Marine policy had been inaugurated by the Government in 1917, said Mr. Duff, without any approval by Parliament. The policy was started by Order-in-Council and contracts had been let for 24 ships before Parliament was advised. That meant spending $78,000,000 of the people's money without calling for tenders. In the last three years, said Mr. Duff, the Liberal members had opposed further building. A ship was launched at Halifax only two weeks ago at a cost of $2,000,000 for which the Government could not now or ever again get $300,000. The Meighen Government's only hope of getting seats lay in dividing the forces which opposed it.

John E. Sinclair Liberal candidate in Queens County, also spoke

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11 Oct. 1921 O'Leary, P.E.I. D 5597

THE NEED FOR UNITY OF THE
OPPOSITION FORCES

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Halifax Morning Chronicle Oct 12th 1921

D 5598

# WARNS AGAINST DANGER OF DIVIDING THE VOTE AGAINST GOVERNMENT

## Unity in the Forces of Progress Essential Declared Hon. Mackenzie King to Island Farmers---Former Member of Board of Commerce to Run as Liberal.

O'LEARY, P. E. I., Oct. 11—(Canadian Press by Staff Correspondent)— That James Murdock, former member of the Board of Commerce, would likely soon announce his candidature in a Toronto seat as a straight Liberal candidate was the announcement of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party, at a meeting held here this afternoon. The feature of the afternoon meeting was, perhaps, a series of questions and exchange between evident farmer supporters in the audience and the speakers.

Mr. King discussed the danger of class movements dividing the forces opposing the Government and warned that in three corner contests there was a danger of the Government candidate being returned. Both Mr. King and Mr. A. R. McMaster declared that some farmer candidates were being brought into the field with the aim of splitting the anti-Government vote. Behind those moves the hand of the Government was in evidence.

Answering a question put by a member of the audience Mr. King pointed out that there was little in the farmers platform which was not already in the Liberal platform. One of the auditors asked why the Liberals of Prince County had refused to accept the farmer's candidate."

"Because the Liberal Party is not a class party," declared Mr. King, "and yours is a class candidate."

Farmers were needed in Parliament, Mr. King added, but not as representatives of a class. Unity in the forces opposing the Government was necessary unless the people's will was to be defeated.

Mr. McMaster did not quarrel with the farmers seeking representation, but thought they erred in seeking different means of reaching the same goal, as the Liberals were agreed in saying the tariff must be reserved and retained as a means of raising revenue. We have differences of opinion, said Mr. McMaster ,that is the essence of Liberalism but that is no reason why we should divide our forces.

The platform of the Liberal and farmer parties were compared by the former member for Brome. The Liberals, he pointed out, included nets and fishing equipment on their free list, while the farmer platform apparently overlooked it. William Duff, Lunenburg, John E. Sinclair, of Emerald and A. E. Maclean, Liberal candidate in Prince County, also addressed the meeting briefly.

Mr. King's party who motored through from Summerside this morning left after their meeting for Tignish and Alberton, where they were also billed to speak.

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# Magnifice n t Liberal Meeting In Alberton, Prince County

## The Rink was packed and great Speeches were Given by Messrs MacKenzie, A. E. McLean, A. R. McMaster and W. Duff. There was Splendid Enthusiasm.

(From an Alberton Correspondent.)

The day dawned fair and hopes ran high, but later in the day the old weather ruler threw us into bad shape by running up a heavy, moist, dripping bank of clouds. We, however, took things cheerfully and set about the work of completing the rink for the coming of the men of the time and the men we wished to see and to hear.

The meeting was held in the Alberton skating rink which had been simply, though effectively made ready for the reception of the coming Premier. At 8 o'clock over 1,000 people had assembled and the speakers, and some of the prominent citizens of Alberton and surrounding districts had taken their seats upon the platform. On motion of Mr. Trail Reid, seconded by Mr. Isidore Buote,, Mr. Fred L. Rogers was elected chairman of the meeting and introduced as the first speaker Mr. A. E. MacLean, Liberal candidate for Prince County. The speaker thanked the people of Prince County for the great honor they had done him in selecting him as their candidate, regretted the loss of the Hon. MacKenzie King as the member for this County, but in so much as Mr. King had familiarized himself with the local condition of the County we need have no fear that our interests would be neglected in the future.

Camouflage was a very strong card in the speech making of the N-L-C party in the present campaign and Liberals should not allowed themselves to be led away from the true reasons of the present election. A biased press would seek to conceal the real issue, every means would be used to lead the people away from present conditions and past sins of the government. The policy of the Liberal Party in 1911 would have been good for this province and for all of Canada. The present high protection was responsible for the closed shop and the great unemployment of today; it is also responsible for the lack of good markets for the surplus products of the farm, the sea, the forest and the mine. Union Government of 1917, stated to be formed on a 50-50 basis was false. It was to continue until after the war, but although the armistice was signed in 1918, this government held on against its own pledges and against the will of the people. Lavish expenditures were made; numerous appointments made. Railroads purchased or taken over, large loans were made, all without the sanction of the people, who had elected a government to "win the war." The Government claimed a monopoly of the patriotism of the country, and to this they had no better claim than had the Liberals and others, whose sons suffered and died that we might all enjoy that freedom for which they fought. The Union Government had no monopoly to the claim of Patriotism, that was common to all. The Present government was essentially a government for the big fellows, for the big interests, for the combines. The real question is shall the tariff be fixed by the big fellows or shall you give the little fellows a chance. The wish of the people shall rule, we control, and it is for us to remedy the present chaotic conditions which exist in labor, in markets and in other things upon which depend the future prosperity of our country.

A reasonable tariff, a tariff for revenue is what is desired and this is what the Liberals promise. The Farmers' Party in its platform is very similar to that of the Liberals and there is no valid reason why these two should not get together on reasonable lines. Together they will succeed.

Mr. Wm. Duff, M. P., Lunenburg, followed. He expressed pleasure at being here at this time, pleased to see such a large gathering and pleased to see so many ladies present. There are many reasons why the government should be ousted from power. A long overdue election was at last coming, but it was only coming on the instalment plan. Mr. Meighen on his return from England had said their would be no election and even before that he had stated that as a census was about to be taken it would be unfair to the west to have an election until after redistribution. Within a week of his return and his statement that there would be no election he made a hurried trip to Montreal and at once, on his return from that trip he announced, that there would be an election. He did this without consulting his Cabinet and as one of the immediate consequences of this action Mr. C. C. Ballantyne resigned. The Halifax Herald pointedly pictured this action of Mr. Ballantyne in a cartoon showing Mr. Ballantyne being swept out of the Cabinet as "the first bungler to go." The instalments of the Meighen election were: We will have an election, later on we were told that the House had been dissolved and at a still later date we were told, by Messrs Reid and Calder, both Senators at the time, that we would have an election on the 6th of December. In 1917, Borden seeing defeat before him approached Laurier with the plea "Let us get together."

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The latter agreed on one condition, namely "no controversial matters to be passed during the war." This promise was given but it was broken at an early date. Meighen here comes to the front. He introduces the Closure, fathered and fostered the War Times Election's Act, with its wonderful possibilities, which he so effectively worked later on. The so called Union Government of 1917 proved to be a farce. The Armistice was signed in 1918. Borden said that the war was not yet over, peace was not yet declared, demobilization must be completed. Some of the sincere Liberals resigned, Mewburn and Carvell, but the Government still held on. Their majority of 71 in 1917 had fallen to 26 in 1920 and Borden seeing defeat at hand, resigned. Sir T. White was too wise to accept the position of Premier, seeing the glaring extravagance of the government, he declined the proferred honor. Drayton, Ballantyne, and Calder were passed by and were sad men at the treatment, Meighen was chosen for various reasons better known to the resigning Premier than to the most of others. The National-Liberal-Conservative Party was formed on the 1st of July, 1920, and it has proved itself to be an impossibility.

Blondin had been appointed Post Master in 1917, this was the man who, in 1911, had traversed Quebec warning the people that if they wished to breathe the air of freedom they would have to shoot holes in the British flag and who again, in 1917, advised the people of Quebec that, if they wished their sons to escape conscription, they should pack up their trunks and go over to the United States.

Calder, yet another of the Liberals who had gone over to the Union Government, who is now a Senator, remained with that Government, solely because "it was nicer to be inside looking out than outside looking in."

The reorganized Cabinet of the Government includes four members from Quebec and not one of these four are known to the people generally and they are absolute novices and worse in so far as the science of Government is concerned and yet it is to such men as these that you are asked to confide the government of your country. We must remember that under whatever name it may wish to assume, this government is still the old government of inefficiency and extravagance; it is still the Borden-Meighen Conservative Government of 1917 without the "to win the war" slogan. Back in 1911 the big moneyed interests of Canada, the United States and Great Britain were employed to defeat the policy of Sir Wilfred. What interests will be used during the present contest may well be surmised. Progressive Forces must not allow themselves to be divided, they must keep close together. Too many candidates in the field may mean defeat to the Liberals and may mean success to the present Government which neither Farmer nor Liberal wishes.

The entrance of Mr. Mackenzie King into the rink was greeted with moderate applause, it was applause that was tempered with such a seriousness as one beholds when he looks upon some thing of which we are not yet quite sure will be up to the mark which we have set for him. It was not the rash applause of an audience gone mad, but rather that quiet applause which one knows is sincere and sound. They did not all know him and they did not wish to make too lavish a display of enthusiasm. As he spoke, however, and as he nailed every argument to the mast, as it were, hard and fast the audience warmed up to the speaker and friendly interruptions were frequent and loud. They began to know their man and to appreciate him.

Mr. King said in part:—

I must thank you for your kind and generous treatment of me in the past, when you unanimously elected me as your representative some two years ago. I must also explain to you why I could not accept your kind invitation to again represent you. I had been nominated in 1919 for the constituency of North York and my constituents there would not let me go. Moreover, the place of the Leader is where the fight will be hottest, and that place is in the Province of Ontario with York as the very centre of it. Do your part down here. Send McLean up to help me to fight your battles and send Sinclair along with him. As your former representative, I became familiar with your local needs and I will not forget them. I know your wharf, your mussel-mud, your broad gauge railroad questions. I know what the farmers and the fishermen of this section suffer through their lack of transfer facilities. The other sections of Canada enjoy all these advantages and why should they be denied to you. The People of Canada own the railroad—you own it. Why should you not be the ones to decide what you shall have, rather than a Board of Management. There should be and there must be an uniform system throughout Canada, for P. E. Island as well as for Ontario, Quebec or the West. This is a question for the people to decide. And yet Mr. Meighen tells you that the question now to be decided is the Tariff. What right has he to tell you what is the issue? Are not you the judges? He is still acting in his autocratic way, still acting as he has acted for some time past, but as he will not act after the 6th of December, if we will but unite and present a solid, united front against his onslaughts. The question to be decided is shall we stand for the continuance of the present government in power or shall we give it that dismissal which it has purchased for itself in the estimation of all fair thinking men and women. The railroads, the high cost of living, the right to discuss matters of vital importance to your country at your own free will without being compelled to confine that discussion to any particular issue at the beck and nod of Mr. Meighen or of his colleagues. The present government has so long usurped the rights and privileges of the people that it is loath now to give up the usurped right. The vast expenditures of the present government must be curtailed. Some have alleged that the questions of the day and the hour are too big for the Ladies. That claim may be applied equally so to the men. The questions are too big for us but we must go at them, and by serious thought and constant study find that remedy that the present government has thus far been unable to discover or which it is unwilling to apply.

The Tariff is not the main issue but it is one of the issues. We are not out for Free Trade, which would mean direct taxation, but we are out for a reduction in the tariff to a revenue producing basis. It is some thirteen years since our tariff has been revised, and we contend that it is time now that it should be revised, in fact it should have been revised years ago. As it is now it serves the few at the expense of the many. A Commitee to investigate the cost of living was appointed some time ago and a Mr. Murdock was one of that Committee. He discovered increased costs of from 10 per cent to 200 per cent in foodstuffs, he also discovered some other things that he felt should be looked into by the government. He called the

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attention of the government to these things, but the government paid no attention to his appeals. As a consequence of this he resigned. Mr. Murdock is now out with the statement: "send in a Liberal Government."

When I was Minister of Labor there was an Act passed to prevent Mergers and similar actions that tended to enhance the cost of goods. That Act was repealed by the Borden government.

We, when elected, intend to revise the tariff in such a way as will aid the basic industries of the country, farming, fishing, mining, lumbering, in a way that will encourage production, and to that end we contend that the equipment, the tools, the machinery required in these industries must be placed on the lowest possible tariff rate. This is something that is of interest to every one in this country. We do not want a tariff for the big businesses, we do want one for both the producer and for the consumer. In the matter of luxuries let it remain up, but in the matter of necessities let us revise it. Let us destroy the mergers and the combines.

There are some differences between the Farmers and the Liberals, but it is only a matter of detail. On the main and greater matters these two parties are practically alike. By uniting we will get what we are after. Farmer, Labor and Liberal, alike are standing for the rights of the People. Meighen is autocratic. Why have two men, in the main seeking the same object, each of them good men, in Prince County, why divide when what we seek is so much alike. In 1911 the Liberals fought the battle for the Farmers in the Reciprocity, they have always fought for the farmers and will still continue to do so.

The present disturbed state of affairs in this country calls for experienced men to guide us safely through a most critical period in our history. This is no time to experiment with government. We may be told that ancestry does not count, but we can tell you that it does and in the name Liberal you have that of which you may well be proud. Ancestry and an ancient name. Would the Seaforth or the Black Watch abandon those names. Rather do they not cherish them for the Deeds that have been done in the past by their forebears and owing to which so much glory and fame is so inseparably joined to the names that madness alone would excuse one who would presume to even suggest a change or an abandonment.

Let us all unite to fight for the Rights of the many against privileges for the few—Right, Unity, Strength.

Mr. A. R. McMaster, in a brief but powerful address, dwelt upon the natural brilliancy of Islanders as a rule and the high standard of the many men who claimed the Island as their native place. Remove sectional disputes, racial animosities. Whether English, Scotch, Irish or Frence by descent or blood, be Canadians at all times and be true to Canada and her good. The idea of what can I get out of the Government should not find place with us. Let us go the other way about it and say: what can I do for the government; what can I give it. The ladies are the centres around which economy spins and with them in politics,politics and men are bound to improve. With the ladies among us we are boundto do the good thing and to go straight. We will grade up to their standard.

Mr. John E. Sinclair, expressed pleasure to have been the associate of Mr. King during the last two sessions. They had been brought into closer touch with the matters which affected this Province and this Country. They were each now familiar with the particular needs of the Province and when in power they would not be forgetful of those needs. He pointed out the neglect of the government in fisheries, reading a letter from an official at Halifax in regard to trawlers encroaching within the limits. The word was for the fishermen to find out what trawler it was and give the official the name of the trawler. In other words the fisherman was asked to do what the other was paid for.

The National Anthem closed the great meeting.

At Tignish Mackenzie King and party Messrs Duff, McMaster, McLean, Sinclair and others arrived about 4.30 p.m. A reception was held at the residence of Mr. F. J. Buote and a large number of people of surrounding district were presented to Mr. King and party.

The party then went to the C.M.B.A. Hall. Here Mr. King was presented with a bouquet of dahlias, nine red dahlias typifying the nine Provinces. Miss Patricia Bernard daughter of Mr. J. A. Bernard presented the bouquet and was most warmly thanked by the recipient. Short addresses were made by Mr. King and Mr. McMasters. The ceremony was most pleasant and the effects of the visit most beneficial.

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12 Oct. 1921

Summerside, P.E.I.

THE AUTOCRACIES OF MR. MEIGHEN; THE TARIFF

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D 5604 (1)

October 14th 1921

# The Great Liberal Meetings Held in Summerside

**More like a triumphal procession than a series of political meetings:** These words spoken by Hon. W.L.Mackenzie King at Summerside Wednesday night in reviewing his experiences of the past week, aptly describe his memorable tour throughout Prince Edward Island, which opened so auspiciously and closed so gloriously amid scenes of enthusiasm unprecedented in Prince County.

One hall in Summerside was sufficient to accommodate all who desired to hear Premier Meighen on Tuesday. It required two halls for the Liberal meetings and both were crowded to overflowing.

The Liberal Leader, since coming to the Island has spoken in Charlottetown, Georgetown, Kensington, O'Leary, Tignish, Alberton and Summerside, addressing in all ten meetings, besides holding receptions and attending the Egmont Bay Exhibition, where he was personally introduced to great numbers of people, but despite his strenuous campaigning his last speeches in Happyland Theatre and St. Paul's Hall in Summerside Wednesday night were marked by the same forceful and gripping eloquence that won the plaudits of the masses at his initial meetings in Charlottetown, as he exposed the autocracy and incompetence of the Government and outlined the Liberal policy destined to receive the endorsement of the great majority of the men and women from East Cape to North Point.

Mr. King's entry with the meetings last night was signalized by tremendous outbursts of cheers and applause.

This demonstration was repeated time and again as he scored point after point inthe course of his great speeches and as he closed with his thrilling peroration, the ovation tendered him was a fitting tribute to his wonderful powers as a platform speaker.

The Leader's lieutenants, Messrs Mc Master and Duff and the popular candidate, Mr. McLean inspired by the remarkable enthusiasm and demonstrations of party loyalty also gave ringing speeches which drew forth a tempest of applause.

So keen was the interest shown in the presentation of the great issue of the day, that in each hall, almost every person remained to the close.

Mr. King spoke first in Happyland and again in St. Paul's Hall, and after bidding the people not good bye, but au revoir, he came down from the platform and heartily shook hands with the crowd as they filed past him.

After the meeting the Liberal leader and his party, members of the Summerside Liberal committee and others were entertained by Mr. A. C. Saunders, M.P.P. and Mrs. Saunders at their beautiful home.

Mr. King and his friends from the other Provinces then left for the station where they boarded their car for the night, greeted with three rousing farewell cheers by their Summerside friends.

This morning the leader left for New Brunswick.

Mayor Campbell presided at the meeting in Happyland Theatre and Mr. Robert Agnew president of the East Prince Liberal Association in St. Paul's Hall.

* * *

At two meetings at Summerside Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King gave his final personal message to the people of Prince County. In the two meetings, which had drawn to the two theatres of Summerside, audiences which filled both to standing room capacity, Mr. King reviewed the speech of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen here yesterday. Mr. King charged Mr. Meighen with seeking to impose an autocratic will upon the people of Canada. In all parts of the Dominion, the Liberal leader declared, the Prime Minister sought to divide the vote against his Government by bringing about the entrance of Farmer and Labor candidates into the fight. The need today was for opponents of the Meighen Government to stand together, Mr. King declared, and though both farmers and labor men were needed in Parliament these should be sent there as members of the Liberal party rather than as representatives of any class or group. Mr. King also dealt at length with the Premier's tariff statements and again outlined his stand in regard to tariff matters. Tariff was also the theme of A. R. McMaster, of Brome, and was also referred to at some extent by William Duff, Lunenburg, N. S., who devoted part of his spech to the statements of Hon. F. B. McCurdy and other cabinet ministers in regard to the tariff. At Antigonish, Mr. Duff declared, Mr. McCurdy had argued that the Fordney tariff would be disastrous to the fishermen of Canada and had asked if Canada was to take that sort of thing lying down. Apparently, said Mr. Duff, Mr. McCurdy would introduce retaliatory tariff measures and thereby force the Canadian fishermen and consumers to pay higher prices, through high tariffs, for their rope nets and twine, food and clothing and other things they must have. If we are to introduce retaliatory protection there is nothing to prevent the United States increasing their duties until finally we legislate the fishing industry in both countries out of existence. Would it not be much better to do as the Liberal party will do when returned to power in December, seek to bring about some reciprocal measure whereby the fish from the Maritime Provinces can go into the New England markets, and the fish from Boston and Portland into the central Canadian markets without hindrance. Then, not only the fishermen in both countries, but also the consumers in both countries would benefit. The Meighen party, which is fathering protection in Canada is debarred from criticizing the protective measures of any other country.

Mr. Duff said that Hon. R. J. Manion, one of the new ministers and C. H. Cahan said the tariff was not the issue and the Montreal Star took the same ground. Mr. Duff declared that the Meighen Government had allowed Reciprocity Treaty to be wiped out at Washington and when the United States cancelled the reciprocal privileges allowed to fishermen of both countries in taking their catch to the ports of either country, the Meighen government sat back and made no attempt to retain those privileges or have them restored beyond issuing from Ottawa a veiled newspaper threat of retaliation.

A. E. McLean, the Liberal candidate for Prince County, paid a tribute to the leadership of Hon. Mr. King and declared that the Liberal party, which had fought the battles of producer and consumer alike, was the

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only one to trust with the management of Canada today.

**MR. KING'S SPEECH.**

Hon. Mr. King, introduced by Mayor J. E. Campbell, as the future Prime Minister of Canada, referred to the splendid receptions given him everywhere in Prince County and expressed confidence that his party would be victorious at the polls on December 6. He expressed thanks for having been given an acclamation in 1919 and referred to his decision to contest the North York seat, where there would probably be the greatest political battle in the present contest.. Mr. King in expressing appreciation for the welcome given him, said it had been more like a triumphal procession than a series of political meetings. This sign of interest was a splendid sign.

**The conclusion reached was that the voice of the Maritime Provinces on Dec. 6 would be the voice of the Liberal party returned to victory. The people of Canada were apparently waiting to express their feelings toward the Government. Any Government which usurped power could not hope to retain public favor.**

Mr. King dealt at length with the address of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen yesterday. The Liberal leader asked if Mr. Meighen had given any hope for the widening of the gauge of the Island Railway. There was not a place in Canada so handicapped, Mr. King asserted. He had tried while representing Prince County to have the gauge widened. All these efforts had failed the Government in 1920 saying it did not that season intend standardizing the road beyond Summerside.

Answering a request from the Provincial G.W.V.A. the Government had simply said it did not intend going on with such work. Mr. King Quoted Hansard to show that he had pressed for standardization. The Government could not justify its refusal on grounds of economy, since it had not practised economy. Mr. King asserted. There were other expenditures in which the Government should have economized when standardization was so vitally important.

**The railways should be for the people and not the people for the railways.**

All parts of all Provinces were entitled to equal treatment.

The Prime Minister had demanded the enumeration of autocratic acts by his Government. "I could spend a long time doing that" Mr. King asserted, adding that he would name a few. Who gave Mr. Meighen any right to control the Government this last year? he asked. If taking control in absolute indifference to the will of the people is not autocracy, what is autocracy?

As another autocratic act, Mr. King referred to Canada's lack of a general election since the war. I am told Mr. Meighen said the work of reconstruction was over, said Mr. King, he did not consult the people as to his reconstruction policy. And if reconstruction in Canada is over then Heaven help this country.

By holding on to control after the Government elected by the people had resigned, Mr. Meighen was guilty of another autocratic action. Still others were the taking of $80,000,000.00 out of the estimates under closure, and other similar actions.

There is the great issue Mr. King declared, if you return Mr. Meighen, you are endorsing just such autocracies. There are many instances I could give. **I have challenged Mr. Meighen from every platform to deny these charges and he has not been able to deny them.**

Mr. King asked if the Meighen Government had been given authority to accept naval vessels from Britain. These were now costing millions for upkeep, while they sailed between Halifax and Esquimalt via the Panama Canal.

There was immediate need for a change of Government, Mr. King asserted. The present Government had ceased to represent the people. The people had not been consulted when the Government added millions to Canada's annual expenditures by taking over 20,000 miles of railway. Nor had Parliament been allowed to see the agreements or contracts, though they were placed before the English bondholders.

Don't wonder that your taxes are increasing when the people's rights are so ruthlessly swept aside.

The Liberal party is standing for the rights of the people against such autocracy as we have had for the past few years. In International transactions the Government also had refused to consult Parliament or people, there was usurpation of the people's rights on all sides. Mr. King declared the Liberal party stood for open diplomacy in international affairs and for publicity in all matters affecting the welfare of the people.

The Liberal Leader dealt with railway matters and said the refusal of the Government to give parliament information on railway management was almost unbelievable and would be a farce if it were not such a tragedy.

He also dealt with information as to the Canadian National Railways which he said, was refused in the house but finally unearthed in committee. I have been making these charges everywhere, he declared and Mr. Meighen has been unable to deny them. The Premier sought to blame the Laurier administration for the railway situation when his Government had only succeeded in multiplying Canada's Railway Bills many times.

**THE TARIFF.**

Mr. King also dealt with the Tariff, I deny absolutely, he said, that the issue is between protection and free trade as Mr. Meighen claims. We stand for a tariff, but one that will protect the interests of producers and consumers in Canada and not a few privileged interests.

The Liberal Leader also dealt with the demand of the Premier that he, Mr. King state where he stood on the Liberal Tariff, and quoting Mr. Meighen's challenge at London, Mr. King said "there's a pettifogging lawyer," I'll give the naswer I gave to the 1919 Convention.

Mr. King asserted: **I said then than as leader of the party, I expected to have the counsel of the outstanding men of the party and be guided by their counsel and advice but that I considered this platform as a chart to guide me aright, and with the collective guidance of the best possible minds in the Liberal party as a compass, seek to guide this country aright.**

**I did not intend to dictate or decide alone. I was not bullheaded. I am not trying to escape any responsibility but I am going to accept it like a wise man and not like a fool.**

The platform was laid down as a guiding chart. It stood primarily for two things. For tariff revision to reduce the cost of production and to reduce the costs of necessaries of life. In the spirit of the law it must be accepted, Mr. King asserted, quoting "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."

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The people are not the kind of fools Mr. Meighen appears to think they are, said Mr. King, he talks of truth. **I am willing to let the people judge as to who is telling the truth in this campaign.**

The Government, Mr. King said, was going into this fight with powerful weapons. It controlled the election machinery and had drafted the election act, it controlled patronage on a vast scale and had behind it strong and wealthy interests.

Against this party, Mr. King, there were the Liberals and also the Farmers, Labor men, G.W.V.A., and the women. But while the Government forces had unity on their side the others were not pulling together, though all were seeking practically the same objects.

The women and soldiers supported the candidates who sought the same things as themselves. Labor men and Farmers in some quarters were running their own group candidates.

We want farmers and Labor men in Parliament, but we want them, not as representatives of a class but as citizens of Canada working for the betterment of the people of every class.

If Prince County wanted a farmer in Parliament, the Liberal candidate was a farmer, and the surest way of getting a farmer there was for all classes to stand behind him rather than divide their strength.

Mr. King advised the opponents of the Meighen Government in Prince County to stand solidly behind the Liberal candidate.

**Be united and victory is yours he declared.**

By dividing his opponents Mr. Meighen today sought to secure his partys return. The Liberal party had fought the farmers battles in 1911 and for a hundred years, it was fighting those battles today.

### SPEECH BY MR. McMASTER.

A. R. McMaster of Brome compared the Meighen Government with an accused forger whose string of aliases condemned him almost before he was tried. The present name of the Meighen party was just a camouflag Mr. McMaster asserted.

Mr. Meighen's proposal, that he be tried only on the tariff issue showed that he lacked a proper appreciation of his duty to the public.

He must stand trial on all the issues of Government and if we find him guilty put him where he can't do any harm.

Mr. McMaster declared he was proud of the Liberal tariff policy, it made for freedom. Mr. Meighen was a protectionist and predicted blue ruin under any but his own tariff.

He spoke like Sir Charles Tupper of ruin through revision and in the next breath boasted of bringing the tariff down.

Dealing With Mr. Meighen's claim of a lower average tariff, Mr. McMaster said this was but a matter of juggling figures. The Government had placed a duty on goods previously free and thus brought the whole average duty down. A duty of 5 per cent on twenty articles previously free, said Mr. McMaster, would reduce the average duty if taken with other duties of 20 per cent or 30 per cent. Taxes, he declared, had really been greatly increased in recent years, since the Government had added other taxes such asthe sales tax. The levying of duties on exchange basis also artificially increases the tariff.

National industries were being hampered by high tariff against implements and machinery of production, Mr. McMaster stated, under the protective policy the people had been informed that industries would be placed on their feet and then they must stand alone. But by combines and gentlemen's agreements they had succeeded in enhancing prices to the consumer.

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D 5607

Island Patriot October 13th 1921

# A TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FOR HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

## Summerside Extends Magnificent Greeting to Its Late Representative in Parliament

## TWO LARGE RALLIES IN SHIRETOWN

## The Leader of Liberal Party of Canada Will Open New Brunswick Campaign at Three Great Meetings in Moncton Tonight.

*(Canadian Press Despatch.)*

**Summerside, P. E. I., Oct. 12—All of Summerside's available theatre space was required tonight to handle the crowds who sought to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and other Liberal speakers tonight. Two halls were necessary and in each people stood at the rear, filling every available foot of space. These were the concluding meetings of the series addressed by Hon. Mr. King on Prince Edward Island, and tomorrow morning he leaves for Moncton, (N. B.)**

**Splendid Reception.**

Mr. King was given an enthusiastic welcome when he entered the hall for the first of his speeches. Introduced by Mayor J. E. Campbell, as the future prime minister of Canada, Mr. King referred to the splendid reception given him everywhere in Prince county and expressed confidence that his party would be victorious at the polls on December 6. He expressed thanks for having been given an acclamation in 1919 and referred to his decision to contest the North York seat, where there would probably be the greatest political battle in the present contest.

Mr. King, expressing appreciation for the welcome given him, said it had been more like a triumphal procession than a series of political meetings. The conclusion reached was the voice of the Maritime Provinces on December 6 would be the voice of the Liberal party returned to victory. The people of Canada were apparently waiting to express their feelings toward the government.

**Replies to Meighen.**

Mr. King dealt at length with the address of Hon. Arthur Meighen yesterday. The Liberal leader asked if Mr. Meighen had given any hope for the widening of the guage of the island railway. There was not a place in Canada so handicapped, Mr. King asserted. He had tried while representing Prince County to have the guage widened. All these efforts had failed, the government in 1920 saying it did not that season intend standardizing the road beyond Summerside. Answering a request from the provincial Great War Veteran's Association the government had simply said it did not intend going on with the work. Mr. King quoted Hansard to show that he had pressed for standardization. The government could not justify its refusal on grounds of economy, since it had not practised economy, Mr. King asserted. There were other expenditures in which the government should have economized when standardization was so vitally important. The railways should be for the people and not the people for the railways. All parts of all provinces were entitled to equal treatment.

**Autocratic Acts.**

The prime minister had demanded the enumeration of autocratic acts by his government. "I could spend a long time doing that," Mr. King asserted, adding that he would name a few. Who gave Mr. Meighen any right to control the government this last year, he asked; if taking control in absolute indifference to the will of the people is not autocracy what is autocracy? As another autocratic act, Mr. King referred to Canada's lack of a general election since the war.

"I am told Mr. Meighen said the work of reconstruction was over," said Mr. King. "He did not consult the people as to his reconstruction policy, and if reconstruction in Canada is over, then heaven help this country." There are many instances I could give, said Mr. King, I have challenged Mr. Meighen from every platform to deny these charges and he has not been able to deny them.

The premier sought to blame the Laurier administration for the railway situation, said Mr. King, when his government had only succeeded in multiplying Canada's railway bills many times.

**Free Trade Not Issue.**

Mr. King also dealt with the tariff. "I deny absolutely," he said, "that the issue is between protection and free trade as Mr. Meighen claims. We stand for a tariff, but one that will protect the itnerests of producers and consumers in Canada and not a few privileged interests." The Liberal leader dealt with the demand of the premier that he (Mr. King) state where he stood on the Liberal tariff. "I'll give the answer I gave to the 1919 Liberal convention," Mr. King asserted. I said then that as leader of the party I expected to have the counsel of the outstanding men of the party and be guided by their counsel and advice but that I considered this platform as a chart to guide me aright, and with the collective guidance of the best possible minds in the Liberal party as a compass, would seek to guide this country aright. I did not intend to dictate or to decide alone, I am not bull-headed. I am not trying to escape any responsibility, but I am going to accept it like a wise man and not like a fool. The platform was laid down as a guiding chart. It stood primarily for two things; for tariff revision to reduce the cost of production and to reduce the costs of necessaries of life. In the spirit of the law it must be accepted, Mr. King asserted, quoting "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." The people are not the kind of fools Mr. Meighen appears to think they are, said Mr. King. "He talks of truth, I am willing to let the people judge as to who is telling the truth in this campaign." The government, Mr. King said, was going into this fight with powerful weapons. It controlled the election machinery and had drafted the election act.

**The Big Interests.**

It controlled patronage on a vast scale and had behind it strong and wealthy interests against this party, said Mr. King. There were the Liberals and also the Farmers, Labor men, Great War Veterans and the women. But while the government forces had unity on their side the others were not pulling together, though all were seeking practically the same objects. The women and soldiers supported candidates who sought the same things as themselves. Labor men and farmers in some quarters were running their own group candidates.

A. R. McMaster, of Brome, compared the Meighen government with an accused forger whose string of aiases condemned him almost before he was tried. The present name of the Meighen party was just a camoúflage, Mr. McMaster asserted.

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Pioneer P.E.I. Oct-15-th 1921

D 5608

# The Liberals Had Great Success With Their Public Meetings

## The Closing Gatherings in Summerside was Fitting End to the Great Series of Successes. Two Halls Were Filled to Overflowing.

Mackenzie King, leader of the great Liberal party, was in the province this week, and was given a hearty welcome—an enthusiastic Island welcome—by all. He deserves it. For the last session or so he has represented the County of Prince. He was leader of the Opposition during that time and impressed all who know his worth with his personality. During this period he acquired a good deal of information about Prince Edward Island and its people; he also learned a good deal about the disabilities of our people. He had nothing to do with the opening of the purse-strings—and that made a difference to us. As we have already said, Mr. King is looking forward to his party being returned at the next election. In that event Mr. King will likely be chosen Premier of Canada—and this also should be a good thing for P. E. Island. Mr. King, if his party is returned to power, may be depended upon to do his best for the Island province. He is a man of outstanding ability and a man of great force of character. With it all he is a man who has much ability as a public speaker.

Mr. King may well be proud of the great reception given him on the Island. His meetings have been all well attended—a sort of triumphal march, as it were. The same thing applies to other parts of Canada. Acclaim greets him wherever he goes. The rights of the people have been so long trampled under foot that the people have been thoroughly aroused. The Meighen faction have long imagined that they were the masters of the people instead of their servants and have conducted themselves accordingly. But they know better now. The people have grown weary of Mr. Meighen's autocratic manner of doing things.

On Wednesday night Mackenzie King gave his farewell message to the electors of Prince in Summerside. The Liberal leader was in grand form on the occasion, and by the time he was through speaking there was little left of Mr. Meighen but the proverbial grease-spot. He gave instance after instance of Mr. Meighen's autocratic treatment of the people amid much enthusiasm. He told the people in what way conditions could be improved almost at once. He deprecated the dividing of the forces of Liberalism to further the political ends of the Conservatives, and made an eloquent plea for unity among all classes opposing the government in the common interests of this young country.

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their feelings toward the government. Any government which usurped power could not hope to retain public favor.

Mr. King dealt at length with the address of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen the day before. The Liberal leader asked if Mr. Meighen had given any hope for the widening of the gauge of the Island Railway. There was not a place in Canada so handicapped, Mr. King asserted. He had tried, while representing Prince County to have the gauge widened. All these efforts had failed, the government in 1920 saying it did not that season intend standardizing the road beyond Summerside. Answering a request from the provincial G.W.V.A. the government had simply said it did not intend going on with such work. Mr King quoted Hansard to show that he had pressed for standardization. The government could not justify its refusal on grounds of economy, since it had not practiced economy, Mr. King asserted. There were other expenditures in which the government should have economized when standardization was so vitally important. The railways should be for the people and not the people for the railways. All parts of all provinces were entitled to equal treatment.

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"I am told Mr. Meighen said the work of reconstruction was over," said Mr. King. "He did not consult the people as do his reconstruction policy. And if reconstruction in Canada is over, then Heaven help this country."

By holding on to control after the government elected by the people had resigned, Mr. Meighen was guilty of another autocratic action. Still others were the taking of $80,000,000.00 out of the estimates under closure; the creation of a Merchant Marine without consultation with the people,putting through marine estimates under closure, —and other similar actions. "This is the great issue," Mr. King declared, "if you return Mr Meighen you are endorsing just such autocracies. There are many instances I could give. I have challenged Mr. Meighen from every platform to deny these charges and he has not been able to deny them."

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The Liberal leader dealt with railway matters and said the refusal of the government to give parliament information on railway management was almost unbelievable "and would be a farce if it were not such a tragedy."

Mr. King also dealt with the tariff. " I deny absolutely" he said "that the issue is between protection and free trade as Mr. Meighen claims. We stand for a tariff; but one that will protect the interests of producers and consumers in Canada and not a few privileged interests." The Liberal leader dealt with the demand of the Premier that he (Mr. King) state where he stood on the Liberal tariff, and quoting Mr. Meighen's challenge at London, announced. "There's a pettifogging lawyer."

"Ill give the answer I gave to the 1919 Liberal convention," Mr. King asserted. "I said then that as leader of the party I expected to have the counsel of the outstanding men of the party and be guided by their counsel and advice, but that I considered this platform as a chart to guide me aright, and with collective guidance of the best possible means in the Liberal party as a compass, seek to guide this country aright. I did not intend to dictate or decide alone, I was not bull-headed. I am not trying to escape any responsibility, but I am going to accept it like a wise man and not like a fool."

The platform was laid down as a guiding chart. It stood primarily for two things. For tariff revision to reduce the cost of production and to reduce the cost of necessaries of life. In the spirit of the law it must be accepted, Mr. King asserted, quoting : "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life."

"The people are not the kind of fools Mr. Meighen appears to think they are" said Mr. King. "He talks of truth; I am willing to let the people judge as to who is telling the truth in this campaign."

The government Mr. King said, was going into this fight with powerful weapons. It con-

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trolled the election machinery and had drafted the election act; it controlled patronage on a vast scale and had behind it strong and wealthy interests.

Against this party, said Mr. King, there were the Liberals and also the farmers, labor men, G.W.V.A., and the women. But, while the government forces had unity on their side, the others were not pulling together, though all were seeking practically the same objects. The women and soldiers supported the candidates who sought the same things as themselves. Labor men and farmers in some quarters were running their own group candidates.

"We want farmers and labormen in parliament" Mr. King asserted "but we want them, not as representatives of a class but as citizens of Canada working for the betterment of the people of every class." If Prince County wanted a farmer in Parliament, the Liberal candidate was a farmer, and the surest way of getting a farmer there was for all classes to stand behind him rather than divide their strength.

Mr. King advised the opponents of the Meighen government in Prince County to stand solidly behind the Liberal candidate. "Be united and victory is yours," he declared. By dividing his opponents Mr. Meighen today sought to secure his party's return. The Liberal party had fought the farmers' battles in 1911 and for a hundred years; it was fighting those battles to-day.

He also dealt with information as to the Canadian National Railways which he said, was refused in the House but finally unearthed in committee. I've been making these charges everywhere," he declared, and Mr. Meighen has been unable to deny them. The premier sought to blame the Laurier administration for the railway situation when his government had only succeeded in multiplying Canada's railway bills many times.

A. R. McMaster, of Brome, compared the Meighen government with an accused forger whose string of aliases condemned him almost before he was tried. The present name of the Meighen party was "just a camouflage," Mr.McMaster asserted. Mr. Meighen's proposal "that he be tried only on the tariff issue" showed that he lacked a proper appreciation of his duty to the public. He must stand trial on all the issues of government," said Mr. McMaster, "and if we find him guilty put him where he can't do any harm."

Mr. McMaster said he was proud of the Liberal tariff policy; it made for freedom. Mr. Meighen was a protectionist and predicted blue ruin under any but his own tariff. He spoke like Sir Charles Tupper of ruin through revision and in the next breath boasted of bringing the tariff down. Dealing with Mr. Meighen's claim of a lower average tariff, Mr. McMaster said this was but a matter of juggling figures. The government had placed a duty on goods previously free and thus brought the whole average duty down.

"A duty of 5 per cent on twenty articles previously free," said Mr. McMaster, "would reduce the average duty if taken with other duties of 20 percent or 30 percent." Taxes, he declared, had really been greatly increased in recent years since the government had added other taxes such as the sales tax. The levying of duties on exchange basis also artificially increased the tariff.

National industries were being hampered by high tariff against implements and machinery of production, Mr. McMaster stated.

Under the protective policy the people had been informed that industries would be placed on their feet and then they must stand alone. But by combines and "gentlemen's agreements" they had succeeded in enhancing prices to the consumer.

Mr. William Duff, of Lunenburg, N.S., was the last speaker, and his remarks were to the point. He reviewed the career of the Meighen government showing up their inconsistencies in a manner which brought down the house. His story of the theft of MacPherson's clothes was greatly appreciated.

Mr. A. E. McLean, the Liberal nominee for Prince, also addressed the meeting early in the evening, returning thanks for the nomination and expressing the hope of victory. Mr. McLean asked for the support of every lover of freedom and fair play.

The proceedings closed with the singing of the National Anthem, the large audience joining in the chorus.

## THREE BIG MEETINGS

### O'Leary, Tignish and Alberton were the Great Battle-Grounds

At three meetings in Prince County, O'Leary, Tignish and Alberton, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, and his colleagues, A. R. McMaster of Brome, Que., and William Duff, Lunenburg, N.S., discussed their policies in the rural parts of the county. At O'Leary there was a series of interesting exchanges between the Liberal speakers and members of the audience who, apparently, were supporters of the Farmer candidate in the riding. Hon. Mr. King and A. R. McMaster figured prominently in these exchanges, advising the Farmers of the county not to divide the forces of progress in their common attack against the government.

Mr. King frankly told the Farmers in his audience that he considered their movement a class movement and as such, contrary to their best interests. The Liberal Party, both he and Mr. McMaster declared, had gone down in 1911 fighting the battles of the farmers, and the Liberal party was the only one wide enough to care for the in-

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terests of all classes in Canada.

William Duff, Lunenburg, N. S., and John E. Sinclair, member for Queens in the last parliament, were also heard in appeals for unity among the Farmers and Liberals, and also in attacks on the government's merchant marine policy and other expenditures. A. E. McLean, the local Liberal candidate also spoke at all three meetings in the riding and made an excellent impression.

At the Alberton meeting Mr. A. E. McLean expressed hope for victory in the coming election. He said no benefit would accrue to Canada through maintaining a protectionist tariff.

Mr. William Duff, of Lunenburg, charged the government with indecision on public questions. Dealing with Union Government Mr. Duff claimed Sir Robert Borden had hung on after all excuse for it ended. The present premier had been chosen against the desire of many Unionists. The new party had been named to suit all factions. Mr. Duff charged Sir Robert Borden and Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen with having kept in the cabinet a man who had talked of "shooting holes in the British Flag" namely Hon. P. E. Blondin. Rt. Hon. Hugh Gutrie was condemned as "a traitor" to the Liberals in 1917 and a traitor to-day. Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen was the father of "all the questionable legislation since 1911," according to the Lunenburg candidate. The present premier was also the man who had asked for the transfer of soldiers votes in Canada.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, voicing his thanks to the electors of Prince County for his return by acclamation in 1919, dealt with the urgent need of national economy to reduce the cost of government and the cost of living. Canada was spending annually some $310 per head of her population and this expenditure eventually came back on many persons who could ill afford it. Dealing with tariff matters the Liberal leader declared again that his party was not standing for free trade, and since there was an annual expenditure of $560,000,000 to be met, he did not believe anyone would suggest abolishing tariffs and raising that immense sum by direct taxation.

"Mr. Meighen," declared the Liberal leader, "stands for a high protective tariff. We stand for a tariff for revenue and want a revision of the tariff in the interests of the people and the homes." The real issue was whether Mr. Meighen should continue in office or whether the country was to have representative government. The time had come for a change and the Meighen government refused to cut down its expenditures to meet present conditions.

In dealing with the need for economy Mr. King reminded his hearers that Canada had huge payments to meet for re-establishing her returned soldiers. Whatever else might go unpaid Canada had here a debt of honor on which there could not possibly be any default. But there must be careful and thorough national stock-taking and then a

Mr. King also dealt at some length with tariff matters and quoted James Murdock, former member of the Board of Commerce as stating that combines and monopolies had grown up under the high protective tariff and these were enhancing prices at the people's expense..

Mr. King urged the necessity of increased production in the basic industries. To bring this about taxes should bear as lightly as possible on implements of production. Consumers as well as producers must be considered. Necessaries of life must be taxed as lightly as possible.

Neither Farmers nor any one else could go further than this in changing the tariff. In the main principles the platforms of different groups and parties opposing the government were the same. It was better to unite and secure what all wanted than to divide and have all parties lose. The Liberal party, he said deserved support from every farmer in Canada. It had gone down fighting for reciprocity in 1911, as it had fought the battles of the farmers and other classes for another hundred years. This, also, was no time for experimenting with new parties, Mr. King declared. The wisest and most experienced heads available were required to meet the nation's great problems of today.

## AT KENSINGTON

### Mackenzie King and Associates Hold Two Large Meetings There.

Before the meetings at Alberton, O'Leary and Tignish were held there were two meetings at Kensington, both of which were well attended and there was much enthusiasm and applause.

Mr. A. E. McLean, the local candidate, referred with regret to the fact that Hon. Mr. King had been unable to stand for Prince County in the coming election. However, said Mr. McLean, Prince County and the province in general could be assured of having in Mr. King a staunch supporter, who knew the transportation difficulties and what the people of the Island faced.

The next speaker, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, thanked the people of Prince County for having elected him to parliament in 1919. He explained that at the time of accepting the Prince nomination he had also accepted the North York nomination. Ontario would be the battle ground this year, said Mr. King, and since the place of a leader was in the thick of the fight, he and the National Executive had felt that he should remain in the North York fight.

Mr. King said that in the future the Island and Prince County would have a warm friend in

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himself. He hoped to have from Prince and the other counties members who would support him in the fight.

The Liberal chief warned against the danger of government supporters being returned in three-cornered fights. The Prime Minister seemed to be trying to goad the Farmers into putting up candidates and thus splitting the vote.

"The Farmers have everything to gain by standing together behind the Liberal party," Mr. King asserted. "They have everything to lose by dividing their forces." He referred to the fact that Mr. Maclean was a farmer and declared that there should be farmers and labor men and representatives of other classes in parliament.

Mr. King dealt with the return of Union government in 1917 and declared that it should have resigned when the war was ended. Canada had been denied a general election for years by the man who was now asking support from the people. The issue today was not between Liberalism and the best type of Conservatism but rather between Liberalism and a rampant Toryism which rode roughshod over the people and their rights.

Today taxation was so vast that the people were vitally interested in getting rid of needless public expenditures. The public debt had increased to $2,350,000,000 and the annual interest was $140,000,000. Railway expenditures and deficits took huge sums each year. This year parliament had voted $560,000,000 for carrying on the government of the country. Every man and woman in Canada must pay his or her share of this huge amount sooner or later. In that way taxation had its bearing on the cost of living. The homes and the families must eventually pay the taxes," Mr. King declared. There must be a careful checking of accounts by men who were not trying to hide their mistakes.

Dealing with railway matters Mr. King declared it was an injustice for the government to continue to operate the present narrow-gauge railway on the Island. He had at various times urged the government to lay down a standard gauge road, but the government replied that the management of the roads controlled such matters. This, declared Mr. King, was a matter of policy, and should be decided by the government rather than by the board.

"You can't get free trade in one or two years," Mr. King asserted, "that would be impossible because you could not raise $560,000,000 yearly by direct taxation.

Mr. McMaster, Mr. W. Duff and Mr. J. E. Sinclair also made addresses reviewing the situation, and every word they uttered provoked loud applause.

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Montreal Gazette Oct-30th 1921

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# OPPOSITION FROM FARMER AND LABOR SADDENS MR. KING

## Should be in Parliament, But Bearing Liberal Stamp Only

## FREE TRADE NOT ISSUE

## 1919 Tariff Platform is Chart Only, and Collective Liberal Advice is Compass

(By Canadian Press.)

Summerside, P.E.I., October 12.—Tonight Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King gave his final personal message to the people of Prince County in two meetings, which had drawn to the theatres of Summerside audiences which filled both to standing room capacity. Mr. King charged Mr. Meighen with seeking to impose an autocratic will upon the people of Canada. In all parts of the Dominion, the Liberal leader declared, the Prime Minister sought to divide the vote against his Government by bringing about the entrance of Farmer and Labor candidates into the fight. The need today was for opponents of the Meighen Government to stand together, Mr. King declared, and though both Farmers and Labor men were needed in Parliament, these should be sent there as members of the Liberal party rather than as representatives of any class or group. Mr. King also dealt at length with the Premier's tariff statements, and again outlined his stand in regard to tariff matters.

The tariff was also the theme of A. R. McMaster, of Brome, and was referred to at some length by William Duff, Lunenburg, N.S.

Hon. Mr. King will leave in the morning for Moncton. Arrangements have been made for him to address a meeting at St. John Saturday night, and it is reported that on his return to Ottawa he will address a mass meeting in the Capital.

NORTH YORK BATTLE.

Hon. Mr. King was given an enthusiastic welcome when he entered the hall for the first of his speeches. Introduced by Mayor J. E. Campbell as the future Prime Minister of Canada, Hon. Mr. King referred to the splendid receptions given him everywhere in Prince County and expressed confidence that his party would be victorious at the polls on December 6th. He expressed thanks for having been given an acclamation in 1919, and referred to his decision to contest the North York seat, where there would probably be the greatest political battle in the present contest.

Hon. Mr. King, expressing appreciation for the welcome given him, said it had been more like a triumphal procession than a series of political meetings. The conclusion reached was that the voice of the Maritime Provinces on December 6th would be the voice of the Liberal party returned to victory. The people of Canada were apparently waiting to express their feelings toward the Government.

WOULD WIDEN GAUGE.

Mr. King dealt at length with the address of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen yesterday. The Liberal leader asked if Mr. Meighen had given any hope for the widening of the gauge of the Island Railway. There was not a place in Canada so handicapped, Mr. King asserted. He had tried, while representing Prince County, to have the gauge widened. All these efforts had failed, the Government in 1920 saying it did not that season intend standardizing the road beyond Summerside. Answering a request from the Provincial Great War Veterans' Association, the Government had simply said it did not intend going on with such work. Mr. King quoted Hansard to show that he had pressed for standardization. The Government could not justify its refusal on grounds of economy, since it had not practised economy, Mr. King asserted. There were other expenditures in which the Government should have economized when standardization was so vitally important. The railways should be for the people and not the people for the railways. All parts of all provinces were entitled to equal treatment.

The Prime Minister had demanded the enumeration of autocratic acts by his Government. "I could spend a long time doing that," Mr. King asserted, adding that he would name a few. Who gave Mr. Meighen any right to control the Government this last year? he asked. If taking control in absolute indifference to the will of the people is not autocracy, what is autocracy? As another autocratic act, Mr. King referred to Canada's lack of a general election since the war.

"I am told Mr. Meighen said that the work of reconstruction was over," said Mr. King. "He did not consult the people as to his reconstruction policy, and if reconstruction in Canada is over, then heaven help this country.

"There are many instances I could give," said Mr. King. "I have challenged Mr. Meighen from every platform to deny these charges, and he has not been able to deny them."

The Premier had sought to blame the Laurier administration for the railway situation, said Mr. King, when his Government had only succeeded in multiplying Canada's railway bills many times.

NO FREE TRADE ISSUE.

Mr. King also dealt with the tariff. "I deny absolutely," he said, "that the issue is between protection and free trade, as Mr. Meighen claims. We stand for a tariff, but one that will protect the interests of producers and consumers in Canada and not a few privileged interests." The Liberal leader dealt with the demand of the Premier that he (Mr. King) state where he stood on the Liberal tariff. "I'll give the answer I gave to the 1919 Liberal convention," Mr. King asserted. "I said then that, as the leader of the party, I expected to have the counsel of the outstanding men of the party and be guided by their counsel and advice, but that I considered this platform as a chart to guide me aright, and, with the collective guidance of the best possible minds in the Liberal party as a compass, would seek to guide this country aright. I did not intend to dictate or decide alone. I was not bullheaded. I am not trying to escape any responsibility, but I am going to accept it like a wise man and not like a fool. The platform was laid down as a guiding chart. It stood primarily for two things; for tariff revision to reduce the cost of production and to reduce the costs of necessaries of life. In the spirit of the law it must be accepted, Mr. King asserted, quoting "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." The people are not the kind of fools Mr. Meighen appears to think they are, said Mr. King. "He talks of truth. I am willing to let the people judge as to who is telling the truth in this campaign."

WEAPON OF PATRONAGE.

The Government, Mr. King said, was going into this fight with powerful weapons. It controlled the election machinery and had drafted the Election Act. It controlled patronage on a vast scale and had behind it strong and wealthy interests. Against this party, said Mr. King, there were the Liberals and also the Farmers, Labor men, Great War Veterans and the women. But while the Government forces had unity on their side, the others were not pulling together, though all were seeking practically the same objects. The women and soldiers supported candidates who sought the same things as themselves. Labor men and Farmers in some quarters were running their own group candidates.

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A. R. McMaster, of Brome, Que., compared the Meighen Government with an accused forger whose string of aliases condemned him almost before he was tried. The present name of the Meighen party was just a camouflage, Mr. McMaster asserted.

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's claim of a lower average tariff, Mr. McMaster said this was but a matter of juggling figures. The Government had placed a duty on goods previously free and thus brought the whole average duty down. "A duty of five per cent. on twenty articles previously free," said Mr. McMaster, "would reduce the average duty if taken with other duties of twenty or thirty per cent."

DEPRECATES RETALIATION.

William Duff, Lunenburg, N.S., devoted part of his speech to the statements of Hon. F. B. McCurdy and other Cabinet Ministers at Antigonish in regard to the tariff. Mr. Duff declared that Mr. McCurdy had argued that the Fordney tariff would be disastrous to the fishermen of Canada, and had asked if Canada was to take that sort of thing lying down. "Apparently," said Mr. Duff, "Mr. McCurdy would introduce retaliatory tariff measures and thereby force the Canadian fishermen and consumers to pay higher prices, through a high tariff, for their rope nets and twine, food and clothing, and other things they must have. If we are to introduce retaliatory protection, there is nothing to prevent the United States increasing their duties until finally we legislate the fishing industry in both countries out of existence. Would it not be much better to do as the Liberal party will do when returned to power in December—seek to bring about some reciprocal measure whereby the fish from the Maritime Provinces can go into the New England markets, and the fish from Boston and New-land into the Central Canadian markets without hindrance? Then, not only the fishermen in both countries, but the consumers in both countries, would benefit."

Mr. Duff said that Hon. R. J. Manion, one of the new Ministers, and C. H. Cahan said the tariff was not the issue, and the Montreal Star took the same ground.

A. R. McLean, the Liberal candidate here, paid a tribute to the leadership of Hon. Mr. King, and declared that the Liberal party, which had fought the battles of producer and consumer alike, was the only one to trust with the management of Canada today.

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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Moncton Transcript. Oct 14/1921

# LIBERAL CHIEF INSPIRES HEARERS IN HIS ELO
# UNITY ON NATIONAL QUESTIONS FOR THE B
# WHOLE; VIGOROUSLY CRITICIZES TI

## Four Rousing Meetings Held in Moncton on Thursday Evening; Stirring Addresses Given by Prominent Liberals; Ernest LaPointe, of Quebec, Delivers Interesting, Forceful Speeches.

## Speakers Deal Ably With Intercolonial Railway; Tariff and Other Questions; James Murdock, Railway Labor Leader, Speaks.

Monctonians on Thursday night enthusiastically greeted Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, who opened his New Brunswick tour in Moncton after a triumphal march through various cities and towns in Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island.

Last night's demonstration was a great success. Mr. King's stirring messages, delivered with vigor and earnestness, carried conviction to the hearts of a people sick and weary of the present Dominion government. The young Liberal Chief inspired Monctonians by the earnestness of his degnified addresses.

Hon. Mr. King's arrival in Moncton had been awaited with much interest. He had spoken here a few years ago at a meeting of the Canadian Club, and those who heard him on that occasion confidently anticipated that his addresses here on Thursday night would be a splendid success and be heard with great appreciation. He fully sustained his reputation as a popular, forceful platform orator. He spoke frankly and vigorously, arousing much enthusiasm.

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Mr. Ernest LaPointe was given a splendid reception. He likewise sustained his reputation as a popular, eloquent speaker. His speeches were exceedingly interesting and were much appreciated by his audiences.

Major Power, of Quebec, who accompanied Mr. LaPointe, also was given a good reception and spoke forcefully.

Mr. A. B. Copp, the Liberal Candidate in Westmorland, addressed the four meetings and was at all places enthusiastically greeted. He spoke with his usual vigor and earnestness. It is evident that Monctonians are rallying strongly in support of the Liberal standard-bearer, and the policies he advocates.

Premier Foster, Hon. Fred Magee and Hon. P. J. Veniot were greeted with much enthusiasm, their able, clear-cut speeches being strong features of the demonstration. They vigorously supported the policies advocated by the Dominion Liberal leader and made stirring appeals to the electors to support Mr. Copp.

Mr. H. J. Logan, of Amherst, who is always accorded a splendid reception when he addresses public meetings here, was warmly greeted on Thursday evening, and gave rousing speeches on the railway, tariff and other questions. He was applauded again and again as he dealt with the Intercolonial Railway and urged that the terms of Confederation be carried out.

A feature of the demonstration was the presence of Mr. James Murdock, First Grand Vice President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio. It had not been announced that Mr. Murdock would be one of the speakers. This being a railway city his message was of particular interest and was given with telling effect. His appeal to the electors to support the Liberal party made a deep impression.

Dr. Sormany, of Shediac, who was also one of the speakers, scored many excellent points against the Meighen administration and was heard with much interest.

FOUR MEETINGS.

Meetings were held in the Grand Opera House, the Imperial Theatre, the Colonial Theatre and the City Hall.

It is estimated that nearly 5,000 people heard the Liberal speakers last evening.

Hon. C. W. Robinson presided at the Grand, the speakers being A. B. Copp, the Liberal candidate in Westmorland, Hon. Mr. King, James Murdock, Ernest LaPointe, Quebec, and Hon. Fred Magee.

At the Imperial James McQueen, of Shediac, presided, the speakers being Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick, H. J. Logan, K.C., Hon. P. J. Veniot, A. B. Copp, Ernest LaPointe and Hon. Mr. King.

At the Colonial T. T. Goodwin, barrister, presided. P. J. Veniot, Major Power, of Quebec South, A. B. Copp and Hon. Mr. King spoke.

In the City building R. A. Frechette was in the chair and the speakers were Ernest LaPointe, A. B. Copp, Premier Foster, Dr. Sormany, of Shediac, H. J. Logan, and Hon. Mr. King.

The last meeting at which Mr. King spoke was in the Imperial Theatre, the big audience remaining intensely interested throughout. It was about 11.45 o'clock when the meeting closed. Mr. King and party left in an automobile after the meeting amid loud cheers.

Long before eight o'clock, the hour at which the meetings opened large groups of people were assembled outside of the entrances seeking admission. When the doors were opened the seating accommodations were soon taxed to the utmost, the large audiences, deeply interested in the issues under discussion, following closely the various speakers and manifesting their appreciation of the eloquent, forceful addresses by frequent and hearty applause.

Not only did Monctonians rally strongly at last night's meetings, but hundreds of people came to the city from outside points. People were here from Amherst, Dorchester, Shediac, Salisbury and many other places in the outlying districts, all eager to greet the Liberal leader and hear the speeches.

It was a rousing and successful political event—one that revealed intense public interest in the issues of the day and showed increasing public sentiment favorable to the cause of Liberalism.

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## MEETING IN GRAND OPERA HOUSE

The Grand Opera House wherein the Hon. Mackenzie King delivered his first address on Thursday night was early packed and before eight o'clock, the hour set for the meeting hundreds of people had to be denied admittance. All available seating space was taxed and people stood in the aisles.

Hon. C. W. Robinson presided, and was tendered an ovation which was repeated as Mr. King, Ernest LaPointe, Mr. A. B. Copp, Mr. William Murdock, and the Hon. Fred Magee each appeared and was recognized by the huge audience.

From the standpoint of orderliness the meeting in the Grand was a model. There was absolutely no heckling or interruptions. Each of the speakers received a careful and attentive hearing and the interesting nature of the addresses is attested by the fact that, though the meeting lasted over two hours, not a score of persons left the building in that time and the audience was practically intact when the Hon. Fred Magee delivered his address—the last one on the Grand Theatre programme.

Mr. LaPointe, as representative of Quebec, received an especially hearty welcome on rising to speak. His earnest address was frequently and heartily applauded and made a deep impression. The bluff humor of the Hon. Fred Magee, the brevity of Mr. Copp; and Mr. Murdock,—the sincere appeal of Mackenzie King made a deep and lasting impression.

One of the city's bands gave a brief concert outside the Grand previous to the addresses, having accompanied the speakers to the place of meeting. Their renditions proved enjoyable.

THE INTRODUCTION
OF MR. COPP.

Mr. Copp, Liberal candidate for the County of Westmorland, was the first speaker. He was accorded a splendid reception but on account of being obliged to speak at other meetings shortened his address. On arising to deliver his message to the electorate of Westmorland he was greeted with tremendous applause. In reply to the reception accorded him, the speaker thanked the audience and more especially for the Liberal Leader, who Mr. Copp stated had completed a triumphal tour of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. "You are fortunate" said Mr. Copp "in the present week two political gatherings have been held in Moncton one of which was addressed by Premier Meighen and now you will have the opportunity of listening to the next Premier of Canada—the Hon W. L. Mackenzie King." (Applause).

Mr. Copp at once launched into his speech denouncing the railway policy of Premier Meighen and his colleagues. The speaker stated his audience was acquainted with the policy which he (the speaker) was in favor of. This was no "death bed" policy. It was not a policy announced just previous to a general election. Often he had asked in the Dominion parliament that the Intercolonial railway be left to the Maritime provinces, but his policy was not countenanced. He had asked that the Intercolonial be operated as a separate unit apart from a government system but that policy was not listened to. He had also asked that the Intercolinial be controlled by Maritime Province men, schooled in the railway, and who had had many years of that schooling. If elected on December 6th the policy of the late Hon. Henry R. Emmerson respecting the Intercolonial railway would be further fostered, and it would be a pleasure to him to further that policy, he said.

In conclusion, he thanked the audience for their very loyal reception of Mr. King, himself, and others seated on the platform with him. He paid a tribute to the Hon. Mr. King and promised to further the interests of Westmorland County, if elected on December 6th by advocating the control of the old Intercolinial by Maritime province men, separate and apart from any government system. This was the anticipation of the people of Westmorland and their hopes would not be lost sight of. (Applause.)

Mr. Copp then left the threatre to address another audience.

THE HON. MR. KING.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King on being introduced by the chairman was roundly applauded. In opening his brilliant address the Liberal leader expressed his heart felt gratitude for the magnificent reception accorded him and his party in Moncton. His reception in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, he said, had been an excellent one, but he believed that Moncton was the first Maritime centre which had engaged four halls and still accommodation was insufficient. He came, he said, with a message—the voice and sentiment of Canada,—because that message was the political belief of Canada. That his opening remarks were fully endorsed by the large audience was shown by the prolonged applause which greeted him, and at almost every mention of the Liberal stalwarts of the Maritime Provinces.

THE 1917 ELECTION.

In 1917, the Hon. Mr. King pointed out, Canada had a general election. All at that time were bent on the aim of winning the war. No consideration was given to domestic questions, and since the conclusion of the war no consideration had been allowed to those domestic questions which affected the country, as no general election had been held. In Great Britain some short time after the war, Premier Lloyd George had called on a general election to ascertain if his government met with the approval of the electorate. South Africa had had a general election, so had France, Belgium, United States, Japan, and even the neutral countries of Spain, Holland and China. These countries had given to their people the right to a participation in the settlement of the many post-war questions which affected them. "Canada," said Mr. King, "is the only country, with the exception of Russia, which was denied that privilege—the privilege of having a voice in the settlement of questions as they affected Canada." and he added in his next breath, "the Liberal party is not usurping the rights of the people, and when such is attempted the country is doomed."

Mr. Meighen's right to the Premiership of Canada, the speaker questioned. Mr. King asked: "Did he have any right to rule? Did any one give him a mandate to rule? When he was questioned in his rights he proffered Judgeships, Senatorships, and Governorships. "Who gave Mr. Meighen the right to shape the railway policies of this country?" asked the Liberal leader amid great applause. "Is there a man who gave him that right? The answer is silence." " If you return Premier Meighen and his colleagues, you further autocracy, and if you do not approve of his government, then you have your opportunity on December 6th."

Then the Liberal leader paid tribute to the worth of the Messrs. O. Turgeon, Gloucester, and A. B. Copp, of Westmorland. They, along with Mr. Ernest LaPointe, had, the Liberal leader said, given him staunch and loyal support. The return of these men with strong endorsations by their respective electorates, would advance the interests of the Maritime Provinces was the belief of Mr. King. Turning to Mr. Copp, Mr. King defined him as a strong supporter of the "rights of the People," a defender of the masses, and an able debater. Turning then to the questions at issue, the Hon. Mr. King added that he would be pleased to answer any questions and reply to any courteous interruptions.

While in Moncton, said Mr. King, the issue dealt with by Premier Meighen had been protection versus free trade. In the discussion of such

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an issue, Mr. Meighen was arguing a question, the Liberal leader said, which was of his own creation. In the discussion of the tariff issue Mr. Meighen forgot the acts of his government. He defined Mr. Meighen's policies as being autocratic, judgeships and governorships being lavishly handed out.

THE MEIGHEN MANIFESTO.

The Liberal leader then referred to the manifesto of Premier Meighen. This, he described as being an issue which was but one question relating to a chosen few. Not one word was in the manifesto regarding the railway policy. There was nothing relating to labor, nothing mentioned about finance, no mention made of taxation, nothing as to the lowering of the high cost of living—just one issue—protection versus free trade. He urged his audience not to be led away by such an imaginary issue. Direct taxation would be the medium adopted to pay off the national debt, and this meant that $560,000,000 would have to be raised in that method. Protection meant a tariff, but free trade meant no tariff. The Liberals favored a tariff, not as Mr. Meighen had said, but along the lines of a "revision"—not to allow the tariff to stand as it now does, but to make such revision that it would be for the betterment of all classes, and not for a chosen few.

THE RAILWAY ISSUE.

Turning to the railway issue, the Hon. Mr. King deprecated the policy adopted by the Meighen and Borden administrations. He pointed out that the Meighen government and Borden government had laid the blame for the deficits on Government railways on the Laurier government, but this was going a long way back. The policy of the Laurier government had been "construction", the policy of the Borden and Meighen governments—destruction. The aim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been a national one,—the union of the West and the East. To insure such a union the Laurier government had foreseen, said Mr. King, the necessity of another line of railway over the continent. Previous to the adoption of that policy to erect another road to the West there was but one road in that country, which meant no settlers, there being no competition. Rates, charges, etc., on this lone railway were fixed. To better the immigration into the west and aid in general industrial development of Canada, a second road was erected. The result was immigration. Settlers went into the west. The prairies were broken up and the new settlers had a measure of self-government in the affairs of their adopted country. Another result of that policy was that trade increased, and with this trade, traffic, and Canada became more prosperous.

Today the policy of the Meighen government was to abolish the policy of the Laurier administration and create dis-union between the west and the east. The speaker was in Prince Rupert last year. From that city to Edmonton, the residents along the line of railway were disheartened. Trade was being directed over another line, and in consequence of such the immigration materially lessened. In the east the result was that Canadian-made goods were being exported through foreign ports and imports being brought in through foreign ports. The remedy of this condition of affairs was the return of Liberalism, so that the Laurier policy might be furthered.

Continuing, the speaker stated that since 1917 two vast railway systems were transferred from private to public ownership. One of these transfers was that of the Canadian Northern system effected by the government of Sir Robert Borden during the period of war, in a session of parliament which was in the nature of an extension of its constitutional term. The second system taken over was the Grand Trunk, this by the government of Sir Robert Borden and in part by the Meighen government. In both cases the methods of acquisition, said Mr. King, were high-handed and arbitrary, the people in neither case having been consulted on the question of policy involved, parliament having been denied the right to the full and free discussion of the methods and terms of such acquisition. Today the government had over 22,000 miles of railway under its control, whereas the Laurier administration had had but some 2,000 miles under supervision. Returning to the acquisition of the two roads above mentioned, the Hon. Mr. King asked: "Did anyone have anything to say in the acquisition of either road? and were the roads taken over with your consent or in secret council? No one had been consulted."

MR. MEIGHEN'S FORGETFULNESS.

"Mr. Meighen failed to make mention of these transactions but spoke of the tariff," said Mr. King "a question not fundamentally different from the policy of the Liberal government, whose policy was not, the abolition of the tariff but a revision which would better the people of Canada, irrespective of class." When the Canadian Pacific railway was given a contract under the regime of the late Sir John A. McDonald, the question came up for discussion in the Federal house. After being discussed at length, it was signed, sealed and delivered. When the erection of the Grand Trunk was proposed this question was discussed on the floors of the Canadian house of parliament, but when the Canadian Northern was taken over during the period of war the deal was put through under closure and $10,000,000 voted to Mc Kenzie and Mann on stock, which later proved worthless as records had shown. The speaker had asked that the Grand Trunk railway question be brought up for discussion on the floors of the house of parliament. His request was denied. The contract was drawn up in a secret council and forwarded to England to bond and stock holders for their approval. "They approved of the contract but the people of Canada were not asked for their approval." Canada did not learn of the terms of contract until some time later when a technicality arose in the agreement news of the same, coming across the Atlantic cables, and the right of the people had been refused—a right of a people who paid taxes for the up-keep and maintenance of the road. It was said Mr. King, almost impossible to think of such autocracy, an autocracy which dwindled down to a question as to whether the people of Canada were to govern or be governed by an autocratic group. The burden of blame for deficits in the government owned roads was placed on the Liberal regime under the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, which the Borden and Meighen administrations had said was due to the erection of the Grand trunk—"but since 1911" added Mr. King the Grand Trunk has been taken over by the Government of Canada!" (Cheers.)

LABOR.

That labor should have some say in the management of industry was the contention advanced by Mr. King. The speaker declared that he believed there were four parties in industries and that each should have a voice in the conduct of business. "These are he said "Capital, Labor, Management and Consumer." He did not believe that any one of the four should obtain an unjust monopoly of industry or control over others. Labor had been denied their rights by the Meighen government, in so far as, the Grand Trunk was concerned. In the year 1909 there was a strike on the Grand Trunk Railways. The speaker stated he was then Minister of Labor under the Laurier government. He went to Montreal and certain terms of agreement were perfected between the company and the employees. The agreement on the part of the company was not kept. Finally the matter came to a head, and a settlement reached whereby former employees of the Grand Trunk should be re-instated. This was carried out, but the Company in doing so deprived the employees of their pensions. Then when the question of the acquisition of the Grand Trunk by the Meighen government came up, on account of certain technicalities, the agreement between the

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government and the company was returned and came up on the floors of the house under the heading "For Correcting Certain Errors." Mr. King then, advocated a new clause in the agreement to the effect that employees of the road, previously deprived of their pensions, be granted all pensional allowances. This request was denied the Liberal leader. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his time, said the speaker, had done all in his power to remedy the question and to effect an amicable settlement. His administration had argued that the Grand Trunk Company should live up to its agreement. The railway Company had refused and, as a result of such refusal, the Laurier government at one of its sessions, refused the company its grant of $7,000,000, and this was extended to such period when the company would live up to the agreement. The Meighen government had not asked that the company live up to its promises and had even intercepted the efforts of the members of the opposition who had endeavored to aid the Labor men. Under Mr. Crothers, Minister of Labor in the Meighen Government, this refusal of the Meighen government was made, and on the floors of the house. Mr. King did not think the working men were asking for more than they deserved, and were not soliciting more than their rights Before rights could be granted the speaker said the Meighen government should have talked justice.

Again Labor formed the greater proportion of the taxpayers. With the acquisition of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk railways over $165,000,000 had to be voted and this meant taxation of Canadians, the greater number,—labor men. Previous to 1911 the greatest amount ever voted on railways was $38,000,000. The railway question had by such mismanagement of public monies reverted into a question of deficits, and—taxation.

THE CANADIAN
NATIONAL RAILWAY.

The management of the above road was placed in the hands of a Board of directors. "Are they railway men?" asked Mr. King. "The government" said Mr. King had appointed a group of their own friends, "and the Liberals had asked for an account as to the expenditures of money by this group." The Liberals had also asked "Has any assurance been placed on the government property?" The reply to these questions to the effect that the government had no information to give.

The Liberals also asked: "Have any contracts been let for cars?" and the reply, added the Liberal leader, was "The government has no information" —and blamed the deficits on this road on the wages, it was paying, labor coming in for the blame.

The Liberals had asked questions concerning the rolling stock of the company, and the reply was "The government has no reply to make." Was that justice?" asked Mr. King. "Thus crept in the evil of graft and avarice, but the Liberals," declared the Liberal leader, "stood for publicity and the fullest publicity. Four-fifths of the number of the board of directors of the C.N.R. were those who had furnished supplies to the road, they being directors of other companies."

**INSURANCE ON THE ROAD**

Turning to the insurance carried, it was ascertained that $140,000,000 was the figure. The government had paid in advance on premiums, the sum of $33,000,000 and finally voted to take the remaining insurance out in one company, two of whose directors were directors of the Canadian National Railways. "If a search light could be turned on the company controlling the C.N.R.," said Mr. King, "there would be found much honey-combing and interlocking of directors. As the government was composed of political autocrats playing into the hands of industrial plutocrats." He referred to the situation as one wherein the government had given over the people's money to a board of directors from whom they asked no account of expenditures, this money to be spent by the company as they saw fit without consulting the government as to its disposal. A group of politicians played into the hands of a group of railway directors, who had absolute freedom to dispose of this money, the government not giving information as to its disposal. Hence this was the reason of the railway deficits and not the expenditures, as claimed by the Meighen government in the erection of roads by the Laurier government. Touching on the policy of control of railways in Canada, Mr. King stated that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had expressed the view that these should be governed by a board, separate from the government, but he had advocated at the same time that such board of directors should not be affiliated with any other companies.

**TARIFF**

Turning to tariff, the Hon. Mr. King stated it might be so regulated as to benefit a few. (Laughter). It was not the policy of the Liberal party, nor was it the proposal of that party, if elected, he said, to play into the hands of a few. The Liberal policy was framed in t he interests of the producer and the consumer. The influence of combines, trusts, and monopolies which had fastened themselves upon the production and the distribution of certain essential articles of food, and which Mr. King stated had led to the introduction of systems of merchandizing which were injurious to trade, were described in the assertions of Mr. James Murdock, the last member of the board of commerce to hand in his resignation, to the Meighen government. The Board of Commerce was a body, said the speaker, created to protect the consumer. It was constantly hampered and blocked by the Meighen government and finally the members resigned, but Mr. Murdock's statements had never been challenged, Mr. Murdock being one of a ring ushered out by the government's stand regarding Board of Commerce matters. He here pointed to Mr. Murdock who was seated on the platform at his left and the audience greeted him with a prolonged cheer. He did not touch further on the matter, stating that Mr. Murdock would deal with the question himself as Mr. Murdock intended to address the audience.

In concluding his very able address the Liberal leader pleaded for unity of all progressive forces against the powers of re-action which were now united. He stated that the development of the resources of Canada would aid in the payment of the public debt and such development would be undertaken by the Liberal party, if elected. In closing the speaker added: "We have passed through a great war, and we must seek to heal the wounds; for the loss of life we must preserve life; for autocracy we must replace democracy; for ill-will we must have good-will, and this can be brought about on December 6th when Liberalism can be returned to power."

**MR. JAMES MURDOCK**

The Hon. C. W. Robinson, at the conclusion of the Hon. Mr. King's address, introduced Mr. Murdock, who was given a very attentive hearing. He opened up with the statement that he was not present at the meeting with a mandate from the Labor party of Canada to speak for or against Mr. King. He had, he said, been connected with questions pertaining to the Canadian consumer as a member of the Board of Commerce. In that capacity he had travelled from the Atlantic to the Pacific and knew the pulse of labor, and that Canada in the past few years, had not been granted a square deal. So far as allowing such occurrences to happen again Mr. Murdock stated the prevention was at hand, the ballot, which if used rightly on December 6th would result in the overthrow of the government. His closing plea was for the unity of the masses of Canadians, so that the affairs of Canada could be furthered in the best interests of all. Regret was expressed that time would not permit of further remarks by the speaker as Mr. LaPointe and Hon. Fred Magee were to follow. It is probable that he may be heard later in Moncton.

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## ERNEST LAPOINTE

Ernest LaPointe, one of Quebec's ablest sons, and today the representative of the constituency that for years sent the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the House of Commons, captivated his hearers last night wherever he spoke, by his rich eloquence and convincing manner. Mr. LaPointe speaks with a slight accent, but he uses a classic English which is pleasing to his hearers. He mixed just enough humor in his addresses which made his speeches especially attractive. He has a winning personality. On rising Mr. LaPointe was given a tremendous ovation. He expressed his pleasure at being present at the meeting and paid a tribute to the worth of the late Hon. H. R. Emmerson with whom, he said, he had sat in the Laurier government.

Turning to Mr. A. B. Copp he paid him a hearty tribute. He was a great friend of Mr. Copp's, he said, and felt sure that he would sit again with him in the Dominion house after December 6th. (Cheers).

He told of the ladies being granted the right of exercising their franchise and hoped that they would vote right, and not only right, but that they would vote for the Liberals. (Prolonged cheers).

It had been, Mr. LaPointe stated, the cutsom when a person was ill to call in a physician, and it looked now as though the Meighen government had called in one. (Laughter).

Mr. LaPointe declared that the Federal Parliament had been functioning for two years without a mandate from the people, the government of the Hon. Mr. Meighen having lost the confidence of the people and gained the contempt of the country. He then referred to the cumbersome name adopted by the Meighen party who styled themselves the National Liberal and Conservative party. "Imagine," said Mr. LaPointe, "trying to mix a real Liberal with a real Tory?" (Laughter). "It puts me in mind of the story I once heard of a young couple who got married and had more love than money. They kept a record of expenditures and one rainy evening—when the husband stayed at home—(laughter)—the book was taken down and perused. Every once in a while the letters 'G.N.W.' were noted. She, on being asked what the letters stood for replied: "Goodness knows what. This name," said Mr. LaPointe, "would be a good one for the Meighen party. (Loud applause). "One can't be a National Liberal and Conservative, he can't be all that and I'm not alone to think it." Continuing he said that the people of Canada craved public men today with sincerity. It was impossible, he believed, to find men who fought under such a banner as the National Liberal and Conservative party, sincere.

Mr. Meighen, the speaker stated, had demanded that he be judged on the tariff. He did not desire, he said, to judge Mr. Meighen on what he had done, but on what he had not done. (Applause).

He here referred to Mr. C. H. Cahan, leader of the Conservative party in Nova Scotia a few years ago, who in a recent letter to the Montreal Gazette stated the reasons for not accepting the nomination of Conservative candidate to run against the Hon. W. S. Fielding. In that letter, Mr. LaPointe pointed out that Mr. Cahan had said that he was a Conservative of the "old school" under the leadership of Sir John A. McDonald, and later under Sir Charles Tupper. Today Mr. Cahan had said he was not a National Liberal and Conservative, but a firm believer in sincerity, not hypocrisy, "and others, no doubt," said the speaker, "feel as does Mr. Cahan." (Laughter). Meighen, he believed, could be adjudged guilty of the sins of commission as well as for the sins of omission. Mr. LaPointe here humorously remarked that in his church he was compelled, every now and then to go to confession but he often felt like telling the things he did not do than the things he had done, and so with Mr. Meighen he might, he said be guilty of the sins of omission, as there were many things which he had not done.

## THE TARIFF

Turning to the tariff, Mr. LaPointe expressed his support of Mr. King's tariff policy, which was a "tariff of revenue." He stated that Premier Meighen was the only man talking tariff. In doing so, Mr. LaPointe believed he was setting up a man of straw. Nobody wanted "free trade," said the speaker and to talk of it at this time was absurd. For years Canada, he said, must have a revenue and to secure such a revenue the country, he declared, must have a tariff. The tariff policy under the King administration would be for the benefit of the masses, and not for special classes.

As in 1896, the cry was heard in every town, village and hamlet of Canada, said Mr. LaPointe, that defeat of the Tory government would mean ruin for industries and trade. In 1911 the Tories had said: "Leave well enough alone," and they went into power, but he added, "They don't use that slogan today!" (Loud cheers). The tariff was the cry, but Mr. LaPointe pointed out that Sir Thomas White had over two years ago, stated that a revision in the tariff was long overdue. The Meighen party had no issue in which to come before the people of Canada. They had tried artifice and even, Mr. LaPointe stated, gone to the stage of endeavoring to get some of the leading Liberals to join their party. He was glad to report that no member on the Liberal side had eaten of the minsiterial apple, but one of them came pretty close to it, but on the odor reaching him he refrained. (Laughter).

He then referred to certain autocratic instances of the Meighen government, one of which was the endeavor to bring about disunity among the various elements of Canada. The late lamented Sir Wilfrid Laurier had labored for forty years to bring about unity. In closing, he spoke of the traditions of the great Liberal and late Chieftain, Sir Wilfrid, whose traditions were, Mr. LaPointe said, the traditions of the Liberal party in Canada today. Liberalism, he declared, stands for peace and harmony in Canada. He urged generous support of Mr. Copp, so that on the night of the election he would be able to read that Mr. Copp had been returned in Westmorland county by a large majority. (Applause).

## HON. FRED MAGEE, M.P.P.

Hon. Fred Magee, M.P.P., followed Mr. LaPointe. He expressed profound pleasure at being present at the meeting, stating that the enthusiasm displayed denoted a return to Liberalism. As a manufacturing man, in spite of Premier Meighen's cry regarding the tariff policy of the Hon. Mr. King, he was not frightened to follow the Liberal tariff policy. The policy of Liberalism had always been for the betterment of Canada, and there was plenty of room for advancement in Canada and the Meighen administration and the Borden administration which preceded it, had left plenty of room for advancement and re-adjustments. He asked: "Why is it that the price of sugar in Canada is the same from coast to coast? Why is it that the price of flour from the Yukon to the Atlantic was the same price? and why was a keg of nails the same price?" The reply was the tariff and the manipulation of the prices of necessities by a number of leaders in the manufacturing industries, who are screened by the Meighen government with a tariff policy which protects their respective manufactories. The Meighen government talked of a tariff policy, but above that there was another question which was more worthy of consideration by Canadians. This was the question of solidarity so that a common purpose might be gained and that common purpose—prosperity and contentment—would be brought about by the whole-hearted support of the Liberal government so that the Dominion of Canada might in the near future reach that status intended of it. His closing remarks were that his

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hearers rally to the support of Liberalism. The old Conservative party in Moncton seemed dead, having no candidate in the field, when the Liberals were anxious for a good fight.

The meeting closed with three cheers for the Hon. Mr. King and the several speakers of the evening.

CITY HALL MEETING.

Mr. R. A. Frechette was chairman of this meeting in City Hall, and took the chair at 8 o'clock. His remarks were few and to the point and he immediately introduced Mr. Ernest LaPointe.

Mr. LaPointe was greeted with loud applause. He stated that he had been asked to speak in both English and French.

Mr. LaPointe said he had been privileged to set in parliament with the Hon. H. R. Emmerson and still privileged to set with Mr. A. B. Copp.

The mention of Hon. Mr. Emmerson's name brought forth loud cheers from the audience.

He stated the members for Westmorland County were always looked upon as good friends of Quebec.

Mr. LaPointe's ideas or "Tories" was that they hated somebody. Liberals always preach goodfellowship.

He stated that for the past two or three years the government had not been representing the will of the majority of the people of Canada and that the opposition had been clamoring for an election and at last it has come. The present government had tried all ways and means to stay in power even to changing the name of the party several times and so trying to seduce members of other parties to their side. This had failed Mr. LaPointe declared. Mr. Meighen has said that the National Liberal and Conservative party was the legitimate offspring of the Union Government. That it was the offspring of the Union Government he did not doubt but he did very much doubt the legitimacy of it. Legitimate children are always proud to hear the name of their father, he pointed out. (Applause).

Canadians, he said, want sincerity, and a man can't be all Nationalist, Liberal and Conservative at once.

Mr. Meighen says the tariff is the only issue. "That it is an issue I have no doubt," he said. Mr. Meighen would no doubt like it to be the only issue but it is not. The Speech from the Throne at the last session of Parliament said that the main object of the session would be the Revision of the Tariff. Mr. Meighen has not done this and should be judged not only on his sins of commission but also on his sins of omission.

We cannot do away with the tariff, but the issue is between the people who want tariff revision for their own gains and the people who want it for the good of Canada.

The Liberal party are servants of nobody but the "people of Canada." (Applause).

Sir Wilfrid Laurier left the Conservatives a country peaceful and prosperous but what have they done with it? Not only have they brought it to the verge of ruin with their extravagant policies but have raised class against class, creed against creed and section against section, (applause) breaking into fragments the sound and peaceful country of the Laurier regime.

Canada must be reconciled and Mr. Lapointe expressed his belief that the Liberal party was capable of carrying out this reconciliation. Above the solidity of Liberalism is the solidity of the country and the people must stand together if Canada is to be a great country.

Hon. Mr. LaPointe then addressed the audience in French.

HON. A. B. COPP.

Mr. A. B. Copp was next introduced and was most enthusiastically received. He eulogized Mr. LaPointe, his use of the two languages and his gifts of expressing his thoughts.

That he was no longer young Mr. Copp admitted, but was sure that he was young enough to shoulder the burdens of representing Westmorland County.

Mr. Copp said the old Conservative party had some great men, but a great change had taken place. The Conservative party of today was no longer the old "Tory Party."

Mr. Copp took up Mr. Meighen's words, "ask Mr. Copp where he stands in regard to the I. C. R.," The government had opportunities long ago to make the I. C. R. a separate unit. Mr. Copp expressed his policy as being to take the I. C. R. out of the hands of the Toronto people who are using it for their own gain, and hand it back to the people of the Maritime Provinces for whom it was built, and furthermore, to bring back the many people who were forced to leave their homes here and go to Toronto. (Applause.)

The Farmers have challenged here in Westmorland and they have a right to do so, but he disagrees with their reason for doing so. The Liberal party has always worked in the interest of Agriculture, and though Laurier could have put off reciprocity he did not. He was defeated and went to the grave fighting in the interests of the Farmers.

Mr. Meighen cannot make the elastic word "Tariff" cover his sins of omission and commission. Tariff revision in 1897 did not ruin the country as was predicted, and it won't do it now. Between 1911 and the present time, under the present Meighen government high protection tariff, manufactures have decreased from 1,900 to 1,200. Mr. Copp does not believe in a profiteering tariff which makes millionaires of a few men, but in one which gives the poor man a fair price on his clothes and food.

Mr. Copp challenged anybody in regard to his record in parliament. He has always supported agriculture, labor and the people, and that is his policy in regard to the tariff.

HON. W. E. FOSTER.

Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick, was next introduced and received a rousing welcome.

He noticed one thing since his arrival in Moncton, and that was the absence of a Conservative candidate, which he thought showed great support for Mr. Copp.

He spoke briefly on affairs of local interest and then tendered a welcome to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King on behalf of the Government of New Brunswick.

Mr. Meighen in his meeting here told Monctonians many things, but he omitted to give a frank explanation of his many mistakes, the heavy expenditures and the railway muddle.

Mr. Meighan and his colleague, Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, say that Maritime people do not wish to discuss the tariff. He declared he was willing to discuss it with either of them, and thinks that as an importer he can show them that high protection tariff is no good for Canada. The statement that the issue is between free trade and protection is false. Free trade cannot be in Canada. It is only a "theory." If it was universal tariff would not be necessary, but Canada needs revenue and with high tariff revenue is minimized. Free trade gives neither revenue nor protection. The Liberal policy of revised tariff gives both revenue and protection.

Mr. Foster stated he had travelled quite extensively abroad in the past two years, and said there was no country like Canada and that we must not make it an expensive place to live in. We want no heavy taxes on the young men starting out in life, and he believes the Liberal policy is in the interest of the people.

He declared that Mr. Meighen was trying to scare the people, but he had no fear for the future of Canada with Mr. King and his able assistants at the helm.

THE RAILWAY QUESTION.

The Conservatives charge the railway muddle to the account of the Liberal party, which is quite wrong. It always was the big desire of the Canadian Northern to absorb the I. C. R., which was built for the people of the Maritimes so that they

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would come into Confederation. But rge Meighen government has taken it out of the hands of its rightful owners and it is now being run by the McKenzie and Mann people.

He charged the government with giving the control of freight rates into the hands of the Railway Commission who are now using the I. C. R. as a business propcsition, and by so doing many Maritime industries have been closed down.

The many things of injustice that the Meighen government has perpetrated upon the Maritime Provinces have caused a feeling of unrest to be abroad.

The idea of the trans-continental was that the people of Canada should be able to use their own eastern ports. Under the present regime mostly all of our exports are going through Portland, Me.

He concluded by asking the people to review the records of the parties and feel sure that after having done so they would vote Liberal.

DR. SORMANY.

Dr. Sormany, of Shediac, spoke briefly. He opened his remarks by saying, we have seen a most unusual thing occurr in Moncton this week, that is the Prime Minister held a great Conservative Rally in a field where there is no Conservative candidate. Premier Meighen can gag the House but not the people.

The affairs of Canada are in a bad way, as were they in 1896 when Sir Wilfrid Laurier took up the ruins of government and brought about peace and prosperity. He strongly advised the people to support the party who had brought to Canada such a prosperous period out of chaos. If Laurier is absent, his place will be well filled by Hon. Mackenzie King and his old and worthy colleagues helping the new Leader.

H. J. LOGAN, K. C.

Mr. H. J. Logan, of Amherst, next spoke and was enthusiastically welcomed. He denied that Tariff was the issue, the real issue being the "Good Government of Canada." Free Trade is not an issue as it means no revenue or protection either, but if the Tariff is high we get too much protection and very little revenue.

Mr. Meighen says the Tariff is lower under the rule of the National, Liberal, Conservative and Hard-Times party then under the Laurier Administration, which is not so, Mr. Logan declares.

The Tariff should be reduced to be within reach of the poor man.

Mr. Meighen addressed twenty-seven different audiences in Nova Scotia almost entirely on Tariff but did not mention Railway matters at all untill he got back to a railway centre, where he was up against it and had to, when he introduced his Grand Division policy which Mr. Logan terms as "Moonshine."

After the "Noble Eighteen" had succeeded in defeating Laurier, they got the Borden Government to give them two men in the Cabinet which were to their liking, Thos. White as Finance Minister and Frank Cochrane as Minister of Railways. Then they completed the Canadian Northern with Government money causing a tremendous debt. When the road was bankrupt it was taken over by the Government and another large sum paid to McKenzie and Mann for rolling stock etc. and said to be spent in the interests of the war. Some more of the poor investment of the present administration were the loans of $25,000,000 to each Greece and Roumania, no interest on which has ever been received.

When the Canadian Northern failed they decided to take over the I. C. R. and make a great system called the Canadian National Railways, but the management of this great system did not go to any Maritime man but to a Canadian Northern man, Mr. D. B. Hanna, who has raised rates and killed our industries.

HON. MR. KING.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the young Liberal Leader entered amid a prolonged burst of cheering and immediately got down to business. He still had one other meeting to speak at so necessarily was brief.

The people of Canada have been the only people that have not had a say in the government of their country since the Armistice, that is Canada is the only country who has not had an election since that time.

He asked, who gave Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the government for the last fifteen months. There was no reply. We have gotten away from Representative Government and the only difference between the Lenine and Trotzky policy of getting into power and that of Mr. Meighen was that the former used physical violence and the latter political.

The Premier wants the people to forget the real issue which is whether or not the people are to have a say as to who is going to govern them.

Mr. Meighen introduced the "Closure" and took out $70,000,000 from the treasury without consulting the representatives of the people.

THE RAILWAY MUDDLE

Hon. Mr. King touched only lightly at this meeting on the railway question.

Mr. Meighen tells Labor that the cause of the huge deficits and high railway rates are caused by the high wages paid to labor.

Many contractors doing work for the railways had one of their directors on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways. They were consequently paid large sums of money.

THE TARIFF.

We must have lower tariff or be taxed $560,000,000 yearly, the high tariff keeping down our revenue.

A Board of Commerce was appointed and they secured as one of its members Mr. James Murdock, a man known widely for his honesty and well connected with Labor. This was to blind the people. Mr. Murdock exposed the tariff as making millionaires of a few men and promptly resigned.

Mr. Murdock, as reported elsewhere, spoke in Moncton in conjunction with Hon. Mr. King last night.

Protection of consumers is what is wanted.

Hon. Mr. King appealed to the people to get together if Liberalism is to win. Unity will win this great fight for democracy.

"War separates, let us get down to peace conditions and back to democracy."

## MEETING IN THE IMPERIAL THEATRE

Before seven o'clock groups of people were gathered in front of the Grand, the Imperial and City Hall. At 6.45 o'clock a crowd assembled in front of the Grand, extended out into the street. People lined up in front of the Imperial before seven. It was not long before there was a large gathering waiting for the doors to open. At about 7.15 the doors were opened and the crowd began pouring in. The seating capacity of the theatre was insufficient for the large crowd. The crowd kept pouring in, however, until the limit of accommodation was reached, even for those who were willing to remain standing throughout the meeting.

About 7.45 the orchestra arrived, rendering excellent selections, which were appreciated by those who were awaiting the hour for the speeches to begin.

Shortly before eight o'clock, Mr. James McQueen, of Shediac, the chairman, and Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick; Mr. Sanford Ryan and others appeared on the platform.

Mr. McQueen introduced Premier Foster, amid loud applause.

Hon. Mr. Foster said it gave him much pleasure to come to Moncton. He had come to the conclusion that Monctonians are much interested in politics. Mr. Foster referred to Hon. C. W. Robinson, and said that he felt the affairs of Moncton were being well looked after by Hon. Mr. Robinson. It was a great pleasure for him to be present on this occasion and extend greetings to the distinguished leader of the Liberal Party, who possessed qualities of statesmanship.

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Hon. Mr. King was an elected leader, chosen at a convention of the Liberal party. Hon. Mr. Meighen was a selected leader. "We are fortunate in having a young man like Mr. King with his qualities of leadership, possessed of energy, and having a great education," said Premier Foster. "He will certainly be called on to form a government."

Premier Foster then went on to refer to Hon. Mr. King's associates, pointing out that there would be abundant material out of which to form a cabinet. He pointed out that experienced, capable public men would be elected in the Maritime Provinces to support the Liberal party. The Union Government had been formed and returned to office in 1917 for one thing only, during the war, nothing beyond that. The government was guilty of a breach of faith to the Liberals.

Premier Foster then went on to enumerate acts of the Dominion Government, which he vigorously condemned. He referred to the closure and railway matters. Next he took up the tariff, pointing out that free trade is not an issue in this country. Free trade is a theory. It is necessary to have a tariff for revenue. In 1896 the Liberals came in power, sent a tariff commission about the country to study the question. Among those in the commission was the minister of customs. When the recent tariff enquiry was made under the present government, he noticed that the minister of customs was not a member. Mr. Foster referred to the benefits derived from the Fielding tariff in 1897. When it was introduced Conservatives denounced it saying that industries would have to close.

**WORK IN PORTLAND**

Hon. Mr. Baxter was saying that unless the public voted for the Meighen Government, Canadians would have to leave Canada and go to the United States. Mr. Foster scored an interesting point, in reply to Mr. Baxter, when he pointed out that if anyone were leaving Canada "not to forget to buy a ticket for Portland, Me., and go down to the docks and ask for a job handling Canadian wheat." (Applause). People are heartily supporting Hon. Mr. King and his policies, and have no fear of the results.

Premier Foster next discussed railway matters, saying that goods should be carried over the Canadian railways, and shipped through Canadian ports. He vigorously denounced the Meighen Government in connection with exportation of goods through Portland. The Premier read a note that had been handed him asking for information regarding development at Portland. This, he said, is being done by the Grand Trunk. The Grand Trunk will soon belong to this country. The people's money is being used for development at Portland.

In conclusion, Premier Foster expressed the hope that the electors of Westmorland would support Mr. Copp on December 6th.. (Loud applause).

**H. J. LOGAN**

H. J. Logan, K. C., of Amherst, was the next speaker, and was accorded a fine reception. Dealing briefly with the tariff, he pointed out, that the question of great importance to the people of the Maritime Provinces is transportation. Speaking of the Liberal policy regarding the tariff, he pointed cut, that the Liberals stood upon the middle road. The Liberals are not advocating free trade. In 1896 there were soup kitchens in the land, and after Hon. Mr. Fielding delivered his budget conditions were reversed. Canada was lifted out of the slough of despond into a golden era. The tariff of the Liberal party that will come into power will be also for the benefit of the whole country.

Mr. Logan then took up the railway question, ably reviewing the history of the Intercolonial, showing that it had been built as a Confederation promise to develop inter-provincial trade. The people of the Maritime Provinces did not complain at the enormous expenditures for railway construction in the west and other parts of Canada. He then reviewed the history of the Conservative Government in its relation to the Canadian Northern Railway, telling how millions of dollars had been spent on the C.N.R., and the road finally taken over by the government. Mr. Hanna had been placed in charge of the road which was loaded up with C.N.R. officials. He could not help but feel that it would have been better if the Intercolonial had been left under the management of Mr. Pottinger. The management had been taken away from Moncton, and now even a furnace in the Amherst station could not be fixed unless the matter was referred to Toronto. Boards of Trade and various other bodies in the Maritime Provinces had passed resolutions asking that the management of the road be brought back to Moncton, yet Mr. McCurdy had used the expression "Little Englander." Mr. McCurdy talked of "intelligent decentralization," whatever that means. So far, Mr. Logan said, they had had "unintelligent centralization."

Mr. Logan pointed out that the Intercolonial should be divorced from the Canadian National Railway system and headquarters brought back to Moncton. The Maritime Provinces, he pointed out, should insist on fulfillment of the terms of Confederation. The proposal to link up the Intercolonial with the Grand Trunk system was no more in keeping with Confederation promises than the joining up of the C.N.R. In conclusion, Mr. Logan strongly urged the people of Westmorland to support Mr. Arthur Copp, whose sympathies are with the people. (Loud applause).

**HON. P. J. VENIOT.**

Hon. P. J. Veniot, Minister of Public Works for New Brunswick, was the next speaker. He was loudly applauded. He said that Mr. Baxter, who became a member of the Meighen Government about three weeks ago, was still a leader of the Opposition in New Brunswick. No doubt Mr. Baxter thinks it is safer to remain leader of the Opposition.

Hon. Mr. Veniot vigorously dealt with the Railway issue, stating that Mr. Baxter was inconsistent in his attitude. In March last he seconded a resolution in the legislature setting forth that the I.C.R. should be a separate unit; now he tells a different story, that the I.C.R. should be included in the conglomeration of railways in Canada. Hon. Mr. Veniot referred to the "vaunted surplus for August." We never heard of a surplus until the eve of an election. How was the surplus accumulated? Wages of employees had been cut ten or twelve per cent while the "higher-ups" had been left the same. A surplus had been declared at the sacrifice of wages of the working men.

Mr. Veniot said that he knew something of the temperament of the electors of Westmorland County, and he believed they would stand by Mr. A. B. Copp. (Loud applause.)

**A. B. COPP.**

Mr. A. B. Copp, who was the next speaker, received an ovation. This was the first time he had been called upon to address three overflow meetings.

Mr. Copp spoke somewhat along the same lines as at the Grand Opera House, which is reported elsewhere. The frank, vigorous manner in which he discussed the railway issue was evidently much appreciated by the audience. His advocacy of the Intercolonial being operated by men trained in the Maritime Provinces received loud applause. In connection with the tariff issue he addressed some remarks to his farmer friends, reminding them of what Sir Wilfrid Laurier had done on behalf of the farmers in 1911, when the reciprocity measure was placed before the electors.

In conclusion he urged that the people rally in support of the Liberal party led by Hon. Mackenzie King.

**MR. LAPOINTE.**

It was nearly eleven o'clock when Mr. LaPointe began speaking.

Mr. LaPointe's remarks were of unusual interest. He has a forceful, platform style, and the audience listened attentively, and showed much interest in his striking speech.

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HON. MACKENZIE KING.

The arrival of Hon. Mackenzie King leader of the Liberal party, was the signal for a great outburst of cheers. It was about 11.15 o'clock, but so deeply interested were the hundreds of people who had assembled in the theatre that they remained to hear him, and the building was still crowded when the Liberal leader finished speaking, although it was about quarter to twelve o'clock. It was a most unusual sight to see a huge audience remain at that late hour, applauding enthusiastically. The Liberal leader ably and comprehensively dealt with many of the salient features of the Meighen administration.

Mr. King, although he had already addressed three audiences last evening, spoke with remarkable vigor. He spoke with much dignity and captivated the audience. It was an earnest, forceful, appeal.

In an eloquent, stirring peroration he appealed for unity of the people of Canada in meeting re construction problems.

At the conclusion of Hon. Mr. King's speech the meeting was closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

## MEETING IN THE COLONIAL THEATRE

The meeting in the Colonial Theatre, St. George street, opened promptly at 8 o'clock, T. T. Goodwin presiding. The hall was well filled with an enthusiastic audience of both ladies and gentlemen. The chairman after a few introductory remarks, introduced the first speaker of the evening, Hon. P. J. Veniot, Minister of Public Works for New Brunswick.

### HON. P. J. VENIOT

Hon. P. J. Veniot in his opening remarks assured those present that it was a pleasure for him to address such a large and representative audience as was present on this occasion, which was the first time that a political meeting was held in this theatre. Mr. Veniot said that the Hon. J. B. M. Baxter was in Moncton the other evening in a dual capacity. He has yet not seen fit to resign his seat in the local legislature. At the Conservative meeting on Tuesday evening the Hon. Mr. Baxter laid down the government policy as regards the railway system in the Maritime Province. Mr. Baxter said that there should be one grand railway system in Canada. He further stated that there should be one grand division of this grand division, with Moncton as one of the central points of that division. Mr. Veniot read extracts from the report of proceedings of the legislature of New Brunswick for 1921 which showed that Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, leader of the opposition in the local house had seconded a resolution which laid down the principle that the Intercolonial Railway should be separated from the other railways and run as a separate unit. Mr. Baxter was trying to fool the citizens of Moncton regarding the railway question. Hon. Mr. Veniot read extracts from the Montreal Gazette, the official organ of the Conservative party, which in an editorial said that the railways should go back to private ownership. Hon. Mackenzie King laid down the liberal policies regarding the railway question during his tour in Nova Scotia. The Hon. Mr. Meighen stated the cure for all the evils now existing is a tariff, a high protective tariff. The Liberal tariff is not a free trade tariff, but a tariff for revenue only When the Liberals came into power in 1896 that policy was adopted. "You will remember," he said, "the prosperous condition of the country under the Liberal Government. There was no unemployment in those days." New industries were encouraged such as the beet sugar, hat and cap factories. These were all encouraged by the reduction of the tariff. All fabrics which go to the making of hats and caps were allowed in free, and machinery for the manufacture of beet sugar, which was not made in Canada, was allowed in free also. Hon. Mr. King, the leader of the Liberal party, has stated time and time again that the Liberal party's platform is a tariff for revenue only. Mr. Veniot stated that the Canadian Government Railways were hauling American wheat at 10 cents per hundred pounds less than Canadian wheat to the sea port towns, and the Canadian wheat had to compete with American wheat at this disadvantage. The Liberal party, stated Mr. Veniot, can discuss any question of the age before the public, where the government will not have the closure to fall back on, when it gets too hot for them. When the Conservative leaders made the statement that the Liberal party had a double policy they made statements which were not so. "When the Liberal Government was in power you did not have the railway shops shut down," said Mr. Veniot. "You did not have your time cut down to four days a week. When the Hon. H. R. Emmerson was minister of railways you were never told by him that he would like to have the fellows strike." Contracts are being given to private concerns for the building of cars that could be done in the Moncton shops, and there would be no need of employees being discharged and put on short hours. Mr. Veniot stated he would like to see men strike good and hard on election day.

Mr. Veniot's remarks concerning the railway situation in this city were received by loud and hearty applause.

### MAJOR POWER.

Major C. G. Power, of South Quebec, who has represented that constituency in the House of Commons, was the next speaker. Major Power is a returned soldier and spoke particularly on the Soldiers' Pension and Re-establishment Board. Major Power said that it was a pleasure for him to address a Moncton audience, for he had met many Moncton and New Brunswick men overseas, and he had always found them ready for a fight or a frolic, and he hoped that they would enter the frolic on election day, when they would cast their ballots against the Conservative government. Major Power did not think the soldiers were getting fairly treated by the Pension and soldiers' re-establishment board, and gave many instances to substantiate his statements. Major Power stated that both he and Mr. Copp, who were members of the committee in the House of Commons, had ernestly endeavored to have the claims of the returned soldiers fairly and squarely adjusted, but generally their efforts were unsuccessful. The speaker thought that the widowed mother whose only support was the son who had been killed overseas, had the right to receive the same pension as the widow of a married soldier. He had brought this matter up in the House of Commons five times, and each time it was voted down. The returned soldier did not receive fair treatment from the Ottawa government when the census commissioners and enumerators were appointed. The soldiers did not want the earth, but would like to have a little gratitude shown them when government situations were available. When the soldiers were in France they were told by Sir Robert Borden how well they would be treated on their return. Sir Robert stated that Canada is yours on your return. Up to the present only about 50 per cent. of the return men have been re-established.

Speaking on the tariff question, Major Power stated that the Conservatives were taking the tariff as a blanket to cover up their sins. "I am no free trader," stated Major Power, "but am out and out for the Liberal policy of tariff for revenue only." Mr. Power also spoke on the railway situation as pertaining to his own province.

His remarks were closely listened to and throughout his address he received very hearty applause.

### MR. COPP

Mr. A. B. Copp, the Liberal candidate, who was called upon by the chairman for an address, on arising to address the audience, was met with hearty applause. He stated that he would only make a short address owing to the fact that the Hon. Mackenzie King whom they all no doubt wished to hear, would be present shortly to address them. Mr. Copp spoke briefly on the railway question, saying that they all knew his policy on that question, that the eastern end of the Canadian National Railway

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should be run as a separate unit and managed by Maritime Province men and better still, he would like to see it back to be known as the Intercolonial Railway. He also said that the Moncton officials and employees of the railway, who were transferred to Toronto, should be transferred back to this city. Mr. Copp said his policy was the policy laid down by Mr. H. R. Emmerson regarding the old Intercolonial, that of building up the Maritime Provinces and a greater Moncton. Mr. Copp stated that he was nominated over a year ago and was prepared to carry the fight to victory on December 6. He heartily thanked the electors of the Ctiy of Moncton for the splendid support given him in past elections and he looked for a still larger support in the coming election. At the conclusion of his address and many points throughout his remarks he was loudly applauded.

**HON. MR. KING**

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King arrived shortly after nine o'clock and addressed the west end meeting for nearly an hour. The Liberal leader delivered a stirring and forceful speech, which was listened to with marked attention by the audience. Time and again as telling points were scored against the Meighen administration by Mr. King the audience cheered.

Mr. King's address was along the same lines as delivered at the other theatres, a report of which will be found elsewhere.

During the evening a solo was rendered by Miss Gallivan.

The west end meeting closed about 10.30 o'clock.

At the close of Hon. Mr. King's address the National Anthem was played by the orchestra, the audience rising and singing.

The speakers at the Colonial were given a splendid hearing. When Hon. Mr. King arrived he received a splendid ovation.

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**MR. ERNEST LAPOINTE'S ADDRESS IN FRENCH.**

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, who addressed the big audience in City Hall, spoke in French.

"I am asked," said M. Lapointe in French, "to say a few words to the French Acadiens of Moncton in their own language, but to speak also in English. I will therefore limit my remarks in French to a few words, as I believe every one here present can speak and understand the English language.

"I am glad to meet in the Province of New Brunswick so many of my compatriots whose ideas and aspirations are identical to those of the French-Canadians from the Province of Quebec. I feel, therefore, quite at home with you to-night, and in fact we as French-Canadians should feel very much at home in most parts of Canada, in which country we intend to stay.

"There exists no spirit of revenge in Quebec, as it has been said by M. Meighen. Our Province of Quebec is attached to Canada, but it has no love for M. Meighen, and I refuse to believe that M. Meighen himself is the whole of Canada.

"In an interview given by the Hon. Mr. Baxter on his return from Ottawa, where he had been sworn in as Minister of Customs, he said how great a pleasure it would be for him to contribute in doing away with the isolation of Quebec. I thank the Hon. gentleman for his kind attention, but I might say that we do not need it. We are not isolated; it is the government which is isolated."

Mr. Lapointe referred to the fact that the government has changed its name several times, now carrying that of "National Liberal Conservative." When a government is forced to adopt such means it is time that the government itself was changed, and not only the name, he pointed out.

Mr. Meighen, said Mr. Lapointe, wants to make the question of the tariff the only issue in this election, because he does not wish to discuss the many other issues no less important. Speaking on the tariff, Mr. Lapointe said that no reasonable person in Canada to-day would ask that the tariff should be completely abolished. We need a revenue by tariff to pay the enormous debt of the country, contracted by the present government. Mr. Meighen and his colleagues predict the ruin of our industries if the Liberals should be returned to power, remarked the speaker, but he ably demonstrated that never had Canadian industries been better protected and the country been more progressive than under the Liberal administrations.

Mr. Lapointe concluded his remarks by an appeal for national unity which won the applause of his audience. Referring to class government he showed that what Canada needed most to-day was a close unity between all groups and all classes, and he trusted that this unity would be brought about by the electors of this country in electing a strong Liberal government.

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(1) Morning Chronicle Oct-14th-1921 D 5627

# FOUR MONSTER LIBERAL MEETINGS HELD IN MONCTON

## Thousands Turned Out to Hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Who Was Greeted With Enthusiastic Cheers--James Murdock, Vice President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, on the Platform With the Liberal Leader

MONCTON, N. B., Oct. 13—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent)—Citizens of Moncton turned out in thousands tonight to hear the Liberal policy and platform as laid before them by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal Party, Ernest Lapointe, and Major C. G. Power, of Quebec, A. B. Copp, the local Liberal candidate, H. J. Logan, K. C., candidate in Cumberland, Premier Foster and other Liberal speakers. Three theatres, as well as the City Hall, were filled to their capacity, and the speakers had a tremendous evening trying to divide their time between the various meetings.

One of the surprises of the evening was the appearance on the platform of the main meeting, held in the Grand Theatre, of James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and former member of the Board of Commerce. Mr. Murdock spoke briefly, stating that he knew the people of Canada "had not been given a decent square deal during the last few years," and the only way in which they would get a square deal for all classes in the Dominion, was, he believed, by the support and return to power of the Liberal Party.

### The Liberal Policy.

Hon. Mackenzie King devoted his speech chiefly to railway matters and the tariff. He took up many of the statements made by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen at his recent meetings here; supported the Liberal railway policy as compared with that of the Borden Government; again charged Mr. Meighen with autocracy and usurpation of power, and put forth the Liberal tariff policy as the one which was in the interest of all the people and which would bring prosperity and happiness to the people of the Dominion instead of "to the privileged few," who, he declared, would benefit by the Meighen tariff. He was given an enthusiastic reception by the audience in all four meetings.

Tomorrow morning Mr. King leaves for Sussex, where, in the evening he will address a meeting, afterwards proceeding to St. John for his meeting Saturday night.

### Warmly Greeted Mr. King.

Hon. Mr. King was greeted with cheers when he was introduced at the main meeting in the Grand Theatre, by Hon. C. W. Robinson, the chairman. The Liberal leader thanked his hearers for the splendid reception both in Moncton and in the Province generally. Public interest in these meetings, Mr. King declared, was an evidence of the people's feeling against the denial since the war of a general election. The history of politics in Canada had never known such usurpation of power.

"There are friends of Mr. Meighen in this audience," said Mr. King. "Did any of you give Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the Government of Canada? The only difference between Mr. Meighen and Lenine and Trotzky is that the latter used physical violence to retain power, while Mr. Meighen used legislative violence."

The Liberal leader dealt with Mr. Meighen's claim that the issue in the election was protection versus free trade. "It is not for him, but for the people to say what the issue is," Mr. King asserted. In the House the Premier could dictate to his followers but in the country the people were the ones to decide whether the people or Mr. Meighen should govern, was the fundamental issue today.

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's manifesto, Mr. King declared it had contained nothing regarding railways, or the cost of living. These were important questions, but Mr. Meighen ignored them to talk of free trade and protection. Canada must raise $560,000,000 annually. No party could raise that without a tariff. "But we contend," Mr. King said, 'that tariff should be revised to serve the interests of the many instead of the interests of the few. And, inasmuch as the tariff is taxation, it should bear as lightly as possible on implements of production and necessaries of life."

The Liberal leader said Mr. Meighen had sought to charge the Laurier Government with responsibility for the present heavy railway debt. "The policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one of construction," Mr. King asserted, "while the one which succeeded it was largely one of des-

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truction." The Laurier Government had built railways to assist the development of the vast prairie lands in the West and to break a great monopoly. From this had grown the Western Provinces. Another aim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been to build a united Canada. He had sought a national railway policy to build up both east and west and bring western freight through Canadian ports.

The Borden-Meighen Governments had done their best to tear down what Sir Wilfrid Laurier had builded. Today men in Western Canada were dejected and discouraged because of the diversion of traffic and development to other sources of the Government. The ports of the East had also suffered because freight was diverted to Portland and other American ports.

**People Had No Voice**

Mr. King asked if anyone in Canada had been consulted when the Government took over 20,000 miles of railways. "The people had no chance to discuss the policy," he declared, "it was drawn up and launched in secret council behind closed doors." The attitude of present-day Tories was that the people did not know and did not matter. The people's representatives in Parliament had been refused a voice in taking over the railways, the Liberal leader declared, adding that he challenged Mr. Meighen to deny this statement.

MacDonald and Laurier had consulted Parliament on their railway policies but the Borden-Meighen governments took over the roads, partly under closure.

Mr. Meighen had refused to allow Parliament to see the Grand Trunk agreement, while this was placed before the English bond-holders for their approval.

Mr. Meighen had charged the Laurier Government with going too far in railway building, said Mr. King. But four or five thousand miles of the Canadian Northern system had been built with money loaned by the Government, after Sir Robert Borden took office in 1911. The Liberal leader dealt with the reopening of the Grand Trunk legislation in Parliament through an error in the bill. He said he had then demanded that the Grand Trunk employes be given justice in regard to pensions and re-instatement. The Government had refused to allow insertion of a necessary clause in the Act. "And then Mr. Meighen talks about protecting labor," Mr. King asserted. "Labor does ont ask protection; to give justice is more vital."

The railway situation, involving millions of dollars annually was the greatest problem facing Canada today. The Liberal members had sought information regarding the management and operation of these railways and found the Government claiming that such matters were in the hands of a board. This board was formed of friends of the Government, Mr. King claimed, and the Government claimed to have no information.

"There are evils in this world which publicity is very effective in curing," Mr. King asserted. "It will do much to end grafting and avarice. We demand that in matters of public expenditure the fullest information should be available to the people's representatives."

He stated that in Committee the Liberal members had found contracts given to companies whose directors were also directors of the National Railway System.

**Governed By Little Group.**

"I have said that this country is governed by a little group of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, and this railway situation proves it," declared Mr. King. The Government had handed over the people's money without any check on it. Such a method was enough to condemn the whole system." Mr. King declared that the present system "was putting the railways into politics," instead of taking them out. That was why the railway situation was what it was today.

Mr. King said the Liberals had demanded that a railway labor man be placed on the board of management of the roads. The railway men were most vitally interested and were entitled to this. That was part of the Liberal platform in regard to railways, and if returned the Liberals would see that platform carried out.

Dealing with the tariff Mr. King said a protective tariff was apt to serve the interests of the few rather than of the many. The Liberal policy demanded that all classes have fair treatment in tariff matters. Mr. King said that as Minister of Labor he had introduced the Combines Act, which gave any half dozen people the right to demand an investigation of any company suspected of profiteering by virtue of the tariff if it was found that prices were being enhanced, the Government could, by Order-in-Council, remove the tariff item which allowed this. The Borden Government had wiped out this legislation and formed the Board of Commerce. But this board had hardly started work when it found its efforts thwarted.

Mr. King referred to the appointment of James Murdock to the Board and declared that Mr. Murdock, who was on the platform with him, had resigned when he saw the Government was determined not to allow the people to get a square deal.

Mr. Murdock the Liberal leader declared, was fighting with him to get the people's rights back to them and their fight would succeed.

The Liberal tariff policy was again outlined by Mr. King. It was based on development of the basic industries. The tools and equipment needed for these industries were as important as the resources themselves. Increased production in these main industries would help all industries based on them. Reduction of duties on these implements of production was vitally important as also was the reduction, as far as possible, of the taxes on necessaries of life and the needs of the home. The main purpose of the tariff should be to raise the necessary revenue, "such a tariff," declared Mr. King, "will be in the interests of all the people and not a privileged few."

With the ending of war, the efforts of all classes should be toward unity in the Dominion. "We want the farmers, labor, women and all other classes to help us to get justice for all," Mr. King asserted. They should strive together for this betterment at all times, and in one great party. The spirit of the new Liberalism was to preserve always the best and to strive ever onward to better things for all Canadians.

**Mr. Murdock's Address.**

James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said he was not present with a mandate to speak for organized labor, but he knew how the pulse of labor beat with regard to national affairs. "Canada has not been given a decent square deal in the past," Mr. Murdock asserted. The Board of Commerce had been prevented by "someone higher up" from doing what it had been formed to do. In the days between now and December 6th he hoped to be able to explain to the people just how the Board had been shackled.

It was, he declared, his firm belief that the only way for the people of Canada to get things back into their proper channels and to get the peope back into control, was to support and return a Liberal Government, "and end the misrule we have had for the past few years."

Ernest Lapointe, Quebec East, who spoke in both French and English, said the general election was brought on after the people had shown that the Government had lost confidence and gained the people's contempt.

Major Power, Quebec South, spoke in French, criticiszing the Government for its lack of proper re-establishment measures for the returned soldiers; for its refusal to accept amendments to the pension law in regard to widowed mothers and "unmarried wives;" its vocational training system which had turned out numbers of half trained mechanics who were unable to secure work, and for allowing expenses of administration to take up such a large share of the money voted by Parliament for re-establishment.

A. B. Copp, who is again the Liberal candidate in Westmorland; Hance J. Logan, candidate in Cumberland; Premier Foster, of New Brunswick; Hon. P. J. Veniot, Minister of Public Works, and Hon. Fred Magee, M.P.P., also took part in the various meetings, the former asking the renewed support of his constituents for himself and the Liberal Party, and the others urging that Mr. Copp be returned with a good majority, and expressing confidence that the Liberal Party would be returned to power on Dec. 6th.

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D 5629 (1)

Moncton Daily Times
Oct 14 1921

# MONCTON STORMED BY MACKENZIE KING AND BIG ARRAY OF LIBERAL LEADERS

## Big Meetings in Three Theatres and the City Hall Addressed by Liberal Leader and Eight Other Speakers—Local Issues Dealt With Almost Entirely by Mr. King and Mr. Copp—Tell of Great Things That Will Be Done and What Great Things the Country May Expect if the Liberals Are Returned to Power.

Moncton was stormed last night by Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, and a small army of speakers, comprising Liberal leaders from Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Meetings were held in the Grand, Imperial and Colonial theatres and the City Hall, all of which were filled to the doors. Not only was there a large turnout to hear the Liberal leader and those accompanying him but there was sufficient enthusiasm to warm the speakers up to their work.

True neither Mr. King or any of the speakers dealt to any extent with big issues, preferring rather to confine themselves to local matters in the hope of winning voters.

Hon. C. W. Robinson presided at the Grand; Mr. James McQueen, of Shediac, at the Imperial; Mr. T. T. Goodwin at the Colonial and Mr. R. A. Frechette at the City Hall.

There were eight speakers and Mr. A. B. Copp, Liberal candidate in Westmorland, spoke at the four meetings; Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the Quebec Liberal leader, spoke at three; Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick, spoke at two and Major C. G. Power, of Quebec, Mr. H. J. Logan, Liberal candidate in Cumberland, N.S., and James Murdock, self-announced Liberal candidate in Toronto, each spoke at one meeting.

One of the surprises of the evening was the appearance on the platform of the main meeting, held in the Grand Theatre, of James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhod of Railway Trainmen and former member of the Board of Commerce. Mr. Murdock spoke briefly, stating that he knew the people of Canada "had not been given a decent square deal during the last few years" and the only way in which they would get a square deal for all classes in the Dominion was, he believed, by the support and return to power of the Liberal party.

### Liberal Leader

Hon. Mr. King was greeted with cheers when he was introduced at the main meeting in the Grand Theatre, by Hon. Mr. Robinson, the chairman. The Liberal leader thanked his hearers for the splendid reception both in Moncton and in the province generally. Public interest in these meetings, Mr. King declared, was an evidence of the people's feeling against the denial since the war of a general election. The history of politics in Canada had never known such usurpation of power.

"There are friends of Mr. Meighen in this audience," said Mr. King. "Did any of you give Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the government of Canada? The only difference between Mr. Meighen and Lenine and Trotzky is that the latter used physical violence to retain power, while Mr. Meighen used legislative violence."

The Liberal leader dealt with Mr. Meighen's claim that the issue in the election was Protection versus Free Trade. "It is not for him but for the people to say what the issue is", Mr. King asserted. In the House the Premier could dictate to his followers but in the country the people were the ones to decide. Whether the people or Mr. Meighen should govern was the fundamental issue today.

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's manifesto, Mr. King declared it had contained nothing regarding railways or the cost of living. These were important questions but Mr. Meighen ignored the mto talk of free trade and protection. Canada must raise $560,000,000 annually. No party could raise that without a tariff. "But we contend," Mr. King said, "that tariff should be revised to serve the interests of the many instead of the interests of the few. And, inasmuch as the tariff is taxation, it should bear as lightly as possible on implements of production and necessaries of life."

The Liberal leader said Mr. Meighen had sought to charge the Laurier government with responsibility for the present heavy railway debt. "The policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one of construction", Mr. King asserted, "while the one which succeeded it was largely one of destruction." The Laurier government had built railways to assist the prairie lands in the west and to break a great monopoly. From this had grown the western provinces. Another aim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been to build a united Canada. He had sought a national railway policy to build up both east and west and bring western freight through Canadian ports.

### Complains About Taking Over Railways.

Mr. King asked if anyone in Canada had been consulted when the Government took over 20,000 miles of railway. "The people had no chance to discuss the policy," he declared. "It was drawn up and launched in secret council behind closed doors." The attitude of present day Tories was that the people did not know, and did not matter. The people's representatives in parliament had been refused a voice in taking over the railways, the Liberal leader declared, adding that he challenged Mr. Meighen to deny this statement.

Macdonald and Laurier had consulted Parliament on their railway policies but the Borden-Meighen governments took over the roads, partly under closure.

The Liberal tariff policy was again outlined by Mr. King. It was based on development of the basic industries. The tools and equipments needed for these industries were as important as the resources themselves. Increased production in these main industries would help all industries based on them. Reduction of duties on these implements of production was vitally important, as also was the reduction, as far as possible, of the taxes on necessaries of life and the needs of the home. The main purpose of the tariff should be to raise the necessary revenue. "Such a tariff" declared Mr. King, "will be in the interests of all the people and not a privileged few."

### Self-Announced Liberal Candidate.

James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said, he was not present with a mandate to speak for organized labor, but he knew how the pulse of labor beat with regard to national affairs. "Canada has not been given a decent square deal in the past," Mr. Murdock asserted. The Board

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Moncton Daily Times

of Commerce had been prevented by "some one higher up" from doing what it had been forced to do. In the days between now and December 6 he hoped to be able to explain to the people just how the Board had been shackled.

Ernest Lapointe, ex-M.P., for Quebec East, spoke in both French and English.

A. B. Copp, Liberal candidate in Westmorland (without a convention); Hance J. Logan, candidate in Cumberland; Premier Foster, of New Brunswick; Hon. Peter Veniot, Minister of Public Works and Hon. Fred Magee, M.P.P. also took part in the various meetings, the former asking the renewed support of his constituents for himself and the Liberal party, and the others urging also that Mr. Copp be returned with a good majority, and expressing confidence that the Liberal party would be returned to power on Dec. 6.

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Gazette, Oct. 14, 192 D 5631 (1)

# HOLDING POWER BY SAME METHODS AS TROTZKY-LENINE

## Only Premier Uses Legislative, Not Physical, Violence, Says Mr. King

## FOUR MONCTON MEETINGS

### Fundamental Issue Is Whether People or Hon. Mr. Meighen Should Govern Canada

(By Canadian Press.)

Moncton, N.B., October 13.—Citizens of Moncton turned out in thousands tonight to hear the Liberal policy and platform as laid before them by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party; Ernest Lapointe and Major C. G. Power, of Quebec; A. B. Copp, the local Liberal candidate; H. J. Logan, candidate in Cumberland; Premier Foster and other Liberal speakers. Three theatres, as well as the city hall, were filled to their capacity, and the speakers had a strenuous evening trying to divide their time between the various meetings.

One of the surprises of the evening was the appearance on the platform of the main meeting, held in the Grand Theatre, of James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and former member of the Board of Commerce. Mr. Murdock spoke briefly, stating that he knew the people of Canada had not been given a decent square deal during the last few years," and the only way in which they would get a square deal for all classes in the Dominion was, he believed, by the support and return to power of the Liberal party.

Hon. Mackenzie King devoted his speech chiefly to railway matters and the tariff. He took up many of the statements made by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen at his recent meetings here; supported the Liberal railway policy as compared with that of the Borden Government; again charged Mr. Meighen with autocracy and usurpation of power, and put forth the Liberal tariff policy as the one which was in the interests of all the people, and which would bring prosperity and happiness to the people of the Dominion instead of "to the privileged few," who, he claimed, "would benefit by the Meighen tariff." He was given an enthusiastic reception by the audiences at all four meetings.

Tomorrow morning Mr. King leaves for Sussex, where in the evening he will address a meeting, afterwards proceeding to St. John for his meeting Saturday night.

USURPATION OF POWER.

Hon. Mr. King was greeted with cheers when he was introduced at the main meeting in the Grand Theatre by Hon. C. W. Robinson, the chairman. The Liberal leader thanked his hearers for the splendid reception given him both in Moncton and in the province generally. Public interest in these meetings, Mr. King declared, was an evidence of the people's feeling against the denial since the war of a general election. The history of politics in Canada had never known such usurpation of power.

"There are friends of Mr. Meighen in this audience," said Mr. King. "Did any of you give Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the Government of Canada? The only difference between Mr. Meighen and Lenine and Trotsky is that the latter used physical violence to retain power, while Mr. Meighen used legislative violence."

The Liberal leader dealt with Mr. Meighen's claim that the issue in the election was protection versus free trade. "It is not for him, but for the people, to say what the issue is," Mr. King asserted. In the House, the Premier could dictate to his followers, but in the country the people were the ones to decide whether they or Mr. Meighen should govern, and that was the fundamental issue today.

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's manifesto, Mr. King declared it had contained nothing regarding railways, or the cost of living. These were important questions, but Mr. Meighen ignored them to talk of free trade and protection. Canada must raise $560,000,000 annually. No party could raise that without a tariff. "But we contend," Mr. King said, "that the tariff should be revised to serve the interests of the many instead of the interests of the few. And inasmuch as the tariff is taxation, it should bear as lightly as possible on implements of production and necessaries of life."

The Liberal leader said that Mr. Meighen had sought to charge the Laurier Government with responsibility for the present heavy railway debt. "The policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one of construction," Mr. King asserted, "while the one which succeeded it was largely one of destruction." The Laurier Government had built railways to assist the development of the vast prairie lands in the west and to break a great monopoly. From this had grown the Western Provinces. Another aim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been to build a united Canada. He had sought a national railway policy to build up both east and west, and bring western freight through Canadian ports.

The Borden-Meighen Governments had done their best to tear down what Sir Wilfrid Laurier had builded. Today men in western Canada were dejected and discouraged because of the diversion of traffic and development to other sources by the Government. The ports of the east had also suffered because freight was diverted to Portland and other American ports.

LAUNCHED IN SECRET.

Mr. King asked if anyone in Canada had been consulted when the Government took over 20,000 miles of railways. "The people had no chance to discuss the policy," he declared. "It was drawn up and launched in secret council behind closed doors." The attitude of present-day Tories was that the people did not know and did not matter. The people's representatives in Parliament had been refused a voice in taking over the railways, the Liberal leader declared, adding that he challenged Mr. Meighen to deny this statement.

Macdonald and Laurier had consulted Parliament on their railway policies, but the Borden-Meighen Governments took over the roads, partly under closure.

Mr. Meighen had refused to allow Parliament to see the Grand Trunk agreement, while this was placed before the English bondholders for their approval.

Mr. Meighen had charged the Laurier Government with going too far in railway building, said Mr. King. But four or five thousand miles of the Canadian Northern system had been built with money loaned by the Government after Sir Robert Borden took office in 1911. The Liberal leader dealt with the re-opening of the Grand Trunk legislation in Parliament through an error in the bill. He said he had then demanded that the Grand Trunk employees be given justice in regard to pensions and reinstatement. The Government had refused to allow insertion of a necessary clause in the act. "And then Mr. Meighen talks about protecting labor," Mr. King asserted. "Labor does not ask protection; to give it justice is more vital."

The railway situation, involving millions of dollars annually, was the greatest problem facing Canada today. The Liberal members had sought information regarding the management and operation of these railways and found the Government claiming that such matters were in the hands of a board. This board was formed of friends of the Government, Mr. King charged, and the Government claimed to have no information.

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Gazette. Oct 14, 1921

PUBLICITY AS CURE.

"There are evils in this world which publicity is very effective in curing," Mr. King asserted. "It will do much to end grafting and avarice. We demand that in matters of public expenditures the fullest information should be available to the people's representatives." He stated that in committee the Liberal members had found contracts given to companies whose directors were also directors of the National Railway System.

"I have said that this country is governed by a little group of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats, and this railway situation proves it," declared Mr. King. The Government had handed over the people's money without any check on it. Such a method was enough "to condemn the whole system." Mr. King declared that the present system "was putting the railways into politics," instead of taking them out. That was why the railway situation was what it was today.

Mr. King said that the Liberals had demanded that a railway labor man be placed on the board of management of the roads. The railway men were most vitally interested and were entitled to this. That was part of the Liberal platform in regard to railways, and if returned the Liberals would see that platform carried out.

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said that a protective tariff was apt to serve the interests of the few rather than of the many. The Liberal policy demanded that all classes have fair treatment in tariff matters. Mr. King said that as Minister of Labor he had introduced the Combines Act, which gave any half-dozen persons the right to demand an investigation of any company suspected of profiteering by virtue of the tariff. If it were found that prices were being enhanced, the Government could by order-in-council remove the tariff item which allowed this. The Borden Government had wiped out this legislation and formed the Board of Commerce. But this board had hardly started work when it found its efforts thwarted.

Mr. King referred to the appointment of James Murdock to the board, and declared that Mr. Murdock, who was on the platform with him, had resigned when he saw that the Government was determined not to allow the people to get a square deal.

FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.

Mr. Murdock, the Liberal leader declared, was fighting with him to get the people's rights back to them, and their fight would succeed.

The Liberal tariff policy was again outlined by Mr. King. It was based on development of the basic industries. The tools and equipment needed for these industries were as important as the resources themselves. Increased production in these main industries would help all industries based on them. Reduction of duties on implements of production was vitally important, as also was the reduction, as far as possible, of the taxes on necessaries of life and the needs of the home. The main purpose of the tariff should be to raise the necessary revenue. "Such a tariff," declared Mr. King, "will be in the interests of all the people and not a privileged few."

With the ending of the war, the efforts of all classes should be towards unity in the Dominion. "We want the farmers, labor, women and all other classes to help us to get justice for all," Mr. King asserted. They should strive together for this betterment at all times, and in one great party. The spirit of the new Liberalism was to preserve always the best and to strive ever onward to better things for all Canadians.

KNOWS PULSE OF LABOR.

James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, said he was not present with a mandate to speak for organized labor, but he knew how the pulse of labor beat with regard to national affairs.

NOT GIVEN SQUARE DEAL.

"Canada has not been given a decent deal in the past," Mr. Murdock asserted. The Board of Commerce had been prevented by 'someone higher up' from doing what it had been formed to do. In the days between now and December 6th, he hoped to be able to explain to the people just how the board had been shackled.

It was, he declared, his firm belief that the only way for the people of Canada to get things back into their proper channels, and to get the people back into control, was to support and return a Liberal Government, "and end the misrule we have had for the past few years."

Ernest Lapointe, Quebec East, who spoke in both French and English, said the general election was brought on after the people had shown that the Government had lost confidence and gained the people's contempt.

Major C. G. Power, Quebec South, spoke in French, criticizing the Government for its lack of proper reestablishment measures for the returned soldiers; for its refusal to accept amendments to the pension law in regard to widowed mothers and "unmarried wives;" for its vocational training system, which had turned out numbers of half-trained mechanics who were unable to secure work, and for allowing expenses of administration to take up such a large share of the money voted by Parliament for re-establishment.

A. B. Copp, who is again the Liberal candidate in Westmoreland; Hance J. Logan, candidate in Cumberland; Premier Foster, of New Brunswick; Hon. P. J. Veniot, Minister of Public Works (New Brunswick), and Hon. Fred. Magee also took part in the various meetings, the former asking the renewed support of his constituents for himself, and the Liberal party, and the others urging also that Mr. Copp be returned with a good majority, and expressing confidence that the Liberal party would be returned to power on December 6th.

## TOWN BAND TURNED OUT

### Port Elgin, N.B., Welcomed Hon. Mr. King

Port Elgin, N.B., October 13.—The welcoming of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, on his visit to New Brunswick, began early this morning. On the arrival of his train at Port Elgin, Mr. King found several hundred people at the station to greet him, and the town band had been brought in honor of his visit. While the train remained in the station for a few minutes, Mr. King, A. R. McMaster and William Duff, the other Liberals with him, addressed the crowd from the rear of their car. This evening the Liberal leader will address a meeting at Moncton.

On his departure from Prince Edward Island this morning, the Liberal leader expressed his gratification at the splendid reception which had been tendered to himself and his colleagues on the island.

"Our tour on the Island," said Mr. King, "was more in the nature of a triumphal march than a series of political meetings. Prince Edward Island voters have shown in no unmistakable manner where their hearts lie in the present campaign, and their promise is that four representatives of Liberalism will be returned on December 6th."

### Three North York Visits

Newmarket, October 13.—Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, will make three visits to North York before the election. It was announced from Liberal headquarters here that Mr. King would speak at Stouffville on Friday afternoon, October 28, and the same night at Aurora. He will be in Newmarket on nomination day, and that evening will address a meeting at Schomberg or Sutton. He will close the Liberal campaign at Newmarket on the eve of the election.

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St. John Daily Times + Star

Oct. 14, 1921

# Thousands Greet Hon. Mr. King In Moncton

Moncton, Oct. 13—Moncton tonight gave Hon. Mackenzie King a great reception, turning out in large numbers to hear the leader of the Liberal party and several other prominent Liberals. Four large auditoriums were needed for the remarkable demonstration in support of Liberalism. Long before 8 o'clock, the hour at which the meetings opened, large groups of people were assembled outside of the entrances seeking admission. When the doors were opened the seating accommodations were taxed to the utmost, the large audiences, deeply interested in the issues under discussion, following closely the various speakers and manifesting their appreciation of the eloquent, forceful addresses by frequent and hearty applause.

Not only did Monctonians rally strongly at tonight's meetings, but hundreds of people came to the city from outside points; people were here from Amherst, Dorchester, Shediac, Salisbury and many other places in the outlying districts, all eager to greet the Liberal leader and hear the speeches. It was a rousing and successful event. Meetings were held in the Grand Opera House, the Imperial Theatre, the Colonial Theatre and the City Hall.

**Accorded Great Reception.**

Hon. Mr. King was greeted with cheers when he was introduced at the main meeting in the Grand theatre by Hon. C. W. Robinson, the chairman. The Liberal leader thanked his hearers for the splendid reception both in Moncton and in the province generally. Public interest in these meetings, Mr. King declared, was an evidence of the people's feeling against the denial since hte war of a general election. The history of politics in Canada had never known such usurpation of power.

"There are friends of Mr. Meighen in this audience," said Mr. King. "Did any of you give Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the government of Canada? The only difference between Mr. Meighen and Lenine and Trotzky is that the latter used physical violence to retain power while Mr. Meighen used legislative violence."

**The Laurier Policy.**

"The policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one of construction," Mr. King asserted, "while the one which succeeded it was largely one of destruction."

The Laurier government had built railways to assist the development of vast prairie lands in the west and to break a great monopoly. From this had grown the western provinces. Another aim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been to build a united Canada. He had sought a national railway policy to build up both east and west and bring western freight through Canadian ports.

The Borden-Meighen governments had done their best to tear down what Sir Wilfrid Laurier had built. Today men in Western Canada were dejected and discouraged because of the diversion of traffic and development to other sources by the government. The ports of the east had also suffered because freight was diverted to Portland and other United States ports.

Mr. King asked if anyone in Canada had been consulted when the government took over 20,000 miles of railways. "The people had no chance to discuss the policy," he declared, "it was drawn up and launched in secret council behind closed doors." The attitude of present day Tories was that the people did not know and did not matter. The people's representatives in parliament had been refused a voice in taking over the railways, the Liberal leader declared, adding that he challenged Mr. Meighen to deny this statement.

MacDonald and Laurier had consulted parliament on their railway policies but the Borden-Meighen governments took over the roads, partly under closure.

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Mr. Meighen had charged the Laurier government with going too far in railway building, said Mr. King. But four or five thousand miles of the Canadian Northern system had been built with money loaned by the government, after Sir Robert Borden took office in 1911. The Liberal leader dealt with the reopening of the Grand Trunk legislation in parliament through an error in the bill. He said he had then demanded that the Grand Trunk employes be given justice in regard to pensions and reinstatement. The government had refused to allow insertion of a necessary clause in the act. "And then Mr. Meighen talks about protecting labor," Mr. King asserted. "Labor does not ask protection; to give justice is more vital."

**Railway Into Politics.**

Mr. King declared that the present system "was putting the railways into politics" instead of taking them out. That was why the railway situation was what it was today.

Mr. King said the Liberals had demanded that a railway labor man be placed on the board of management of the roads. The railway men were most vitally interested and were entitled to this. That was part of the Liberal platform in regard to railways and if returned the Liberals would see that platform carried out.

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said a protective tariff was apt to serve the interests of the few rather than of the many. The Liberal policy demanded that all classes have fair treatment in tariff matters. Mr. King said that as minister of labor he had introduced the combines act which gave any half dozen people the right to demand an investigation of any company suspected of profiteering by virtue of the tariff if it was found that prices were being enhanced the government could by order-in-council remove the tariff item which allowed this. The Borden government had wiped out this legislation and formed the board of commerce. But this board had hardly started work when it found its efforts thwarted.

Mr. King referred to the appointment of James Murdock to the board and declared that Mr. Murdock, who was on the platform with him, had resigned when he saw the government was determined not to allow the people to get a square deal.

**Mr. Murdock Speaks.**

Mr. Múrdock spoke briefly, stating that he knew the people of Canada "had not been given a decent square deal during the last few years" and the only way in which they would get a square deal for all classes in the dominion was, he believed, by the support and return to power of the Liberal party.

**George B. Jones Nominated.**

Sussex, Oct. 13—George B. Jones, M. P. P., of Apohaqui, was chosen government candidate for the dominion elections for the constituency of Royal, at a convention of the National Liberal and Conservative party here this afternoon. Royal includes Kings and Queens counties.

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Sussex, N.B.

TARIFF POLICY

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CANADA

Montreal Gazette Oct-15-1921

D 5635

# HON. W. L. M. KING INVITES QUERIES FROM AUDITORS

## Urges That Hearers Take Premier's Advice and "Ask Mr. King"

## SHIELDING C.N.R. BOARD

### Not Accusing Directors But Government—"Tory Party in New Brunswick Dead as Julius Caesar"

(By Canadian Press.)

Sussex, N.B., October 14.—The Liberal tariff policy of "tariff revision based on the needs and the interest of all the people rather than of a privileged few" was placed before the people of the constituency of Royal by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, at two crowded meetings here tonight.

The Liberal leader dealt fully with the recent speeches of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen. Regarding Mr. Meighen's demand that he declare himself on the Liberal platform of 1919, Mr. King said there was no doubt where he stood. He took the 1919 platform as his chart, and the wisest and best of Liberals as his compass, and with these to guide he would attempt to give Canada a tariff policy in the interest of producers and consumers alike. As to the challenge to name any Canadian National Railway director who had benefited by railway contracts, Mr. King said he had in his previous speeches stated that he was not making charges against any member of the Board, but he was charging the Government with wrongdoing in creating this board from among its own friends, giving it control and shielding it from all questioning by Parliament or the people.

The Opera House was filled almost an hour before the meeting was scheduled to open, and an overflow meeting was held in the Lyric Theatre. The Liberal leader was greeted with prolonged applause when he entered the building, and again when he was introduced by the chairman, J. E. Hetherington.

### PREMIER FOSTER SPEAKS.

Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick, spoke first on provincial matters, and declared that he had a provincial duty still to perform before he could think of turning his energies to Ottawa. Premier Foster extended to Mr. King the greetings of New Brunswick Liberals, and welcomed him to the province. The Tory party was as "dead as Julius Caesar" in New Brunswick, said Mr. Foster, and its late representative in the Cabinet, Hon. R. W. Wigmore, had been too busy "seeking business for his firm to choose a New Brunswicker as a New Brunswick Senator." Premier Foster referred to the possibility of Hon. Wm. Pugsley entering the present fight, and declared that the Liberal party when returned would have many strong men in its ranks.

Premier Foster declared that he wanted to see New Brunswick develop with the rest of Canada, and he was prepared to stake his future on the policies outlined by Hon. Mackenzie King. A party with the record and policy of the Liberal party was good enough for him. He warned the people against being led away by false cries. There would be a lot of flag-waving in the campaign, but the issues must be squarely faced.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who was introduced as "the next Premier of Canada," thanked Premier Foster for his support. In Quebec, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, the provincial premiers had each voiced their approval of the Liberal policy and their decision to support that party, said Mr. King. He asked his auditors to bring before him any point which they wanted cleared up. The Prime Minister's speeches, he said, were taking on a different tone. Mr. Meighen had apparently decided that the race for him was already lost. The Prime Minister urged his hearers to "ask Mr. King" about different things. The Liberal leader declared he was ready for any questions.

### DISCUSSION NARROWED.

Right Hon. Mr. Meighen had talked free trade and protection at Sussex, and said that this was the issue. "Who made it so?" Mr. King asked. The Government's record and the people's right to govern were at stake. Canada had had no election on domestic issues for ten years. "Why narrow the discussion to the one issue and not allow any discussion of returned soldiers' affairs and similar matters?" Mr. King asked. Since 1911 a new electorate had grown up, and these people are entitled to a full discussion of the country's affairs.

The Liberal leader referred to the name of the Government party, which he declared "must be galling to red-blooded Conservatives everywhere."

It was useless for Mr. Meighen to talk of "keeping the railways out of politics," when friends of the Government were placed in control of those railways and then shielded from questions as to management. Mr. Meighen had demanded that Mr. King name a charge against any Canadian National Railway director. "The charge I make is against the Government for appointing its own friends to control the railways, and for its manner of creating and shielding the board from questions, thus bringing under suspicion the whole business of the management of the road. I am not making any charge against any member of that board," Mr. King asserted. "We have not been given information as to what has been done in the management of the railway system."

### NEED FOR REVISION.

The tariff was all important, said Mr. King, to all in the country, since it became a tax on all goods. A protective tariff was apt to lead to price-raising on the part of manufacturers. Tariff for revenue would allow goods to enter Canada and at the same time bring revenue. There was need for revision. The Liberals demanded that such revision should be in the interest of all the people. The need of revenue would be a primary consideration, instead of protection. Mr. Meighen also talked of tariff revision, said Mr. King, "but he has not said how he would revise it." In the interest of those who were friends of the Meighen Government, there could not well be downward revision.

Mr. King declared that the Prime Minister's demand for "a straight answer" to his tariff questions was a political dodge. Mr. King said he had never sought to hide either the Liberal platform or his policy. "I take the Liberal platform as a chart which sets out the course," Mr. King asserted. "I am also going to take as a compass the wisest and best counsels that I can secure. I will surround myself with the best counsels I can secure, and we will steer the course we together consider best in the interest of Canada." Conditions which had to be met from time to time might be such that there must be some amendment of that platform, but the platform would be the basis of any action taken.

Dealing with the Farmer movement, Mr. King declared that the Liberal platform went as far and probably farther in the direction sought by the Farmers than any legislation the Farmers could put through. "It is a question of whether we work on together and get what we are both seeking, or divide and thus defeat our own ends," he said.

Major C. G. Power, ex-M.P. for Quebec South, who also spoke at both meetings, declared there was extravagance in the permanent militia. For an army of 3,800 men there were 20 generals. "They do their fighting in Ottawa," Major Power declared.

Major Power challenged Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen's advice that Liberal speakers should preach the bonne entente in Quebec. "We don't need any preaching of it there," declared Major Power. "The people of Quebec live in harmony, and they are anxious to live in harmony with the rest of Canada, regardless of race or creed. We count it an honor to be Canadians."

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Montreal Gazette Oct-15th 1921

D 5635

# HON. W. L. M. KING INVITES QUERIES FROM AUDITORS

## Urges That Hearers Take Premier's Advice and "Ask Mr. King"

## SHIELDING C.N.R. BOARD

### Not Accusing Directors But Government—"Tory Party in New Brunswick Dead as Julius Caesar"

(By Canadian Press.)

Sussex, N.B., October 14.—The Liberal tariff policy of "tariff revision based on the needs and the interest of all the people rather than of a privileged few" was placed before the people of the constituency of Royal by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, at two crowded meetings here tonight.

The Liberal leader dealt fully with the recent speeches of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen. Regarding Mr. Meighen's demand that he declare himself on the Liberal platform of 1919, Mr. King said there was no doubt where he stood. He took the 1919 platform as his chart, and the wisest and best of Liberals as his compass, and with these to guide he would attempt to give Canada a tariff policy in the interest of producers and consumers alike. As to the challenge to name any Canadian National Railway director who had benefited by railway contracts, Mr. King said he had in his previous speeches stated that he was not making charges against any member of the Board, but he was charging the Government with wrongdoing in creating this board from among its own friends, giving it control and shielding it from all questioning by Parliament or the people.

The Opera House was filled almost an hour before the meeting was scheduled to open, and an overflow meeting was held in the Lyric Theatre. The Liberal leader was greeted with prolonged applause when he entered the building, and again when he was introduced by the chairman, J. E. Hetherington.

### PREMIER FOSTER SPEAKS.

Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of New Brunswick, spoke first on provincial matters, and declared that he had a provincial duty still to perform before he could think of turning his energies to Ottawa. Premier Foster extended to Mr. King the greetings of New Brunswick Liberals, and welcomed him to the province. The Tory party was as "dead as Julius Caesar" in New Brunswick, said Mr. Foster, and its late representative in the Cabinet, Hon. R. W. Wigmore, had been too busy "seeking business for his firm to choose a New Brunswicker as a New Brunswick Senator." Premier Foster referred to the possibility of Hon. Wm. Pugsley entering the present fight, and declared that the Liberal party when returned would have many strong men in its ranks.

Premier Foster declared that he wanted to see New Brunswick develop with the rest of Canada, and he was prepared to stake his future on the policies outlined by Hon. Mackenzie King. A party with the record and policy of the Liberal party was good enough for him. He warned the people against being led away by false cries. There would be a lot of flag-waving in the campaign, but the issues must be squarely faced.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who was introduced as "the next Premier of Canada," thanked Premier Foster for his support. In Quebec, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, the provincial premiers had each voiced their approval of the Liberal policy and their decision to support that party, said Mr. King. He asked his auditors to bring before him any point which they wanted cleared up. The Prime Minister's speeches, he said, were taking on a different tone. Mr. Meighen had apparently decided that the race for him was already lost. The Prime Minister urged his hearers to "ask Mr. King" about different things. The Liberal leader declared he was ready for any questions.

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Major Power challenged Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen's advice that Liberal speakers should preach the bonne entente in Quebec. "We don't need any preaching of it there," declared Major Power. "The people of Quebec live in harmony, and they are anxious to live in harmony with the rest of Canada, regardless of race or creed. We count it an honor to be Canadians."

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St John's Evening Times
October 15. 1921

# BIG LIBERAL RALLY HELD AT SUSSEX

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He took the 1919 platform as his chart and the wisest and best of Liberals as his compass, and with these to guide he would attempt to give Canada a tariff policy in the interest of producers and consumers alike. As to the challenge to name any Canadian National Railway director who had benefitted by railway contracts, Mr. King said he had in his previous speech said that he was not making charges against any member of the board but he was charging the government with wrong-doing in creating this board from among its own friends and giving it control, and shielding it from all questioning by parliament or the people.

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**Hon. W. E. Foster.**

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Premier Foster declared he wanted to see New Brúnswick develope together with the rest of Canada, and he was prepared to stake his future on the policies outlined by Hon. Mackenzie King. A party with the record and policy of the Liberal party "was good enough" for him. He warned the people against being led away, by false cries. There would be a lot of flag waving in the campaign but the issues must be squarely faced.

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Ottawa Citizen Oct 15-16 1921 D 5637

# TARIFF DEMAND AS A POLITICAL DODGE

## Liberal Leader Questions Who Made This the Issue of Campaign.

(Canadian Press.)

SUSSEX, N.B., Oct. 14.—Right Hon. Mr. Meighen had talked free trade and protection at Sussex and said that this was the issue.

"Who made it so?" asked Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at a meeting here tonight. The government's record and the people's right to govern were at stake. Canada had had no election on domestic issues for ten years. "Why narrow the discussion to the one issue and not allow any discussion of returned soldiers' affairs and similar matters?" Mr. King asked. "Since 1911 a new electorate had grown up and these people were entitled to a full discussion of the country's affairs."

**A "Galling Name."**

The Liberal leader referred to the name of the government party which he declared "must be galling to red-blooded Conservatives everywhere."

It was useless for Mr. Meighen to talk of "keeping the railways out of politics," when friends of the government were placed in control of those railways and then shielded from questions as to management. Mr. Meighen had demanded that Mr. King make a charge against any Canadian National Railway director. "The charge I make is against the government for appointing its own friends to control the railways and by its manner of creating and shielding the board from questions thus bringing under suspicion the whole business of the management of the road.

"I am not making any charge against any member of that board," Mr. King asserted. "We have not been given information as to what has been done in the management of the railway system."

The tariff was all important, said Mr. King, to all in the country since it became a tax on all goods. A protective tariff was apt to lead to price raising on the part of manufacturers. Tariff for revenue would allow goods to enter Canada and at the same time bring revenue. There was need for revision. The Liberals demanded that such revision should be in the interest of all the people. The need of revenue would be a primary consideration instead of protection. Mr. Meighen also talked of tariff revision, said Mr. King, but he had not said how he would revise it. In the interest of those who were the friends of the Meighen government there could not well be downward revision.

Mr. King declared that the prime minister's demand for "a straight answer" to his tariff questions was a political dodge.

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15 Oct. 1921 St. John, N.B.

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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St. John Globe Oct. 17th 1921

# ROUSING LIBERAL MEETING IN IMPERIAL THEATRE

## Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. W. E. Foster and G. G. Power, ex M. P., Quebec, Discuss Issues of the Day--Large and Enthusiastic Audience Present.

Every seat in the Imperial Theatre was filled when the Liberals held an enthusiastic rally there on Saturday evening. On the platform were many well known men, such as the veteran Senator from Queens Co., Hon. G. G. King, and the Hon. Mr. Farris, long active in provincial politics. When Mayor Schofield took the chair he saw before him one of the finest political gatherings ever brought together in St. John.

Mayor Schofield, in opening, declared it spoke well for the community, the interest being taken in the subjects of the day. His Worship extended a hearty welcome to Mr. King, Major Power and also Hon. Mr. Foster. The Mayor said that it sometimes appeared that St. John had been forgotten at Ottawa and it was the opinion in some parts of the country that Canada ended at Montreal. Such was not the case, and if it had not been for St. John and Halifax, Canada could not have helped as it did in the recent war. His Worship also called the attention of the speakers to the needs of the port, the extension of the Negro Point breakwater and the tri-party agreement of 1911, as he had done in the recent meeting in the Armory.



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Hon. W. E. Foster was cheered and applauded on being introduced. The provincial premier was in fine form and made a rattling good speech, which frequently brought down the house. After thanking the electors for the success at the polls at the last provincial election, Mr. Foster said the people of Canada are now ready to return to the two-party system of politics. On behalf of himself and the Liberal party of St. John, he extended a hearty welcome to the Liberal leader, a splendid broad-minded Canadian. Mr. Foster said the leader of the Conservative party, an autocratic gentleman, backed up by Hon. Mr. Baxter, wanted to make the tariff the issue of the day. In reading the speeches of the government leaders the speaker had failed to find any comfort as a citizen of St. John. There had been no declaration of policy in regard to the railway situation as to its bearing on St. John and New Brunswick, there had been but vague promises. Mr. Meighen had said that when money conditions got better the government would do something for the port of St. John. Yet, in spite of the lack of money, the government had entered into a contract for improvements in the Welland Canal for $7,000,000 but had not one dollar for improvements for transportation to St. John.

Government speakers, said Mr. Foster, had endeavored to place the blame for the railway muddle on the former Liberal government. He noticed that Mr. Baxter had failed to mention the Valley Railway, his own child, which cost the province a quarter of a million dollars annually. The government had said that when it had 22,000 miles of railway it was not going to build up foreign countries at the expense of its own. Mr. Baxter had said that this was in the minds of the people. Mr. Foster said that there was something else in the minds of the people. Every day there were press reports of Canadian grain going to American ports, notwithstanding the facilities to carry it through Canadian ports.

While the Liberal party was responsible for the Transcontinental it was not responsible for the Grand Trunk or the $45,000,000 given to the Canadian National to enable it to work in opposition to the Transcontinental. Mr. Foster pointed out that the government had not published any account of operating the railway systems. Every dollar spent on behalf of the public, he said, should appear in the public accounts. The sum of $5,000,000 had been spent on the Valley Railway and not one dollar had appeared in accounts. The Valley Railway had been built to feed traffic to St. John and although it had been in operation more than a year not one pound of freight had come over it. Mr. Foster showed how badly Canadian ports had been treated. The statutes of the country were being violated every day in regard to this and Canadian money was being used to build up United States ports and help United States labor. In regard to the improvements at Portland, Me., he said the money for these facilities was being provided by the Grand Trunk, and Canadian citizens would have to pay. The I. C. R. had been one of the bonds of Confederation and the means of inducing the people of the Maritime Provinces to enter Confederation. We now find the control of the road handed over to the people who formerly controlled the Canadian Northern, one of the biggest lobbies in Canada. The Tory party had been determined to carry out this scheme and the absorption of the railways of the country had cost $500,000,000. Control of rates had been handed over to the Railway Commission. The government had handed the I. C. R. over body and soul to the Railway Commission and former Mackenzie & Mann interests and as a result a blow had been dealt the Maritime Provinces that they would not recover from for some time.

Mr. Meighen would have to answer for the effects of this policy on the manufacturers of this section, the pulp mills, farmers, etc. The policy had struck a blow at the industrial life of the Maritime Provinces.

Referring to the hydro-electric development taking place in the province, the Premier said his government wished to attract manufacturers to the province, but distance and the long haul would prove great handicaps with the high freight rates. The canals were free and the I. C. R. was to have been on te same basis. The tolls on the railways now, however, were prohibitive.

The government of New Brunswick stood with Mr. King in his endeavor to bring about better conditions. The speaker ridiculed the charge that the Liberal party would not have men of

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ability in the cabinet and named Hon. Mr. Fielding and Sir Lomer Gouin as examples. He hoped that the traditions of New Brunswick would be maintained and named outstanding New Brunswick Liberals who had sat in federal cabinets, such as Isaac Burpee, Andrew G. Blair, H. R. Emmerson and William Pugsley.

Mr. Foster said he stood four-square for the policies of his honorable friend. The party had no quarrel with any province, race or religion. It had been the party that had lifted Canada out of the depths of despair to the sunshine of prosperity, and it was good enough for him. He appealed to all to look over the records of the two parties and he had no doubt that the people of New Brunswick would support his honorable friend.

Hon. Mr. King on rising cordially thanked Mayor Schofield for his welcome and the people for their cordial greetings. Hon. Mr. King, referring to the number of questions put up for him to answer by Premier Meighen, Hon. Mr. Baxter, Mayor Schofield and the Conservative advertising committee, said he would take up these latter first. Hon. Mr. King pointed out that this advertising costs money, and after pointing out that there would be a deluge of it in the next few weeks, said: All these broadsides of advertising would have to be paid for out of some big campaign fund. Who was behind it? Was it the workingmen, the farmers and the consumers who were putting up the money? There would be lots of paid-for matter in the newspapers regarding the tariff in



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order to get the minds of the people off the real issue. A group of gentlemen who had privileges in the past and who wanted to hold on to these privileges were prepared in view of past and prospective favors to shell out for this publicity.

Mr. King then declared: Whether we are going to have a continuation of autocratic government or whether we are going to have government by the people and for the people—that is the issue, and not the tariff. The Meighen government had spent millions without asking either the consent or privilege of the people. The union government was formed for war purposes alone and after the war was over one man after another had retired, until Mr. Meighen now had scarcely any of the strong men left. Hon. A. K. Maclean, Hon. F. B. Carvell, General Mewburn, Hon. T. A. Crerar, Sir Thomas White and Sir Robert Borden all had resigned from the government. Yet in spite of all this Hon. Mr. Meighen took hold of the reins of office and insisted that he had every right so to do. Premier Meighen had gone into office without the nomination of his own party.

The Tory theory of government, said Mr. King, was that only the few were able to govern and that the mass of the people were to be ignored. The Liberal theory was that out of the collective wisdom of the whole body of the people more good was likely to come, and that government belonged to the people and not to the few. The Tories trusted the few; the Liberals trusted the people.

When Mr. Meighen called Parliament together in February of this year he asked for an appropriation equal to one-sixth of his estimate for carrying on the business of the country. He used the closure to stifle debate and in two hours $80,000,000 were taken out of the public treasury and placed at his disposal.

When the question of the mercantile marine came before Parliament the closure was again introduced and $8,000,000 more was voted. It was to cover up transactions like these that the effort was made to confine the issue to the tariff. Mr. King declared that it had been ten years since the people of Canada had had an opportunity to discuss the general problems of the country. The election of 1917 was concerned chiefly with the war. Young men of twenty-one at the last election in 1911 had now become thirty-one and lads of ten or eleven had attained the franchise since then, and all women have been given the vote. Why, demanded Mr. King, should this election be confined to the tariff?

Dealing with that part of the newspaper advertisement question regarding the progressiveness of granting the franchise to women, Mr. King declared that it was not Mr. Meighen's government, but the Union government which had granted the franchise to women.

The Liberal leader then proceeded to substantiate his charges that the government had been extravagant. Taking up the railway question, Mr. King declared the government was seeking to create the impression that the railway situation was the result of an error of judgment on the part of the Liberals in working out the railway problems in this country. If that were true, how did they account for the fact that the Canadian Northern Railway had been doubled since 1911 when Sir Wilfrid Laurier left office? Laurier sought to break the C. P. R. monopoly and to unite Canada not only politically but industrially and commercially as well. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had the vision of an all-Canadian railway which would mean the transportation of goods, not through American ports, but through Canadian ports such as those we had here down by the sea. Premier Borden and his successors had sought to belittle the national railways and to render the transcontinental railway of less service than it could be, and, so far as St. John and Halifax were concerned, diversion took place and one of the effects was that shipments were made not through these ports, but through American ports. Only by fulfilling the vision of Sir Wilfrid would our railway problem be solved and the interests of our own Canadian ports best served. They would carry out this vision in all its full reality if returned to power. During Sir Wilfrid Laurier's regime there were 2,000 miles of government railways in Canada, while to-day there were 22,000 miles, and the changes in the Mounted Police had involved another bill of unnecessary expense. That body, which had cost the country $770,000 in 1911, this year had run up a bill of $3,000,000. That was extravagance, and we must economize if we are going to get back to normal conditions.

He did not wish to criticise the government's war-time expenditures, but he did intend to criticise the government's expenditures since that time. The interest on the public debt, soldiers' settlement and other results of the war were involving an annual expenditure of some $140,000,000. It was not, however, against war expenses that he was directing his attack. In 1911 the military and naval expenditures of the government were about eight or nine millions of dollars, whereas to-day they were twenty millions.

When Mr. King had questioned Hon. Mr. Ballantyne in the House regarding the naval policy the minister replied that the government would have no naval policy until after the imperial conference which had taken place in June of the present year. Since that time the disarmament conference had been planned, and he hoped future large military and naval expenditures would be rendered unnecessary. Instead of letting things stand as they were the government had accepted the five warships without consulting either parliament or people, and then asked parliament to vote four millions of dollars for the maintenance of those ships. That was extrava-

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When the question of the mercantile marine came before Parliament the closure was again introduced and $8,000,000 more was voted. It was to cover up transactions like these that the effort was made to confine the issue to the tariff. Mr. King declared that it had been ten years since the people of Canada had had an opportunity to discuss the general problems of the country. The election of 1917 was concerned chiefly with the war. Young men of twenty-one at the last election in 1911 had now become thirty-one and lads of ten or eleven had attained the franchise since then, and all women have been given the vote. Why, demanded Mr. King, should this election be confined to the tariff?

Dealing with that part of the newspaper advertisement question regarding the progressiveness of granting the franchise to women, Mr. King declared that it was not Mr. Meighen's government, but the Union government which had granted the franchise to women.

The Liberal leader then proceeded to substantiate his charges that the government had been extravagant. Taking up the railway question, Mr. King declared the government was seeking to create the impression that the railway situation was the result of an error of judgment on the part of the Liberals in working out the railway problems in this country. If that were true, how did they account for the fact that the Canadian Northern Railway had been doubled since 1911 when Sir Wilfrid Laurier left office? Laurier sought to break the C. P. R. monopoly and to unite Canada not only politically but industrially and commercially as well. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had the vision of an all-Canadian railway which would mean the transportation of goods, not through American ports, but through Canadian ports such as those we had here down by the sea. Premier Borden and his successors had sought to belittle the national railways and to render the transcontinental railway of less service than it could be, and, so far as St. John and Halifax were concerned, diversion took place and one of the effects was that shipments were made not through these ports, but through American ports. Only by fulfilling the vision of Sir Wilfrid would our railway problem be solved and the interests of our own Canadian ports best served. They would carry out this vision in all its full reality if returned to power. During Sir Wilfrid Laurier's regime there were 2,000 miles of government railways in Canada, while to-day there were 22,000 miles, and the changes in the Mounted Police had involved another bill of unnecessary expense. That body, which had cost the country $770,000 in 1911, this year had run up a bill of $3,000,000. That was extravagance, and we must economize if we are going to get back to normal conditions.

He did not wish to criticise the government's war-time expenditures, but he did intend to criticise the government's expenditures since that time. The interest on the public debt, soldiers' settlement and other results of the war were involving an annual expenditure of some $140,000,000. It was not, however, against war expenses that he was directing his attack. In 1911 the military and naval expenditures of the government were about eight or nine millions of dollars, whereas to-day they were twenty millions.

When Mr. King had questioned Hon. Mr. Ballantyne in the House regarding the naval policy the minister replied that the government would have no naval policy until after the imperial conference which had taken place in June of the present year. Since that time the disarmament conference had been planned, and he hoped future large military and naval expenditures would be rendered unnecessary. Instead of letting things stand as they were the government had accepted the five warships without consulting either parliament or people, and then asked parliament to vote four millions of dollars for the maintenance of those ships. That was extravagance.

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The people had not been consulted about the taking over of the additional lines. The Grand Trunk, too, had been taken over in large part since the war and in a very large part since Mr. Meighen took office. Such questions should be discussed by the people. In parliament recently the Liberals had started to ask questions regarding the railway deficits of fifty million, and seventy million; and, since the new systems were taken in, one hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars. In the last year of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, 1911, it had required only one hundred and twenty-three millions of dollars to run the whole country. In their questioning they had found out that practically four-fifths of the members of the board of directors of the National Railways were directors of other companies which carried on business having to do with the supplying of railway equipment of one kind and another and insurance. They had found that there was about one hundred and seven millions of dollars of insurance on the railways which for the most part was placed with a company on the board of directors of which two of the railway directors also served. Contracts to the amount of $11,000,000 and $9,000,000 had been let to companies, members of whose boards of directors were also on the railway directorate. The only way we can find out what is being done with the people's money is by returning to parliament an entirely new group of representatives who will stand for the people's rights first, last and all the time.

Taking up the tariff, Hon. Mr. King said so far as the Liberal party was concerned it did not stand for free trade and never had. The sum of $500,000,000 had to be raised annually There would have to be a tariff to raise revenue. Tariff was a means to an end and required to be revised from time to time.. He had been asked if he approved the Liberal platform of 1919. He would answer in the words he used when chosen Liberal leader in 1919 when the platform was framed. He pointed out at that time that assuming so large a responsibility would be a big task for one man if he had to rely on himself. He believed in the wisdom of many minds. In the Liberal party were men of outstanding ability. He would surround himself with these gentlemen and do the thing that was the wisest to do. He regarded the platform as a chart of the course that the Liberal party was supposed to take. He would keep the chart before him and with the assistance of his colleagues would take the right course. Conditions had changed materially since 1919, and the Liberal party would accommodate tariff to conditions and take the common sense course. He did not stand for free trade, but a revision of the tariff. A tariff was for two purposes, protection and revenue. If protection was the main aim it did not let in any goods and enabled the manufacturers to combine and put up prices. No revenue was secured, and just a few persons benefited. If a tariff was for revenue it should be a fair tariff. Liberals in framing the tariff regarded primarily the question of revenue. The speaker told of the board of commerce investigation, which showed that there were many existing combines in the necessities of life. If we were to pay off the large public debt we would have to develop the natural resources of the country, such as agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing. As the natural resources were developed manufacturers would have the raw materials to develop their businesses, and as commodities became more plentiful so transportations would increase and prosperity come.

It was to the interest of the country as a whole that the tax on implements of production should be as light as possible. Also the tax on the necessities of life should be light. It was along these lines that the Liberals proposed to revise the tariff.

Concluding, Hon. Mr. King said: "We have passed through the period of war into peace. We need. not only peace, but the spirit of peace. Let us seek that spirit as a substitute for the ill-will engendered by the war. It is only by goodwill that we can be a united country. Our first duty is to heal the wounds and scars of war and make our country happy, contented and united. We promised the men who went overseas, who fought, who bled, who died, that they could expect this much of us. The war caused a great wastage of human life. It bred autocracy into the government. It was for us to return to democracy of peace, forget the past and realize the future. Unity is needed and you will be all the greater for working for that unity. Let bygones be bygones and see to it that the present government does not continue to hold office. The Liberal party seeks unity of class and class, creed and creed, race and race, province and province, east and west, yes, this vast Dominion with the other dominions of the British Empire. The Liberal party aims to restore goodwill to all, for on goodwill alone rests the solution of our difficulties. Only by co-operation can true advance and progress be attained and I ask you to join me in making that aim a splendid reality."

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Daily Telegraph Oct. 17/21

# TARIFF NOT MAIN ISSUE BUT GOVERNMENT USES IT AS SMOKE SCREEN

## Hon. Mr. King, in Statesmanlike Speech of Marked Force, Gives Masterly Exposition of Liberal Policy

### Imperial Theatre Thronged as Chief Replies Categorically to Questions Set By Opponents—Many Phases of Campaign Reviewed in Address That Sways Vast Audience—Strong Fighting Speech by Hon. W. E. Foster and Spirited Talk by Major Power of Quebec.

In a speech that swept triumphantly onward with the irresistible momentum of victory, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, addressed an audience of St. John voters on Saturday evening that filled every seat in the great auditorium of the Imperial theatre and occupied practically every foot of sitting and standing room on the large stage. Hundreds of disappointed citizens were turned away from the building after being informed that there was no more room inside. His Worship Mayor Schofield presided. About 2,300 were present.

Hon. Mr. King captivated, charmed, convinced. Confidence of victory radiated through his every utterance. He displayed that fire and fluency, and indeed a great deal of that indefinable dynamic something called "action," which marks every great orator. But above all he exhibited an undoubted mastery of his subject that betokened an intimate acquaintance with every phase of the Canadian National problems with which he dealt. He displayed a knowledge that inspired confidence in his auditors that he indeed is an eminently competent man to guide the destinies of this great Dominion.

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Daily Telegraph

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For days the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen and Hon. Mr. King have been firing at each other at long range. When the big battalions of the Conservative army passed through St. John one evening last week they left a rear guard to cover their retreat. The defences erected by the rear guard took the form of a three-column, page length advertisement containing a series of questions demanding that the Liberal leader clearly declare his position upon the question of the tariff and challenging him to substantiate the charges of autocracy and extravagance which Mr. King has been repeatedly preferring against the Meighen administration. The attack was launched early Saturday morning when the large advertisement appeared in a St. John morning daily just as Mr. King arrived in St. John. It was repeated again in an afternoon daily.

When "fools rush in where angels fear to tread" the consequences of their rashness must beget some bitter emotions. Similar feelings doubtless must have been torturing the minds of the National Liberal and Conservative New Brunswick publicity committee when they witnessed the effective manner in which the Liberal leader broke up their attack and rendered it practically futile. Thinking to trap the Liberal leader, they, in reality, did him a genuine service, for they furnished him the occasion to turn the whole force of his artillery upon them and to rain down upon their heads such a procession of weighty arguments, lucid expositions, and damaging indictments as to leave them utterly discredited.

Hon. Mr. King's exposition of the meaning of a tariff was as clear as crystal. Though his opponents thought to catch him upon the horns of a dilemma Mr. King outwitted his opponents and delivered a convincing declaration of the position of the Liberal party with regard to the tariff. The tariff plank in the Liberal platform of 1919 he would not repudiate, he said, but he would regard it as a chart by which with the aid and advice of those around him he would shape the fiscal policy of this country.

With telling and deadly effect Mr. King pressed home the charges of autocracy which the question posers of the advertisement had challenged him to substantiate. He put his opponents to confusion when he accepted the defy to prove the charges of extravagance which he had levelled against the Meighen administration.

He clarified his position on the question of handing the national railways over to the C. P. R. in a ringing declaration of the traditional railway policy of the Liberal party, which he declared had its origin in the destruction of monopoly.

The questionnaire, summed up, as Mr. King said, what his political opponents considered would be the hardest nuts for him to crack. The effective manner in which the Liberal leader did the cracking brought joy to the hearts of his supporters and consternation in the camp of his adversaries.

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The declaration of the principles of Liberalism which stood for government by the people instead of government by the few evoked a great admiration, and in his peroration in which Mr. King appealed to Canadians to let the dead issues of the past be forgotten and to turn their faces towards the dawn of a new day he soared to heights of eloquence that entitle his address to rank among the greatest oratorical efforts of Canadian statesmen.

**Hon. Mr. Foster's Fine Effort.**

Hon. W. E. Foster, premier of New Brunswick, delivered a splendid address. Mr. Foster confined himself almost wholly to a discussion of the railway situation, in which he upheld the policy of the Laurier government in constructing the transcontinental railway. He vigorously attacked the present government for the manner in which the former Intercolonial Railroad is administered. The road, the premier declared, was one of the confederation pledges held out to the people of the maritime provinces. It was to link up the lower provinces with markets in upper Canada to take the place of those United States markets which the maritime provinces stood to lose if they entered confederation. The policy of the government in regard to the I. C. R. had struck a severe blow at the industries of the maritime provinces from which it would take them a long time to recover, the premier declared.

Major C. G. Power, former M. P. for Quebec, criticized the government's extravagance in regard to militia and defence. He declared emphatically that there was no racial hatred in the province of Quebec and pointed out in proof of his contention that although there was in Quebec only one constituency in which English-speaking voters predominated there were no fewer than fifteen from which English-speaking members of parliament were returned.

**Mayor Schofield**

Mayor Schofield took the chair at sharp nine o'clock, and immediately opened the meeting. He said that it must be gratifying to Hon. Mr. King and his colleagues to see such a large representation of citizens. It spoke well for the community, the interest being taken in the subjects of the day. While it was not his intention to preside at all political meetings, he considered it an honor to preside at those at which the leaders of the two parties were present. His Worship then extended a hearty welcome to Mr. King, Major Power and also Hon. Mr. Foster, who, he said, had not appeared on the public platform in St. John as much as might be wished.

The mayor said that it sometimes appeared that St. John had been forgotten at Ottawa and it was the opinion in some parts of the country that Canada ended at Montreal. Such was not the case, and if it had not been for St. John and Halifax, Canada could not have helped as it did in the recent war. His Worship also called the attention of the speakers to the needs of the port, the extension of the Negro Point breakwater and the tri-party agreement of 1911.

**Hon. Mr. Foster**

Hon. W. E. Foster, premier of the province, on arising received an ovation from the large gathering. He made a vigorous speech, refuting recent platform utterances of Hon. Mr. Baxter and making a strong appeal for support for the Liberal party.

The speaker first took an opportunity of thanking the electors of St. John for the magnificent vote they had given him in the last provincial election, both Liberals and Conservatives, and also the great body of independent voters. He had not taken it as a personal tribute, but as approval of the politics of his party. He spoke of the recent Liberal meetings in Moncton and in the constituency of Royal and said that if he was capable of gauging the feelings of the people they either approved of Mr. King's policy or disapproved of the government policy.

The people were now ready to return to the two-party system of politics, the speaker declared, and said that they were sick of political combinations. The two-party system had proved to be a success and the people wished to return to it.

The speaker, then, on behalf of himself and the Liberal party of St. John, extended a hearty welcome to the Liberal leader. He said that he was a splendid, broad-minded Canadian, as were also the leaders of the other parties.

Hon. Mr. Foster then took up the railway situation as it affected St. John and New Brunswick. The leader of the Conservative party, backed up by Hon. Mr. Baxter, wanted to makethe tariff the issue of the day. He was an autocratic gentlemen and would have his own way and discuss nothing else. The premier then read accounts in the Standard of Mr. Baxter's speeches and said that by the photographs displayed one would think that the people would judge by the pictures what the government would do for New Brunswick. In reading the speeches of the government leaders the speaker had failed to find any comfort as a citizen of St. John. There had been no declaration of policy in regard to the railway situation as to its bearing on St. John and New Brunswick. There had been some vague promises that the government would do something to improve Canadian business through Canadian ports.

Mr. Meighen had said that when money conditions got better the government would do something for the port of St. John. Yet, in spite of the lack of money, the government had entered into a contract for improvements to the Welland canal for $7,000,000, but had not one dollar for improvements for transportation to St. John.

The government speakers had endeavored to place the blame for the railway muddle on the former Liberal government. The speaker read the statements of Mr. Baxter in which he blamed the Liberal party for present railway conditions. Mr. Baxter had failed to mention the Valley Railway, his own child, which cost the province a quarter of a million dollars annually.

The government had said that when it had 22,000 miles of railway it was not going to build up foreign countries at the expense of its own. Mr. Baxter had said that this was in the minds of the people. Hon. Mr. Foster said that there was something else in the minds of the people. Every day there were press reports of Canadian grain going to American ports, and he read several newspaper articles substantiating this. He said that Canadian traffic was going through United States ports, notwithstanding the facilities to carry it through Canadian ports.

**The Transcontinental**

The premier said that while the Liberal party was responsible for the Transcontinental it was not responsible for the Grand Trunk or the $45,000,000 given to the Canadian National to enable it to work in opposition to the Transcontinental. The Transcontinental had been built to open up northern Ontario and Quebec and help colonize the country. The Liberal party was prepared to accept responsibility for it, and he said that its use had been proved in sending food to Canadians in France. He spoke of its easy grades, and said that train loads of 2,800 tons could be hauled on

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it compared with 800 tons for the C. P. R. The road was a monument to the great Liberal chief, Sir Wilfred Laurier.

Hon. Mr. Baxter said that he had made a trip over the Transcontinental and had seen nothing but graveyards. He did not need to go west to see graveyards as he could have gone over the Valley Railway which had been the grave of many of the leaders of the Conservative party. In fact, Mr. Foster said, Mr. Baxter had had one foot in the grave himself.

The government had not published any account of operating the railway systems. Every dollar spent on behalf of the public should appear in the public accounts, the speaker declared. The sum of $5,000,000 had been spent on the Valley Railway and not one dollar had appeared in public accounts.

Hon. Mr. Baxter said that the Transcontinental had been built "slashways." He would not have dared to have said this in Moncton or Nova Scotia.

The Valley Railway had been built to feed traffic to St. John and although it had been in operation more than a year not one pound of freight had come over it.

The speaker said that when the Canadian Northern had been given $45,000,000 it was in consideration that all traffic originating on its branch lines would find a route through Canada to Canadian ports. Mr. Foster read a clause of the contract substantiating this assertion. The statutes of the country were being violated every day in regard to this and Canadian money was being used to build up United States ports and help United States labor. In regard to the improvements at Portland (Me.), he asked who was paying for this. The money for these facilities was being provided by the Grand Trunk and Canadian citizens would have to pay.

**The Railway Commission.**

The speaker had always been interested in railways and had his own opinion of the solution of the problems. He had seen the I. C. R. grow and prosper under Hon. A. G. Blair. It had now been handed over to the former Mackenzie & Mann interests. The I. C. R. had been one of the bonds of confederation and the means of inducing the people of the maritime provinces to enter confederation. Mr. Foster told of the promises made at the time of confederation. One stipulation was that the I. C. R. would not be operated as a commercial enterprise. We now find that faith has been broken and the control of the road handed over to the people who formerly controlled the Canadian Northern, one of the biggest lobbies in Canada. The Tory party had been determined to carry out this scheme and the absorption of the railways of the country had cost $500,000,000.

Control of rates had been handed over to the railway commission. The commission had not been created for that purpose and it had never been intended that the commission should control the rates of the I. C. R. The government had handed the I. C. R. over body and soul to the railway commission and former Mackenzie & Mann interests and as a result a blow had been dealt the maritime provinces that they would not recover from for some time. We would now have to work in a circle and trade among ourselves.

Hon. Mr. Meighen had to answer for a lot of things, Mr. Foster said. He would have to answer for the effects of this policy on the manufacturers of this section; the pulp mills, farmers with produce to market, etc. This policy had struck a blow at the industrial life of the maritime provinces.

The premier then told of the hydro-electric development taking place in the province under his government and what he hoped to achieve. They wished to attract manufacturers to the province, but distance and the long haul would prove great handicaps with the high freight rates. The canals were free and the I. C. R. was to have been on the same basis. The tolls on the railways now, however, were prohibitive.

The speaker said that Hon. Mr. King would explain his tariff policy and the speaker agreed with the tariff policy of Mr. King. The government of New Brunswick stood with Mr. King in his endeavor to bring about better conditions. The speaker ridiculed the charge that the Liberal party would not have men of ability in the cabinet and named Hon. Mr. Fielding and Sir Lomer Gouin as examples. The speaker said that he hoped that the traditions of New Brunswick would be maintained and named outstanding New Brunswick Liberals such as Hon. Isaac Burpee, Hon. Andrew G. Blair, H. R. Emmerson and Hon. William Pugsley.

Mr. Foster said that he stood four-square for the policies of his honorable friend. The party had no quarrel with any province, race or religion. It had been the party that had lifted Canada out of the depths of despair to the sunshine of prosperity and it was good enough for him.

If they wished to let well enough alone they should support Hon. Mr. Meighen. He appealed to all to look over the records of the two parties and he had no doubt that the people of New Brunswick would support his honorable friend.

**CHEERS GREET THE LIBERAL LEADER.**

Mayor Schofield, at the conclusion of a brief address introducing the Liberal leader, called for three cheers for Mr. King, which were heartily given.

Mr. King thanked the people of St. John for the cordial welcome tendered him and added that it was a great pleasure to hear the expression of confidence and assurances of goodwill addressed to him by Premier Foster. He was pleased, he said, to hear of the mayor's having presided at Premier Meighen's meeting in St. John a few days previously and he interpreted the mayor's action as indicating his worship's liberal and impartial attitude towards the discussion of the chief questions of the day in Canada.

At the moment, Mr. King declared, there were many matters of vast importance and concern to Canadians confronting the nation which could not be discussed in too calm or deliberate a manner so that all might have opportunity to form a judgment upon those issues. The fact that the discussions were being conducted at meetings at which his worship presided was, Mr. King said, a guarantee that the discussions would be helpful and orderly.

The Liberal leader thanked Premier Foster and the mayor for the cordial reception to both the province and the city. It was difficult, he said, adequately to express his gratitude for the confidence which had been manifested in him and in his party.

"But," continued Mr. King, "should we, as I believe we shall, be entrusted with the government of this country I hope we shall do nothing to disappoint those expectations."

In approaching a discussion of the questions of the day the Liberal leader said he found himself in a rather difficult position as to a choice of subjects. From every side had come suggestions of topics and only a few evenings before Premier Meighen had left numerous requests regarding questions to be asked Mr. King when he came to St. John.

"It was indeed complimentary," said Mr. King, "that Mr. Meighen has paid so much attention to the Liberals. When the campaign started he regarded the Liberals as a sort of an engine on a side-track, unworthy of notice. The Farmers, Mr. King continued, were, in the premier's opinion, the only opposition worth considering at the outset of the campaign but Mr. Meighen was gradually coming around to see that things were different. The premier was coming to see that the people of the maritime provinces were behind Mr. King and that so far as the premier himself was concerned the race was already lost.

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"That being so," said Mr. King, "he naturally asked you to ask the leader what his attitude was towards the questions of the day."

Besides the questions suggested by Mr. Meighen there were others suggested by Mr. Baxter, still others mentioned in an article in the Standard and, Mr. King added amid laughter, even the chairman himself had suggested one or two topics. There was finally a series of questions embodied in a large newspaper advertisement published by the New Brunswick publicity committee of the National Liberal and Conservative party and appearing in a Saturday evening paper.

Mr. King declared he was there to define his position and would endeavor to define it. He was willing to stay all night explaining his position and answering questions if his audience was. However, he would assume that the document issued by the publicity committee of the government party contained the toughest nuts and those hardest to crack. He would address himself therefore, Mr. King said, to answering the questions asked him in that advertisement. He begged leave, however, to change the order of the questions somewhat and to consider one of the last first.

**Government Autocratic.**

Having thus cleared the ground for the encounter, Mr. King proceeded to carry the war into his opponents' camp by giving his answer to the first of the questions, which read as follows:

"You (i. e. Mr. King) say the Meighen government is autocratic and representative of the big interests. Has not the Government given complete franchise to women, one of the most progressive measures ever introduced in Canada, and is it not a fact that the members of the Meighen government, beginning with the Premier, are largely self-made men, attaining their present positions through sheer force of intellect and ability?"

He had the greatest respect, Mr. King said, for the intellect and ability of the premier, but unless he had had the big interests back of him the intellect and ability of Mr. Meighen would not have enabled him to usurp and to hold on to the reins of power for fourteen months. If proof were needed that the big interests were behind the Meighen government what better proof could be adduced than the very advertisement itself which was three columns wide and the full length of a page? Such advertisements cost money, declared Mr. King, and he predicted that during the next six or seven weeks there would be hundreds of thousands of dollars spent by the government party in an endeavor to make an impression upon the electorate through the press. There would be a deluge of such publicity. All these broadsides of advertising would have to be paid for out of some big campaign fund, he averred. Who was behind it? Was it the workingmen, the farmers and the consumers who were putting up the money? There would be lots of paid-for matter in the newspapers regarding the tariff in order to get the minds of the people off the real issue. Mr. King himself found it difficult to get sufficient cash to finance the publication of legitimate campaign literature. It was a group of gentlemen who had privileges in the past and who wanted to hold on to these privileges who were prepared in view of past and prospective favors to shell out for this publicity.

Mr. King then proceeded to define what he considered the real issue in the campaign when he declared:

"Whether we are going to have a continuation of autocratic government or whether we are going to have government by the people and for the people—that is the issue, and not the tariff."

"Has any one," asked Mr. King, "given to Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the government of this country?" Cries of "No" from the audience arose in response to the question of the Liberal leader, who continued. If there was no one to speak for Mr. Meighen, he asked, then what became of the premier's talk about the charge of autocracy being humbug? What could be more autocratic? The Meighen government had spent millions without asking either the consent or privilege of the people.

**Union Government.**

The Union government, Mr. King explained, was formed for war purposes alone. People were asked to forget their party allegiance for the time being and to unite in an administration. Many did so with the thought that by so doing they might help to win the war.

"But," challenged Mr. King, "I ask you, is there anyone in this city or in this province who did not think that, when the war was over, the government would be dissolved, and the people given an opportunity to return a new administration to deal with post-war problems?"

"Do you think," he continued, "that if the appeal had been made in the name of Arthur Meighen instead of in the name of Sir Robert Borden for the continuance of the administration that the appeal would have been granted?"

Moreover, the speaker pointed out, one man after another had retired from the Union government since the conclusion of the war until Mr. Meighen now had scarcely any of the strong men left. Hon. A. K. Maclean, Hon. F. B. Carvell, General Mewburn, Hon. T. A. Crerar, Sir Thomas White and Sir Robert Borden himself all had resigned from the government.

"Yet in spite of all this," continued Mr. King, "Hon. Mr. Meighen took hold of the reins of office and insisted that he had every right so to do. And not only had the Union government come to an end but Mr. Meighen had become ashamed and changed the name of the party to that of the National Liberal and Conservative party.

"Did anyone among you in this audience who is the friend of Mr. Meighen," demanded Mr. King, "have anything to do with the choice of the platform, the seletcion of the leader or the naming of the National Liberal and Conservative party?" Was it not astonishing, continued Mr. King, that Premier Meighen had gone into office without the nomination of his own political party? Was not that autocratic? That was one reason why he declared that what the people had to decide was not the tariff but whether representative government was to be continued in Canada.

Mr. King followed up with a telling delineation of what he declared were the differences between the Liberal and the Tory parties. The Tory theory of government was that only the few were able to govern and that the mass of the people were to be ignored. The Liberal theory was that otu of the collective wisdom of the whole body of the people more good was likely to come, and that government belonged to the people and not to the few. The Tories trusted the few; the Liberals trusted the people, declared Mr. King, amid loud applause.

Pressing home his charges of autocracy still further, Mr. King declared that not only did Mr. Meighen seize the reins of government but he had conducted the administration of this country in a more autocratic manner than any government in any of the British self-governing dominions was ever carried on before.

When Mr. Meighen had called parliament together in February of this year he asked for an appropriation equal to one-sixth of his estimate for carrying on the business of the country. Mr. King had felt it his duty to see that respect was shown for the right of the people to know in what manner the public money was to be expended. He did not, however, wish to hold up the civil service or other essential factors in the administration of the country.

On that occasion the premier had taken the attitude that either the money would be given or he would take it. He had in the closure a weapon to stifle debate and he resorted to the use of this weapon with the result that closure was applied and in two hours $80,000,000 were taken out of the public treasury and placed at his disposal for government this year.

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When the quetsion of the mercantile marine came before parliament the closure was again introduced and $8,000,000 more was voted. If that was the sort of thing they were prepared to support in the future, Mr. King admonished his audience, "then don't blame the government or don't blame Mr. Meighen. It is to cover up a record like this," the Liberal leader declared, "that Mr. Meighen would like to confine the issue of this campaign to the tariff."

**High Handed.**

Still following up his charges of high-handed administration of the nation's business, Mr. King declared that it had been ten years since the people of Canada had had an opportunity to discuss the general problems of the country. The election of 1917, he said, was concerned chiefly with the war when civilization was imperilled and the world was in danger of being trampled under the heel of the Prussian. Young men of twenty-one at the last election in 1911 had now become thirty-one and lads of ten or eleven had attained the franchise since then. For the first time in the history of the country all Canadian women would have the privilege of voting in this election. None of these elements in the population had thus far an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the government of this country.

Why, demanded Mr. King, with an electorate thus composed should this election be confined to the tariff issue and the issue of free trade? Free trade was purely an imaginary issue, he declared, when one got down to real facts.

The premier was before the people of this country, continued Mr. King, and the people, and not Mr. Meighen, were going to decide the issue and deal with them as they thought best.

**Votes For Women.**

Dealing with that part of the newspaper advertisement question regarding the progressiveness of granting the franchise to women, Mr. King declared that it was not Mr. Meighen's government but the Union government which had granted the franchise to women. In his opinion, however, the less said about the trust reposed in the women on the country at the last election in 1917, the better it would be for the opposition. The franchise had been given only to those women who, the government thought, were prepared to support it and had been denied to all other women.

What better example of autocracy than that could there be? demanded Mr. King. Democracy, he declared, did not pick and choose. It gave the same right to each and all. Special favors had no place in a free country.

**Extravagance.**

The Liberal leader then proceeded to answer the second defy that had been flung out to him, namely to substantiate his charges that the government had been extravagant. The question bearing upon this matter was phrased as follows in the newspaper advertisement:

"You (i.e. Mr. King) charge the Meighen government with extravagance. Are your own personal expenses, or the operating expenses of any business of which you have knowledge, not more than THREE PER CENT greater than in 1911? This is a fact with regard to Canada's ordinary expenditure, only three per cent greater than in 1911. How do you reconcile this with your charge of extravagance against the government?"

He did not wish, Mr. King said, to criticize the government's war-time expenditures but he did intend to criticize the government's expenditures since that time. The interest on the public debt, soldiers' settlement and other results of the war were involving an annual expenditure of some $140,000,000. It was not, however, against war expenses that he was directing his attack.

Looking only at corresponding expenses now and before the war he would say that in 1911 the military and naval expenditure of the government were about eight or nine millions of dollars, whereas today they were twenty millions.

When Mr. King had questioned Hon. Mr. Ballantyne in the house regarding the naval policy the minister replied that the government would have no naval policy until after the imperial conference which had taken place in June of the present year. Since that time the disarmament conference had been planned to take place in Washington in November of this year and Mr. King hoped that as a result of this conference large military and naval expenditures in the future would be rendered unnecessary.

Would ont a policy of economy, therefore, asked Mr. King, allow the naval situation to remain as it was until after these two conferences had been held. But instead of letting things stand as they were the government, Mr. King charged, had accepted the offer of five warships without consulting either parliament or people, and had then asked parliament to vote four millions of dollars for the maintenance of those ships this year. That was four millions, declared Mr. King, that might very well have been saved.

Subsequent developments in England had shown that warships were disposed of by the British government without the consent of the nation or of the British parliament. And among the ships mentioned as having been thus handed over by the British government were the five which had come to Canada.

The changes made in the Mounted Police had involved another bill of unnecessary expense, Mr. King charged. While he admitted that their presence in Ottawa lent a certain show to the capital, nevertheless, policing, he declared, was not the business of the federal government except in the unorganized territories of the Canadian northwest. As these districts become more and more organized the necessity for the mounted police became less and less. Nevertheless the headquarters of the mounted police had been moved to Ottawa, above all places, Mr. King said, and that body, which had cost the country $770,000 in 1911, this year had run up a bill of $3,000,000, an increase during the current year he thought of more than $1,500,000.

**"I ask you," said Mr. King, when Canada has an annual expenditure of $560,000 000, is that the sort of thing you call economy?" He would say, therefore that a government which had been accustomed to dealing with money by the billions was not the government to be entrusted with the administration of the affairs of Canada at this time. We must economize, he declared, if we are going to get back to normal conditions.**

**The Railways.**

The next on the list of what the framers hoped would be a series of embarrassing interrogations was the question pertaining to the national railways and which in the advertisement was phrased as follows:

" Do you concur in the avowed willingness of Hon. R. Lemieux, and his associate, Sir Lomer Gouin, who will dominate your party in Quebec, and therefore in Canada as a whole, to make over the Canadian Government Railways to the C. P. R., particularly in view of the fact that the Canadian National sustem, apart from the Grand Trunk, showed during August of the year a surplus on actual operation, apart from the interest charges, and that the Grand Trunk system under government control is also in a greatly improved position with a net revenue in August of this year of $1, 910,994.50 as compared with only $1,629,636 for the entire eight months period from January to August, 1920?"

Mr. King's reply to this question was perhaps one of the most important pronouncements he made on Saturday evening. "Mr. Lemieux," he said, "has expressed an individual opinion as to one means whereby the railway problem might be solved. He has been careful to

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state, however, that he has been speaking for himself and not for any one else. The Liberal party, far from approving any C. P. R. monopoly, had the origin of its railway policies in the destruction of monopoly. Neither by direct nor indirect implication can it be asserted that the party intends to do other other than follow its traditional policy."

The government was seeking to create the impression, Mr. King said, that the railway situation was the result of an error of judgment on the part of the Liberals in working out the railway problems in this country.

If that were true how did they account for the fact that the Canadian Northern Railway had been doubled since 1911 when Sir Wilfrid Laurier left office?

Laurier, declared his successor, sought to break the C. P. R. monopoly and to unite Canada not only politically but industrially and commercially as well. He felt that the country would not be built up without the transcontinental railway. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had the vision of an all-Canadian railway which would mean the transportation of goods, not through American ports, but through Canadian ports such as those we had here down by the sea.

Why had Sir Wilfrid's policy not worked, asked Mr. King, and then he proceeded to answer that question by declaring that Premier Borden and his successors had sought to belittle the national railways and to render the transcontinental railway of less service than it could be. People had complained of the diversion of traffic along the Canadian Northern Railway and, so far as St. John and Halifax were concerned, that diversion took place and one of the effects was that shipments were made not through these ports but through American ports.

Not by departing but by fulfilling the vision of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to make the country one would our railway problem be solved and the interests of our own Canadian ports best served. They would carry out this vision in all its full reality if returned to power.

During Sir Wilfrid Laurier's regime there were 2,000 miles of government railways in Canada, while today there were 22,000 miles, Mr. King said. Had the people, he asked, had any opportunity of discussing such great public questions as the taking over of the C. N. R., which was one of the greatest questions the people could be called upon to decide. No; it had been settled by the government and the people had no chance to decide. The Grand Trunk, too, had been taken over in large part since the war and in a very large part since Mr. Meighen took office. Such questions should be discussed by the people.

When Sir John A. Macdonald was making arrangements for the construction of the C. P. R., Mr. King said, the then Conservative premier had brought into parliament a copy of the proposed contract and agreement and every member of the house had had an opportunity to express his opinion. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had done the same thing when the Transcontinental Railway was proposed.

"I moved in parliament that the same course be followed in regard to the Grand Trunk Railway system," said the Liberal leader, "in order that the people's representatives might have a chance to discuss the terms of the proposed agreement. But what did Mr. Meighen do? He refused to allow that course to be taken and the agreement was signed, sealed and delivered without its terms being seen by the people's representatives.

"But," continued Mr. King, "those terms were seen by the Grand Trunk bondholders in England and we in Canada learned of the terms of the agreement through the cables from England. Think of giving people in England rights denied to the people here in Canada who pay the taxes!" He charged that the government had adopted in this matter a course wholly subversive of the principles of responsible government.

The Liberal leader said he was not complaining about the administration of the National railways being put in the hands of a board of directors, but, he declared, the government could never divest itself of the responsibility for the actions of those directors to whom it had entrusted the expenditure of the people's money. The directors of the National railways were handling hundreds of millions of the people's money and somebody must be held accountable for the manner in which this public money was expended.

In parliament recently, the Liberals had started to ask questions regarding the railway deficits of fifty million, and seventy million, and, since the new systems were taken in, 165 millions of dollars. In the last year of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, 1911, which was one of the most expensive on record, it had required only 123 millions of dollars to run the whole country. As the people's representatives, Mr. King said it was their duty to find out how these millions were being expended by the railway directors. But in reply to these questions put to it in parliament as well as to others regarding the personnel of the board of directors and their connection with other companies, and the amount and placement of insurance policies carried by the railways, the government had said that it had no information.

Later in committee the Liberals had found out that practically four-fifths of the members of the board of directors of the National railways were directors of other companies which carried on businesses having to do with the supplying of railway equipment of one kind or another and insurance. They had found that there was about 107 millions of dollars of insurance on the railways which for the most part was placed with a company on the board of directors of which two of the railway directors also served. Contracts to the amount of $11,000,000 and $9,000,000 had been let to companies, members of whose boards of directors were also on the railway directorate.

"I bring no charges against these gentlemen on the railway directorate," said Mr. King, "but I do bring a charge against the government which should see to it that a board dealing with the public money should be above suspicion."

The most important point in connection with this matter was, Mr. King said, the principle of accountability. The government had taken the position of refusing to give parliament information regarding the expenditures by the railway board—and remember, said Mr. King, they were the government's appointees.

In the face of such conditions as these a motion had been introduced declaring that it was the duty of the government to account for expenditures of public money on the floor of parliament.

"Would you believe it, ladies and gentlemen," said Mr. King, "that Mr. Meighen asked that this motion be voted down and voted down it was." That was one reason why the people's railway problem was in such a tangle. The government had challenged the Liberals to bring charges. How could they, asked Mr. King, when they did not know how the mney was being expended.

"The only way we can find out what is being done with the people's money," declared Mr. King, "is by returning to parliament an entirely new group of representatives who will stand for the people's rights, firsst, last, and all the time."

### The Tariff

Hon. Mr. King then took up the tariff question and said that so far as the Liberal party was concerned it did not stand for free trade and never had, so far as he knew. The sum of $560,000,000 had to be raised annually and it was impossible to raise this amount by direct taxation. No group was capable of doing this. There would have to be a

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tariff to raise revenue. Tariff was a means to an end and required to be revised from time to time. Hon. Mr. Meighen had said that he had the Laurier tariff today and the same for a number of years.

**In 1896 Laurier had promised to lower the tariff in favor of the people and the free trade bogey was raised. When Laurier came into power he took the duties off of some articles and promulgated the British preference of 33 1-3 per cent. He also made revisions in other directions. That tariff brought prosperity from one end of the country to the other. That had been the effect of the Liberal tariff.**

**If the Liberals were returned to power he would proceed just as Laurier and his government had proceeded. He asked if he could follow a better guide. The policy of the Liberal party was to revise the tariff so as to lower the cost of the necessities of life and increase production.**

He had been asked if he approved the Liberal platform of 1919. Hon. Mr. Meighen had asked at London (Ont.): "Did Mr. King stand pledged to put into effect the platform of 1919?" If he replied yes he should not have power, as the platform was unsound. If replied no, he was unfit to govern, as it showed bad faith. If he did not answer at all, he should not be put in power as he would be lacking in candor.

**Meighen is Answered**

Hon. Mr. King said that he would answer in the words he used when chosen Liberal leader at the caucus of 1919 when the platform was framed. He pointed out at that time that assuming so large a responsibility would be a big task for one man if he had to rely on himself. He believed in the wisdom of many minds. In the Liberal party were outstanding men of outstanding ability. He would surround himself with these gentlemen and do the thing that was the wisest thing to do. He regarded the platform as a chart of the course that the Liberal party was supposed to take. He would keep the chart before him and with the assistance of his colleagues would take the right course.

Conditions had changed materially since the 1919 platform had been framed. There had been changes in the United States tariff. Must we be bound by the actual words of any document? The people would regard him as a madman if he did so. He would have to accommodate himself to conditions and take a common sense view. That would be the sane course to take.

He said that he would surround himself with the ablest minds and seek to do that most to the interests of the Canadian people. He did not repudiate the platform and would take the responsibility of his actions on the floors of parliament.

He repeated that he did not stand for free trade, but a revision of the tariff. He pointed out that a tariff was for two purposes, protection and revenue, and explained how a tariff is operated. If protection was the main aim it did not let in any goods and enabled the manufacturers to combine and put up prices. No revenue was secured, and just a few persons benefited. If a tariff was for revenue it should be a fair tariff.

Liberals in framing the tariff regarded primarily the question of revenue. The speaker told of the board of commerce investigation and the report of James Murdock, which showed that there were many existing combines in the necessities of life. Mr. Murdock had come out today with the Liberal party and was asking for an investigation.

If we were to pay off the large public debt, Mr. King declared, we would have to develop the natural resources of the country, such as agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing. As the natural resources were developed manufacturers would have the raw materials to develop their businesses, and as commodities became more plentiful so transportations would increase and prosperity come.

It was to the interest of the country as a whole that the tax on implements of production should be as light as possible. Also the tax on the necessities of life should be light. It was along these lines that the Liberals proposed to revise the tariff.

**Wonderful Peroration.**

Hon. Mr. King then took up his 'programme' and said the next question he must answer, and, in view of the time, the last one he could answer was, "Have you any criticism of the government's war record and what do you say regarding the utterance of some of your party that this is to be an election of revenge."

The Liberal leader made his answer to this question the basis for a peroration that has seldom been equalled before a St. John audience and rose to great heights during its delivery. It was a stirring appeal for concord and not discord amongst all classes in the dominion, and before the last sentence was out of his mouth, the whole packed house was on its feet, cheering themselves hoarse. Mr. King had been speaking in a quiet, yet most convincing manner, but now he let loose a flood of eloquence, and that he struck a responsive chord was ably attested by the great ovation given him as he sat down.

He began by the declaration that the grand old Liberal party was not fighting this battle on the basis of prejudice.

"That is what war breeds," Hon. Mr. King declared. "It enkindles enmity. It divides class against class, creed against creed. But the war is over now and has been over for several years. Still it has left a legacy and in some quarters there is still a tendency to pit race and creed against one another. Let me say that we should forget the bitterness so rampant during the period of war and, so far as the Liberal party is concerned, it is no party to that kind of an appeal. (Cheers.) So far as the war is concerned and the government's record—that is settled. We are not looking to the past. We are looking to the unity of the future, that unity which is so essential to the peace and progress of our Canada. (Cheers.)

"We might attack the Government's war record, he said, on several matters, but we abstain for two reasons. First, when it suits convenience, the Meighen Government describes itself as a new government and that it cannot be judged by the acts of the old Unionist government. The second and more important reason is this:

"We have passed through the period of war into peace. We need, not only peace, but the spirit of peace. Let us seek that spirit as a substitute for the ill-will, engendered by the war. It is only by goodwill that we can be a united country.

"We have on the platform here tonight a gentleman from Quebec, Major Power. He served overseas, but his record as a statesman is equal to that as a soldier. He is from Quebec and he will tell you about conditions there and what he believes to be the issues of the campaign.

**I want to say this in conclusion, as a Canadian, as a British subject, that our first duty in this time of peace is to heal the wounds and scars of war and make our country happy, contented, and united. We promised the men who went overseas, who fought, who bled, who died, that they could expect this much of us. There was a solemn pledge made to them that they would never regret their following the vision splendid. 'Here and hereafter you shall see it ended,' we had promised. They fought that peace might come again and that ill-will would disappear. And it remains for us to keep that binding pledge.**

**"I say that that man, who deliberately attempts to stir up the flames of passion and prejudice is unjust to himself, unjust to the living and unjust to the memory of our sacred dead. Let us seek concord.**

The war caused a great wastage of human life, Hon. Mr. King declared. It bred autocracy into the government. It was for us to return to democracy of peace.

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"Let me say this to the people of St. John, Liberal or Conservative, forget the past and realize the future. Unity is needed and you will be all the greater for working for that unity. Let bygones be bygones and see to it that the present government does not continue to hold office. The Liberal party seeks unity of class and class, creed and creed, race and race, province and province, east and west, yes, this vast Dominion with the other dominions of the British Empire. The Liberal party aims to restore goodwill to all, for on goodwill alone rests the solution of our difficulties. Only by co-operation can true advance and progress be attained and I ask you to join me in making that aim a splendid reality."

The last words of the Liberal leader's speech were drowned by the cheering of the audience and it was some time before the chairman could make himself heard to introduce the last speaker of the evening, Major C. G. Power, of Quebec, who, on rising, described himself as the official closer of his leader's meetings. (Laughter.)

**Major Power.**

The major was in a fighting mood and scored the Meighen government for its failure to recognize the aspirations of the Canadian seaports and to develop those seaports for the handling of Canadian exports. Regarding the tariff, the major said it covered a multitude of Tories and their sins. The people would say on Dec. 6 what they thought of Mr. Meighen's tariff policy for protection. The Liberal tariff policy, framed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Hon. W. S. Fielding, had given Canada a golden era of development for fifteen years. As for extravagance, Major Power said, Canada had a standing army of 3,800 men which would be commanded in wartime by a brigadier. Yet at present there are nineteen generals in Ottawa directing affairs for the 3,800. When the government announced a policy of retrenchment what was the result? They dismissed about ten privates and they could have done just as well by dismissing ten of the generals. Major Power said that there was no hatred in Quebec for the other races. He stood as a living witness to this, being elected in a constituency that was three-fourths French-Canadian.

Major Power was loudly applauded. Mayor Schofield rose and announced the meeting at an end and called for the National Anthem. At its conclusion, Premier Foster called for three cheers for Hon. Mr. King and the Liberal party, which were given with a vim and the gathering then dispersed, carrying with it a most favorable impression of the Liberal leader.

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St. John Standard

October 17th 1921

D 5651 (1)

# MACKENZIE KING FAILED TO HOLD HIS AUDIENCE

## Began Dwindling Out of Theatre Before He Was Half Through Address.

## FELL DOWN ON QUESTIONS ASKED

## Committed His Party to Nothing—Had No Remedy for Existing ills.

Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, Major Powers, M. P., Quebec City, and Premier Foster, of New Brunswick, addressed the Liberal meeting which was held in the Imperial Theatre on Saturday evening. About 1500 people were present when Mayor Schofield, who presided as chairman, welcomed the visitors in his official capacity and proceeded to introduce the speakers. The meeting did not start until after the conclusion of the first show at the theatre, shortly after nine o'clock; and, although there was a fair crowd present at the beginning, the audience gradually dwindled away until the building was barely half-filled at the conclusion. The attendance was rather disappointing to those who had made arrangements for the gathering and contrasted poorly with the number of four thousand which greeted Premier Arthur Meighen and Hon. Dr. John B. M. Baxter at the big Conservative rally held two evenings previously and packed the Armories Building.

### Fails to Make Good

The Liberal leader made mention early in his address to the questions which the Prime Minister and the Minister of Customs and Excise had advised the people of St. John on Thursday evening last to ask him. He also referred to the numerous questions which the public press of the city were calling upon him to answer in regard to the attitude and policy of the Liberal opposition on certain issues of the campaign.

Mr. King declared that he did not purpose to answer these questions categorically, and would dispose of them during the course of his discussion on each matter. The Liberal leader spoke for a period extending over one hour during which time he showered and bombarded his audience with a multitude of words without actually committing himself or his party on any issue, and left it to those present to decide for themselves by their own interpretation of his remarks what programme would be carried into effect should the opposition be returned to power.

### Tariff Plank a Chart

"The press of this city", stated Mr. King, "have asked me if I stand by the platform of the Liberal Convention of August 1919 as respects the Customs Tariff. To that question I wish to say that I do, but I may also say that I regard this platform as a chart upon which I will act as I am directed and in accordance with the best advice furnished to me by the counsel and advice of those with whom I will surround myself." The speaker also declared that while the tariff policy laid down in the Liberal platform of 1919 would be his chart, the counsel of his political lieutenants would act as the compass. No indication as to where the compass would actually point or what would be the tariff policy of the Liberals, if they obtained the reins of office, was set out.

Mr. King said that since the conclusion of the war no consideration had been given to domestic questions which affected the country.

At the time of the last election the people's interest was taken up with the European war. "But", he stated, "let us forget the war now that it is all over and let us look to the future and forget the past." He referred to the Prime Minister as an autocrat in taking over the leadership of the Conservative party upon the resignation of Sir Robert Borden; but did not draw any line of dissimilarity between the Prime Minister's act and that of Hon. Mr. Murray when he succeeded to the Premiership of the Province of Nova Scotia when Hon. Mr. Fielding was called into the Laurier Cabinet.

### Has No Remedy For Ills.

The opposition leader described the manifesto of the Conservative party as one affecting only a small minority in the country. He criticized the railway policy of the Government and voiced his disapproval of the members of the board of the National Railways system. The members of that board, the speaker stated, were interested as directors of subsidiary companies which had received orders for railway supplies. He did not consider that this was correct. In his opinion these men should not retain their connection with such companies. Mr. King, however, would not make one charge of corruption against any member of the board of the National Railway System.

In touching upon the tariff policy of the opposition, the Liberal leader proceeded to demonstrate with the assistance of a book and pencil that he believed in a revenue tariff and a tariff that would keep the big American interests out of Canada and the industrial concerns now existing in this country in Canada. The speaker, nevertheless, artfully dodged giving any definite assurance as to where his party actually stood on this question.

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St. John Standard

Mr. King deprecated the railway policy adopted by Premier Meighen and Sir Robert Borden. He stated that the Meighen Government and Borden Government had laid the blame for deficits in connection with the Government railways on the Liberal administration, but that this was going a long way back.

**Premier Foster's Effort**

Premier Foster blamed the Government for not having diverted any freight to this city by means of the Valley Railway, but made no mention of the fact that the bridge at Fredericton in its present condition did not permit the passing of heavy freight over it. He also voiced his belief that those interested in the Grand Trunk railway line to Portland were partly financially instrumental in the development of the harbor and facilities for handling freight at that point on the Maine coast. The speaker absolutely disregarded the fact that the money used for the development of the pier and harbor works there was contributed by the Government of the United States and that of the State of Maine.

Major Power said that the Government had not done sufficient for the returned soldiers. He criticized the re-establishment scheme which had been the result of the efforts of the Meighen Government and declared he would always look after the interests of returned soldiers.

**On The Defensive**

It was evident throughout the Liberal leader's speech that he was considerably embarassed by the questions which were put to him through the Standard. His verbosity was of an exuberant but spread-eagle nature and he skilfully avoided giving a straightforward reply in regard to whether, if given power, he would put into effect the platform of the Liberal Convention of 1919 as respects the Customs tariff, which bears such similarity to that of the "Wood-Crerar" policy as to be indistinguishable. Mr. King studiously avoided any reference to the speeches of Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, his chief lieutenant in the Province of Quebec, who advocated the return of the Government railways to private corporations in opposition to his leader. The challenge issued to Mr. King to read from Hansard any word of opposition voiced by one member of the Liberal party in opposition to the expenditures on the Canadian Government Merchant Marine, when full information was furnished by the Meighen Government, was not answered by him. It was also quite perceptible to the audience that the Liberal leader avoided any reference to the fact that Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux had on the floor of the House of Commons in the month of April, 1919, congratulated the Minister of Marine on the progress made by the Meighen Government in regard to the Canadan Government Merchant Marine, which remarks are published in Hansard. The failure of Mr. King to reply to these questions which were put to him by the Standard proved extremely disappointing to those who went to the meeting in the hope of obtaining some light on the real policy of the Liberal Party.

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Toronto Globe Oct-17th 1921 D 5653

# SAYS LEMIEUX'S RAILWAY POLICY NOT LIBERALISM

## Mackenzie King Declares Former Minister Speaks as Private Citizen

## DEBT TO FIGHTING MEN

## Liberal Chief Urges Necessity of Adoption of Tariff for the Home

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

St. John, N.B., Oct. 16.—In referin to the Canadian National Railway problems, at a mass meeting here last night, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, declared that Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, in saying he would accept Lord Shaughnessy's proposal that the C. P. R. take over and operate Canada's publicly-owned lines, spoke not as a Liberal, nor with the authorization of the Liberal party, but merely in his position as a private citizen. The Liberal policy, he said, had been drawn up, not to put further power in the hands of great monopolies, but to break them.

The Liberal Leader was given an enthusiastic reception by an audience that filled to capacity the Imperial Theatre.

**Spirit of Peace.**

Referring to the problems of reconstruction, Mr. King said: "We have passed through war; we need not only peace, but the spirit of peace. Our first duty is to heal the wounds and scars of war and make our country happy, contented and united. We promised the men who went overseas, who fought, who bled, who died that they could expect this much of us.

"They fought that peace might come again, that ill-will would disappear, and it remains for us to keep that pledge." As the war had brought about autocracy and wastage of human life, so it was necessary for Canada to get back to democracy and by making this a happier and more prosperous country bring about a conservation of human life.

**Tariff for the Home.**

Dealing with the tariff, the Liberal Leader laid down in St. John his platform of downward revision, of lightening the taxation on implements of production in the basic industries, and on the necessaries of life, as he had laid it before the people of the eight other Provinces of Canada since taking the leadership.

The Liberal tariff, he declared, was a tariff in the interests of the home and its needs; a tariff in the interests of the majority, and not one in the interests of the privileged few. There was no thought in the Liberal mind of abolishing the tariff, but it must be a tariff primarily for revenue and not for the protection of privileged interests. Talk of the issue being between free trade and protection was deliberately misleading, he reiterated.

The Liberal Leader reiterated his charge that the Meighen Government had been both autocratic and extravagant. In the former case he cited the application of the closure to pass estimates as well as other acts. As instances of extravagance there was the acceptance of naval vessels, the Canadian Merchant Marine, and many other things.

**Two More Meetings.**

Two more meetings in this Province are to be addressed by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King before the Liberal Leader leaves for Ottawa to make preparations for a two weeks' tour of Ontario, which will in all probability be followed by a series of meetings in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces.

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17 Oct. 1921 — St. Stephen, N.B.

NO LIBERAL ALLIANCE WITH
THE FARMERS

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St. John Daily Telegraph Oct-18th 1921

D 5655

# NO AGREEMENT WITH FARMERS

## Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at St. Stephen Declares There is no Understanding With Crerar or Anyone Else

## Liberal Leaders in West Have Not Agreed to Support Agrarians in Campaign and Such Report Without Foundation, Adds Leader—Hopes to See Liberal Candidate in Every Constituency From Halifax to Vancouver, With Exception of Two, Where There Are Special Conditions—Rousing Rally.

(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)

St. Stephen, Oct. 17—There is no understanding of any kind as to a compromise with Hon. T. C. Crerar or anyone else after the election, declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, to The Canadian Press representative today, on reading of a special despatch from Ottawa, which said that a report to the above effect, was gaining wide credence at Ottawa.

Regarding a further statement in the despatch to the effect that the Liberal leaders in the west, as part of the bargain, had agreed to support the Farmers in the campaign, Mr. King declared that such a statement was untrue in fact and entirely without foundation.

**Opposes Narrow Policy.**

With but an exception or two, for reasons which will be wholly apparent I hope to see a Liberal candidate in the field in every constituency from Halifax to Vancouver, Mr. King declared, not that the Liberal party is antagonistic to any group, but solely because the Liberal policy is broader than that of any group.

If Liberal and Progressive policies are to be made to prevail in matters of government, it can only be by co-operation, between men and women of all classes, who feel and think alike, on questions of government.

A party that in origin, in aim and in following, is broader than class or race, or creed or section, can alone meet this requirement, so essential to victory.

The farmers of Canada, irrespective of past affiliations are already beginning to see very clearly that a great deal more can be done to attain the ideal they cherish by co-operation with the other forces of progress who form the Liberal party than by becoming identified with an organization with class aims and ambitions. Indeed it was a mistake to speak of a farmers' party as if one existed, embracing the farmers of the country as a whole. The so-called Farmers' party embraces only those of the farmer members who believe in political separation from other groups, and classes in the country. We are seeking unity of all classes in the government; he need that spirit of unity to bring Canada back to true democracy. Increasing numbers of farmers and labor men are supporting Liberal candidates in the different constituencies.

**Farmers and Labor.**

Increasing numbers of farmers and labor men are supporting Liberal candidates in the different constituencies. This is because they realize, as Dr. Michael Clark and James Murdock have pointed out, that victory can only be won for the things they hold in common with either groups and classes in the Liberal party, through co-operation in that party, whose aims are above class government, and wide enough for all the people of this dominion.

The Liberal leader arrived here at noon today, from St. John. He was accompanied by A. B. Copp, Liberal candidate in Westmorland. Tomorrow night Mr. King will speak at Campbellton, making there the final speech of his New Brunswick tour.

**Grand Liberal Rally.**

Electors of Charlotte County who last week heard the government's tariff policy outlined by the prime minister, Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, this evening filled the curling rink to hear the Liberal side of the same question laid down by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party.

Mr. King's declaration was for the policy of revision in the interests of the home and its needs as against revision in the interests of a private few. The protective tariff in force since 1911 had failed to protect the consumer from monopolies and excessive profits, he said.

**Speaks in Dark.**

During the meeting the lights in the rink went out of commission for about ten minutes during which time the Liberal leader continued speaking. During this period some one at the back of the crowd asked Mr. King what he did during the war. The Liberal leader said, "I am sure my friend was wise to put that question in the dark." He replied that he had answered that question in the House of Commons long ago when the members of the government and opposition had all joined in the applause approving his statement of the facts.

A. B. Copp, former M. P. for Westmorland, and W. F. Todd, who was chosen Liberal candidate for Charlotte county, at the Liberal convention in the afternoon, also addressed the meeting.

W. F. Todd expressed confidence as to the outcome of the campaign and referred to the need of harbor development in St. Croix River. Three mayors were on the platform with the speaker of the evening, Mayor Johnston, St. Stephen, Mayor Kennedy, St. Andrews, and Mayor Grearson, St. George.

**Hon. Mr. King.**

In opening his speech, Hon. Mr. King paid a compliment to Mr. Todd in his

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(4) St. John Daily Telegraph D 5656

work as member of parliament previous to 1911.

Referring to industrial conditions, Mr. King said these were similar this year to those of 1896. Then the Conservatives had preached "blue ruin," but in St. Stephen factories had been enlarged to meet the increased trade. In his meeting here, said Mr. King, the Prime Minister had spent most of his time declaring that the tariff was the only issue. "The issue," Mr. King declared, "is what we Canadian people wish to make it."

Mr. King dealt with certain questions of a St. John newspaper placed before him and said there had been no vote of $500,000,000 authorized for creation of the mercantile marine. "That is absolutely incorrect," Mr. King declared. "That money was voted for carrying on the war; the government had started building ships to replace those torpedoed, but once the war was at an end the government had no right to proceed with its programme. "You can search all you like," said Mr. King, "and you won't find any act of parliament authorizing the creation of the merchant marine."

**Defends Laurier Policy.**

Mr. King defended the railway policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier against the charge that it had been responsible for the present railway situation. The Laurier policy had been for the development of the Canadian west and also of Canadian eastern ports. The Conservative policy meant the sending of Canadian trade to foreign ports. The government, said Mr. King, had taken no action to appoint a board to manage the Canadian national railways as provided for in the act of two years ago, but placed these roads under a board appointed under legislation passed in connection with the granting of aid to Mackenzie & Mann several years ago. The Borden-Meighen government, Mr. King declared, had been more interested in keeping the Mackenzie & Mann interests and their friends in control rather than in considering the rights and needs of the people.

The board of commerce, said Mr. King, had found profits running as high as 300 per cent and the people were given no protection against combines by the government.

No legitimate industry making a legitimate and reasonable profit had anything to fear from the return of the Liberal party to power, Mr. King declared. But if the Liberal party found any industry making millions unfairly at the expense of the people then that industry must be brought to book.

**Mr. Copp Speaks.**

A. B. Copp, ex-M. P. for Westmorland, said Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen asked the people to forget all about the government's sins and blunders. He referred to the horse scandal of 1917.

Mr. Copp declared that fifteen years of the Fielding tariff policy had given Canada great prosperity. He quoted the Fielding tariff amendments of last session to show that the Liberal policy was not one of free trade. Every Liberal and Farmer in parliament had voted for reduced tariffs and Mr. Meighen's supporters had voted solidly against the reduction.

Mr. Copp dealt with reports that prominent Liberals were switching their support to the Meighen government and declared that at least one of these men had received a huge legal fee from the government for services during the Winnipeg strike. He had also been chairman of Mr. Meighen's Winnipeg meeting.

The candidate for Westmorland criticized the government for the expenditure of millions of dollars in buying manufactured goods to be sent to Greece and Roumania. Friends of the government had profited by these loans, he said.

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Montreal Gazette Oct-18th 1921 D 5657

# NO UNDERSTANDING WITH CRERAR, SAYS MACKENZIE KING

## Liberal Leaders in West Not Compromising With Farmers' Party

## HIS POLICY BROADEST

### Forces of Progress Have Home in Liberal Party Alone, According to Leader's Statement

(By Canadian Press.)

St. Stephen, N.B., October 17.—There is no understanding of any kind as to a compromise with Hon. T. A. Crerar or anyone else, declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, to a Canadian Press representative today, on reading of a special despatch from Ottawa which stated that a report to the above effect was gaining wide credence at Ottawa. Regarding a further statement in the despatch to the effect that the Liberal leaders in the West, as part of the bargain, had agreed to support the Farmers in the campaign, Mr. King declared that such a statement was untrue in fact and entirely without foundation.

"With but an exception or two, for reasons which will be wholly apparent, I hope to see a Liberal candidate in the field in every constituency from Halifax to Vancouver," Mr. King declared, "not that the Liberal party is antagonistic to any group, but solely because the Liberal policy is broader than that of any group.

"If Liberal and Progressive policies are to be made to prevail in matters of government, it can only be by co-operation between men and women of all classes, who feel and think alike on questions of government.

"A party that in origin, in aim and in following, is broader than class or race, or creed or section, can alone meet this requirement so essential to victory.

"The Farmers of Canada, irrespective of past affiliations, are already beginning to see very clearly that a great deal more can be done to attain the ideal they cherish by co-operation with the other forces of progress who form the Liberal party than by becoming identified, as an organization, with class aims and ambitions. Indeed, it is a mistake to speak of a farmers' party as one existing, embracing the farmers of the country as a whole. The so-called Farmers' party embraces only those of the farmer members who believe in political appeal from other groups and classes in the country. We are seeking unity of all classes in the Government. We need that spirit of unity to bring Canada back to true democracy. Increasing numbers of Farmers and Labor men are supporting Liberal candidates in the different constituencies, because they realize, as Dr. Michael Clark and Mr. James Murdock have pointed out, that victory can only be won for the things that are held in common through co-operation with other groups and classes in the Liberal party, whose aims are above class government, and wide enough for all the people of this Dominion."

The Liberal leader arrived here at noon today from St. John.

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Toronto Globe Oct-18th 1921

D 5658

# MR. KING DENIES ANY ALLIANCES WITH FARMERS

## Says He Hopes to See Liberal Candidates in All But Two Ridings

## NEED OF LIBERAL PARTY

## Says His Party Is Seeking Unity of All Classes in the Country

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

St. Stephen, N.B., Oct. 17.—"There is no understanding of any kind as to a compromise with Hon. T. A. Crerar or anyone else," declared Hon. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Liberal party, to the Canadian Press representative today, on reading a special despatch from Ottawa which stated that a report to the above effect was gaining wide credence at Ottawa. Regarding a further statement in the despatch to the effect that the Liberal leaders in the West, as part of the bargain, had agreed to support the Farmers in the campaign, Mr. King declared that such a statement was untrue in fact and entirely without foundation.

**Liberals in Every Riding.**

"With but an exception or two, for reasons which will be wholly apparent, I hope to see a Liberal candidate in the field in every constituency from Halifax to Vancouver," Mr. King declared. "Not that the Liberal party is antagonistic to any group, but solely because the Liberal policy is broader than that of any group.

"If Liberal and Progressive policies are to be made to prevail in matters of government, it can be only by co-operation between men and women of all classes who feel and think alike on questions of government.

"A party that in origin, in aim and in following is broader than class or race, or creed or section can alone meet this requirement, so essential to victory.

**No Class Aims or Ambitions.**

"The Farmers of Canada, irrespective of past affiliations, are already beginning to see very clearly that a great deal more can be done to attain the ideal they cherish by co-operation with the other forces of progress who form the Liberal party than by becoming identified with an organization with class aims and ambitions. Indeed, it is a mistake to speak of a Farmers' party as if one existed, embracing the farmers of the country as a whole. The so-called Farmers' party embraces only those of the farmer members who believe in political separation from other groups and classes in the country. We are seeking unity of all classes in the Government; we need that spirit of unity to bring Canada back to true democracy. Increasing numbers of Farmers and Labor men are supporting Liberal candidates in the different constituencies because they realize, as Dr. Michael Clark and Mr. James Murdock have pointed out, that victory can be won for the things that are held in common only through co-operation with other groups and classes for all the people of this Dominion."

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Montreal Daily Star
October 19, 1921

D 5659

# MACKENZIE KING TAKES UP TARIFF AT ST. STEPHEN

## Liberal Leader Declares for Policy of Revision in Interests of Home

## NOT FOR FEW

## Says Protective Tariff in Force Since 1911 Failed to Protect Consumer

ST. STEPHEN, N. B., Oct. 18—"No legitimate industry making a legitimate and reasonable profit has anything to fear from the return of the Liberal party to power," asserted Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in his speech in the curling rink here last night. He added that if the Liberal party found any industry making millions unfairly at the expense of the people that industry would be brought to book.

During the meeting the lights in the rink failed and Mr. King spoke for about ten minutes in the dark. At this time someone in the hall asked the Liberal leader what he had done during the war. "I am sure my friend was wise to put that question in the dark," was Mr. King's reply. He said that he had answered the same question in the House of Commons and that members of the Government and opposition had joined in applauding his reply, approving his statement of the facts.

Other speakers were A. B. Copp, ex-M.P. for Westmoreland, and W. F. Todd, who had been chosen as Liberal candidate for Charlotte at the Liberal convention held in the afternoon. On the platform were the mayors of St. Stephen, St. Andrew and St. George.

Mr. King laid down his tariff policy as being based on revision in the interests of the home and its needs as against revision in the interests of a few privileged persons. He said that the protective tariff in force since 1911 had not protected the consumer from monopolies and excessive profits. Mr. King said that industrial conditions were similar this year to those of 1896. Then the Conservatives had preached "blue ruin," but in St. Stephen factories had been enlarged to meet the increased trade. In his meeting here, said Mr. King, the Prime Minister had spent most of his time declaring that the tariff was the only issue. "The issue," Mr. King declared, "is what we Canadian people wish to make it."

### CANADIAN MERCANTILE MARINE.

Mr. King denied that there had been a vote of $500,000,000 for the Canadian Merchantile Marine. "That is absolutely incorrect," Mr. King declared. "That money was voted for carrying on the war; the Government had started building ships to replace those torpedoed, but once the war was at an end the Government had no right to proceed with its program. You can search all you like, and you won't find any act of Parliament authorizing the creation of the Merchant Marine."

Mr. King defended the railway policy of Sir Wilfred Laurier against the charge that it had been responsible for the present railway situation. The Laurier policy had been for the development of the Canadian West and also of Canadian Eastern ports. The Conservative policy meant the sending of Canadian trade to foreign ports. The Government, said Mr. King, had taken no action to appoint a Board to manage the Canadian National Railways as provided for in the Act of two years ago, but placed these roads under a Board appointed under legislation passed in connection with the granting of aid to Mackenzie and Mann several years ago. The Borden-Meighen Governments, Mr. King declared, had been more interested in keeping the Mackenzie and Mann interests and their friends in control rather than in considering the rights and needs of the people.

The Board of Commerce, said Mr. King, had found profits running as high as 300 per cent and the people were given no protection against combines by the Government.

### CANDIDATE FOR WESTMORELAND.

Mr. Copp said that Mr. Meighen asked the people to forget all about the Government's sins and blunders. He referred to the "horse scandals" of 1917.

Mr. Copp declared that 15 years of Fielding tariff policy had given Canada great prosperity. He quoted the Fielding tariff amendments of last session to show that the Liberal policy was not one of free trade. Every Liberal and Farmer in Parliament had voted for reduced tariffs and Mr. Meighen's supporters had voted solidly against the reduction.

Mr. Copp dealt with reports that prominent Liberals were switching their support to the Meighen Government and declared that at least one of these men had received a huge legal fee from the Government for services during the Winnipeg strike. He had also been chairman of Mr. Meighen's Winnipeg meeting.

The candidate for Westmoreland also criticized the Government for the expenditure of millions of dollars in buying manufactured goods to be sent to Greece and Rumania. Friends of the Government had profited by these loans, he said.

Mr. Todd expressed confidence as to the outcome of the campaign and referred to the need of harbor development in St. Croix River.

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D 5660

18 Oct. 1921

Campbellton, N.B.

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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CANADA

Montreal Gazette Oct-19th 1921

D 5661

# HON. W. L. M. KING ENDS HIS TOUR OF SEA PROVINCES

## Has Heard Voice of Public Opinion Like Roar of Ocean

## SEES C.N.R. IN POLITICS

### One Director of Board in Field as Meighen Candidate in Nova Scotia

(By Canadian Press).

Campbellton, N. B., October 18.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, addressed the final meeting of his Maritime Provinces tour here tonight. With Mr. King on the platform were Pius Michaud and O. Turgeon, both members of the last Federal Parliament, and Hon. P. J. Veniot, Hon. C. W. Robinson and Hon. J. E. Michaud, of the New Brunswick Government, who, with other prominent Liberals, also spoke.

Since coming into the Maritime Provinces, Mr. King declared, he had heard the voice of public opinion, "like the roar of the ocean, which would sweep into oblivion the advancing wave which Mr. Meighen said he saw coming in his favor."

As an instance of Governmental extravagance, Mr. King cited the holding of a second session of Parliament in 1919 for the signing of the peace treaty, a business which could have been seen to in the next regular session. The Government, he said, would have spent $2,000,000 on mounted police barracks in Ottawa if the Liberal Opposition had not raised objection.

The Prime Minister claimed to have taken the railways out of politics, said Mr. King. However, one of the directors of the Canadian National Board was in the field as a Meighen candidate in Nova Scotia and there had been no announcement of his resignation from the directorate. "The company he is connected with," said Mr. King, "received contracts for $11,000,000 worth of railway equipment last year."

The Liberal leader also referred to Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, who, he said, had not resigned from the local House. Apparently, said Mr. King, Mr. Baxter was keeping the seat in case the Meighen Government went to pieces even before December 6.

NOT FREE TRADE PARTY.

Reference to the manifesto of Hon. T. A. Crerar was made when Mr. King discussed the tariff. The Progressive leader had not preached free trade in that manifesto, said Mr. King, and certainly the Liberal party did not, and it never had preached free trade; therefore, Mr. Meighen's choice of an issue was absurd.

Hon. P. J. Veniot charged both the Prime Minister and Hon. J. B. M. Baxter with having sought to deceive the people. In Ontario, he said, Right Hon. Mr. Meighen was a high protectionist, while in the Maritime Provinces his views were considerably modified. Mr. Baxter supported the Government's railway policy of placing the Intercolonial Railway under direction of the Toronto board while in the Provincial Legislature he moved to condemn the Meighen Government "for violating the pact of Confederation by placing the Intercolonial Railway under the present conglomeration of railways."

Dealing with the recent railway figures issued, Mr. Veniot claimed that if there was a surplus on the Intercolonial Railway, it was due to cutting down the wages of the men working on the road. Mr. Veniot predicted that there would not be fewer than eight Liberals returned to support Mr. King from New Brunswick. The Government, he said, would get two seats and the Farmers one. This estimate, he declared, would not be more than one seat out between the Liberals and the Government.

Enroute to Campbellton, Mr. King this afternoon addressed two short meetings at Chatham and Newcastle. He spoke in the Opera House at Chatham and from a baggage truck at the Newcastle Railway Station.

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Campbellton Graphic
October 20/21
D 5562 (1)

# Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Gets Great Reception at Campbellton Tuesday Night

## Skating Rink Crowded With Attentive Ratepayers Who Heard Liberal Chief and Other Speakers on the Issues of the Campaign.

**Without exception the Liberal rally held in the skating rink here Tuesday evening, and addressed by Hon. W. L. McKenzie King and other Liberal speakers, was the greatest political demonstration ever held on the north shore.**

From all quarters electors came into town by train or auto and when the meeting opened, the big rink, which had been comfortably seated with benches, was filled and many stood along the promenades and galleries. It is estimated that there were nearly three thousand people assembled. The best of order prevailed throughout the meeting the different speakers being attentively listened to.

Hon. Mr. King and his party, among whom were Hon. C. W. Robinson, Moncton, Hon. P. J. Veniot, Bathurst; Hon. J. E. Michaud, Edmunston; O. Turgeon, Bathurst and others arrived by the Ocean Limited at 7.30. The Campbellton band and a tremendous concourse of citizens were at the depot to welcome them and escort them to the hotel and later to the rink.

At 8.15 Mr. A. T. LeBlanc, who had been chosen chairman opened the meeting.

In a few remarks he thanked the people for their interests, explained Hon. Mr. Marcil's absence and introduced the speakers. He stated that at a large and enthusiastic Liberal convention held at St. Leonards on the 14th inst. at which a very large delegation from Restigouche was present, the unanimous choice of a candidate to represent the Liberals had been Pius Michaud, who had been their representative since 1917. No doubt in the near future at another election, a Restigouche man will be chosen the standard bearer. In conclusion he asked for the loyal support of Mr. Michaud on Dec. 6th so that his majority would be even greater than in 1917. Mr. Michaud was then introduced and was greeted with applause.

**Pius Michaud.**

Mr. Michaud thanked the audience for the flattering reception tendered him. He thanked the electors of Restigouche-Madawaska who had come to do honor to our leader, and the next Premier of Canada, Hon. Mr. King. He (Mr. Michaud) had been chosen by a very large and representative convention of the Liberals of the constituency and he felt sure of success. There was no split in the Liberal party. The Conservatives were scheming to make a split but they, (the Liberals) were wise to the game. Even if the Conservatives could put a candidate in the field he felt sure the result would be the same as in 1917. We are prepared for their tricks and tactics.

To the ladies he said that he was willing to leave his case in their hands and felt sure of their support and their support of the great Liberal principles. In conclusion he asked all to give him a vote on Dec. 6th and thanked the audience for their patience and applause.

**Hon. C. W. Robinson.**

Hon. C. W. Robinson was the next speaker. He was given a great reception and made a rousing appeal to all electors who were interested in this great Canada to vote for a change. Canada he likened to a sick patient and the Conservative leader as the doctor. The patient was showing no improvement and it was felt that a change of doctors was advisable and suggested that we try a specialist Hon. W. L. McKenzie King.—Applause. He spoke interestingly of railway matters and suggested that if we in the maritime provinces were to regain control and the management of the Intercolonial railway it would be necessary to send from almost every constituency in these provinces supporters of Mr. King.—Applause.

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D 5663 (2)

**Hon. W. L. McKenzie King.**

The chairman then introduced the speaker of the evening, Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, who was received with round after round of applause.

Hon. Mr. King said that he was indeed flattered by his reception at Campbellton, it was one of the greatest meetings he had addressed in his tour of the provinces and a fitting close to his meetings. He did not regard the reception as a personal tribute, but a tribute to the principles of liberalism. The voice of liberalism to-day is the voice of the people of Canada. In Nova Scotia there seemed to be but one voice and that was of the Liberals. In P. E. I. it was the same, and now at the conclusion of his New Brunswick campaign he felt he could say the same.

Hon. Mr. Meighen had remarked that he could see a wave mounting which would carry his party into power. Well he had not been able to distinguish that wave, but what he heard was the roar of a mighty ocean, which is the voice of public opinion, and this would wash the Meighen party into oblivion.

The speaker paid a tribute to the worth of Mr. Pius Michaud and asked for the support of all for him on Dec. 6th. He also spoke feelingly of Mr. O. Turgeon of Gloucester who was also present, and suggested that Gloucester County would do honor to itself by sending so worthy a representative back to parliament by acclamation—Applause.

After these preliminaries Hon. Mr. King proceeded in a masterly way to discuss the issues of the campaign.

In 1917, the Hon. Mr. King pointed out, Canada had a general election. All at that time were bent on the aim of winning the war. No consideration was given to domestic questions, and since the conclusion of the war no consideration had been allowed to those domestic questions which affected the country, as no general election had been held.

Mr. Meighen's right to the Premiership of Canada the speaker questioned. Mr. King asked: "Did he have any right to rule? Did anyone give him a mandate to rule? "Who gave Mr. Meighen the right to shape the railway policies of this country?" asked the Liberal leader amid great applause. "Is there a man who gave him that right? The answer is silence." "If you return Premier Meighen and his colleagues, you further autocracy and if you do not approve of his government, then you have your opportunity on December 6th."

While in Moncton and other maritime cities and Mr. King, the issue dealt with by Mr. Meighen had been protection versus free trade. In the discussion of such an issue, Mr. Meighen was arguing a question, the Liberal leader said, which was of his own creation. In the discussion of the tariff issue Mr. Meighen forgot the acts of his government. He defined Mr. Meighen's policies as being autocratic.

**The Railway Issue.**

Turning to the railway issue, the Hon. Mr. King deprecated the policy adopted by the Meighen and Borden administrations. He pointed out that the Meighen government and Borden government had laid the blame for the deficits on Government railways on the Laurier government, but this was going a long way back. The policy of the Laurier government had been "construction," the policy of the Borden and Meighen governments—destruction. The aim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been a national one—the union of the West and the East. To insure such a union the Laurier government had foreseen, said Mr. King, the necessity of another line of railway over the continent. Previous to the adoption of that policy to erect another road to the West there was but one road in that country. To better the immigration into the west and aid in general industrial development of Canada, a second road was erected. The result was immigration. Settlers went into the west. The prairies were broken up and the new settlers had a measure of self-government in the affairs of their adopted country.

**The Canadian National Railway.**

The management of the above road was placed in the hands of a Board of directors. "Are they railway men?" asked Mr. King. "The government" said Mr. King had appointed a group of their own friends, and the Liberals had asked for an account as to the expenditures of money by this group."

The Liberals also asked :"Have any assurance been placed on the government property?" The reply to these questions to the effect that the government had no information to give.

The Liberals also asked: "Have any contracts been let for cars?" and the reply, added the Liberal leader, was. "The government had no information" and blamed the deficits on this road on the wages it was paying, labor coming in for the blame.

The Liberals had asked questions concerning the rolling stock of the company, and the reply was "The government has no reply to make." Was that justice?" asked Mr. King. "Thus kept in the evil of graft and avarice, but the Liberals," declared the Liberal leader, "stood for publicity and the fullest publicity. Four-fifths of the number of the board of directors of the C.N.R. were those who had furnished supplies to the road, they being directors of other companies."

**Tariff.**

Turning to tariff, the Hon. Mr. King stated it might be so regulated as to benefit a few. It was not the policy of the Liberal party, nor was it the proposal of that party, if elected, he said, to play into the hands of a few. The Liberal policy was framed in the interests of the producer and the consumer. The influence of combines, trusts, and monopolies which had fastened themselves upon the production and the distribution of certain essential articles of food, and which Mr. King stated had led to the introduction of systems of merchandizing which were injurious to trade, were described in the assertions of Mr. James Murdock, the last member of the board of commerce to hand in his resignation, to the Meighen government. The Board of Commerce was a body, said the speaker, created to

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protect the consumer, it was constantly hampered and blocked by the Meighen government and finally the members resigned, but Mr. Murdock's statements had never been challenged, Mr. Murdock being one of a ring ushered out by the government's stand regarding Board of Commerce matters.

**The New Party.**

The Liberal leader referred to the name of the government party which, he declared, "must be galling to red-blooded Consevatives everywhere."

Dealing with the Farmer movement Mr. King declared that the Liberal platform went as far as and probably farther in the direction sought by the farmers than any legislation the farmers could put through. "It is a question of whether we work on together and get what we are both seeking or divide and thus defeat our own ends," he said.

"Let me say this to the people, Liberal or Conservative, forget the past and realize the future. Unity is needed and you will be all the greater for working for that unity. Let bygones be bygones and see to it that the present government does not continue to hold office. The Liberal party seeks unity of class and class, creed and creed, race and race, province and province, east and west, yes, this vast Dominion with the other dominions of the British Empire. The Liberal party aims to restore goodwill to all, for on goodwill alone rests the solution of our difficulties. Only by co-operation can true advance and progress be attained and I ask you to join me in making that aim a splendid reality."

"We have passed through the period of war into peace. We need, not only peace, but the spirit of peace. Let us seek that spirit as a substitute for the ill-will, engendered by the war. It is only by goodwill that we can be a united country.

"I want to say this in conclusion.. as a Canadian, as a British subject.. that our first duty in this time of peace is to heal the wounds and scars of war and make our country happy, contended, and united. We promised the men who went overseas, who fought, who bled, or died, that they could expect this much of us. There was a solemn pledge made to them that they would never regret their following the vision splendid. 'Here and hereafter you shall see it ended,' we had promised. They fought that peace might come again and that ill-will would disappear. And it remains for us to keep that binding pledge.

"I say that that man, who deliberately attempts to stir up the flames of passion and prejudice is unjust to himself, unjust to the living and unjust to the memory of our sacred dead. Let us seek concord.

The war caused a great wastage of human life, Hon. Mr. King declared. It bred autocracy into the government. It was for us to return to democracy of peace.

Hon. Mr. King closed by an appeal to the electors for unity of purpose on Dec. 6th, and thus return to Liberal principles.—Great applause.

**Hon. P. J. Veniot.**

Hon. P. J. Veniot was the next and last speaker. He was given a good reception and an attentive hearing. He spoke of the proposed Campbellton-Cross Point bridge to which his government was pledged and assured the meeting that if the Liberals were returned on Dec. 6th he would use his personal efforts to have Hon. Mr. King's government do their share. He predicted a Liberal sweep in the North Shore counties on the 6th of December.

The meeting came to a close with the singing of God Save the King and cheers for the Liberal leader and candidate.

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North Shore Leader

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# Rousing Reception Tendered Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

## Eloquently Discusses the Issues of the Day, and Was Loudly Cheered by the Big Audience

Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the opposition in the Federal House, who is touring the Maritime Provinces in the interests of the Liberal Party, was a visitor to the Miramichi district on Tuesday and met with an enthusiastic welcome Although the fact that the Liberal Chieftain was to make a visit was made known only a few hours previous to his arrival, a large crowd of citizens gathered at the station to bid him welcome. He was accompanied by Pius Michaud, the Liberal member for Madawaska and several other well known liberals. On his arrival here he was driven to Chatham in Mr. W. B. Snowball's car, where he addressed an audience that taxed the capacity of the Palace Theatre. Sheriff Cassidy presided and on the platform were Hon. John and Mrs. Morrissy, Hon. J. P. Burchill, Hon. P. J. and Mrs. Veniot, and Hon Joseph Michaud.

Frankly and eloquently the Hon Mr. King discussed the issues of the day; his speech punctuated frequently by outbursts of applause..

Hon. Mr. King on arising was greeted with applause. He explained that he had only a short time to discuss the questions of the day and he would endeavor to answer Mr. Meighen and his colleagues who were speakers at Chatham on the previous week. First he said he regretted the illness of Mr. Loggie, who was a personal friend of the speaker in Parliament. Mr. King said Mr. Meighen had tried to make the Tariff the sole issue of the campaign but the real issue was whether we are going to have a continuance of the autocratic government or whether we are going to have government by the people for the people.

"The Meighen Government," said Mr. King, "has existed for the past sixteen months without any mandate from the people of this country. The Union Government was formed for war purposes only and when the war was over, one by one the members had retired until lastly Sir. Robert Borden had himself retired. Sir Thomas White had then been called on to form a Government, which for reasons known to himself, he refused to do. Then Mr. Meighen had been asked to form a Government, which he did, but instead of then asking the people to endorse his government he had called a convention of a few of his friends and changed the name of his party from the Unionist Party to that of the National Liberal and Conservative Party and continued to carry on the Government of the day. The Tory Theory of Government was that only a few were able to govern and that the mass of the people were to be ignored, the Liberal theory was that out of the collective wisdom of the whole body of people more good was likely to come and that the Government belonged to the people, of the people and for the people. (Cheers.)

But what is the power behind Meighen which has succeeded in keeping him in office in defence of the will of the people? A few big men whose wealth controlls the press which was reduced to such subserviance during the war, he tells you through it that there is only one issue before the people and that issue is the tariff. What right has he to tell the electors of this country what is the issue before them? Are we not a free people? Are we not an intelligent people? and if we are a free and intelligent people, are we not competent to consider the matter and say for ourselves what the issue is, what we regard as the issue? and are we not competent to see, and do we not see that together with the tariff there are many issues of prime importance now before the people. (Prolonged cheers.)

In the first place there is the account which every government should and must give of its stewartship during the time that it was in office. Let us review it for a few months. In this connection we will just consider for a moment what we own and what we owe. When the Conservative party came in power in 1911 we owned certain things and we owed about $340,000,000. The interest on that debt amounted to from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 Today we own about the same as we owned then, but we owe $2,350,000,000 the interest on which is $140,000,000. Ten years ago it cost $120,000,000 to operate the entire business of the country, Today we owe $140,000,000 for interest alone. Our interest charge today is more than it took to run the entire country ten years ago. How did this enormous debt accumulate in such a short time. Meighen tells us it was the war. Did the war force us to pay millions of dollars for the stock of the Great Northern, held by a few of Mr. Meighen's friends in Toronto, when experts appointed to examine the matter declared the stock was worthless? Did the war force us to take over the Grand Trunk with its crippled rolling stock and its enormous deficits? Did the war force us to enter into these and numerous other needless expenditures? No! but the men at the head of affairs, Guthrie and Ballantine, having grown accustomed to think in millions and in billions, have, with the sanction of their leader, instituted an era of reckless extravagance which has ruined our credit abroad and industries at home. Today we are face to face with a taxation equal to $310.00 per family for every family in the Dominion. This is a tax which is brought home directly or indirectly to every family in this Dominion. It is all well to say that the tax is placed upon the

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rich and the poor are in a great measure exempt, but is that correct? Take for example the rich landlord. He pays a certain income tax. What does he do? Simply raises the rent and passes the taxation on to the tenant. What does the manufacturer do? Places the tax upon the article sold, figures his profit on the whole transaction and makes the consumer pay double. So that no matter what is taxed the consumer is eventually the man that must pay. And $310.00 is more than the average family can pay. Even a moderate reduction of this taxation would be the difference between abundance and bare necessity, or between bare necessity and a mortgage. But instead of any thought of reduction we have no guarantee, and in fact no hope that this abnormal tax will not continue to increase, and all the while a few priviliged beings within the magic circle of Mr. Meighen and his ministry, pile up millions of dollars which they have sweated out of the wages of the laboring people. The poor people who can not afford to do so, finally have to bear more than their share of the taxation. That is why the Liberal platform on taxation and other matters was framed from the standpoint of the home and its needs. (applause.)

Turning to the Railway problem, the policy of Sir Wilfred Laurier in that direction was one for the development of the great unsettled country to the West. And it was for the purpose of carrying out that development that he conceived the idea of a second line of railway which would create competition and not place the people of the west at the mercy of a transportation monopofy. His aim was to develop those great western resources and at the same time promote the interests of the East by making it the gateway for transportation between the West and Europe. When the Conservatives came in office they did their best to ruin the great work which Sir Wilfred had begun. They failed in their development of the Western railways and they diverted freight to the American ports, to Portland and New York.

But Mr. Meighen tells you that he has taken the Railways out of politics and placed them in the hands of a Board or Commission. But we find that one of the members of that Board is now running for a constituency in Nova Scotia in the interests of Mr. Meighen and his party. (cries of here, here).

But let us examine further the workings of this Railway Board. When Parliament was in session we learned that railway matters were in a very bad shape. There was a huge deficit. I, as leader of the Opposition, by direction of my colleagues, asked for an account of the expenditure. At first we were told that it was not just then available. We waited and asked again. When finally pressed for information they told us that the Government had nothing to do with it as the Railway was in the hands of a Board. We then followed up the workings of the Board, and what did we find? That the men to whom Mr. Meighen had entrusted the absolute control of our Railroads were men who were Directors of large Mercantile Corporations who had extensive contracts with the Railroad for rolling stock and other supplies. We asked what insurance did the Government have upon the Railroad property, and after much delay we learned that of the $140,000,000 insurance carried on the railways, $107,000,000 was carried by a single company two of whose directors were on the Railway Board.

When the matter of the Grand Trunk was before the House, we asked for the agreement with the Grand Trunk. We were refused the information. The Grand Trunk deal was rushed through parliament under closure and over $80,000,000 of the people's money voted away without the representatives of the people permitted an opportunity of exposing the infamous deal. And it was not until the reports appeared in the newspapers from over seas dispatched that the people of Canada whose good money was being lavishly spent, became acquainted with any of the details of that agreement. Are you content that this sort of thing shall continue? (cries of no, no.) Are you content that the rights of parliament and of its members shall be set aside and the government of the country operated by an invisible machine and in defiance of the will and the wishes of the people?

Passing on for a few moments to the Tariff, the Liberal Chieftain pointed out that neither the Liberals nor the Farmers were in favor of Free Trade. "Free Trade" said Mr King "Means what? That the people of the country shall have the absolute right to buy and sell in foreign markets without any restriction whatever. Mr. Crearer in his manifesto published the other day did not declare in favor of Free Trade although he talked of reaching it eventually. Such a policy as that is impossible at the present time. There is a revenue to be derived from somewhere, so that when Mr. Meighen said the issue was between Free Trade and Protection he is simply misleading the people. The Tariff issue is whether it shall be revised by Mr. Meighen in the interests of his millionaries or by the Liberals in the interests of all the people of Canada. The Protective Tariff has proved a failure and has fostered monopolies and combines. When the Government was forced a short time ago to take some action, they appointed a Board of Commerce with Mr. James Murdock at their head, to investigate the matter. Mr. Murdock was the Labor representative, and a fine man withal. They investigated and what did they find. Mr. Murdock made a report and placed it before the Government. He said in effect that the Tariff had created monopolies and combines that were fleecing the people, and urged the Government to take action, and when they refused he resigned from the Board altogether, and is today working shoulder to shoulder with me and my party and urging Labor men everywhere to co-operate with us, telling them that our policy was strong enough and broad enough to protect all classes of the Canadian people. (cheers.)

Mr. King then showed how a protective tariff would work to injure trade. A tariff for revenue would assist trade and at the same time produce revenue. At the same time there were certain things which should be free. We have what we call the basic industries', such as the products of the soil, farming, lumbering, mining, and the products of the sea, such as fishing and the like. On the property of basic industries depends the whole industrial machine of the country. Natural resources must be developed because they furnish the raw material on which the manufacturing industries depend. The machinery for their development, we submit should be free of duty or nearly so. Then there are the necessities of life. They too, should be free in a great measure from taxation. If this were done there would be more purchased and more consumed and thus add to the prosperity and enjoyment of all. The Tariff, then, should be revised in such a way as to foster these industries, not to cripple them as is the result of the present tinkering.

In closing Mr. King, said "We have passed through the period of war into peace. We need not only peace but the spirit of peace. Let us seek that Spirit as the spirit of ill-will engendered by the war. Our first duty is the heal of wounds and scars of war and make our country happy contended and united. We promised the men who went overseas. who fought bled and died, that they could expect much of us. The war caused a great wastage of human life. It bred autocracy into the government. It was for us to return to democracy of peace, forget the past and realize the future. The Liberal party stands for unity of class and class, creed and creed, race and race, province and province east and west, this vast Dominion of ours with the other Dominions of the British Empire. He strongly urged the electors of Northumberland to send a supporter of the Liberal Party to Ottawa in the election on December 6th.

As the speaker closed his address the audience rose to their feet and burst forth in enthusiastic applause and cheers for Mr. King, after which they sang God Save the King.

Mr. King and party, as guests of

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25 Oct. 1921 Rockland, Ont.

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND MUNITIONS
SHIPMENTS

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Morning Citizen Oct 26/21

# MR. KING TALKS OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

## And Also of the Munition Shipments, in Speeches at Rockland and Bourget.

(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).

ROCKLAND, Ont., Oct. 25.—Declaring that the people of Canada were entitled to an answer to the questions placed on their behalf before Premier Meighen, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in his meeting here tonight, again took up the matter of peace time munition shipments, declaring that Premier Meighen, Hon. Hugh Guthrie and Major General MacBrien had given three different statements in answer to his letter to the prime minister, and demanding that a fall and truthful explanation of the matter be given without delay.

"I asked the questions on Friday. It is now Tuesday night. If this was a bona fide transaction, Mr. Meighen should have no difficulty in answering my questions," declared Hon. Mr. King. "Mr. Meighen is having difficulty in giving an answer. Perhaps the government is trying to work one up. He should know for what purpose these shipments are coming.

"The people," said the Liberal leader, "have a right to expect the truth and not insolence from the prime minister on the matter of public importance. His reply is nothing to me, I know his manner of speaking, but he is replying to the people of Canada."

**Civil Service Reform.**

Mr. King's discovery of munition ships at the wharf at Levis was one of the chief themes of his address here tonight. Also he dealt with civil service reform, and charged the government with practising autocracy, extravagance with the public funds and secrecy on public matters when publicity was necessary. The tariff he dealt with here, and also at Bourget, where he addressed a meeting in the afternoon, and in both meetings he laid down the Liberal tariff aims.

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King outlined the workings of the tariff, and declared that no party in Canada would think of practicing free trade and abolishing the tariff. There was, he said, some $560,000,000 to be raised annually, and this could not be raised by direct taxation. The Liberal policy was tariff revision downward, relieving of taxation as far as possible the implements of production in the basic industries and the necessities of life, in the interests of consumers and producers alike.

"Everyone must bear his or her share of taxation," said Mr. King. "There is no escaping it; but we believe that there must be a downward revision. Mr. Meighen also talks of revision, but has he told you how he intends to revise the tariff? He cannot in the interests of the selfish interests who stand behind him, make his revision downward."

**Praise for Civil Servants.**

Dealing with civil service matters, Mr. King said an attempt was being made to use against him the claim that if he were returned he would demand the removal of "barnacles from the civil service." The Liberal leader declared that he had been himself a civil servant, a deputy minister and also a minister. He knew the handicaps of the civil servants. They had been persecuted by this government, which had made investigation after investigation, and by the foisting on the service of men and women who had no other recommendation than that they were friends of ministers." Civil servants too often had performed valuable work which went unrecognized, but there were men today holding positions which had been created for them and which should be abolished in the interests of the country at large.

The Liberal leader said the shipments of munitions to this country had followed the visit to England of the prime minister, Hon. Hugh Guthrie and Hon. C. C. Ballantyne. Since that time five shiploads of high explosive shells had been brought from England. "I am waiting for Mr. Meighen to make an explanation of those shipments," said Mr. King. "I wrote to him on behalf of the people of Canada who are entitled to full information. If we needed those shells here, why could we not have them made in some of the munition plants which are now idle and rusting, and thus provide employment in Canada."

The minister of militia, said Mr. King, had stated that no munitions had been bought since the war except spare parts for equipment already in Canada. Gen. MacBrien had stated that these shells were coming out of Canadian credits arranged when there was a settlement of financial matters in 1920.

"If these were taken as against credits, then they were bought with the money of the Canadian people," Mr. King declared. "There are certainly discrepancies in the three statements.

"If they were given to Canada, I would ask, what right has the government to accept gifts of shiploads of munitions or anything else? These all represent money belonging to the people of Canada. Who is paying for loading, shipping and unloading these shells? Parliament made no appropriation for anything of this sort, unless the government took the money from the demobilization vote, and if so, it is one of the greatest crimes known to Canadian history. And speaking of the demobilization vote, it has taken as long for this government to demobilize its forces as it took to carry on the war."

**Railway Directorate.**

The Liberal leader dealt also with railway deficits and operation, declaring that while Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen claimed to have taken the railways out of politics it was significant that he had countenanced the operation of an "interlocking board of directors who were also directors of companies dealing with the railway company. Thus, said Mr. King, insurance had been placed with a company two of whose directors were also directors of the Canadian National and car contracts had been given to a company one of whose directors was now running as a candidate supporting Mr. Meighen.

The tariff, said Mr. King, was one issue but not the only one. There was also the entire record of the government to be judged. Mr. Meighen's conduct in regard to the merchant marine and in regard to the secret conduct of the country's affairs. The public expenditures had risen to such an enormous extent that every man and woman in the Dominion had a very great interest in matters of government to day, and the country was entitled to a full and free discussion.

**Other Speakers.**

Ernest Lapointe, ex-M.P. for Quebec East, and Hon. Chas. Murphy Liberal candidate for the county of Russell, also addressed both meetings during the day. All three speakers addressed their audiences in both French and English and at the afternoon meeting Damase Racine, M.L.A. and Gustave Evanturel, M.L.A., also spoke.

Mr. Lapointe dealt at some length with "the isolation of Quebec" saying that Quebec was not isolated so much as the Meighen government was isolated from the whole of Canada. The Meighen ministers, said Mr. Lapointe, would have a very great difficulty in finding themselves on the morning of December 7, since they would be snowed under. The prime minister, he said, had found great difficulty in locating cabinet ministers in the province of Quebec, and those he had finally tempted would not be heard of again after election day.

Hon. Chas. Murphy attacked the government on the grounds of extravagance. He declared that in the building of the parliament buildings, in the administration of the militia department, in St. John harbor works and in many other ways the government had been wasting millions of dollars during recent years. While the government sought to be judged on the tariff cry it must also face judgment on having brought into effect the closure in Canada; being responsible for the War Time Election Act; the isolation of Quebec, administration of Military Service Act in such an unsatisfactory manner and all its other sins, Mr. Murphy declared.

Thousands of soldier votes had been switched about "like so many bags of potatoes" during the 1917 election, Mr. Murphy declared, and the people would not forget that these votes had been used to defeat the will of the Canadian electorate. The chief issue was the record of the Meighen government and this must

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26 Oct. 1921 Orono, Ont.

MUNITIONS SHIPMENTS

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D 5670 (1)

Toronto Globe
October 27/21

# SAYS DECEPTION WAS PRACTISED OVER MUNITIONS

## Hon. Mr. King at Orono Makes Grave Charges About War Supplies

## NOT A GIFT FROM BRITAIN

## Liberal Leader Makes Critical Examination of the Premier's Letter

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Orono, Oct. 26.—Addressing a big audience at the Town Hall here tonight, Hon. Mackenzie King returned to the attack in the matter of the shipload of high explosive shells unloaded at Levis last night.

He pointed out that Mr. Meighen had stated that 2235 tons of shells had come since June. If that was the quantity which had come in in that short period, he wanted to know what quantity had come in all through. These shells were being brought in at a time when there was so much talk of disarmament, and Mr. King asked the audience if they ever knew of a greater hypocrisy.

"Talk about disarmament!" he exclaimed; "the Government has adopted the very reverse. They are bringing materials to an extent we have never known before, and to an extent greater than it is possible to use in any particular. Mr. Meighen had said these munitions were being sent wherever available accommodation could be found for them. Think of that!" Mr. King proceeded, "wherever available accommodation can be found they are putting these high explosives. Every bit of it comes out of the credit which is overseas in England, and that credit was made up of money loaned by the people of Canada during the war for the purpose of winning the war.

"I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, can you think of a greater political scandal in the whole history of our country?"

Mr. King said he was told by military men that these high explosives could not be used for purposes of military training, but that they could be used only in wartime, as they were too dangerous for purposes of military training.

**What He Will Ask.**

The Liberal Leader announced that he would ask of the Government to tell as quickly as they could what was the total amount Canada had put to her credit in England in the financial statement made in the spring of 1920.

He would also ask what amount of material had been brought out of that credit from England to Canada. He would want to know the nature of the equipment. How many aeroplanes had been brought, how many tons of munitions, how many high explosives, and he would want to know them by shipments and quantities, month by month, and year by year, from the time the war ended until now. Further, he would want to know how much remains to the credit of Canada at the present time.

"I intend," said Mr. King, "to write the Minister of Militia tomorrow morning asking him for that information, and I will expect that information to be given inside of two or three days. They ought to be able to give it inside of five hours if their bookkeeping is correct." Hon. Mr. King said he would expect the information to be forthcoming without any delay.

**What is at Back of it?**

"I have my own view as to what is at the back of this," he said. "People will discover before this election is over what is at the back of this, but before I make any further charges I want the Government to make that statement in detail."

The matter was one which affected every man, woman and child in the Dominion. When the returned soldiers came before Parliament and asked for consideration of their claims they were given to understand by the Government that they

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could not afford to do anything more.

If the Government could not afford to help these returned men and their dependents, said Mr. King, they were unable to spend money on munitions and high explosives at the present time.

**"An Astounding Revelation."**

Premier Meighen had said the whole question in the election was that of the tariff, but Mr. Meighen desired to make that the only issue, Mr. King remarked, to cover up such matters as that of the explosives. Hon. Mr. King devoted some time to replying to and criticizing Premier Meighen's letter. "It disclosed a situation," he said, "infinitely worse than I had supposed, and will be an astounding revelation to the people of Canada when the real significance is appreciated. **Mr. Guthrie at first had said these war stores were a gift from England, but it now appeared they were not a gift at all, but, to use the Prime Minister's own words, were Canada's own property, being a part of war supplies credited to her account, which were furnished England by Canada, and which, of course, were furnished out of the moneys appropriated by Parliament. The Prime Minister's statement contradicted that of the Minister of Militia, for the good and sufficient reason that the statement of the latter was false.**

"Mr. Guthrie through his interview led the public to believe that he had told Parliament all about the so-called gifts of war material, but there was no reference in any of his utterances in Parliament to any such gift. Did the matter rest there it would be bad enough, but Mr. Meighen says that no war material of any kind has been purchased since the Armistice. **If that was so, why was Parliament asked in 1920 and 1921 to vote large sums for munitions, and not one word was said about these munitions overseas?** In view of the purchase, amounting to $2,000,000 in two years, Mr. King asked, why had Mr. Meighen said that no material of any kind had been purchased since the Armistice, or why had Mr. Guthrie said that not a dollar had been spent on munitions.

**One of Several Shipments.**

The worst feature of all was that not only was Parliament told nothing about munitions being available from any overseas supply, when being asked to vote over $2,000,000 for munitions, which Parliament was led to believe were being manufactured in Canada and were all that would be required for purposes of training, but it now appeared that the shipload which he, Mr. King, had seen at Levis was but one of several shipments since the spring of 1920. Shipments either in whole or partial cargoes had been coming in for the past year or two.

**Hope in Triangular Contests.**

Having dealt with the tariff and other matters Hon. Mr. King said he did not believe there was a man would hold up his head in public and defend this Government if he knew its record.

**"The only hope in the world Mr. Meighen has that he can get his candidates returned is to see that in the different constituencies there are three-cornered contests if possible,"** Hon. Mr. King declared. **"I believe, as I believe I am standing here, that in one constituency after another Farmer candidates are being put up, not at the expense of the farmers, but at the instance of the Tory party, to help to defeat the forces at present against the Government."**

**Preston to Reply to Edwards.**

W. T. R. Preston, the Liberal candidate in the riding, delivered a fighting speech, and announced that he intended to make a reply at Port Hope on Friday evening to the attack which Dr. Edwards had made on him there. He had challenged Dr. Edwards to meet him there, but the latter had excused himself on the ground of other engagements.

**Sees a New Era.**

Mr. Preston said that the years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, lasting from 1897 to 1911, was the golden era in Canada's history. When he came into power there were 14,000 manufacturing establishments in Canada, they had increased to 19,000, and not one during all those years had gone out of business, and so, said Mr. Preston, would the advent of Mr. King to power in 1922 inaugurate a splendid uplift from the present state of despondency. Mr. Preston asserted that when the Military Service Act was being put through the Government had claimed that there were no reinforcements overseas to come to the aid of the men who were giving their lives for their country. At that very time he said 22,000 Canadian soldiers were in England.

Mr. Preston said that the soldiers were given the nominal right to vote in the 1917 election, but their ballots had been scandalously tampered with.

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Toronto Daily Star
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# SAYS PEOPLE DECEIVED OVER SHELL SHIPMENT

## Mackenzie King Accuses Guthrie of Making False Statement About Munitions.

## MORE DISCLOSURES

## Hints Conservatives are Inspiring Some of Three-Cornered Fights.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Orono, Oct. 26.—War and echoes of war filled the air when W. L. Mackenzie King opened his Ontario campaign here in Durham county tonight. The disclosures respecting the shipments of high explosive shells, upon which the Liberal leader dilated when speaking in Russell county yesterday, were further elaborated.

Incidentally, Mr. King calibrated his guns upon Hon. Hugh Guthrie, minister of militia and defense, announcing that to-morrow he would lay down a barrage of questions with a view to eliciting from him information showing in detail the nature and amounts of warlike stores which have already been brought to Canada.

This data, he felt, should be forthcoming within two or three days at the most. Indeed, if the department's system of bookkeeping was what it should be it could be prepared in four or five hours. Mr. King announced that until the facts demanded were at hand, he would let the further prosecution of his inquiry rest in abeyance.

"The situation," he said, "is infinitely worse than I had ever dreamed it could possibly be. It will be an astounding revelation to the people of Canada once the real significance is appreciated.

"Enough has already been disclosed," he added, "to show that parliament and the people have been deliberately deceived by the governmnt with respect to vast expenditures of public monies on ammunition and warlike stores; that instead of showing any sympathy with a policy of disarmament, the government has secretly been adopting a course the very reverse."

### Guthrie's Statement False.

Mr. King added that the official explanations of the shell shipments were irreconcilable "for the good and sufficient reason that the statement of the minister of militia was not only misleading but false"—A further element of contradiction was introduced by the fact that Premier Meighen had not been entirely frank.

The prime minister had stated that "no war material of any kind had been bought since the armistice was signed," but Mr. King pointed out that during the past two years parliament had voted nearly $2,000,000 for the Quebec and Lindsay arsenals and for warlike stores. He was willing to wager that the greater part of this had already been expended.

The worst feature of the whole situation lay in the fact that when parliament was asked to supply these funds, it was assured that the materials were needed for the training of the militia. It was told nothing of these supplies of munitions being available overseas nor was it advised that "continuously throughout the present year, and for the past year or two, shipments of munitions either in whole or in partial cargoes had been coming into the country aboard ships of the Canadian government merchant marine.

When this fact had been discovered, the government had at first claimed that the shells were a gift from the mother country. But now it appeared that Canada was not being made the beneficiary in a scheme of imperial philanthropy but that she was bringing these great quantities of munitions to the country against a final adjustment balance placed to her credit in the books of the war office in England.

Mr. King announced that it was his intention to write to the minister of militia to-morrow morning and ask for a detached statement showing the total amount of the credit in England against which Canada was drawing, the amount outstanding, and the quantity, kind, quality and nature of the munition shipments already made.

### More Revelations.

"I have my own view as to what is back of all this," hinted Mr. King. "People will know what it's about before the elections are over."

He added that he regarded it as one of the greatest political crimes in the history of the country and he felt that the revelations made in this connection ought to shatter the last remnant of confidence that anybody ever might have had in the government.

Turning to Mr. Meighen's tariff challenge, the Liberal leader said that this was not the real issue. Nor was it a question of Liberal or Conservative, of Farmer or Labor. The paramount question was whether the electorate believed in responsible self-government and wanted it maintained.

However, he faced the tariff question squarely and stated that the Liberals did not want free trade but merely freer trade in some things. They stood for a tariff designed to provide not protection but revenue.

### Meighen's Only Hope.

Turning to the question of electioneering tactics, he maintained that Meighen's only hope of victory lay in the three-cornered fights.

In many ridings, the Progressives were putting up men under the impression that they were their own nominees while in reality they were being foisted upon them by the Conservatives and, after the election was over, they would be discovered in their true Tory colors.

For his support, W. T. R. Preston, the Liberal nominee, must look largely to the towns of Port Hope and Bowmanville which account for 9,000 souls out of the riding's total population of 26,400 the villages of Millbrook and Newcastle being the only other centres which are not preponderantly rural.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5673

Ottawa Citizen
Oct 27/21

# MUNITIONS SITUATION SERIOUS, SAYS KING

## Revelation To People When Real Significance Appreciated, He Declares

## Charges Government Has Practiced Deliberate Deception in Matter

Orono, Ont., Oct. 26.—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).—That deliberate deception had been practised by the government with regard to the expenditure of public monies on warlike stores and ammunition was the statement reiterated by Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, speaking here tonight. Mr. King examined the prime minister's public letter regarding shipments of shells coming into Canada, and asserted that a great deal of further information must be forthcoming from the prime minister and Mr. Guthrie, minister of militia, with regard to war stores which are arriving in Canada, in spite of the continuance in operation of the arsenals at Quebec and Lindsay.

**Revelation When Appreciated**

Mr. King said that the letter issued by Mr. Meighen disclosed a situation infinitely worse than he had supposed and would be a revelation to the people of Canada once its real significance was apperciated. It would be recalled, he said, that Mr. Guthrie had issued a statement to the effect that the war stores arriving in Canada were in the nature of a gift from England, a gift of which he had spoken in the house of commons at both of the last two sessions. It now appeared that the war stores being landed in Canada were not a gift at all, but, to use the prime minister's own words, "Canada's own property, being part of war supplies credited to her on account of supplies furnished England by Canada and which were furnished out of monies appropriated by the parliament of Canada and raised through taxation or by loans, upon which interest is being paid at the present time, and full repayment of which remains as an outstanding national obligation."

**Arsenals Still Working.**

Throughout the whole of this debate, said Mr. King, not one word had been said in regard to any credits or possibility of securing munitions from across the seas. Yet, Mr King said, according to the statement which Mr. Meighen had made, it was in the spring of 1920, before the estimates of the militia department were under discussion in parliament that the financial settlement was made in England, which entitled Canada to draw upon the Old Country for munitions required to meet the needs of active militia.

"What was worse than that," said Mr. King, "the minister of militia, when asked why so large a staff had to be employed at the arsenal at Quebec, now that the war was over, had stated—I quote his words from unrevised Hansard—'All our heavy ammunition and quick-firing ammunition, as well as a large part of our rifle ammunition, is made at Quebec.' In another sentence the minister had added, with reference to the ammunition made at Quebec and Lindsay: 'I doubt if any better ammunition is turned out anywhere.' Last session the 1921 parliament had voted nearly $1,000,000 more for ammunitions and war-like stores. How, in view of these purchases amounting to nearly $2,000,000 in two years, could Mr. Meighen say that no war material of any kind had been purchased since the armistice or how could he say that not a dollar has been spent on munitions?"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5674

27 Oct. 1921 Sutton. Ont.

NORTH YORK AND THE CLASS
IDEALS OF FARMERS

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

London Advertiser Oct-28th 1921 D 5675

# KING SCORES CLASS IDEALS OF AGRARIANS

## Declares Crerar Policy Not Even in Interests of Farmers Themselves.

## RECALLS YORK HISTORY

## Tells Why He Chooses To Contest Riding of North York.

SUTTON, Ont., Oct. 27.—(By staff correspondent, Canadian Press.)—The Ontario speaking tour of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, brought him into North York tonight, the constituency which he hopes to make his own at the forthcoming federal election.

With R. W. E. Burnaby standing for the Farmers' interests and J. A. M. Armstrong for those of the Government, there is every indication that a stiff three-cornered fight is t obe staged and no easily-won honors accorded.

Speaking at Sutton this evening, Mr. King said he regretted that he could spend so little time in the riding during the campaign. He must leave his lieutenants to carry on the fight, and he had every confidence in their success. While he appreciated very deeply the action of the electors in the Prince Edward Island seat in reaffirming their confidence in him, there were definite reasons which had decided his standing for North York.

In the present political conflict, Mr. King said, he felt that Ontario was to be the pivotal point. Apart from the associations, which attached him very strongly to North York, it was, he affirmed, the centre of the province, both historically and geographically.

**Contests Historic Ground.**

The place for the leader of the party was at the head of the forces in the thick of the fight. North York had always been the great battleground for reform, the scene of great struggles for self-government and for responsible government. Never since the days of the "old family compact," said Mr. King "had there been anything comparable to the present time as regards the usurpation of the power of government by the few."

Speaking of the farmers' movement Mr. King said that R. W. E. Burnaby, their candidate in North York, was standing for class government. The movement, Mr. King asserted, was not in the real interests of the farmers themselves. If the agricultural interests were to secure legislation important to themselves it was essential that they have the good will of all classes, both town and country. To secure results, all must combine against the common enemy.

**Sees Injustice to Farmers.**

"I think it is an injustice to the farmers themselves," he said, "to have it appear that they are seeking special privileges through class rule. That amounted to nothing more than Toryism."

In the last sixteen months, said Mr. King, Mr. Meighen had been spending millions of the people's money; he had appointed judges and senators and taken over the railways, yet no one between the two coasts of Canada could say he had a hand in giving Mr. Meighen the authority. Autocracy of the most pronounced type was the only name for such usurpation of the powers of government.

Women, said Mr. King, often told him that they did not understand political matters, and he said men might honestly say the same This year Parliament voted $560,000,000. This divided between the eight or nine million people means $62 for each individual. Yet as children do not pay taxes, one must take a basis of families of five, and then it is found that the tax came to $310 per family.

Thus, it was easy to see that matters of government were of prime importance to women as well as men. The present Government, said Mr. King, had become so used to paying out public moneys that they have become absolutely indifferent to the meaning of huge expenditures to the people.

**Charges Undue Increase.**

The Government had lost all conception of public money and public trust. Taking the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as an example, Mr. King said, the greatest amount spent on the force during the old Liberal regime in one year was $770,000, yet the Government had established its headquarters in Ottawa, and this year the cost was between three and four millions, and all this time the Government was telling the soldiers that nothing more could be done for them, because of its many large commitments

Mr. King challenged Mr. Meighen to show that his attitude towards the tariff in any province of the Dominion had been different to his attitude towards the tariff in Toronto. He stood for a tariff, primarily for revenue, and for a revision of the tariff in the interests of consumers and producers. A tariff for protection was essentially something which fostered combines and trusts.

Any manufacturer not satisfied with a fair return upon a fair investment was asking too much. No legitimate industry earning a fair profit need have any fear of a revision of the tariff by a Liberal Government. But, no one would wish to defent men who were holding up the people to the extent of profits amounting to from 20, 30, 100, 400 and 500 per cent.

**Raps Sitting Members.**

Mr. King asserted that J. A. Armstrong, as member for North York since 1917, had for the most part been absent from the House of Commons. When he had come into the House it was to vote against the real interests of the people.

Regarding Mr. Burnaby's coming into the fight as a Farmer candidate, Mr. King was certain, he said, that if the electors of North York believed there was any danger of Mr. Meighen getting back for another five years through splitting the Opposition vote they would take no chances, but vote solidly together, and so it would be in all the other constituencies.

Mr. King said that there was no doubt whatever that in many constituencies Farmer candidates were being put up merely with the object of dividing up the Opposition and spoiling the effect of their votes. "If you are really interested in defeating this common enemy," concluded Mr. King, "take no chances which will make possible the return to power of any organization like the present Government."

## King Sends Letter To Minister of Militia.

SUTTON, Oct. 27. — (By Canadian Press staff correspondent.)—Hon. Mackenzie King sent a letter tonight to Hon. Hugh Guthrie, minister of militia, asking for full information regarding shipments of munitions being received in Canada from England.

"It has been made clear," says Mr. King's letter, "that an accounting has taken place between the Canadian Government and the war office in London by which both at the time of the armistice, and as a result of the financial settlement in July, 1920, extensive credits were placed to Canada's credit with the war office against which Canada was entitled to draw from time to time."

Mr. King asks:

1. The extent of such credits.
2. The extent and nature of war material which has been drawn by the Canadian department of militia.
3. The nature and extent of the credit upon which Canada is still entitled to draw.
4. Particulars as to airplanes and other war equipment which have been received from Great Britain as gifts since the armistice.

Mr. King asks that these particulars include details of gifts to the naval service.

"During the session of 1920," says Mr. King's letter, "Parliament appropriated $1,180,024, and in the last session $868,654 for ammunitions and war-like stores. The $2,000,000 was voted without any mention in Parliament of credit existing in England or elsewhere from which Canada could draw such stores."

Furthermore, reference to the House of Commons debates would show that Parliament was given to understand by the minister of militia that all artillery and other ammunition required for the training of the Canadian forces was being made at the arsenals of Quebec and Lindsay.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

D 5576

Toronto Globe
October 28/21.

OCTOBER 28, 1921.

# WHY MR. KING CHOSE CONTEST IN NORTH YORK

## Says the County Has Ever Been the Battleground of Reform

## IS IN HIS OWN RIDING

## States Munitions Scandal Alone Enough to Wreck Government

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Sutton, Oct. 27.—Hon. Mackenzie King made his first appearance in his own riding of North York since the general election was announced, at a crowded and enthusiastic meeting in the Town Hall this evening.

The Liberal Leader was given a great reception and was accorded a warm demonstration of welcome when he entered the building. The hall was packed to suffocation, crowds of people filling the aisles, many making their way to the back of the platform, where they remained standing throughout the meeting. Special cars on the radial railway brought in large crowds from Schomberg and Newmarket. A feature of the proceedings was some lusty community singing of campaign songs set to popular tunes and in which victory for Mr. King and the Liberal party was predicted. A jazz band of young men from the high school contributed some excellent music prior to the commencement of the meeting.

**Gives Mr. Armstrong's Record.**

Hon. Mr. King explained his reasons for seeking his election in North York instead of Prince Edward Island, saying that a general's place was in the thick of the fight, and the pivotal point in the whole election would be in Ontario. Mr. King gave an interesting account of the record of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Armstrong, showing that Mr. Armstrong's voice had been very rarely heard in Parliament, and that he had often failed to record his vote on division. As for Mr. Burnaby's entry into the contest, it might conceivably make possible the return of Mr. Armstrong, though Mr. King did not think it would. The commonsense of the electors would let them see through the situation Mr. Burnaby had created.

**Why He Stays in N. York.**

Mr. King began by referring to his candidature in the riding, and his reasons for contesting this seat instead of the Prince Edward Island seat. When he was asked finally to decide between the two, he had said: "There is only one place for a general to be in a great political fight, and that is at the head of the forces in the thick of the fight, if that is possible.

"As I look upon this political contest," Mr. King proceeded, "it seems to me the pivotal point in the whole contest is to be the Province of Ontario, and of all the centres in this Province, this centre of North York is the storm centre of the Dominion. I believe, not only this year, but through the whole century, this county has been the battleground of reform. It is here that were fought out the great questions of the rights of the people to maintain self-government. It is here our forefathers fought for those principles that our fathers have maintained, and it is here, I believe, that the descendants of men and women in this room will continue to fight for the principles of liberty and right in our Dominion."

**Tories Obscure Issue.**

Proceeding to discuss the big questions before the electorate, the Liberal Leader again insisted that the main issue was not between protection and free trade, although Mr. Hon. Meighen desired to make it so. Mr. Meighen's object was to try and obscure the real issue, which was that of his record during the period of his Administration. He said the Meighen Government had become absolutely indifferent to the meaning of public expenditure.

"It cannot," he said, "change the frame of mind or attitude of mind which it has assumed in regard to these expenditures."

Proceeding to discuss the question of the shipments of explosives, Hon. Mr. King asserted that the Government had lost all sense of decency and all conception of public honor and public trust. He announced that he had today forwarded to the Minister of Militia a letter demanding the information which he had called for at the meeting at Orono last night.

**An Important Document.**

"When we get that information," said Mr. King, "we will begin to see what this talk about disarmament means. We will begin to see how sincere the Government is of a desire to improve relations between the nations and how solicitous it is about the well-being of the taxpayers of the country. I say there is sufficient in that little document (Mr. Meighen's letter on munitions) to deprive the Government for ever of the last vestige of confidence any man or woman would put in it."

At this stage a faint voice at the back of the hall was heard to ask, "What did you do in the great war, Daddy?"

"What did you say?" asked Mr. King of the interrupter, but there was no response.

"Will that gentleman come up on the platform and repeat his question?" was Mr. King's next appeal, but the interrupter remained silent. The audience shouted, "Come on," but the individual would not come from cover. The audience shouted, "Be a man or get out," but it was no use. The man made no attempt to show himself.

"When a man shows enough courage to get up and show his face I am prepared to meet him," said Mr. King, "but until then I am prepared to ignore him, and I think the audience is, too." (Loud cheers.)

Coming to the question of the tariff, Hon. Mr. King warmly repudiated the suggestion that he said one thing in one place and another in another place.

"I challenge Mr. Meighen, I challenge any supporter of his from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to show where in any Province of this country I have made a different statement with regard to the tariff from what I have made in any other Province during the two years I have been Leader of the Liberal party."

**Mr. Armstrong's Record.**

Discussing the contest in North York, Hon. Mr. King made some references to the record of Mr. Armstrong in the House of Commons.

The people of the riding, he said, had a right to know his record as a representative of the constituency. Mr. King said he had been through Hansard, and found that Mr. Armstrong's utterances in the House of Commons since 1917 could be put on two sheets of paper. For the session of 1918 Mr. Armstrong's name did not even appear in the index of Hansard; in the first session of 1919 his name was again not in the Hansard index; in the second session of 1919 his only appearance in Hansard was in reference to a question relating to Huron county; in 1920 he spoke once, and in 1921 one short paragraph appeared of what he said.

"I think I saw him rise and speak on that occasion," said Mr. King. "It was the only time I saw him rise in the House of Commons, except when he rose to vote on questions, when I think it would have been better if he had remained seated."

In regard to voting, Mr. King showed that Mr. Armstrong had failed to record his vote on many occasions. As to the candidature of Mr. Burnaby, Mr. King showed that the contest between him and the U.F.O. candidate was none of his (Mr. King's) making. Mr. Burnaby and class legislation was only another form of Toryism.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Montreal Gazette Oct-28th 1921 D 5677

# LEADER SHOULD HEAD FORCES IN THICK OF FIGHT

## Mr. King Tells North York Liberals Why He Accepted Nomination

## DEPLORES SPLIT VOTE

### Says Burnaby Seeks Class Government and Special Privileges — Nothing Less Than Toryism

(By Canadian Press).

Sutton, Ont., October 27.—The Ontario speaking tour of Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, brought him into North York tonight, the constituency which he hopes to make his own at the forthcoming federal election.

With R. W. E. Burnaby, standing for the Farmers' interests and J. A. M. Armstrong for those of the Government, there is every indication that a stiff three-cornered fight is to be staged and no easily-won honors awarded.

Speaking at Sutton this evening, Mr. King said that he regretted that he could spend so little time in the riding during the campaign. He must leave his lieutenants to carry on the fight, and he had every confidence in their success. While he appreciated very deeply the action of the electors in the Prince Edward Island seat in re-affirming their confidence in him, there were definite reasons which had decided his standing for North York. In the present political conflict, Mr. King said, he felt that Ontario was to be the pivotal point. Apart from the associations which attached him very strongly to North York, it was, he affirmed, the centre of the province, both historically and geographically.

The place for the leader of the party was at the head of the forces in the thick of the fight. North York had always been the great battle ground for reform, the scene of great struggles for self-government and for responsible government. Never since the days of the old "Family Compact," said Mr. King, had there been anything comparable to conditions at the present time as regards the usurpation of the powers of government by the few.

FARMERS' CLASS MOVEMENT.

Speaking of the Farmers' movement, Mr. King said that R. W. E. Burnaby, their candidate in North York, was standing for class government. The movement, Mr. King asserted, was not in the real interests of the farmers themselves. If the agricultural interests were to secure legislation important to themselves, it was essential that they have the good-will of all classes, both town and country. To secure results, all must combine against the common enemy. "I think it is an injustice to the farmers themselves," he said, "to have it appear that they are seeking special privileges through class rule, that amounts to nothing less than Toryism."

In the last sixteen months, said Mr. King, Mr. Meighen has been spending millions of the people's money; he had appointed judges and senators and taken over railways, yet no man between the two coasts of Canada could say he had a hand in giving Mr. Meighen the authority. Autocracy of the most pronounced type was the only name for such usurpation of the powers of government.

Women, said Mr. King, often told him that they did not understand political matters, and he said men might honestly say the same. This year Parliament voted $560,000,000, which divided between the eight or nine million people means $62 for each individual. Yet as children do not pay taxes, one must take a basis of families of five, and then one found that the tax came to $310 per family of five. Thus it was easy to see that matters of government were of prime importance to women as well as to men. The present Government, said Mr. King, had become so used to paying out public monies that it had become absolutely indifferent to the meaning of huge expenditures to the people.

The Government had lost all conception of public monies and public trust. Taking the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as an example, Mr. King said that the greatest amount spent on the force during the old Liberal regime in one year was $770,000, yet the Government had established its headquarters at Ottawa and this year the cost was between three and four millions. All this time the Government was telling the soldiers that nothing more could be done for them because of its many large commitments.

TARIFF FOR REVENUE.

Mr. King challenged Mr. Meighen to show that his (Mr. King's) attitude towards the tariff in any province of the Dominion had been different from his attitude towards the tariff in Toronto. He stood for a tariff primarily for revenue and for a revision of the tariff in the interests of consumers and producers. A tariff for protection was essentially something which fostered combines and trusts. Any manufacturer not satisfied with a fair return upon a fair investment was asking too much. No legitimate industry earning a fair profit need have any fear of a revision of the tariff by a Liberal Government. But no one would wish to defend men who were holding up the people to the extent of profits amounting to 20, 30, 100, 400 and 500 per cent.

Mr. King asserted that J. A. Armstrong, as member for North York since 1917, had for the most part been absent from the House of Commons. When he had come into the House it was to vote against the real interests of the people.

Regarding Mr. Burnaby's coming into the fight as a Farmer candidate, Mr. King was certain, he said, that if the electors of North York believed there was any danger of Mr. Meighen getting back for another five years through splitting the Opposition vote, they would take no chances, but vote solidly together, and so it would be in all the other constituencies.

Mr. King said that there was no doubt whatever that in many constituencies Farmer candidates were being put up merely with the object of dividing up the Opposition and spoiling the effect of their votes. "If you are really interested in defeating this common enemy," concluded Mr. King, "take no chances which will make possible the return to power of any organization like the present Government."

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28 Oct. 1921

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TORYISM - "CLASS RULE"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

London Advertiser
Oct-29th
1921

D 5679

# KING DEFINES TORYISM AS "CLASS RULE"

## Pleads For United Action Against Powers of "Industrial Plutocrats."

## RAPS MEIGHEN SENATORS

## The North York Candidate Charges Government Throttled Board of Commerce.

STOUFFVILLE, Ont., Oct. 28.—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.—James Murdock, who was last night nominated by the Liberal party for the South Toronto riding, was the first speaker here this afternoon at Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King's meeting.

Mr. Murdock said that it was largely in the constituency of North York that constitutional government was cradled. Battles of common people had more than in any other part of Canada been fought in North York.

Once the war was over, he said, there came the great problem, not only of taking care of the returned soldiers, but of the common people. The Winnipeg strike in 1919 was not a revolution against all government, as had been said, but an expression of dissatisfaction with the existing government.

The trouble came to an end and out of it grew the board of commerce to check gross profiteering. Mr. Murdock said in spite of his own work in Cleveland, he had after much persuasion felt that the work on the board meant real work in the interests of the common people.

**Silently Opposed Board.**

Ottawa, however, he said, seemed to have not merely a luke-warmness towards the efforts of the board, but a silent opposition. Finally there came the time when he was called before an aged and venerable gentleman who gave him an hour and a quarter of gentle scolding and made it very clear that he, Mr. Murdock, must not antagonize those interests upon which the Government had always counted for support, and so, from then on, the clamps were put on a little harder. Obstacles were quietly put in the way of the board's doing those things which it was formed to do.

Thus, there was nothing for him to do but resign the position, notwithstanding the sacrifice he must make, said Mr. Mrudock. He could have nothing to do with the "contemptible farce" which the cabinet was carrying on to fool the people of Canada. It was nothing less, he said, than covertly stealing from the common people. On forthcoming occasions he would have much more to say about the board of commerce.

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King's speech was preceded by an address of welcome extended by Mrs. W. Clark on behalf of the Women's Liberal Club of Stouffville.

**Sees Hope In Liberalism.**

Mr. King quoted from a letter written him by Dr. Michael Clark, who had just accepted the Liberal nomination in Mackenzie.

"I have now come to see that a well-balanced Liberalism is the only hope for the country between the new Toryism and the old, for what is Toryism and what has it always been? Simple class rule, with a view to securing special privileges."

"Only united forces," said Mr. King, "could meet and conquer the industrial plutocrats behind the political powers of the day."

Speaking of the National Railways, the Liberal leader said, it had been found that there was an interlocking of directorates, which would wreck any concern. Vast contracts for insurance and equipment had been given to companies, directors of which were also directors of the Candian National Railways.

Mr. Crerar, said the Liberal leader, desired publicity for campaign funds. The Liberal party has shown itself solidly for this reform when the matter came up in the House. The Progressives had no monopoly in this respect.

Comparing the platforms of the Progressives, the National Council of Women, the Labor platform and that of the Great War Veterans' Association, Mr. King said that where the aims for improvementt seemed to outdistance those of the Liberals, it was only in matters which were quite beyond practical success.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

28 Oct. 1921 Aurora, Ont. D 5680

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND
CLASS RULE

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe
October 29/21

D 5581

# OTTAWA POLICY, LEAVE FRIENDS FREE TO STEAL

## James Murdock Bares Inside History of Commerce Board Dealings

## MR. KING AT STOUFFVILLE

## Liberal Leader Says Separatists Are Sincere, But Deceived

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Aurora**, Oct. 28.—The appearance of Hon. Mackenzie King here tonight was the occasion for a great popular demonstration of welcome. The Mechanics' Hall was crammed to the doors long before the meeting was due to commence and Mr. King's party on their arrival from Stouffville had the utmost difficulty in obtaining admission. A crowded overflow meeting was held in the Starland Theatre. Mr. King and Mr. James Murdock spoke at both gatherings.

Hon. Mr. King said he took it as a high compliment that Mr. Murdock, who held such a high place in Labor circles, had come forward to run, not as a Labor candidate, but as a Liberal. Mr. Murdock stood for the rights of the people, and was determined to see these rights were won in the present contest.

Discussing the question of the shipments of high explosives, the Liberal Leader accused Mr. Meighen of telling what was deliberately untrue in saying that no munitions had been bought since the end of the war.

He asked his hearers what they thought of a Prime Minister whose Administration was carried on so loosely that when he was asked where the shipload of explosives came from he did not know, though they were coming into the country and at a time when the Prime Minister was talking of disarmament.

**Simply a Pretence.**

Mr. Murdock again took up the subject of his connection with the Board of Commerce, and the causes leading to his resignation. He said it leaked out from the inner council that it was said he would not quit—that he would not give up an $8,000 a year job good for ten years.

"Thank God!" exclaimed Mr. Murdock, "that I had red blood enough in my veins, and I believe there are many other men in Canada with enough red blood to say the same—'Your money is filthy.' It was never intended the Board of Commerce should function," Mr. Murdock continued, "or that the special interests should be prevented from exploiting the people of Canada. It was only and simply a pretence."

**Meeting at Stouffville.**

**Stouffville**, Oct. 28.—At the rally this afternoon to welcome Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Leader, James Murdock, Liberal candidate in South Toronto, gave an interesting account of his connection with the Board of Commerce. He described an interview which he had with "an elderly member of the Cabinet" about two months after his appointment to the board. This gentleman gave Mr. Murdock, for an hour and fifteen minutes, "one of the most deliberate and gentlemanly scoldings that ever one gentleman gave to another younger in years."

**Antagonize Big Business.**

Mr. Murdock said that he was told ... he must not do certain things in his capacity as a member of the board, as they were antagonistic to certain business interests which had always been supporting the Administration. Mr. Murdock refused to be a party to such a thing, and thereafter obstacles were continually put in the way of the board, until, at length, he resigned.

He asserted that he had been, all through, convinced that certain gentlemen and certain business institutions were stealing from the common people of the country under the protection of the Cabinet.

Although the meeting was held in the afternoon, Ratcliff's Hall was packed to capacity. The hall had been effectively decorated, and the jazz band and Mr. Andrew Murdison's "King Boys," who are doing magnificent work throughout the riding, led the community singing. Among those who turned out to meet Mr. King was Mr. Benjamin Parker, a veteran Liberal, aged 93.

**"Red Michael" Joins.**

In urging the necessity for unity among the forces of progress to turn out the present Administration, Hon. Mr. King read the following letter which he had received from Dr. Michael Clark:

**"It would be a great pleasure to me to fight under you in this campaign. I have now come to see that a well-balanced Liberalism is the only hope for the country between the new Toryism and the old. For what is Toryism? And what has it always been?**

**"Simply and solely class rule with a view to securing special privileges."**

**Calls It "Stealing."**

"Among the Ten Commandments," Mr. Murdock proceeded, "I had always discovered one which said 'Thou shalt not steal.' From the first day I landed on the Board of Commerce until the last day, 'I was convinced in my heart, as I am convinced this minute, that gentlemen and certain business institutions in the Dominion of Canada were stealing from the common people of Canada under the protection of the Cabinet of the Dominion of Canada. Maybe the term is too rough. Maybe others would not call it stealing. Maybe they would use some other term. My education, my belief, as a representative of Labor and one of the common citizens of Canada, I am glad to say, has always convinced me the only term applicable was 'stealing' from the common people, and taking advantage of the distress of the common people under post-war changing conditions."

**Still Serve "Interests."**

Some of the venerable gentlemen of the Cabinet who had so faithfully served certain interests had now been sent to a higher sphere where they might still serve those interests. He, however, predicted that the result of the poll on December 6 would sound the death knell of the special interests form of government which had been the rule for the past few years.

Mrs. C. W. H. Clark presented Hon. Mr. King with an address of welcome on behalf of the Women's Liberal Club of Stouffville.

Mr. King expressed his satisfaction at having on his platform, as one of his lieutenants, such a man as Mr. Murdock, the trusted Vice-President of the Railway Trainmen.

This election was taking a turn which he had for years believed would take place, and a turn where the people would rise in their might and demand that the profiteers and exploiters of the country should be turned out of office, and the common people should be given their rights.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe
October 29/21

**Sincere, But Misled.**

Dealing with the attitude of the Farmer candidate in the riding in this contest, Mr. King said he believed many of those supporting the separatist movement were absolutely sincere, but in many of the ridings of the country they were being deceived.

The only object in bringing in these candidates was that the vote in favor of progress might be divided so that the enemy might get in. It was an old Tory trick, and would be worked again as opportunities presented themselves, and he asked whether it was not a thing which might occur in North York.

Mr. King emphasized that he had not entered the field against the Farmer candidate, but had been in the field since his choice for the leadership.

In regard to the Farmers' attitude, Mr. King pointed out that immediately a class came out to stand as a class it did not represent the people, and for that reason could not command the support of other sections of the community, and without that support it could not achieve much.

**Need of Unity.**

Mr. Murdock as a Labor man recognized that the forces to be overcome were great, and it was because he saw that the only way to win the fight was to bring in men from every class and creed to fight together that he, Mr. Murdock, was supporting the Liberal platform. Unity was needed to turn out the autocratic and plutocratic combination at present in power.

While discussing Mr. Armstrong's record in the House of Commons, Mr. King mentioned that Mr. Armstrong had voted against the proposal for publicity in regard to campaign funds. Mr. Crerar had been advocating such publicity, but the Liberals were equally in favor of it.

"Anything that will make for clean Government is something we all support and I would heartily support publicity in regard to campaign funds and I want that known throughout the country."

Mr. King also said he would like to have published the names of those who were paying for campaign advertising so that the public would know whether it was the Sugar Trust or mergers which were at the back of them.

Mr. Alex. MacGregor, K.C., Liberal candidate for South York, also spoke.

Mr. A. D. Bruce, Mr. King's representative in the riding, was Chairman of the meeting.

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Montreal Gazette
October 29, 1921

# MR. KING AGAIN COMPARES TARIFF PLANK TO CHART

## Proximity to Newmarket's Waterless Canal Inspires Nautical Metaphors

## SAILS UNKNOWN SEAS

### Collective Wisdom Will Find Compass to Point Way Ship of State Should Take

(By Canadian Press).

Aurora, Ont., October 28.—The third meeting of Hon. Mackenzie King in the North York riding, held here tonight at the Mechanics' Hall, drew another overflow audience, and the Starland Theatre accommodated a second capacity crowd.

Mr. King speaking in Mechanics' Hall, said that after speaking all through the eastern provinces and notwithstanding the cordial receptions everywhere, nothing had yet equalled the friendship and affection shown him in the town of Aurora.

The first obligation of this country today was its debt to those who suffered from the great war, its debt to them and their dependents. The present Government had developed a contempt for anything less than millions and billions of dollars. Yet, after spending money as if it was water, with unparalleled disregard for economy, when the soldiers asked for further relief, there was no money available. The national debt at present meant some $300 a year to be paid in taxes of some kind by every Canadian family. This, the speaker said, was a sum which meant the difference between a mortgaged home and a home free from mortgage; the difference between being insured against accident and disease and remaining unprotected.

The issue today was not between protection and free trade. Mr. Meighen had invented this claim in order to prevent an investigation of government under his administration. His record of the past month or two had been a perfect carnival of patronage in giving appointments to his own supporters.

Mr. King again challenged the Prime Minister to show that he had been changeable in his attitude toward the tariff during his two years as leader of the Opposition. Whether in Parliament or anywhere else in the Dominion his attitude had been exactly the same.

Mr. Meighen had asked on the platform whether Mr. King was ready, if returned to power, to put his platform of 1919 into effect. Having in mind the mariner who had to take his ship out into unknown seas, he regarded the platform as a chart by which he should be guided. He was not an autocrat; he was not going to take the whole business of government into his own hands, but he would surround himself by the wisest men he could find, and in collective wisdom find the compass needed to point the way the ship of State should take.

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(1) Aurora Banner Nov 2nd 1921

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## HON. MACKENZIE KING AND JAMES MURDOCK SPEAK TO LARGE CROWDS HERE

Last Friday night Mackenzie King and James Murdock addressed two capacity meetings here. The Mechanics Hall was crowded, the people filling not only the auditorium and platform but also packing the aisles and even roosting on top of the inner vestibule of the main entrance. At the Starland Theatre the place was also crowded and many were unable to gain admission to either hall.

In making his temporary valedictory, Mr. King ventured into the realm of prophecy, predicting that when the votes were counted after Dec. 6th, "the Meighen Government would be so buried that it would be difficult to find a single member amongst the ranks of the successful." He added that he believed that, "the Liberal party would return with such a following that it wouldn't have to consider compromise with any group or party in Canada." His tour thus far had served to convince him that not only would he win the seat in North York, but also that North York in all probability would see its member elevated to the rank of prime minister of Canada.

Hon. Mr. King explained his reasons for seeking his election in North York instead of Prince Edward Island, saying that a general's place was in the thick of the fight, and the pivotal point in the whole election would be in Ontario. Mr. King gave an account of the record of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Armstrong, showing that Mr. Armstrong's voice had been very rarely heard in Parliament, and that he had often failed to record his vote on division. As for Mr. Burnaby's entry into the contest, it might conceivably make possible the return of Mr. Armstrong, though Mr. King did not think it would. The common sense of the electors would let them see through the situation Mr. Burnaby had created.

Mr. King began by referring to his candidature in the riding, and his reasons for contesting this seat instead of the Prince Edward Island seat. When he was asked to decide finally between the two, he had said: "There is only one place for a general to be in a great politicol fight, and that is at the head of the forces in the thick of the fight, if that is possible.

"As I look upon this political contest," Mr. King proceeded, "it seems to me the pivotal point in the whole contest is to be in the Province of Ontario, and of all the centres in this Province this centre of North York is the storm centre of the Dominion. I believe not only this year, but through the whole century, this county has been the battleground of reform. It is here that were fought out the great questions of the rights of the people to maintain self-government. It is here our forefathers fought for those principles that our fathers have maintained, and it is here, I believe, that the descendants of men and women in this room will continue to fight for the principles of liberty and right in our Dominion."

Proceeding to discuss the big questions before the electorate, the Liberal Leader again insisted that the main issue was not between protection and free trade, although Mr. Hon. Meighen desired to make it so, Mr. Meighen's object was to try and obscure the real issue, which was that of his record during the period of his Administration. He said the Meighen Government had become absolutely indifferent to the meaning of public expenditure.

"It cannot," he said, "change the frame of mind or attitude of mind which it has assumed in regard to these expenditures."

Proceeding to discuss the question of the shipments of explosives, Hon. Mr. King asserted that the Government had lost all decency and all conception of public honour and trust. He announced that he had forwarded to the Minister of Militia a letter demanding the information which he had called for at the meeting which he had called for at the meeting at Orono last night.

"When we get that information, said Mr. King, we will begin to see what this talk about disarmament means. We will begin to see how sincere the Government is of a desire to improve relations between the nations and how solicitous it is about the well-being of the taxpayers of the country. I say there is sufficient in that little document (Mr. Meighen's letter on munitions) to deprive the Government for ever of the last vestige of confidence any man or woman would put in it."

Coming to the question of tariff, Hon. Mr. King warmly repudiated the suggestion that he said one thing in one place and another in another place.

"I challenge Mr. Meighen, I challenge any supporter of his from the Atlantic to the Pacific, to show where in any Province of this country I have made a different statement with regard to the tariff from what I have made

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in any other Province during the two years I have been Leader of the Liberal Party."

He recounted how "the impolitical autocrats and industrial plutocrats" had appointed a board of directohs for the recently acquired National Railways from among the ranks of their own friends. These gentlemen were for the most part interested in corporations which supplied materials to the National Railways and Mr. King was confident that if light could be let in on the situation, it would be found that "millions of dollars of public money had been squandered through this interlocking system of directors," but the whole operation of these roads was concealed behind an impenetrable screen of silence, secrecy and darkness.

Mr. Murdock, Liberal candidate in South Toronto, gave an interesting account of his conection with the Board of Commerce. He described an interview he had with "an elderly member of the Cabinet" about two months after his appointment to the board. This gentleman gave Mr. Murdock, for an hour and fifteen minutes "one of the most deliberate and gentlemanly scoldings that ever one gentleman gave to another younger in years."

Mr. Murdock said that he was told that he must not do certain things in his capacity as a member of the board, as they were antagonistic to certain business interests which had always been supporting the Administration. Mr. Murdock refused to be a party to such a thing, and thereafter obstacles were continually put in the way of the board, until at length, he resigned.

He asserted that he had been, all through, convinced that certain gentleman and certain business institutions were stealing from the common people of the country under the protection of the Cabinet.

He said it leaked out from the inner council that it was said he would not quit—that he would not give up an $8,000 a year job good for ten years.

"Thank God!" exclaimed Mr. Murdock, "that I had red blood enough in my veins, and I believe there are many other men in Canada with enough red blood to say the same—'Your money is filthy.' It was never intended the Board of Commerce should function," Mr. Murdock continued "or that the special interests should be prevented from exploiting the people of Canada. It was only and simply a pretence."

"Among the Ten Commandments, Mr. Murdock proceeded, "I had always discovered one which said 'Thou shalt not steal.' From the first day I landed on the Board of Commerce until the last day, 'I was convinced in my heart, as I am convinced this minute, that gentlemen and certain business institutions in the Dominion of Canada were stealing from the common people of Canada under the protection of the Cabinet of the Dominion of Canada. Maybe the term is too rough. Maybe others would not call it stealing. Maybe they would use some other term. My education, my belief, as a representative of Labor and one of the common citizens of Canada. I am glad to say has always convinced me the only term applicable was 'stealing' from the common people, and taking advantage of the distress of the common people under post-war changing conditions."

Some of the venerable gentlemen of the Cabinet who had so faithfully served certain interests had now been sent to a higher sphere where they might still serve those interests. He, however, predicted that the result of the poll on December 6th would sound the death knell of the special interests form of government which had been the rule for the past few years.

Mr. Murdock as a Labor man recognized that the forces to be overcome were great, and it was because he saw that the only way to win the fight was to bring in men from every class and creed to fight together that he, Mr. Murdock was supporting the Liberal platform. Unity was needed to turn out the autocratic and plutocratic combination at present in power.

The hall was effectively decorated, and the Jazz Band and Mr. Andrew Murdison's Scotch selections were greatly enjoyed.

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CANADA

29 Oct. 1921 Bolton, Ont.

D 5586

PREMIER MEIGHEN'S UNTRUTHS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe
Oct 31/1921

D. 5687

# CLAIMS PREMIER STRAYS OUTSIDE LIMITS OF TRUTH

## He Knows the Issue Is Not Confined to Tariff, Says King

## DICTATING TO ELECTORS

## Wishes to Prevent Them Exercising Judgment on Government Record

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Bolton**, Oct. 29.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, at a big meeting in the rink here today, accused Premier Meighen of saying what is untrue. His remarks were directed, not against Mr. Meighen personally, but against Mr. Meighen as Prime Minister, and he contended that a Prime Minister who went before the people with an untruth was not deserving of confidence.

To say that the issue was "protection or free trade" was to say what was untrue, the Liberal Leader declared. Were that the only untruth it would not have been so bad. But there were others. For instance, at the Tory meeting at Massey Hall on Friday night the Premier had replied to what he had claimed to be one of Mr. King's questions by saying that he (Mr. Meighen) did not intend to have an all-round reduction of the tariff.

"I have never asked Mr. Meighen that question," said Mr. King, "and he knows it. What I did ask, and what I ask him now again, is this: 'How does he propose to revise the tariff, up or down?' That is what I want to know."

**Afraid to Show His Hand.**

The Prime Minister had also told the people through the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament that he was going to revise the tariff, but did not do so, the reason being that he would have had to show his hand. If he had shown that he was going to revise the tariff upward, he would have lost the support of the people at large; whereas, if he had shown that he was going to revise it downward, he would have lost the help of the big interests which had been supporting him.

Reeve Kennedy presided at the meeting, and the other speakers were the Liberal candidate for Peel, Mr. W. J. Lowe, and Col. A. T. Thompson. A large number of electors from the adjoining riding of North York came over to the meeting for the purpose of greeting the Liberal Leader, and hearing him expound his views on the questions of the day.

**Return to Laurier Prosperity.**

Mr. W. J. Lowe said, in regard to the railroad situation, that, although he approved of Hon. Mr. Crerar's proposal to meet the situation by increased immigration, at the rate the population had grown in the past 10 years it would take a long while to solve the problem in that way. With good business men at the head of affairs, however, he believed the railways could be run to advantage.

Col. Thompson of Ottawa said they, as Liberals, were not opposed to the Farmers. The little opposition Liberals did feel was because they, as Liberals, represented the truest of true democracy, and did not believe that a Farmer movement or a Labor movement was true democracy.

**Leaders of Good Calibre.**

Col. Thompson remarked that all the outstanding men of the Laurier Government would be included in Mr. King's Cabinet if the present Liberal Leader were returned to power.

Referring to the jibes, insinuations and sneers directed at Hon. Mr. King, Col. Thompson said they arose because his opponents were afraid of him. A tree with good fruit had sticks and stones beneath it, and that was the case with Hon. Mr. King. These attacks were made because the cause of those who made them was weak, and these people were "abusing the other fellow's attorney."

Hon. Mackenzie King, alluding to the fact that a Farmer candidate had entered the contest in Peel, asked whether it was not the Tory party rather than the Farmer movement which was responsible for the third party entering the field. Down in the East Mr. Meighen had said that he (Mr. King) had never said a word against the Farmers. Hon. Mr. King admitted that was so, adding that he had been fighting for the Farmers all through. Apparently what Mr. Meighen wanted was to get the Farmers "so jolly mad" that they would go out and put a Farmer candidate in the field, knowing that the parties would become divided and thus ensure the return of Mr. Meighen's own candidate. The speaker reminded his hearers that the Farmers in a riding would not be benefited by having a third candidate, as such a division would allow a candidate for Mr. Meighen to be returned. Hon. Mr. King said he believed in doing all possible to further the legitimate interests of agriculture, as it was going to help the industries of Canada.

"I have always believed that," said Hon. Mr. King, "and shall continue to believe it till the end of my life, because it is common-sense."

**Many Issues Before People.**

As to the attempt of Hon. Mr. Meighen to make protection or free trade the issue, Hon. Mr. King said it was ten years since the people had an opportunity of discussing domestic affairs. Why should they be limited now to any one question? An issue such as bringing down the cost of living was a real question, yet Mr. Meighen said: "You must not discuss it! The issue is free trade or protection."

Had not the returned men a right to discuss how they had been treated? Mr. Meighen said: "No! Free trade or protection is the issue."

"When you stop to think," remarked the speaker, "you see how arrogant is the position Mr. Meighen has taken before the country."

The reason Mr. Meighen wanted to make the tariff the only question was for the sake of the big groups who would help him meet his campaign expenses and help him carry on a great advertising campaign. That was the reason, but that was not the way to secure good government in the country.

The people had the right to expect from the Prime Minister of Canada truth, and not falsehood.

**Knows Statement Is Untrue.**

"I say," exclaimed Mr. King, "that when a man says the issue is protection or free trade he knows he is saying what is untrue, and no Prime Minister is deserving of the confidence of the people who goes before them with an untruth." (Applause.)

If that were the only untruth, Hon. Mr. King said, he would not think so much of it, but when he saw where Mr. Meighen made other statements which were untrue he considered it time to call attention to the matter. At the Massey Hall meeting on the previous evening Mr. Meighen said he would answer one of the questions Mr. King had put to him by saying that he did not intend to have an all-round reduction of the tariff. Mr. Meighen said that he had answered Mr. King's question.

"He does not intend to have an all-round reduction of the tariff!" exclaimed Mr. King. "I have never asked Mr. Meighen that question, and he knows it. I never asked that. What I did ask, and what I ask him now again, is this: 'How does he propose to revise the tariff, up or down?' That is what I want to know."

Mr. Meighen had told the people of the country that he believed in the need of the tariff being revised. He put into the lips of the Governor-General the statement that the tariff should be revised; that his Ministers had been through the country and had come back feeling the tariff needed revision, and that a revision would take place that session.

"It did not take place," said Mr. King. "Why? Because the Prime Minister would have had to show his hand if it were revised. He would have had to show whether he was going to revise the tariff upward or downward."

Supposing Mr. Meighen had been going to revise it upward, he would have had no support from the people. If he was going to revise it downward he would have had no support from the big interests which had been supporting him.

**Tariff Abolition Not Suggested.**

The Liberals did not propose to abolish the tariff, but they did propose to revise it so that trusts, mergers and combines should not be allowed to bleed the country and make millions out of the people by means of the tariff. The Liberals did not propose to give a chance for a few men to become multi-millionaires at the expense of the people as a whole.

The influence which was at the back of Mr. Meighen dared not come out into the open, Hon. Mr. King said. That influence was organized greed in this country on the part of a few men. "Privilege" was the word sometimes used, but Mr. King preferred to call it downright greed. Mr. Murdock was prepared to tell the country that he discovered while on the Board of Commerce a system, which was existing today, in which there was an interlocking of agreements whereby the people of the country were simply being preyed upon, and that they were like the sands of the sea shore—unorganized and unprotected in regard to their own interests. That was what the Liberal party was out to fight in this contest, and it was a big fight it was up against. There were powerful interests to be fought—interests which had kept the Government in power and which had been, in themselves, an invisible government for two years. They were not interests which could be ignored. In addition, it had to fight a Government which was in ofice and which had charge of the patronage, which had taken over the railroads and which had framed the election law under which the election was to be fought. It knew Mr. Meighen was no novice in the matter of election law. Lastly, the Government had the whole election machinery in its hands. For these reasons it was foolish for the forces of progress to be divided. Now was the time for them to be unit to fight the common enemy

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Montreal Gazette Oct-31st 1921

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# 'BIG INTERESTS' BOGEY HARPED ON BY W. L. M. KING

## "Organized Greed" Kept Meighen in Power, Says Liberal Leader

## AGGRIEVED AT FARMERS

### Fine Old Liberal Traditions Should Not Be Thrown Overboard for New Party Name

(By Canadian Press).

Bolton, Ont., October 30.—"Organized greed" was what had kept Mr. Meighen at the head of affairs for the past sixteen months, in the absence of any authority from the people, of Canada, said Hon. Mackenzie King yesterday afternoon, speaking in the skating rink here. It would have been impossible for the Prime Minister to have carried on without some powerful influence behind him. Disclosures which had resulted from the activities of the Board of Commerce proved that business firms, with the connivance of the authorities, were bleeding the people to the tune of millions of dollars, he said. But, said the Liberal leader, when the Board of Commerce would have brought these multi-millionaires to task, the members of the Government gently but firmly restrained them.

"Big interests," said Mr. King, had been the invisible Government of Canada, and it was absolutely necessary that all who were in favor of government by the people and for the people should unite to overthrow their common enemy.

Once again Mr. King assured his hearers that there was no essential difference between the aims of the farmers and those of the Liberals. That which would benefit the agricultural interests throughout the Dominion must inevitably rebound to the benefit of the dwellers in the towns and cities.

WARNED AGAINST DIVISION.

It was well to remember that the Conservatives were infinitely pleased to have Farmer candidates placed in the field. More votes for the third party might mean less for the Liberals, and it would be a sorry result if Mr. Meighen were once again returned to power because the friends of progress and self-government were divided among themselves.

The fine traditions of the old Liberal party were a thing to be proud of, and a great asset not lightly to be thrown overboard for the sake of a new name. Mr. King accused R. W. E. Burnaby, the Farmer candidate, of coming into North York with the intention of dividing the forces which were supporting him. There was no real issue between the Farmers, as farmers, and the Liberal party. Mr. Burnaby did not represent the farmers as a whole, but only a section of them, which was in favor of class legislation. For long, said the Liberal leader, Germany and Austria, arrayed against the forces of liberty and justice, seemed to triumph. England was right and France, as were also Belgium and Italy, but unified effort was lacking; when this was at last secured the forces of evil went down to defeat. In the present political conflict the forces of freedom and right would triumph if they would only join in one concerted effort.

NO QUARREL WITH FARMERS.

Colonel Andrew T. Thompson, of Ottawa, another speaker yesterday afternoon, was equally emphatic in condemning political class movements. The Progressives, he said, might regard Lloyd George as the greatest of statesmen, but they would not nominate him as their representative because he was not a farmer. The Labor party might acclaim Clemenceau as a brilliant man of affairs, but they would repudiate him as a representative in favor of a plumber's assistant. The Liberals had no quarrel with the Farmers. As a matter of fact, since '78, when Canada decided upon a high protective tariff, while the Tories had always depended for their strength upon the manufacturing centres, the Liberals had always been strong among the agriculturists. The Liberals had always been true democrats; they did not hold with the Farmers' movement because it was inconsistent with true democracy.

Referring to Canada's financial position, "is it not time for a change?" exclaimed Colonel Thompson. "Things could not well be worse. Let us see if we can't make them better."

The country, he said, was confronted with such critical conditions that unless care was taken, the sheriff would soon be knocking at the national door.

Apart from Mr. Bennett and perhaps one or two others, he stated, Mr. Meighen had practically none in his Cabinet but comparatively unknown men. Mr. Mackenzie King would have available Mr. Fielding, Rodolphe Lemieux, Dr. Beland, Ernest Lapointe, George Graham, Dr. Pugsley—outstanding men brought up in that Laurier tradition which had spelled prosperity in Canada for fifteen years. Canada's present emergency demanded a Cabinet of exceptionally high ability.

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Toronto Mail & Empire
Oct 31 1921

D 5689

# KING IS VEXED AT AGRARIANS

## Should Not Run Candidates Against Liberals, He Tells Bolton Audience.

## CONSERVATIVE PLOT

## Meighen Men Will Squeeze in as Result of These Fights Between Friends.

Special to The Mail and Empire From Staff Reporter.

Bolton, Ont., Oct. 30.—If such a thing is possible, Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, is not going to give the public an opportunity to forget that, in his opinion, he is the friend of the farmers of the Dominion; and, as he travels about the country from riding to riding, he is doing his utmost to preach the doctrine that there is a Conservative plot on to split up the farmer vote in order to squeeze in Government candidates. Hon. Mr. King has been talking that point for some time now, and he did not allow it to rest when he came to this centre on Saturday and staged a big rally in the interests of W. J. Low, the Liberal candidate, who will shortly find himself fighting a three-cornered battle. For it is an assured fact that the Farmers are going to bring out a nominee within a few days. Whenever the Liberal leader reaches a riding where a Liberal is opposing the Farmer candidate he spends much time in explaining that the Liberal is not fighting the Farmer, even though the Farmer may be fighting the Liberal. So far as Hon. Mr. King views the situation, there really should not be such a thing as a fight between the Liberals and the Farmers, for he has the habit of holding aloft before his gatherings copies of the Liberal and the Farmer platforms and informing the audiences that there is no important difference between the two. At first glance, that would look as though Mr. King is trying to snuggle up to them on the free trade issue, but he declares such is not the case. His explanation is an interesting one. For he goes on to explain that in these policies which it would be possible for any government to put into effect there is such a fine margin of difference between the Liberal and the Farmer platforms that the two parties should really be running in double harness instead of pulling against each other.

**Try to Anger Farmers.**

From the standpoint of a person in the audience, it is sometimes difficult to fill up the connecting links in Hon. Mr. King's arguments. At one stage he will point out that so far as he is concerned, there will never be any compromise between the Liberals and the Farmers; then, shortly afterwards, he throws out delicate hints which let the Farmers know that they would be most welcome in the Liberal camp. At this centre he went to the length of declaring that there really should be unity of purpose on the part of the Farmers and the Liberals; and the reason for that he found in the fact that there is a Conservative plot on to split up the old Liberal vote and give part of it to the Agrarian candidates in order that the Government nominees may slip in between the other two. It was while talking along this line that Hon. Mr King discovered the reason why "Hon. Mr. Meighen is pitching it into the Farmers so hard." The reason, as the Liberal chieftain interpreted it, is that the Conservative leader "wants to make the Farmer so jolly well mad that they will keep on bringing out candidates, and so split up the Liberal vote." But if the Farmers did not get wise to that, he felt that a great disaster would be brought upon the country, for the result would be that the "common enemy" would slip into power.

**Would Lose Friends.**

"Some of the Farmers are declaring that it is time to throw over both the old parties and strike out along new lines," he declared, "but they cannot afford to do that. For that would be throwing away one of the greatest assets which the Dominion possesses. It would be dropping all the old traditions, and the result, so far as the Farmers are concerned, would be that they would lose many of their friends who could otherwise help them in Parliament." Then, on top of that, Hon. Mr. King came along and took his own whack at the Farmers, but whether or not it made them "jolly well mad," one is not in a position to state. Hon. Mr. King's hammering for the Agrarian group was based upon his charges that they are out for class legislation, and upon his convictions that class privilege can never control affairs at Ottawa. So he informed the Farmers of this centre, the same as he has done at other points, that there is not a bit of use of them trying to put their class legislation across; that it would not go. For no matter what Government gets into power, he declared it is going to be hard enough for them to get any moderate legislation past "that Tory Senate" without trying for the extremes in free trade, or anything like that. So, as the Liberal leader has it reasoned out, the Farmers, even if they got into power, could not go a bit farther in the way of tariff revision than could the Liberals, so what is the sense of them stepping into the field and mussing up the Liberal campaign as they are doing?

**Attacks Meighen.**

During the past few days, Hon. Mr. King has found some "untruths" to tack down to Hon. Mr. Meighen. Yesterday he added to the list by declaring that the Government Leader is not telling the truth about that shipment of shells which Hon. Mr. King found down at Levis, and which has been something of a hornet's nest ever since. There is still much in the background, he declared, which Hon. Mr. Meighen is trying to smother, but so far as he is concerned, he is going to stick at it until he gets the full truth. Then, as to another "untruth," the Liberal contends that Hon. Mr. Meighen is not telling the truth when he announces from platforms that the only real issue at stake is the tariff. "Such a statement as that he knows to be an untruth," Hon. Mr. King declared, "but if he had let it go at that, I would let it pass. But he did not. In his speech at Massey Hall, I see that he stated, in answer to my question, that he did not intend to have an all-round reduction in the tariff.

That is not the question which I asked Mr. Meighen at all, and he knows it. What I asked before, is this: 'How does he propose to revise the tariff, up or down?' So when Hon. Mr. Meighen makes out that I am asking if he is going to have an all-round reduction, he is telling what he must know to be an untruth."

Hon. Mr. King also had some hard things to say about the manner in which the Government has "usurped the right of government for the past sixteen months." But he had found the secret for the Government remaining in power. It was because of a secret clique of men behind the scenes, men who dare not come out into the light, and whose purpose is that of gratifying their own "organized greed." Therefore, the Liberal declared that he is not really fighting the Government party, but that he is up against an invisible army which is controlling the affairs of Canada through the channels of Government, and whose main purpose in the past two years has been "to fatten off the spoils." In this connection he had some caustic remarks to make about the "patriots who went in to win the war," and who, in relaity, won a lifetime position in the Senate or somewhere else.

**His Week's Program.**

During this week the Liberal leader will tour Western Ontario, taking in Guelph, Stratford, Sarnia, St. Thomas and London, and returning to Toronto for a big meeting on Saturday night.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

31 Oct. 1921

D 5690
Guelph, Ont.

LIBERALISM VS. AUTOCRACY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5591

Toronto Globe Nov 1 21

NOVEMBER 1, 1921.

# ATTACK GUTHRIE RIGHT IN GUELPH ON HIS TORYISM

## King Charges Minister With Deceiving People About Munitions

## SCANDAL OF WORST KIND

## Demands Clear Statement From Meighen on Railway Monopoly

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Guelph,** Oct. 31.—Liberalism in the county of Wellington rose in full flood tonight when Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and his aides addressed two monster meetings in this city. With the Opera House crowded to capacity an hour before the time set for the meeting, the throngs overflowed into the City Hall, which in turn failed to accommodate them. The Liberal Leader, along with James Murdock and Sam Carter, Liberal nominee for South Wellington, spoke to both audiences, and received from each a welcome that culminated in an ovation.

Back to the very doorstep of Hon. Hugh Guthrie, right to his very home and among his friends, the Liberal Chieftain brought with renewed vehemence his charges regarding Canadian acceptance of high explosive ammunition, aeroplanes and other devices of war.

"Not only has there been concealment in this matter," he declared, "but there has been absolute deception, and deception by the Minister of Militia. Back of this whole business we have one of the worst political scandals, if not one of the worst political crimes, in the history of Canadian politics. And I believe the people of Canada will demand from Ministers more than insolence in explaining a problem of this kind.

"The thing cannot be defended. It is a scandal of the worst kind, and should cost this Government the last remnant of confidence of the people of Canada."

**Murdock Repeats Charges.**

In a brief address James Murdock repeated his charges that the Dominion Cabinet had been a party to spoliation of the people. He stated that while Hon. Arthur Meighen personally may have made it appear that he favored the full working of the Board of Commerce, he knew better than any other man in Canada how its people had been sacrificed by his colleagues in the Cabinet.

"He may have done credit to himself as a shifty lawyer," Mr. Murdock said, "but he knew better—if he hadn't forgotten. They tell me he readily forgets some things."

**Why Restricting Discussion.**

The Liberal Leader, in opening his address, said that Hon. Mr. Meighen was restricting all discussion to one problem, that of free trade and protection; this in face of the fact that public discussion of domestic issues had been impossible in Canada since the year 1911. Men who in 1911 were but 21 years old were now 31, and anxious concerning national issues; soldiers who in 1917 had been overseas, and women now voters for the first time, wanted to hear discussed public questions in which they were interested. But Mr. Meighen said there was but one issue. Why? Because, said Mr. King, he wished the people to forget the real record of his Government, and forget how he had usurped the power of the people.

**Charges Deception of People.**

"This usurpation was by deliberate deception of the people, and deception on a great patriotic issue," he declared. "Is there one in this hall who had anything whatever to do with the selection of Hon. Mr. Meighen as Prime Minister? Did you think, when you elected Hon. Mr. Guthrie, that you were electing a Tory Minister? You have been deceived. Mr. Guthrie calls himself a Liberal—how can he? No doubt he would like to be worthy of the name 'Liberal,' but no one can call a man a true Liberal who will go into a Cabinet and usurp the Government of this country for 16 months against the will of the people. I have nothing against Mr. Guthrie, but I have a right to defend the word 'Liberal.'" (Cheers.)

**Not Consulted About Nationals.**

Taking first the railways problem, Mr. King traced the steps by which the Canadian people had become possessors of the greatest single system in the world. From ownership of 2,200 miles ten years ago Canada had passed into ownership of 22,000 miles of track and system without even the formality of an expression of public opinion. The building of the Canadian Pacific, Mr. King said, had been made a matter of national policy; the Grand Trunk Pacific had been built only after an expression of public opinion, but the present great system had been secured without consultation of those who were incurring the cost of its purchase. Indeed, certain clauses in the Canadian Nationals agreement had been put through the House of Commons against Liberal protest and under rules of closure. His own resolution, he said, intended to give to railway workers the rights to which they were entitled, had been voted against by both the Prime Minister and Hon. Mr. Guthrie.

"Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Meighen voted against that resolution to insert certain clauses into that agreement, and it was signed, sealed and delivered before the people of this country knew what its terms were," said Mr. King. "At the same time the agreement went to England for discussion by the shareholders, and we in Canada learned the terms for the first time by the cable despatches."

**Scores Interlocking Directorates.**

Interlocking directorates connecting the Canadian National Railway System and the Canadian Government Mercantile Marine with certain great business organizations came in for scathing reference by the Liberal Leader, who showed that contracts involving enormous expenditures of public money had gone to a small group of men, all mutually interested.

"I think Hon. Mr. Meighen should he is returned to power the railways would be handed over to one great monopoly. As far as I am concerned, I will have nothing to do with monopoly in any shape or form—(cheers and applause)—whether relating to railways, the food of the people, the clothing of the people, or the fuel of the people. Whenever I find monopoly I'll do my best to break it."

**Deals With "Presents."**

In dealing next with the "shell discovery," Hon. Mr. King said that the Minister of Militia had made light of his charges, and had published a so-called explanation that was little better than insolent. Hon. Mr. Guthrie's letters, he said, could not be interpreted otherwise than that Canada was receiving from Great Britain a gift concerning which her Parliament had been informed. Were high explosive shells, he asked, generally regarded as "equipment"? Why were aeroplanes being accepted, to be maintained at enormous public expense?

"Don't people ever give presents?" asked someone in the audience.

"Yes," replied Mr. King, "but Governments have no right to accept presents that involve expenditure of the money of the people without the people's right to express themselves upon their acceptance. Moreover, a Government has no right to give away property belonging to the people, and for which they are only trustees. (Cheers.)

"There has been not only concealment in this matter, but absolute deception, and deception by the Minister of Militia," he declared.

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CANADA

Toronto Globe. D 5692

Nov. 1, 1921

"Mr. Guthrie talks about equipment. Does he mean by that high explosive shells? I challenge anyone here to find in Hansard any single record of reference by Mr. Guthrie to the obtaining of munitions of war.

"Back of this whole business we have one of the worst political scandals, if not the worst political crimes, in the history of Canadian politics."

Fraser Auld, President of the Liberal Association of South Wellington, presided at the Opera House, and R. L. McKinnon at the City Hall.

**Cannot Be Bought.**

"I am not wealthy, but I have enough that I can't be bought," declared Mr. Carter. He went on to explain his nomination, stating that he never bought the honor. He knew what it meant, for he was up against Hon. Hugh Guthrie, who, he said, had once "headed off" any real union for winning the war. Decent men, he said, who became Unionists resigned when their work had been accomplished—but not Mr. Guthrie.

"But what could you expect from our member?" he asked. "He has spent like a Rothschild. Do you think Sam Carter would have had his private car coming to Guelph? Would I have seen soldiers standing in line in Toronto waiting for a meal ticket, I and my family riding all over creation in a private car? Guthrie and I are as far apart as the poles in morals—and you know it."

**Pass by Returned Men.**

"Talk about returned soldiers," he said. "Why are they not chosen as Registrars? What have we?—Two retired bankers, and one a politician, and perhaps all three."

Grave irregularities had occurred in his last contest, the speaker said. The registrations had been grossly unfair and it had been said to him openly by persons who should know that, on the lists alone, at that time, he had no chance of election.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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D 5693

Morning Citizen
November 1, 1921

# CLAIMS REAL ISSUE IS AS TO WHETHER AUTOCRACY RULES

## Hon. Mackenzie King Addresses People of South Wellington on Problems of the Day.

GUELPH, Ont., Oct. 31.—Over two thousand people listened to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King here tonight. Long before 8 o'clock the doors of the opera house had to be locked against further admission and the city hall was soon crowded by the overflow. Assisting Mr. King were the local member, Sam Carter, and James Murdock, Liberal nominee for South Toronto. Mr. King said he had found a veritable superfluity of friends in Guelph and among them he stated was J. W. Oakes, Independent Liberal candidate in South Wellington, who had declared he would support him.

Speaking of the railway situation, Mr. King declared himself definitely as unfavorable to any proposals which tend to create a monopoly in this public service.

**Mr. Sam Carter.**

Same Carter was the first speaker at the opera house in a speech attended by a good deal of friendly raillery on the part of his hearers. He denounced the taste for private cars and other luxuries evidenced he said from the first by Hon. Hugh Guthrie's political career.

Mr. Carter indignantly denied that in the course of his own public career he had ever taken a cent which he had not honorably earned. And thus it was that today he and his wife dug the garden and raked out the furnace still. His patriotism should never be gauged on a dollars and cents basis.

**No Restrictions.**

Hon. Mackenzie King said there could be no reason for restricting discussion during the campaign to any one issue. Many today had achieved their majority and were exercising the franchise for the first time; soldiers were overseas at the last election and could not take part in the discussion; and women in Canada, too, would for the first time cast their federal ballot. Protection or free trade as a matter of fact was not an issue at this time. The real issue was whether the people intended to allow an autocratic government to continue an administration utterly heedless of the basic rights of the people.

The people of South Wellington, said Mr. King, had been wilfully deceived in the matter of their representative. Mr. Guthrie had been chosen as one supposed to stand for Liberal ideals. No doubt he would like to feel worthy of the name of Liberal, but no man who served under such a government as the present for sixteen months without any mandate from the people could be regarded for a moment as in sympathy with Liberal principles.

**Action on Railways.**

The government was accused by Mr. King of high-handed action in the matter of taking over the Grand Trunk Railway without giving parliament particulars of the deal. The prime minister, he said, appointed a board of directors from among his own friends both for the railways and for the merchant marine, and when information was demanded in the house of commons as to their method of handling the public moneys voted, no information was forthcoming. These boards were protected by statute against any liability and no particulars as to contracts let and moneys outlaid was given the people who were footing the bills. That, said Mr. King, was something with which he definitely charged the prime minister.

The Grand Trunk Pacific was designed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in order to bring in a competitive system. Monopolizing, he said, in food or in fuel, in railways or anything else, which affected the people's interests, was entirely contrary to Liberal principles. The vision of Sir Wilfrid was a vision which Mr. King was certain was still worthy of those who were following in the great leader's footsteps.

**Autocratic Government.**

Again and again Mr. King returned to the denunciation of the secrecy with which the country's business was carried on. When he was telling his audience that the government had accepted from Great Britain airships and ships of war without even consulting the people, a voice from the auditorium enquired "Don't people ever give presents?"

"The government," retorted Mr. King, "have no right to accept presents which involve large sums for upkeep without giving the people a chance to say whether they approve of the expense."

Something more than sarcasm and insolence would be demanded by the people to explain why large quantities of ammunition were being received from Great Britain in spite of the fact that Mr. Guthrie had stated in parliament that Canada was making at home all ammunition necessary for the militia.

**A Different Issue.**

James Murdock characterized as "absolute bunk" the assertion of the Conservative candidates that the prime issue in the campaign was protection versus free trade. It was a continuation of the camouflage that had been indulged in during the past few years whereby the rights of the common people of Canada had been absolutely disregarded while the rights of certain protected interests had been the paramount regard of the Conservative government at Ottawa. The common people had been "sandbagged" for the benefit of profiteers. Mr. Murdock said that as a member of the Board of Commerce he soon came to realize that millionaires were being born overnight and that men were tacking on "every cent the traffic would bear," extorting excess profits of unbelievable extent. "It was a shame and a disgrace," he said, "especially during 1919 and 1920."

Mr. Murdock said he had become convinced that there never was a shortage of sugar such as was believed in 1920. The real trouble was gambling in sugar to the extent of millions of dollars. Not all the Canadian refiners, however, were interested in the manipulations of the market.

Mr. Meighen, as a member of the cabinet, said Mr. Murdock, had appeared favorable to the Board of Commerce carrying out the work for which it was organized. He well knew that the board had been checked and thwarted in its efforts to function. Yet, Mr. Meighen, like a shifty politician, had later stood up in the House of Commons and defended the actions of his colleagues.

In conclusion, Mr. Murdock appealed for unity in voting for a party which would stand for decent, considerate government as against a party which would continue to allow the country to be governed by the special interests.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Daily Star
November 1/21

D 5594

# LIBERAL CHIEF OPPOSED TO RAILWAY MONOPOLY

## Will Have Nothing to Do With Shaughnessy Scheme, Says Mr. King.

## A BIG GUELPH CROWD

### Murdock Says People Were Sandbagged — Sam Carter the Official Candidate.

**Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.**

Guelph, Ont., Oct. 31.—The National Railways jostled the merchant marine's shell shipments for first place in the political discussions which engaged the attention of South Wellington electors here during the course of the two meetings addressed to-night by Mackenzie King, James Murdock and Sam Carter.

Upon the National Railways the Liberal leader delivered the most clear cut pronouncement which he has yet made definitely dissociating himself from the Lemieux-Gouin-Lanctot wing of his party and from their flirtations with the Shaugnessy scheme for a monopoly of all the dominion's railway resources.

"My own attitude towards this," he said, "is the same as towards any other monopoly. I'll have naught to do with monopoly in any shape or form."

He pointed out that Laurier had built the National Transcontinental and the Grand Trunk Pacific, because he felt that a competing line should exist from coast to coast in order that the country might not suffer from the unfortunate effects of a railway monopoly.

"This policy of Laurier," he added, "was inspired by a vision which I believe the Liberal party will keep clear before it and which, so far as I am concerned will be adhered to."

In view of the fact that to-night's meeting was held in the home town of Hon. Hugh Guthrie, minister of militia and defense, it was perhaps inevitable that the controversy over the shipments of high explosive shells should once again obtrude itself into the discussion.

Mr. King accused the local cabineteer with having practised "not only concealment but also deception," in this matter and he also scored him for the stand which he had taken on divers other public questions.

**Guthrie's Popularity.**

The extent of Mr. Guthrie's popularity here in Guelph was indicated by the fact that these criticisms were coldly received although the strictures leveled against the Meighen government as a whole evoked tumultuous applause. Incidentally, the attack made by Mr. King upon the administration of the department of militia and defense awakened the ire of a bald-headed gentleman with a plaintive voice who had stationed himself in the gallery of the opera house and had constituted himself as a self-appointed defender of the local member. In the exchanges with the Liberal leader, however, he was badly worsted and finally, disgruntled and discomfited, gathered his robes about him and stumped away out of the camp of the enemy.

Here in Guelph a unique situation exists in the electoral contest. Not only is it a four-cornered fight but everyone of the contestants is a Liberal or at least a former Liberal. Hugh Guthrie has represented South Wellington at Ottawa for the past twenty-one years, having carried the Laurier standard until 1917, when he joined the Unionist government on the conscription issue.

His chances for re-election will be improved by the fact that the accredited Liberal vote will be split between Sam Carter and J. W. Oakes. Although the latter is running independently without the endorsation of the party nomination, he claims fealty to Mackenzie King and contends that he is the only Simon-pure Liberal in the field.

Sam Carter, however, has already received the unanimous benediction of the Liberal convention and it was he who sat upon the right hand of Mr. King to-night.

**The Progressive Candidate.**

Neither of the old political parties can afford to overlook the candidature of James Singer, the United Farmer and Independent Labor candidate, for although the city of Guelph and the villages of Elora, Erin and Fergus account for rather more than half of the total population of 32,200 souls, comprised within the boundaries of South Wellington, the rural element is one to be reckoned with, especially when represented by a popular ex-reeve and practical farmer like Mr. Singer.

His rivals for the federal honors represent an assortment of professions and trades, Mr. Guthrie having been trained as a lawyer, Mr. Carter being a local manufacturer and Mr. Oakes being a contractor, with some reputation as a former license inspector and member of the committee of one hundred.

An example of the chaos with which the local political factions find themselves confronted was provided this evening when A. Grumbley, president of the trades and labor congress, took his place upon the Liberal platform despite the fact that it was the U.F.O. candidate who had received the I.L.P. nomination.

**Two Halls Not Enough.**

To-night's rally was presided over by A. F. Auld, president of the South Wellington Liberal Association, while in the audience were William D. Euler, ex-M.P., and a deputation from Kitchener, Mr. King's home-town, as also one from Brantford. The opera house was filled to its capacity of something in the neighborhood of 1,300 and people were packed in the corridors, on the stage and in the wings. The crowd commenced collecting two hours before the proceedings commenced and, accordingly it was seen that the accommodation was inadequate. The town hall having been requisitioned, a further 800 were provided for, but even then numerous people were turned away.

At the main gathering, Sam Carter opened the proceedings by trouncing Mr. Guthrie with considerable enthusiasm and gusto. He alleged that the Tory aspirant had "spent his money like a Rothschild ever since he left college," and referred to the fact that even during the war Mr. Guthrie had frequently had his private coach parked on the railway siding at Guelph.

"Do you think," he asked, "that Sam Carter would have a private railway car standing at the station?"

"That's just what you're after now, Sam," shouted an irreverent voice from the gods.

**King Attacks Guthrie.**

Greater gravity greeted Mr. King when he arose and gently proceeded to wield the hammer upon Mr. Guthrie, whom he classified with those other men who had been within the folds of the old party under the guise of being Liberals, while in reality they were not. He asked the voters as to whether they had thought that they were returning a Tory to power in 1917 when they elected the present minister of militia.

Turning to Mr. Meighen's request that he should give definite instances in which the present administration was entangled with the big interests, the Liberal leader quoted the fact that four-fifths of the directors of the National Railways were connected with corporations which supplied materials to those roads.

**Heckled About Aeroplanes.**

When Mr. King returned to his inquiry into the administration of the department of militia by Mr. Guthrie, he promptly ran into considerable heckling. When he was referring to the war material given to this country by Great Britain, a voice inquired as to what had been charged for the aeroplanes sent over, and Mr. King stated that there had been no bill sent in, a statement which evoked considerable applause from the less sympathetic section of the house. When the same interrupter later returned to the attack with the remark that people sometimes gave presents without any string attached to them, Mr. King promptly retorted that the government had no right to accept gifts which involved the expenditure of millions of dollars upon maintenance without first consulting the elected representatives of the people.

James Murdock, Liberal candidate in South Toronto, pursued his revelations in connection with the ill-starred board of commerce, declaring the people of Canada had been "absolutely sandbagged by certain business institutions."

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CANADA

London Advertiser Nov 1st 1921

D 5695

# KING ASSAILS RAIL MONOPOLY

## Attacks Attempts of Opponents To Confine Campaign To Any One Issue.

GUELPH, Oct. 31.—Over 2,000 persons listened to Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King here tonight. Long before 8 o'clock the doors of the Opera House had to be locked against further admissions, and the city hall was soon crowded by the overflow. Assisting Mr. King were the local members, Sam Carter and James Murdock, Liberal nominee for South Toronto.

Mr. King said he had found a veritable superfluity of friends in Guelph, and among them, he stated, was J. W. Oakes, Independent Liberal candidate in South Wellington, who had declared that he would support him.

Speaking of the railway situation, Mr. King declared himself definitely as unfavorable to any proposals which tend to create a monopoly in this public service.

Sam Carter was the first speaker, and his speech was attended by a good deal of raillery on the part of his hearers. He denounced the taste for private cars and other luxuries evidenced, he said, from the first by Hon. Hugh Guthrie's political career. Mr. Carter indignantly denied that in the course of his own public career he had ever taken a cent which he had not honorably earned. And thus it was that today he and his wife dug the garden and raked out the furnace. His particular patriotism would never be gauged in a dollar and cents basis.

Mr. Mackenzie King said there could be no reason for restricting discussion during the campaign to any one issue. Many today had achieved their majority and were exercising their franchise for the first time; soldiers went overseas at the last election and could not take part in discussions; and women in Canada, too, would for the first time cast their ballots.

### Denies Tariff Is Issue.

Protection or free trade, as a matter of fact, was not an issue at this time. The real issue was whether the people intended to allow an autocratic government to continue an administration utterly heedless of the basic rights of the people.

The people of South Wellington, said Mr. King, had been wilfully deceived in the matter of their representation. Mr. Guthrie had been chosen as one supposed to stand for Liberal ideals. No doubt he would like to feel worthy of the name of Liberal, but no man who served under such a government as the present for sixteen months without any mandate from the people could be regarded for a moment in sympathy with Liberal principles.

The Government was accused by Mr. King of high-handed action in the matter of taking over the Grand Trunk Railway system without giving Parliament particulars of the deal. The prime minister, he said, appointed a board of directors from among his own friends, both for the railway and for the merchant marine, and when information was demanded in the House of Commons as to their methods of handling public moneys voted, no information was forthcoming. These boards were protected by statute against any liability, and no particulars as to contracts let and moneys outlaid were given the people who were footing the bills. That, said Mr. King, was something with which he definitely charged the prime minister.

### Opposes Monopolizing.

The Grand Trunk Pacific was designed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in order to bring a competitive system. Monopolizing, he said, in food or in fuel, in railways, or in anything else which affected the people's interests was entirely contrary to Liberal principles. The vision of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a vision which Mr. King was certain was still worthy of those who were following the greater leader's footsteps.

Again and again Mr. King returned to the denunciation of the secrecy with which the country's business was carried on. When he was telling his audience that the Government had accepted from Great Britain airships and ships of war without even consulting the people, a voice from the audience inquired: "Don't people ever give presents?"

"The Government," retorted Mr. King, "have no right to accept presents which involve large sums for upkeep without giving the people a chance to say whether they approve of the expense."

Something more than sarcasm and insolence would be demanded by the people to explain why large quantities of ammunition were being received from Great Britain, in spite of the fact that Mr. Guthrie had stated in Parliament that Canada was making at home all ammunition necessary for the militia, the Liberal leader concluded.

RAILWAY COMMISSION

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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IQUES

Toronto Globe Nov 2nd 1921 D 5697

# KING PLEDGES LABOR A PLACE ON RAILWAY BD.

## Says, With Murdock Commissioner, Source of Deficits Would Be Known

## LADY LAURIER MOURNED

## Liberal Leader Denies Shells Coming to Canada Are Gifts

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Stratford**, Nov. 1.—Bringing to this busy industrial centre of western Ontario the gospel of economic liberty and social justice for the workingman and his family, Hon. Mackenzie King's appearance here tonight was in the nature of a triumph.

Not since the days of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has there been known in the Classic City such a demonstration of popular approval. Nearly 3,000 persons crowded into the spacious curling rink—no hall being at all adequate—and hundreds hammered for admission during the entire course of the meeting.

Backed by the practical message of James Murdock, thoroughly at home in a city of trainmen, the Liberal Leader scathingly condemned the autocratic methods of Meighenism. He showed the fallacy of the argument that protection benefits the workingman, and made a plea for representation of Labor on the great industrial and transportation boards called, now and again, into public service.

**Labor on Railway Directorate.**

"There is a large class of men in this country," said the Liberal Leader, "not represented on the directorate of our National Railways; men who have to do with railways, but who are not on that board. Who are more concerned in these matters than the men who go out on the trains and daily take their lives in their hands? If there is one class above another in our country entitled to representation on the Railway Board it is that great body of men. If the Liberal party is returned to power we will feel it in the interest not only of Labor, but of the whole country, to see that a representative of Labor is on that board. If we had had on it a man like James Murdock we would have found out ere now the source of these deficits."

Mr. King paid at the outset of his address a graceful tribute to the memory of Lady Laurier, whose life, he said, had exemplified the very ideals that had actuated her husband, and whose untimely death at this particular time was in no small sense a deep national loss to Canada.

**The Wage Question.**

"What is the Government doing in the matter of wages for railway workers?" asked Mr. Murdock in touching upon the railway wage question.

"I'll tell you one thing it is doing: The Government has put in force for engineers, conductors, brakemen and firemen rates that are as much as 13 cents per hour below the reduced wages for those same grades of employees—for engineers, conductors, brakemen and firemen—working on other Canadian railways. That's what this Government is doing. And they tell you also that all the factories will close down and blue ruin come if protection is done away with. Some of the manufacturers are giving you an advance demonstration; some of the factories are closed now. They are trying to influence you; they're trying to bluff you. The same cry went out in 1896."

Seated on the platform with the Chairman, Dr. J. F. Quinlan, were many men and women prominent in Liberal circles of North and South Perth. These included Dr. J. P. Rankin, nominee in North Perth; Wm. Forrester, nominee in South Perth; Duncan Ferguson, John Brown, Fred. G. Sanderson, Wellington Hay, M.P.P., and J. G. Hay. Enthusiastic applause greeted each speaker from what Mr. King described as probably the finest audience he had faced during the present campaign.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3.)

**Fears His Record.**

Mr. Meighen, said the Liberal Leader, confused the issue because he was afraid to risk public consideration of the record of his Government. To usurpation of office he now added arrogant disregard of the liberties of the people. The mishandling of the railway problem was an outstanding example. Canadian ratepayers had been denied information given English bondholders. The rights of railway workers had been flouted by the Government, which had refused to put into the agreement a clause aimed to protect those rights.

As to the tariff, protection had come to mean, said Mr. King, protection of "big interests." The tariff impost upon the average family meant the difference between a free home and a mortgaged one; between the boon of insurance and its utter absence. The aim of the Liberal party was to protect the homes and the people, and not friends of the Government. It aimed to make available to the people at large all the necessaries of life at the lowest possible cost. Any revision that might occur would do no ill to any industry, but would make the tariff bear as lightly as possible on the necessaries of life.

**Get More of Shell Story.**

Replying to Mr. Guthrie's reported utterance of last night that "more shells were coming," Mr. King said: "In two years Mr. Guthrie asked Parliament for $2,000,000 for shells, and blamed the high price thereof on the cost of labor. There was then not one word about Canada's shells in England. We'll get a great story when we find out the total quantity of shells coming over. They are not gifts. They are part of Canada's credit."

James Murdock, who was given a splendid reception, alleged that certain newspapers were annoyed at his persistent repetition of charges against the Board of Commerce administration. Any such conspiracy of silence, Mr. Murdock declared, he could utterly ignore on behalf of the interests of the people; he could afford, he said, to do without

### The Leaders Today

**Hon. Mr. Meighen at Campbellford and Peterboro'.**

**Hon. Mr. King at Sarnia.**

# REFUSES TO SEE AHEAD OF GRE

## Lord Lee of Fareham Any Lengths Short or Sea

(Associated P

**New York**, Nov. 1.—Confidence that much good would come out of the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament was expressed by delegates from Italy,

continued on next entire page

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CANADA

London Advertiser Nov 2nd 1921

D 5698

# 3,000 APPLAUD LIBERAL CHIEF AT STRATFORD

## James Murdock Tells How the Combines Hamstrung Board of Commerce.

## GOVERNMENT ASSISTED

## Declares Tide of Cabinet Ministers, Like Niagara, Impeded Progress.

STRATFORD, Ont., Nov. 1.—An apparently inexhaustible stream of people flowed into the gaily decorated Casino Rink here tonight to listen to Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King. For an hour the crowd grew until it was estimated that nearly three thousand persons were gathered, by far the largest audience seen so far on Mr. King's present Ontario tour.

Supporting the Liberal leader were Dr. J. P. Rankin and Wm. Forrester, Liberal candidates for North and South Perth respectively, James Murdock, candidate for South Toronto, and Wellington Hay, recently chosen temporary leader of the Ontario Liberal Opposition. The chairman of the evening was Dr. F. T. Quinlan, president of the North Perth Liberal Association.

**Has Not Accepted.**

Mr. Hay, M. L. A., in his opening remarks, said the new office which his audience thought he had, he had not; neither could he accept it. He could not leave Listowel, and was only acting temporarily in the position of leader of the Ontario Liberal organization.

Mr. Hay criticized W. A. Amos, the Progressive Farmer candidate, who, he said, had been a pastor and later a farmer in North Perth. With the experience thus gained he had been appointed a commissioner to investigate the hydro radial scheme, and had eventually charged the Government some $8,000 for his services. A lesser amount, Mr. Hay thought, had been paid him.

Mr. Amos, the speaker charged, was "out for all there was in the traffic rather than for what is the best interests of the people."

**Found Mergers Existing.**

Mr. Murdock, as on earlier occasions outlined his experiences as a member of the Board of Commerce. Hoarding of food was discovered and the board also discovered the existence of mergers and monopolies.

In one case it was found that $8,000 had been realized as profit on three cars of sugar between the hands of the wholesalers and its arrival on the consumers' table. But at each effort of the board to remedy such conditions it found itself up against quietly hidden resistance.

Mr. Murdock said he might as easily have swam the Niagara as stemmed the tide of resistance which the cabinet ministers were opposing to the functioning of the Board of Commerce. Before resigning his equivocal position Mr. Murdock had seen the former prime minister, he had also seen Mr. Meighen on three occasions, explaining the circumstances as briefly as possible, but calling a spade a spade, and naming individuals who had been so enthusiastically opposing the efforts of the Board of Commerce.

**Board Was "Hamstrung."**

But the board, said Mr. Murdock, was "hamstrung. When it became necessary to appoint a fresh chairman of the board the Government declined to make an appointment, and so the projected investigation of the textile industry the cement and the canners' combines was never carried out.

After a regretful allusion to the death of Lady Laurier, Hon. Mackenzie King insisted that Mr. Meighen had no more right to restrict discussion at this time to the tariff than Mr. Meighen had the right to retain his position at the head of affairs for the last sixteen months without a semblance of authority from the people.

"The prime minister," he exclaimed, "dare not come before the people of Canada upon the record of his Government."

Mr. King attacked the Government on the score of its administration of the railways and the merchant marine. He accused the Government of having consistently denied Parliament information as to the expenditure of vast sums of money.

**$2,000,000 For Munitions.**

Nothing was more important than that a representative of labor should be found on the board of directors of the National Railways as called for by the Liberal platform. Had such a man as James Murdock been on the board for the last two years there might have been a different story with regard to the ever-increasing deficits. The cost of living was chiefly determined by the cost of government, said Mr. King. Every policy should be framed having due regard to its effect upon the homes of Canada. The Government had spent two million dollars during the last two years in making ammunition which it now appeared was utterly superfluous. And this, Mr. King asserted, was only one example of an extravagance on a colossal scale which seemed characteristic of Mr. Meighen's Government.

The Liberal party did not stand for free trade. It stood for a broad national policy, and no industry in Canada earning a legitimate profit need have any concern of the Liberal revision of the tariff.

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# MR. KING PUTS SOFT PEDAL ON TARIFF ISSUE

## Has Next to Nothing to Say in Stratford Speech on Paramount Question of Campaign

## LARGE AUDIENCE HEARS THE LIBERAL LEADER

## With James Murdock He Attacks Labor Candidate, Who Is Indorsed by Farmers

STRATFORD, Nov. 1.—(By Staff Reporter.)—That benevolent attitude of the Mackenzie King Liberals toward the Farmers' party whose "ideals are very much the same as ours," and all that sort of thing evidently does not extend to Labor candidates with United Farmer backing. Several speakers at the meeting addressed by Mr. King here to-night, including the Liberal leader himself, confessed to a feeling of respect for a "straight Conservative" but Rev. W. A. Amos, who is Labor-Farmer candidate in North Perth, caught it hot and heavy. James Murdock, candidate in South Toronto, who stresses his position as a Labor man, went so far as to oppose the principle of putting a Labor candidate in the field, when there are perfectly good Liberals to vote for.

"Don't let them arrange to divide up the votes of those opposed to the Government so as to let a candidate of the Government slip in between," he urged. "Differences there may be among us. Let me tell you what I think about running a Labor candidate. I do not think I would have any more right to go to Parliament as a class representative than a representative of the canners, or the cement combine, or any other class of men. (Applause.) Let us send a man who will represent all interests and classes."

**BOOSTS FOR LEADER**

William Forrester, Liberal candidate in South Perth, and F. W. Hay, M.P.P. for the north riding, are both proud of Hon. Mr. King. They said so on the platform to-night in plain words of one syllable. This outburst was called forth by a sally on the part of H. B. Morphy, K.C., at the recent Meighen meeting here.

"I am proud of our leader, Mr. King," said Dr. Rankin. "For three years I was associated with him. heard his voice and listened to his wisdom, in advance of his years—though he is no juvenile. He has made political economy the study of his life; he has good judgment and a clear conscience, and whatever he does he does in the interests of the country."

Mr. Hay said he took pleasure in answering Mr. Morphy to similar effect.

The Casino was filled, with many persons standing, which means an attendance of more than 2,600. The gathering included many farmers from the district, a deputation from Woodstock, and a few people from St. Marys. Mr. King attributed the attendance at this, the largest gathering of his tour, to keen interest of the people in public issues. Stratford Grand Trunk band gave several numbers while the hall was filling. Dr. P. F. Quinlan, president of North Perth Liberal Association, was in the chair, and the speakers, in addition to Mr. King and Mr. Murdock, were the two Perth candidates and F. W. Hay, M.P.P.

There was a single reference to the Liberal platform, as such. It came at the close of Mr. King's discussion of the National Railways Board, and may be given in full:

"For over two years past the Liberal party has had on its platform the clause that, if returned to power, they will put a representative of labor on that board. If returned to power we will feel it in the interest not only of Labor itself, but of all citizens, to see that a Labor representative is on that board as one of the directors of that concern, and I say if we had on that board one such man as our friend Mr. Murdock here the probabilities are that instead of deficits of the railways being what they are to-day we would have found out long before this what the sources of these deficits are."

So much for the platform. The Liberal tariff planks being outside the pale for discussion, the tariff issue itself was declared by all the speakers to be subordinate to that of the Government record. References to said tariff were so brief that these also may be given in full.

Dr. Rankin said: "The leader of the Government has not told us what his tariff is and will not tell you until after the election. He dare not. He would offend somebody, but we have with us to-night a man who will tell you the policy of the Liberal party in regard to that, and he will tell you in such a way that it will appeal to your judgment.'

This is the way Mr. King put it: "The prime minister knows very well that he dare not come before the people of Canada on the record of his Government. The great issue before the people to-day is the usurpation of power by Mr. Meighen and his party, and I ask you whether we are not, in this election dealing with the question of whether we are to have autocracy or democracy in the administration of our public affairs."

The Liberal party did not stand for free trade. It stood for a broad national policy, and no industry in Canada earning a legitimate profit need have any concern about Liberal revision of the tariff.

**MR. MURDOCK.**

Mr. Murdock, in the course of a march upand down the platform, disposed of the tariff more vigorously: "You have been told that the tariff is the only question before the people to-day. That is the same bugaboo that has been handed to the citizens of Canada before, like drawing a sprat across the trail. Analyze carefully all of the various questions that have been before Canadians during the past few years, and then decide in your own best judgment if the tariff is the only question that Canadian citizens have got to deal with."

William Forrester said that he won South Perth in 1917 and was "counted out" by the Government. He had three nephews in the trenches at that time and they never heard of the election; nobody asked them to vote. Hon. Arthur Meighen was one of the men who put Canada in the condition it is in to-day, and yet he is asking to be returned to power.

Mr. Hay dealt at some length with the status of Rev. W. A. Amos, Labor-Farmer candidate in North Perth. Mr. King later on deprecated all references to the private life of political candidates. It is doubtful if he had any reference to Mr. Hay's remarks, but some of the audience thought so, and said so after the meeting. Mr. Hay satirically referred to the "technical knowledge" acquired in the pulpit and on the farm which had presumably made Mr. Amos a desirable man for the hydro radial commission named by the Drury Government. Mr. Amos had put in a bill for $8,500 for his services in that connection and the Government, Mr. Hay believed, had paid a lesser sum.

"Prove it," demanded a member of the audience.

"When he comes here," replied Mr. Hay, "I'll ask that Mr. Amos be given an opportunity to say how long he served on the commission, how much he asked for and how much he received, and I will accept his word as being absolutely the facts."

Mr. Murdock, who made his usual reference to the board of commerce, criticized "this Government" on various matters which came under the Union Government. He said the operations of the board had been impeded by members of the Government. For the benefit of Stratford railroad men he added a reference to wage reductions.

"Many have asked me," he said, "if there are to be any further wage reductions in Canada. "I do not know, and I would not discuss it here if I did, but I want to show you what this great Dominion Government does about a question of that kind. In 1907, under the Liberal Government, a fair wage clause was made effective, requiring that contractors on Government work or work aided by the Government, must pay wages such as are accepted as current in each trade in the district. This present Government, in

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disregard of the resolution, have put into effect on the Welland Canal a wage rate for engineers, conductors, brakemen and firemen, some 13 cents an hour less than the reduced wage that they are now working for on Canadian railways."

Mr. King's address was preceded by a feeling reference to the death of Lady Laurier, whom he had visited a week ago last Sunday. Her life and that of her distinguished husband had been an inspiration to all Canadians.

Mr. King repeated his attack on the merchant marine, another creation of Union Government, and challenged Mr. Meighen to point to an act of Parliament authorizing it.

Mr. King has been charging that directors of the National Railways are also directors of concerns which do business with the Government, and has been challenged by the prime minister to charge any of them with an act of corruption.

"I have a bigger charge than that," he said. "I charge that Mr. Meighen has appointed on this board men who were interested as directors in these very large industrial concerns, and that he, by giving them the exclusive right to deal with millions of dollars of public money and at the same time undertaking to shield them from possible exposure, has placed a group of gentlemen in this country in a position which cannot be defended before the public. I do not need to make specific charges. You know what human nature is."

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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# Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, Addresses Three Large Meetings In Sarnia

## LIBERAL LADIES HELD RECEPTION FOR THEIR LEADER

Opportunity Afforded For Prominent Members of the Party to Meet The Notable Guests.

The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and J. L. Murdock were the guests of honor at a reception at the Chamber of Commerce, arranged by the Women's Liberal Association of Sarnia, immediately following their arrival in the city yesterday afternoon. The reception committee were Mrs. Galbraith, vice president of the county association, Mrs. (Dr.) Bell, president of the city association, Mrs. P. Doyle, and Mrs. J .Cowan Jr., with F. F. Pardee Mr. King was introduced by Mrs. Cowan and Mr. Murdock by Mrs. Doyle. A large number of the leading Liberals of the city were present, including many ladies, in order to meet the notable guests. Miss McKeever, and Miss Gurd ushered the visitors from the reception room to the tea, the latter being in charge of Mrs. R. I. Towers, Mrs. Galloway, and Mrs. (Dr.) Henderson, poured tea, and assisting were, Mrs. Galbraith, Mrs. R. Paul, Mrs. Burwell, Mrs. Jeffery and Mrs. Chas. Mackenzie. The reception and tea rooms were artistically decorated with the colors of the party, red streamers and flowers. The tea table looked particularly nice, arranged with red shaded candles and scarlet carnations. Dainty sandwiches served with tea also bore the party emblem in scarlet ribbon. The decoration committee were: Miss McKeever, Mrs. Doyle, Miss Symington, Mrs. W. B. Clark and Mrs. James Clark.

### Liberal Side of the Election Issues Are Presented in Forcible Manner by the Party Chieftain, Also James Murdock and F. F. Pardee, K.C. — Imperial Theatre, City Hall and Crescent Theatre are Utilized to Give the People of West Lambton Opportunity to Hear the Addresses —Mr. King Refers to the Genial Nature of the Rally Carried Out in Very Effective Manner by Local Committees.

The Liberals of West Lambton yesterday gave their leader the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King a reception which will prbably not be outdone at any part of his Dominion-wide tour. He and James Murdock were met at the depot at three o'clock by a band which headed a procession of half a hundred motor cars that escorted them to the Chamber of Commerce where an informal reception was held. Many banners and flags were displayed in Mr. King's honor and at the halls where he spoke in the evening there were very large audiences. In the management of the visit of Mr. King the committee in charge must be given credit for excellent arrangements, a circumstance that the visitors commented upon.

Mr. King and Mr. Murdock are travelling in a private car accompanied by a number of newspaper reporters. They left today for St. Thomas where they are to speak this evening.

#### At The Imperial Theatre

An audience of West Lambton electors that filled the Imperial Theater to its capacity last evening listened to an able exposition of the Liberal claims for return to power in the coming federal election by the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader. Mr. King spoke for almost two hours and he dealt very fully with the main issues of the campaign. He reiterated the party's platform on the tariff, that it stood for tariff for revenue not for a system of protection which permitted certain favored industries to make a profit of up to five hundred per cent from the people of Canada while the necessities of life, the food, clothing, and other necessities in the households of the working people were taxed to an extent that kept the inhabitants on the verge of poverty. He asserted that on the ground that the entire manufacturing industry of Canada consisted in turning its natural resources into products used by the people the implements of production required in the great basic industries should be procurable at the lowest possible cost and that these should be permitted to come into the country without being subjected to a tax that was almost prohibitive in order that a favored few making these in Canada should be enabled to become millionaires.

#### Not Free Trade

He held that when he said that the Liberal tariff was a tariff for revenue that did not by any means imply free trade but a reasonable tariff wall so that the great masses of the people should be able to obtain the necessities of life at a figure that would re-

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duce the cost of living and mean a happier, more contented prosperous country. He asserted that no industry in Canada which was content to have a legitimate profit on its operations as contrasted with the profiteering which Mr. Murdock had unearthed, as a result of his investigations for the government, should fear a return to power of the Liberal party.

### Similarity in Platforms

He pointed out the similarity in platforms of the Liberals, the Farmers, the Laborites, the Soldiers and the Women's Organizations so far as the main issues of desirable reforms were concerned and expressed his astonishment at the fact that these sections of the people instead of joining together, were strengthening the chances of an autocratic government of getting back in o power by insisting on nominating class candidates who only succeeded in splitting up the votes. He asked the farmers of West Lambton why they should take a course which only succeeded in aligning the people of Sarnia and the other towns against them when they could unite under the tried leadership of Mr. Pardee and accomplish the reforms which they sought. The platforms of the Liberals and the farmers differed but only on non-essential issues. If they were conscientious in their desire for reforms they would abandon the non-essentials planks which would be exceedingly difficult to translate into legislation in any event and join in a return of Mr. Pardee to parliament on December 6.

### Munitions Scandal

Mr. King went fully into the matter of the shipment of munitions to Canada from England which he had unearthed when he recently arrived at Levis, Quebec to find large quantities of high explosives being unloaded from a government ship. He pointed out that Hon. Hugh Guthrie the minister of militia and Premier Meighen had already given most varying versions of the why and the wherefore of the importation of the vast supplies of munitions. He said he believed that behind the whole thing would probably be uncovered one of the worst scandals in the history of Canada. No government would be engaged in bringing in munitions in the midst of a general election and piling them on the wharves at Quebec unless the transaction had something to do with the election and he promised if returned to power to turn the searchlight upon the whole business, and to have an accounting for the credit of $3,000,000 against which the Government was drawing, as well as for the millions spent in the name of demobilization. He was convinced that there was a deal of some kind disguised, else why should there be so many diverse explanations by the premier and the minister of militia who were becoming more and more panicky on the subject the more they were questioned.

### Like Lenine and Trotzky

Mr. King charged that the Meighen government had held power for the past sixteen months by methods which were comparable only to those of Lenine and Trotzky in Russia with the sole exception that the latter had exercised physical force in seizing a government that had been in power. He charged that Mr. Meighen in combination with a group of political autocrats working hand in glove with a group of industrial plutocrats had succeeded in maintaining authority in spite of the will of the people to the menace of all the liberties of constitutional government which had been won in the past after much effort and hardship.

### The Railway Outrage

He attacked the method of acquirement of the Canadian National and the Grand Trunk Railways a system of 22,000 miles of lines in a manner which violated every principle of democratic administration. Neither the people nor their representatives in parliament had the opportunity to express themselves on this vast transaction which however involved the taxpayers of Canada to the extent of many millions of dollars. Worse still was the method that had been followed in the establishment of management whereby a group of favored individuals had been placed in control of the system as a board of directors and into the hands of these men had been given the power to make contracts and disburse millions of dollars without their being responsible to parliament. The Liberal party in the house fought against this but they had been forced to accept Mr. Meighen's dictates. It had now been discovered that over a hundred million dollars insurance had been placed with one company of which two of the board of directors of the government railways were also directors and other millions of dollars in contracts had been similarly placed. He believed that the whole scheme was one to promote debauchery and graft to an extent that had never been exceeded in any country.

### Endorses Mr. Pardee

Mr. King made a strong plea to the electors for the return of Mr. Pardee whom he referred to as one of the most capable members of the Commons and whose lengthy record of service for the constituency of West Lambton had been most creditable.

The Liberal leader was given a splendid reception. He was played down the aisles of the theater to the stage by the Scottish Pipe Band amid continuous applause from the audience which rose to its feet. His address was punctuated by considerable hand clapping and it was noticeable that there was much enthusiasm among his followers. He is a very rapid speaker and once or twice he made humorous references to the assaults of Premier Meighen in a manner which was greeted with laughter and applause. Mr. King does not appear to be suffering from any ill effects of the strenuous campaign which he has engaged in for several weeks and his voice is very clear and penetrating. He continually gives emphasis to what he is saying with gestures in which his hands play a prominent part.

On the stage and throughout the audience were large numbers of women who appeared to take a keen interest in the discussions.

### Appeal For Unity

His concluding remarks were a fervent appeal for the abandonment of class factions among those who in general were opposed to a government that had seized power against the wishes of the people and were conducting it in the most autocratic fashion. He said that if by the continuance of this division they should succeed in permitting the present autocratic government to retain power it might be a considerable time before the ideals of true democracy could be again brought to victory.

At the conclusion of Mr. King's address the audience stood up while the band rendered O Canada and immediately afterwards Mr. King hurried off to the city hall to deliver his second address.

### A Third Meeting

It had been intended to hold only the two meetings at the Imperial Theatre and the City Hall but during the evening a number of people who had not had the opportunity of hearing Mr. King or Mr. Murdock assembled at the Crescent Theater and a request was sent to them to speak there. Both Mr. King and Mr. Murdock accepted and gave addresses at the Crescent. It was reported that this is the first time during the tour that such an incident has happened and while it imposed an extra hour of effort upon the two speakers they were quite pleased with the tribute paid them. This meeting was presided over by Ald. Thos. Cook who introduced Mr. King and Mr. Murdock and Mr. Pardee.

The meeting was presided over by John Cowan sr., who introduced Mr. King very briefly. F. F. Pardee the Liberal candidate for West Lambton made a forceful speech preceding Mr. King. He referred to the fact that he had been first honored by the electors of W. Lambton in 1898 and almost continuously since that time he had been their parliamentary representative. He asked them to repeat their verdict of the past on the occasion of December 6.

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### Whispering Campaign

Mr. Pardee dealt very emphatically with what he called the whisperings and rumors which were being systematically circulated concerning the Liberal platform and the destinies of the Imperial Oil Company. He said that men, women and children had been instructed and were carrying out their instruction to circulate the rumor that to vote for Pardee and the Liberal party meant the obliteration of the Imperial Oil Company the key industry of Sarnia. It was a most peculiar thing however that the Imperial Oil Company had been first established in Sarnia in 1896, just about the time that Sir Charles Tupper and his Conservative associates had been proclaiming to the people of Sarnia and of Canada that if they voted for the Liberals the doors of all the factories would be closed. But the Liberals were elected on that occasion and the doors of the factories were not closed. Both the Imperial Oil Company and all the other factories had grown stronger than ever, in fact the fifteen years following the advent of the Liberal party to power had been the most prosperous that Canada had ever experienced. Well they were again appealing to the people under similar circumstances for return to power in order that they might again restore prosperity and he believed that they people would see to it that they were again returned.

### A Challenge

He wished to challenge any Conservative and his opponent Mr. LeSueur or anyone else who was circulating the fantastic rumors about the effects of a Liberal administration with regard to the Imperial Oil Company to produce one director or responsible official of The Imperial Oil Company who had the least fear of any injury to the industry if a Liberal government were returned to power in December. Neither the Imperial Oil Company or any other factory in Sarnia need have the least misgiving as to the result of such a victory as they would not be disturbed. He was confident that the prosperity which followed the Liberal victory in 1896 would be repeated when the Liberals were again returned. All his personal interests were in Sarnia and all that he hoped to achieve was bound up in the destinies of this city. Probably he had made mistakes. There were occasions when he could not see eye to eye with some of them on important issues of the day but he could assure them that what he had done, and the course he had followed was dictated by a conscientious sense of duty and he had always recognized that those who had differed with him had done so on the same consicentious convictions that had inspired his own actions. He had no recriminations against such and he could say that if he were again honored by return to parliament they could rest assured that he would serve them just as conscientiously and just as faithfully as he had in the past. He had the firmest faith in the destinies of Canada. He felt that there was no country on earth that had better prospects. It was bound to attain a great future. He wanted his hearers to consider over the issues presented in this election in their own good Canadian fashion and he believed when they had done that they would conclude that he merited their support.

With regard to the tariff Mr. Pardee quoted members of the government Sir Thomas White and Hon. Jas. Calder to the effect that it required revision. Necessities of life, material used by the majority of the people in domestic requirements carrying a protective duty of from 23 to 38 per cent imposed a tax on these goods which ought to be moderated. Why should the average citizen contribute to the fortune building of the profiteer by continuing to pay such an inordinate tax.

Mr. Pardee vigorously assailed the Conservative election cry which he said was proclaimed in 1911 and repeated today that to vote for the Liberal party meant annexation While he was doing this he asked the audience if Mr. Meighen had not told them that to which there were some cries of "No" but Mr. Pardee stuck to his guns and asserted that the real issues of reciprocity were disguised then by this cry and were again being disguised by a bogey alarm which had no real existence. Mr. Pardee was given a good reception and made an excellent speech.

### Mr. King's Address

In opening his address the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King expressed personal thanks for the splendid reception tendered him and Mr. Murdock, by citizens, on their arrival and referred to the fact that hundreds of citizens were waiting as he came by the City Hall as the doors of that place were closed until the theater was filled. He regarded this as a great tribute, not only to himself, but to the Liberal party. He believed that these receptions given everywhere on the part of the people were due to the conclusion that the citizens felt that they desired a change which would free them from the administration of a government which had usurped power and was retaining it against the wishes of the people.

### Eulogizes Mr. Pardee

He paid a tribute to the long service and parliamentary experience of Mr. Pardee, with whom he had been closely associated. Mr. Pardee had creditably represented the constituency. He had always spoken uprightly and courageously for the interests of the people and he hoped that on December 6th, they would return him by a sweeping majority.

Continuing, Mr. King said that an almost entirely new electorate had sprung up since 1911, the last time that domestic political affairs had been discussed as the 1917 election had not permitted a discussion of these matters.

He asked why the Premier should assert that the question of protection or free trade should be the only issues discussed in this contest when the women were to take their place as electors for the first time and an enormous percentage of young men would exercise their initial franchise. The answer was that Mr. Meighen proposed at all costs to keep the disastrous record of the government out of the discussion as he knew its acts could not stand the light of day.

### Tariff For Revenue

On the tariff the Liberal party stood for tariff for revenue and there, was no matter of free trade and when Premier Meighen said that the Liberal party stood for free trade he said what was not true. It was to disguise the record of the government that the Premier wanted to narrow the issue to that of Free Trade or Protection because he was afraid to have the record of the government discussed.

He asked the Conservatives present of they had anything to do with giving Mr. Meighen the right to surround himself with the associates found in the cabinet in the last 16 months. He said that Mr. Meighen in retaining power had adopted a method similar to that of Lenine and Trotzky in Russia except that they had seized the government by physical force. The result however was the same.

Mr. Meighen had appointed judges and senators had taken over 20,000 of miles of railway without a mandate from the people, and this demonstration of the seizure of government was most serious as senators and judges had an influence in the moulding of legislation of the future. He wanted to tell his farmer friends and those with tendencies toward democratic and progressive government, that it was going to be very difficult to get democratic legislation passed in the future, because of the entrenchment of those who have been placed in the senate and on the bench, in recent months. Mr. Meighen hoped to be

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again elected so that he could continue an autocratic government. They had come to a time in politics where they had to decide whether they were going to have government by the people for the people, or government by "a group of political autocrats, assisted by a group of industrial plutocrats" who had been in charge of affairs during the past 16 months.

**The Railway Situation.**

Mr. Meighen had taken over two railway systems since 1911 and the people now own 22,000 miles of railway, the largest system in the world under one management. This had been done without the people having an opportunity to pronounce an opinion, yet they had to take the responsibility, financial and otherwise. This was an autocratic transaction and even the people's representatives in the house had had no opportunity to express themselves. Mr. King said that he had moved that the railway agreement be brought into the house and discussed before it was ratified, but Mr. Meighen had voted down that resolution and said he would sign and seal the agreement himself. The first the members of parliament knew the terms of the agreement was when the despatches told of its submission to the bondholders in England. But the people of Canada had to assume the financial responsibility. The government had made a mistake in the agreement and some small lines of railway were left out. The government had to bring this matter before the house and Mr. King moved a discussion of the whole agreement, but again this was flatly refused.

**Grand Trunk Strike.**

Mr. King then explained his part in the agreement between the men of the Grand Trunk and the company at the time of the strike in 1909. He said there might be some in Sarnia who believed that because he was minister of labor and had been present and heard all the discussions that he was partially responsible for the bad faith afterward shown by the Grand Trunk, which refused to carry out its agreement with the men who were to be reinstated in 90 days. He had, however consistently condemned this action and he had succeeded in holding up 7 million dollars payable to the Grand Trunk from the government, because it had not kept faith with the men. He had later moved, seconded by Mr. Pardee, when the Grand Trunk was to be taken over by the country that enough money should be held back to provide for compensation of the men who had claims for such because of non-reinstatement, but Mr. Meighen and his friends had voted it down.

**Railway Graft.**

He accused Mr. Meighen of placing his own political friends in charge as a board of directors to manage the national railway system.

A vote of 165 millions had been passed for these railways and these men were not responsible to the government for the expenditure of this money. A liberal resolution to place ministerial responsibility had been voted down by Mr. Meighen and his friends. He charged Mr. Meighen with having adopted a practice which would bring the whole matter of government ownership of railways under distrust. Mr. Meighen claimed he had no information as to this board of directors. but it was found that four-fifths of this board were on companies that were doing business with the Canadian National Railways. An amount of 109 million dollars of insurance was placed with one company, two directors of which were on the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways, and similarly they found that contracts for millions of dollars had been let to organizations the directors of which were members of the board of the Canadian National Railway.

It was a most serious matter for the country when a group of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats had usurped the powers of parliament and were using the finances of the country to their own enrichment. It was time that the people moved for a change.

**Dealing in Millions.**

The members of the government who had spent millions in the war had been unable to divest their minds of the atmosphere surrounding the expenditure of millions. They could not get down to an idea of economy or saving or to deal in matters of thousands or hundreds of thousands, but still proposed to spend in millions.

Mr. King related the incident of seeing at Levis a ship unloading ammunition and of learning that this was only one of 5 ships carryng munitions from England. He told of his letter to Mr. Meighen asking about this and quoted the statement of the minister of militia, Hon Hugh Guthrie, that this was equipment being retultrned from England and later then a statement admitting that it was new munitions from England, an admission forced by Mr. King's interrogations.

The government had not been honest about the transaction and they had gradually to admit that these munitions were part of property owned by Canada in credits as a result, of the money advanced during the war. He gave Gen. McBrien's statement, which he believed was correct, that this ammunition was against a credit standing in favor of Canada from the days of the war. settlement with Great Britain. Why had not the minister of militia explained when he had asked for a 2 million dollar vote for military supplies that Canada had a credit in Britain.

Mr. King quoted Hansard to show that Mr. Guthrie had said that all the artillery ammunition was made in Canada while he now denied that he had said this, and he had now also said that they had not purchased any ammunition since the armistice. He asked why this concealment. He believed that there was one of the worst scandals in the history of Canada behind the incident. Now Mr. Guthrie claimed Canada had a credit of three millions in England. They now admitted that thousands of tons of munitions had been coming in from England. There was a deal behind it somewhere and no government was bringing in during a general election campaign thousands of tons of munitions unless it had something to do with the election. He promised a searching investigation if returned to power and a demand for an accounting for this alleged three million dollar credit in England.

**Tariff Planks.**

Mr. King then took up Mr. Meighen's questions as to where he stood with regard to the tariff platform of the Liberal party. Mr. King repeated that he regarded the liberal platform as a chart which indicateed the direction he should follow. He had said at the convention he should hesitate if left solely to his own judgment on such an important program, but as he saw men of judgment there he would always consult with the best men of the party and shape his course on their collective wisdom. He would surround himself with the best brains of the party and would always have their joint advice on tariff and everything else. Mr. Meighen was running a one man government. He did not propose to follow that example but would surround himself with the best men he could find and would defer to their judgment.

The Liberal tariff was a tariff for revenue and he had seen that Mr. Meighen had said that a tariff for revenue was a protective tariff. Why then should Mr. Meighen worry if the Liberal tariff was a protective one. They must both be working to the same end.

Mr. King had heard Mr. Murdock tell, as a result of his investigations, that favored individuals were making profits of as high as five hundred per cent. under the protection which the government provided. The Liberal party would stand for a tariff for revenue which would ensure a legitimate profit to industries but further than that they would not go. The wealth of the country came from the great basic industries, lumbering, mining, farming etc., and as all manufacturing was the turning of raw material into articles of consumption, the Liberal party wanted the implements of production to be taxed as lightly as possible. The same applied to certain classes of necessities of life, such as

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food, clothing etc., which should be taxed as lightly as possible. The Liberal tariff proposed that manufacturers should be prosperous because they could get their equipment at reasonable prices while the masses of the people should not be overtaxed in costs of food, clothing and other necessities.

**Appeal for Unity.**

He would say to the farmers that while the government was one united force the forces opposed were divided into groups. The Liberals, Farmers, Labor, Soldiers and Women, had platforms, the main planks of which were the same, but they differed in non-essentials. Why should not those with similar platforms agree. Why should the farmers take a stand that aligned against them the people of the towns and cities, where they dealt. The Liberals offered the Farmers the opportunity to co-operate with them. If they wanted the reforms which they professed, why did they not throw in their strength with Mr. Pardee in West Lambton who had stood for the reforms that they professed to seek This division of forces among those who believed in liberal and democratic principles only tended to weaken the general strength so that an autocratic government might find the opportunity to squeeze in between. Mr. King concluded with an appeal for unity as to party, race and sect.

**Mr. Pardee Speaks.**

In his opening remarks the chairman John Cowan Sr., expressed pleasure at the large attendance, stating that it spoke well for West Lambton. After referring to the speakers who would appear in turn, he introduced Mr. Pardee who was greeted by a burst of applause.

"As far back as 1898 you did me the distinctive honor of electing me as your representative and since that time I have had the honor of representing one of the best constituencies in Canada almost continuously" said the speaker at the outset of his address.

"As your standard bearer now I feel that I have your confidence and with that knowledge there can be only one verdict and that is that the Liberal party is the party to look after the concerns of this country," he continued, "but it is a long time since the people have had a chance to hear the questions of the day discussed. The last time was in 1911 and at that time reciprocity was forced in as the only question. The cry of our Conservative friends then was that reciprocity would mean annexation by the United States, that the country would soon lose its identity, that it would be absorbed and there would be no more Canada. That was the cry that you heard in the east and in the west, and the consequence was that the people were misled and frightened. The Conservatives knew as we know that there was not one tittle or iota of truth in it.."

"Reciprocity was never discussed upon the hustings," Mr. Pardee said further. "They never told you what it would do or what it would not do. The only cry you heard was that if you voted for reciprocity, Canada would be annexed. and some of my Conservative friends will say that it didn't happen because the Liberals were beaten. Let me say that altho the Conservatives denounced reciprocity, shortly after they got into power practically every phase of that reciprocity was put into operation with the United States. Now let me ask my good ultra Tory friends if they noticed any dismemberment of the British Empire, any annexation by the United States; 'No!"

**The Present Campaign.**

Taking up the present campaign, the speaker declared that the one cry now in East and West and on every platform by the Meighen supporters is "vote not for the disloyal Grits, for those wicked men who advocate free trade," and asked if it was not an absolute repetition of the cry of 1911.

Referring to the local situation he stated that one company that had come under the focus and spotlight was the Imperial Oil Limited, and that irresponsible people are running around saying that if one votes for the Grit party and Pardee the plant will be moved away.

"The Imperial Oil Company came here in 1896 or 1897 under Liberal rule," he added, "and I ask you whether Liberal or Conservative, do you know in the history of Canada of a better period of prosperity than for the fifteen years following 1896.

"You never did."

"We are here today to put exactly the same proposition in the same way and we are here to ask Grit and Tory alike to support it." he said in concluding that phase of his address.

Turning to the tariff, he referred to the statements made by Conservative cabinet ministers, Sir Thomas White that "a revision of the tariff was long since overdue" and Hon. Jas. A. Calder that "the tariff is full of anomalies and things one cannot understand and ought to be revised right away," and then dwelt on the manifesto issued by Mr. Meighen, which he said, although it pointed out the existing stagnation and unemployment, offered no remedy.

He declared further that the Liberal party was not a free trade party and never was and that any man or party today advocating an absolute measure of free trade, would advocate something that was economically unsound and could not be carried out. The Liberal platform he asserted provided that the tariff should be revised so that the man most able to pay should pay the most and the man able to pay the least should have his burden made as light as possible. A tariff of from 28 to 38 per cent. on woollens and cottons and other necessaries of life he termed too high.

**Imperial Oil History.**

Returning again to the industrial phase of his address, Mr. Pardee said.

"The Imperial Oil Company came here when Sir Chas Tupper was telling everyone that if the Liberals came into power the factories of Canada would be closed, and I might say to you that in the face of Tupper's prediction the Imperial Oil has worked and progressed and has become the key industry of this city. The Grit tariff never scared it away. If the Liberals are returned on December 6, next, the chances are ten to one that it will be more prosperous than ever before."

"As far as the Imperial Oil is concerned, I challenge my opponent, Mr. LeSueur and any Conservative within the sound of my voice, knowing that the Imperial Oil has always taken an independent stand in politics, to get the endorsation of any director to say they have the least alarm over the Liberal platfrom.

**His Home City.**

"You know where I stand as far as this city is concerned. All I ever got and all I expect to get is here in the city of Sarnia. Any prosperity that has come to me has come through the prosperity of this city. You that know me know that I would be less than human if by any act of mine I should do something that would be other than beneficial to this city and the surrounding district.

"Let me say in closing that since 1898, with but a slight break, I have had the distinctive honor of representing West Lambton, I have undoubtedly made some mistakes, but at all times in all those years I have acted so far as my lights would let me see in absolute sincerity and good faith for the betterment of the country. If I made mistakes I acted not from any venal motives but I acted as I believed in a way that was for the best interests of the country. With those who did not see eye to eye with me I had no fault to find, no recrimination. I always regard their opinion as formed in good faith, and I ask them to give me the same measure of credit."

Mr. Pardee urged his auditors to consider everything carefully, to weigh all arguments pro and con and not to be led astray by any false cry. On

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resuming his seat he was given applause.

### Mr. Murdock Speaks

In a vigorous and lengthy address at the city hall, James Murdock made specific charges against the late government of deliberately obstructing the operations of the Board of Commerce, an organization fathered by the government, with the supposed intention of limiting the operations of profiteers who were rampant in the country during the period of the war and in the succeeding years. In substance he said that the board, in its endeavor to break profiteering, combines in textiles cement and canned food products, had, instead of receiving the assistance of the government, been hampered in its operatios to an extent which made the board practically useless. The government was afraid to allow the act to be applied in its full powers because it did not want to curb big interests associated with the government.

Mr. Murdock also severely criticized the government for its attitude towards the labor element and stated that the Welland canal operations under the government cut the standard rate of wages to railway employes. He characterized as bunk the effort of the Meighen party to confine the election issue to one of tariff against free trade.

### At the City Hall

At the city hall, long before the opening hour, all the available space was taken and hundreds clamored outside the building for admittance. It was announced that a third meeting would be held in order to enable all who wished to have a chance of hearing Mr. King.

### Dr. Brown, Chairman

Dr. Brown of Camlachie, presided at the city hall and, following an expression of appreciation for the crowded gathering, particularly the large representation of ladies at the meeting, he introduced Mr. Murdock, the first speaker, as a man who gave up his government position and retired to the oblivion of private life rather than condone the doings of the government in power.

### James Murdock

Mr. Murdock opened his address by stating that the electors in the forthcoming contest had to decide as a main issue whether a government should be returned to power which had proved itself to be a representative of capitalistic interests and not of the common people, a government that held the reins of power longer than it had any warrant for so doing.

The prime minister stated that there was only one issue before the country—the tariff. "I will ask your pardon for calling that pure bunk," was Mr. Murdock's comment.

In his opinion two facts should be considered: First, that the retiring government was capitalistic in trend and had been so first, last and all the tme, under Mr. Meighen, and secondly, whether the common people, and the farmers should not at last come into their own.

### Bringing the Soldiers Home

The prime minister often referred to the bringing home of the soldiers as a government achievement. "Well, what should it have done?, If many of us had had any idea of the fuss the government would make about it we would have gone and brought them ourselves." (Laughter).

Things had not been as they should have been when the solders returned home. Conditions had been insufferable, which was amply proved by the Winnipeg demonstration in 1917. The Winnipeg riot was a protest against the manner in which the country was being run. Many were afraid that the spasmodic outbreak against the government would spread all over the country, as it nearly did.

### Board of Commerce Act

The government proceeded to pass the Board of Commerce Act. This act was supposed to foster another act to counteract combines and capitalistic interests. The board was given wide powers particularly with regard to combines affecting the food of the Canadian people. I was asked to sit on that board. I didn't want the job but, under protest I took it, influenced by duty

### Carry Out the Law

"On Sept. 29 I was advised that I was apponted to the board,' said the speaker. "I started in with full intention to carry out the law concerning the act. I could see that the consuming public of Canada were being fleeced. We found that the urgency was more than we dreamt. In sugar people were being robbed. There was never a sugar shortage, as alleged, but what was hidden away, if brought out, would have kept the price down.

"We found that from the Atlantic to the Pacific 39 individuals were profiteering in sugar," he continued.

### Millionaires Over Night

Many, during the war conditions, made substantial fortunes. Millions were made almost overnight, and when the armistice was signed, they decided they must continue to make hay while the sun shone.

In wallpaper, rolls costing 54 cents were sold for $2; a better quality costing $1.32 a roll was sold for $4.80. In boots and shoes and overalls, there was profiteering. In the case of buildng materials there were miilons of dollars of excess, unfair and unreasonable profits made.

### Soldiers Not Treated Well

Many believed that the returned soldiers had not been decently dealt with. Mr. Meighen had said all possible was done, but the speaker did not believe it. "If in Canada we could have secured the profiteers' money and placed it in one deposit, I believe that the returned soldier question would have been taken care of for many years to come," Mr. Murdock said.

### Board of Commerce

The Board of Commerce felt its way for several months, finding a rather chilly atmosphere around it.

The speaker here quoted an instance where he was informed by a cabinet minister that the law in regard to the act should not be carried out strictly.

The board knew what it could do and what it had failed to do. In 1919 it found 500 per cent proft made in textiles. The government knew what the board intended to do. It intended to get after the textile, canners and cement profiteers, but was prevented from doing so, and his resignation was sent in on June 24, 1920.

### Blocked the Board

On several occasions he met the prime minister and advised him that he would not continue to accept money under false pretenses.

Mr. Meighen had pleaded ignorance of the charges made against the board but he knew well that his cabinet ministers continually restricted the scope of the activities of the board and the act and were throughout thorough obstructionists.

Some of the obstructionists to the working of the act had since been admitted to the senate, "where they will continue to serve well the interests of the Canadian people," he said, amidst laughter from the audience.

### Why he Resigned

Mr. Meighen had stated that he (the speaker) could not take a scolding from a cabinet minister.

"I resigned because the people of Canada could not get the redress that the law of Canada said they should have," Mr. Murdock explained.

Concluding his remarks with regard to the Board of Commerce, he stated that there were numerous cases where excess profits were made by concerns with the knowledge and tacit consent of members of the cabinet.

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### Talks to Labor

Mr. Murdock then proceeded to deal with the election cries of the Conservative party with particular regard to the catastrophies which would strike the country if the Liberals or any other party were returned to power. He said he wanted to address particularly the laboring class and advise them not to be bluffed into believing that blue ruin was in store with the election of the Liberals to power. The story was an old one, dating back to 1896, but the greatest years of prosperity in the history of Canada were the fifteen years from 1896 to 1911, under the Liberal government. (Applause).

### Government for the People

The time was gone when Canada should be governed for the benefit of favored classes. The Liberal party would see that the government of Canada would be for the masses, if returned to power. "We believe we have made enough newly-rich overnight and we believe now there should be a more even disposition, for the majority of the people, of the wealth of the country."

Continuing his remarks addressed to labor, Mr. Murdock said that the government had already committed itself to a further reduction in the wages of the railway workers.

### Welland Canal

The Welland canal was a government scheme and the conditions of the employes were disgraceful. The rate paid out by the government was 13 cents an hour less for engineers and firemen than the present standard reduced rate in Canada.

Concluding his address, Mr. Murdock said that every vote polled in the election for a Liberal, progressive, labor or independent party would be a vote for all time against the Conservative party, who were attemptig to show that a lack of a working majority in any party opposed to them would leave the power in the hands of the Conservative party.

He advised his hearers to do their utmost to secure the election of the Liberal candidate in West Lambton. He had known Mr. Pardee a long time and could assure the audience that there had never been a moment in his political career when Mr. Pardee had not had at heart the welfare of his constituency and also the interests of labor generally.

Mr. King and Mr. Pardee were worthy of a full measure of support and he trusted that they would receive a substantial majority on December 6.

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London Free Press

November 3/21

# KING TALKS ALL ROUND TARIFF

## Liberal Leader Avoids Quoting the Party Platform.

## PARDEE IS HECKLED

## King Is Also Interrupted On Number of Points.

SARNIA, Nov. 2.—(By Staff Reporter)—Hon. Mackenzie King to-night confirmed his right to a place in the foremost rank of stage magicians. Compared with his smooth work at the Imperial Theater, the efforts of the ordinary contortionist, conjurer or hypnotist are as the movements of a full grown hippopotamus crawling from a lake of molasses. In short, the "peerless leader" spoke for one hour and 25 minutes, with a second meeting in the city hall, and although he led up to it, dropped allusions to it, and talked all around it, he did not once quote or discuss directly any of the tariff proposals of the platform to which the Liberal party so devoutly pledged itself two years ago. If those famous declarations for "substantial reductions" in certain manufactured goods, and that "gasoline, lubricating, fuel and illumination oils should be free of customs duties," are anywhere among his documents, they continue to be cleverly concealed from view.

### SOME HECKLING.

Although heckled on some other points by members of the theater audience, this remarkable omission by Mr. King went quite unchecked. The particular interest of the matter, of course, lies in the relation of this proposed free list to the key industry of Sarnia, the Imperial Oil Company. F. F. Pardee, Liberal candidate in West Lambton, who, with James Murdock, candidate in South Toronto, spoke to-night from the same platform as Mr. King, said that the Imperial Oil had been "dragged into the spotlight." It has. Sarnia Liberal workers put it in the spotlight to-day by displaying across Front street a huge banner bearing these words: "Sarnia Got the Imperial Oil Under Liberal Government." The inference, and the only inference possible, is that the Liberal tariff had something to do with bringing that industry to this side of the border. As it was established here in 1897, with the tariff of the late Conservative Government still unaltered, the inference is decidedly interesting, particularly when considered in connection with the fact that the platform of the Liberal party in 1921 solemnly promises to implement by legislation planks which include the abolition of duties on gasoline, lubricating, fuel and illuminating oils and the raw materials entering into their manufacture.

### NO DIRECT INFERENCE.

As previously intimated Mr. King "got by" to-night without a single direct reference to that plank. He repeated his customary advocacy of a tariff for revenue, a tariff for the producer and consumer and a tariff which should bear lightly on the necessities of life, and proclaimed, "that's where I stand."

Mr. Pardee recognized the force of the argument in reference to the Imperial Oil by extended reference to it in forceful and at times irritable style, and concluded with a challenge to Conservatives to obtain from any director a statement that the oil company is afraid of any legislation which the Liberal party plans to carry out if returned to power.

"The great cry in West Lambton and elsewhere," he said, "is that if you elect the Liberals there will be free trade and then annexation to the United States. Isn't that what Mr. Meighen told you the other night?"

Many voices—"No, no."

Mr. Pardee—"Oh, yes it is."

Members of the audience—"No, no." (Applause.)

Mr. Pardee—"That is what he told you on this very platform that I am on to-night. Men and women are running around every street in this town and their one song is: 'Vote for Pardee and the Grit party and the Imperial Oil Company will be moved away.'"

A voice—"That is about right."

"Did you ever have a better period of prosperity in this Dominion than in the 15 years following 1896?" asked Mr. Pardee. "We are here before you to put up exactly the same proposition, in exactly the same way. Any man or any party who to-day would advocate an absolute measure of free trade, with Canada's financial position as it is and her sparse population as it is and 120 millions of people to the south of us, is economicaly unsound and it cannot be carried out." (Applause.)

Mr. Murdock's address was about as previously reported, with references to profits on sugar and other commodities discovered by the Board of Commerce; wage reductions alleged on the Welland Canal, and a declaration that the speaker quit the Board of Commerce because he "refused to take the filthy money that was only intended to have me help the Government to fool the people." He admitted that the Board of Commerce Act and Combines and Fair Prices Act provided all necessary power for the regulation of prices, combines and mergers, but charged that the Cabinet repeatedly prevented the board from doing the things the law said it should do.

### JOHN COWAN PRESIDES.

John Cowan, K.C. presided and summoned up the past by calling upon "Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie" to speak. Both theater and city hall were filled, and an audience was later addressed by the same speakers in the Crescent Theater. Dr. Brown, of Camlachie, was chairman at the city hall.

Sarnia City Band gave some excellent music at the Imperial Theater before the meeting opened, and Sarnia Pipe Band led Mr. King to the stage to the skirl of Highland music. The leader escaped with very little heckling, though a member of the theater audience, toward the close of Mr. King's high general remarks on the tariff, interjected: "You have told us nothing." When the speaker demanded to know "what is the difference between Mr. Meighen's attitude and that of Lenine and Trotsky in Russia?" there was a burst of laughter instead of the intended applause, while some things obviously intended as rousers left the audience cold.

Mr. King's presentation of the munitions affair was fuller than ever. He began by reading Hon. Hugh Guthrie's first brief statement given to The London Free Press at 1 o'clock in the morning, following Mr. King's original charge. This was followed by quotations from statements of the premier and Gen. MacBrien. Either the audience had read these in the press or lacked interest, for they seemed a bit bored. Mr. King concluded with quotations from Hansard, which he asked the reporters to take down. One from Hansard of June 17, 1920, purporting to show that Mr. Guthrie had described the Lindsay and Quebec arsenals as adequate to furnish sufficient ammunition for the Dominion in peace times.

### SECOND QUOTATION.

The second quotation, from Hansard of April 29, is a statement from Mr. Guthrie that "We have the stores on hand now, and they must be kept in shape and continually examined and inspected, otherwise on account of deterioration, heavy losses are liable to be incurred."

"Not only is Mr. Guthrie telling what is untrue," said Mr. King, "when he says that nowhere in Hansard can it be found that he said all our artillery ammunition was made there, but that is the reason he gave in Parliament in asking us to vote two millions for ammunition with what ammunition was being manufactured in Canada. Why all this concealment? There is something back of all this which will constitute one of the worst scandals ever heard in the history of Canada. If I had not discovered that shipload of ammunitions at Levis myself, there is not a man or woman in Canada would know of all this material coming into this country during the last few months, and continuously for the past two years. No man would come landing load after load of ammunitions in this country at the time of an election unless it had something to do with the election. If I am returned to power I will see that the searchlight is turned on the whole business."

### "CIRCUITOUS POMPOSITY."

Mr. King's patform treatment of the tariff has been described by the prime minister as "circuitous pomposity," nevertheless in that very circuitous qaulity it is clever. Here it is in Mr. King's own words:

"Mr. Meighen asks if Mr. King stands pledged to put that platform in effect if returned to power? That question admits of two answers and two only, 'yes' or 'no.' In either case, or if I do not answer at all I am unfit for power That is a nice pickle. I will give you the answer I gave the convention the time I was chosen leader of the Liberal party. I said that I regarded it as a chart, on which was

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plotted the direction the ship of state would be directed to take if the Liberal party were entrusted with power or while in Opposition, but I said that if I myself had to direct that ship without anyone to assist me I should feel very hesitant about accepting this great responsibility. That attitude was satisfactory to the convention and to the Liberals of the country. If the Liberals are satisfied, why should we need to worry? Mr. Meighen is an autocrat; he stands for one-man Government. I am not that kind. I believe in democracy and collective wisdom and getting the benefit of many minds. Who has Mr. Meighen got with him? His own followers say Mr. Meighen is the only man with brains in the lot."

Another member of the audience—"You have not told us anything."

"The tariff should be considered primarily from the point of view of revenue," continued Mr. King. "Mr. Meighen last night said a tariff for revenue is a protective tariff. If that is the case what on earth is he complaining about our policy for? I tell him here and now our tariff is a policy for revenue. We don't stand primarily for a tariff formed from the viewpoint of protection, but we still have our tariff. We have got to have the wall and it is put at a point that does not throw the door open to every industry, but enough to permit competition, and as long as there is a wall it is helping to protect industries on the other side.

**OLD STUFF.**

"No legitimate industry, earning a legitimate profit, no matter what it is, need have the slightest fear that any injury will be done its business under Liberal revision of the tariff, as long as the party has control of the situation during these next years. Can I make that any clearer?"

"The Liberal party does not stand for free trade, and in revising the tariff no legitimate industry need have any fear. If you want me to go further than that, ladies and gentlemen, I am not prepared to go further."

"We say with regard to the implements of production," the wise policy is to have taxation bear as lightly as possible upon them, because as you help development of natural resources you help the manufacturers. In regard to a large class of commodities in the nature of necessities of life, there again you have taxation under the tariff, but in regard to absolute necessaries the wise thing is to have taxation bear as lightly as possible there so that when we revise our tariff we will revise it in a manner which will increase production and make available to consumers the necessities of life at as reasonable cost as can consistently be made in the interests of the country."

Nothing there about the free list including oils.

**APPEAL TO FARMERS.**

Mr. King closed with an appeal to the organized farmers.

"If you are in earnest about the reforms you are seeking," he said, "and really want to get them into legislation, you are taking a stand which loses the support of men and women in the towns, which you need. The only effect of a class movement is to array against itself these very classes in a community which feel that they themselves are entitled to consideration and believe they won't get fair government from a class government.

"If you insist upon a candidate upon a Farmers' platform you take away a lot of Mr. Pardee's support and make possible, coming in between the two, the success of the Government candidate."

The campaign of the said Government candidate, Mr. R. V. Lesueur, is progressing splendidly in West Lambton, according to reports from many sources.

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Toronto Globe
November 3/21

D 5711 (1)

# BIG MEETINGS AID CAMPAIGN OF MR. PARDEE

## Popular Liberal in West Lambton Applies Tariff Policy to Sarnia

## HON. MR. KING SPEAKS

## James Murdock Seeks a Chance to Give Names of Some Profiteers

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Sarnia**, Nov. 2. — In this historic riding of West Lambton bright portents for Liberalism hang high tonight. Hon. Mackenzie King and Fred F. Pardee, his local supporter in the last Parliament, shared this afternoon in a public demonstration probably unequalled since the inauguration of the Leader's present tour. This evening the two largest auditoriums in the city failed hopelessly to accommodate the crowds that besieged them. Hundreds who relied upon rush seats were unable to hear from Mr. King and Mr. Pardee the messages that thrilled the masses packed into the Opera House and the City Hall.

**Mile Long Procession.**

On his arrival this afternoon Mr. King was met at the station by hundreds of cheering citizens. At the head of a mile-long procession of automobiles he rode to the City Hall Square, where he received an ovation no less striking than his reception at the evening meeting.

Nor was Sarnia's "native son" forgotten. Cheers for "Fred" Pardee filled the square, where he stood with his Leader. If today's demonstration be any criterion, Mr. Pardee is destined to add to his long list of successes in the political arena another noteworthy victory. Thrown into the throes of a three-cornered conflict, West Lambton is preparing again to enroll itself in the ranks of Liberalism.

Invincible in the past in ordinary "old line" party contests, Mr. Pardee this time faces two opponents worthy of his mettle—Robert White of Moore township, Farmer, and V. Lesueur, Conservative. Feeling in the riding seems to be that the real fight narrows down to two contestants, Pardee and White, and that an almost certain result of today's meeting is the election of the former —sitting member for West Lambton since the year 1904.

**The Tariff Applied to Sarnia.**

At the evening demonstration in the Opera House, Mr. Pardee courageously applied the issue of the tariff to the local situation, and won a storm of applause.

"Irresponsible people are running around the streets of Sarnia," he said, "and their song is 'Vote for Pardee and the Liberal party, and the Imperial Oil Company will be moved away.'" (Laughter.) "That company came here when Sir Charles Tupper was telling you that industry would be driven away and the doors of factories closed. That company has flourished under the Liberal policy; I need not speak on its behalf. In so far as the Imperial Oil Company is concerned, I want to say that they need have no fear whatever; if the Liberal party is returned the chances are ten to one that the prosperity will be greater then ever.

"I challenge Mr. Lesueur or any Conservative within sound of my voice," he went on, "knowing that the Imperial Oil Company has taken an impartial position in so far as any political party goes—I challenge them to get the endorsation of any director of the Imperial Oil Company to say that they experience the least alarm over the position of the Liberal party on the tariff question." (Cheers and applause.)

**Produces the Records.**

Characterizing as "untrue" the assertions of Hon. Hugh Guthrie yesterday to the effect that no official record could be produced to show that he ever had declared in the House that all ammunition required in Canada was made in this country, the Liberal Chieftain proved his charge by quoting from Hansard, giving page and paragraph.

He returned to the persistent evasion by the Government of his allegations regarding the shipment of shells into Canada, declaring, amid loud applause: **"No Government in this country would have these shiploads coming in at election time unless they had to do with the elections.** Let the Government square itself with the people of this country. I will promise the people that, if a Liberal Government is returned to power, I will see that the searchlight is turned on this whole business, and we will have an accounting for that credit of $3,000,000 and the millions upon millions of dollars spent in the name of demobilization." (Cheers.)

Despite the strain of daily campaigning Hon. Mr. King was in excellent form, and his portrayal of the manner in which constitutional usages had been cast to the winds in Canada brought salvos of applause from the magnificent meetings at both houses. The mention of the name of James Murdock drew cheers from both audiences, and his indictment of the Meighen Administration was endorsed in the applause of thousands of his fellow-Canadians.

**The Interlocking Directorates.**

Dealing with the railway problem, the Liberal Leader said that the Liberal party in the House had been denied any explanation regarding expenditures on account of the National Railways and the Government Marine. This attitude of the Prime Minister merely tended to throw into disrepute the entire handling of the Government systems. Interlocking directorates had resulted, he said, in the placing of over $100,000,000 for insurance alone in the hands of one company, some of whose directors were directors of the National Railways.

"Shall the rights of the people be protected," he asked, "or shall they be despised and ignored? Shall the people be protected, or shall protection continue to be given combines of which Mr. Murdock will tell you?"

**Hansard Against Mr. Guthrie.**

Turning to the shell disclosures, Mr. King read in turn the four or five varying replies given by the Government since it had first received his letters of inquiry. Hon. Mr. Guthrie, in stating yesterday that no official record would show his statement that Canada made all her own ammunition, he declared, was best answered by the statement of Hon. Hugh Guthrie, quoted from Hansard, page 3,287, and dated June 17, 1920: "All our heavy ammunition and quick-firing ammunition, as well as a large part of our own rifle ammunition, is made at Quebec."

"Because these munitions have been manufactured by the Dominion Government," said Hon. Mr. King, "makes the transaction no less a purchase. The people have had to pay for them out of their taxes."

The Leader made a plea for unity of the progressive elements in Canadian life, stating that lack of such unity in constituencies simply gave the Government an opportunity it never should have of returning to power.

**Mr. Murdock's Charges.**

Following a long address at the City Hall, James Murdock appeared on the theatre stage beside his leader and, as usual, met a hearty reception. He ridiculed the claim of the present Administration that it had done a great service in bringing home the Canadian troops from overseas. "In Heaven's name," he exclaimed, "what would it have done with them? I would have gone over to France and brought home a couple of my boys myself before I

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would have allowed this Government any special claim to credit for bringing them home."

While bringing home the troops, this same Government, he continued, had allowed profiteering in the necessaries of life to such an extent that, in one single instance, one man dealing in sugar had made in one day no less than $39,000 in excess of legitimate profits of the trade. Boot and shoe dealers were allowed to make "absurd profits," Mr. Murdock said, and overall manufacturers made profits so enormous that he wished any overall factory owner in Canada would ask for names in order that he might publicly expose the malefactors.

**Draw Salaries, Do Nothing.**

"Gigantic plundering of the people went on, but we were shown that we on the Board of Commerce were expected to draw our salaries of $8,000 a year and do nothing," said Mr. Murdock. "That's why I quit, and refused to take the filthy money that was only intended by the Government to fool the people of Canada." (Cheers.)

The former member of the Board of Commerce explained to the workmen the danger of losing their chances of bettering conditions by splitting asunder the votes of those desiring reform. He was in the midst of his appeal, when a message was handed to him on the platform.

"This tells me there is a third meeting to go to," he remarked, amid laughter and applause, "so I shall have to cut short my remarks from this stage."

John Cowan, K.C., acted as Chairman at the Opera House, while Dr. Brown presided at the City Hall. The platform of each building was crowded with prominent Liberals, men and women.

## Three Big Meetings To Satisfy Sarnia

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**SARNIA, Nov. 2. — About 11 o'clock tonight, after the two largest buildings in this city had been packed for hours with people anxious to hear the Liberal Leader and colleagues, a third meeting had to be organized to satisfy the throngs that remained.**

**While Hon. Mackenzie King, James Murdock and Fred Pardee were speaking at the main meeting and "overflow No. 1," the manager of the Crescent Theatre entertained a capacity house with a movie show, holding his eager audience until a Liberal speaker became available.**

**About 11 Mr. Murdock left his second meeting, ran across to the third, and commenced to "carry on" until relief arrived from the speakers on other platforms.**

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London Free Press
November 3/21

# MR. KING STILL HEDGES ON THE TARIFF ISSUE

## At Sarnia He Talks All Around the Question, But Avoids Quoting Liberal Plank

## CANDIDATE PARDEE HECKLED ON SUBJECT

## Liberal Tariff Pledges Would Mean Serious Blow to Sarnia's Big Oil Industry

SARNIA, Nov. 2.—(By Staff Reporter)—Hon. Mackenzie King to-night confirmed his right to a place in the foremost rank of stage magicians. Compared with his smooth work at the Imperial Theater, the efforts of the ordinary contortionist, conjurer or hypnotist are as the movements of a full grown hippopotamus crawling from a lake of molasses. In short, the "peerless leader" spoke for one hour and 25 minutes, with a second meeting in the city hall, and although he led up to it, dropped allusions to it, and talked all around it, he did not once quote or discuss directly any of the tariff proposals of the platform to which the Liberal party so devoutly pledged itself two years ago. If those famous declarations for "substantial reductions" in certain manufactured goods, and that "gasoline, lubricating, fuel and illumination oils should be free of customs duties," are anywhere among his documents, they continue to be cleverly concealed from view.

### SOME HECKLING.

Although heckled on some other points by members of the theater audience, this remarkable omission by Mr. King went quite unchecked. The particular interest of the matter, of course, lies in the relation of this proposed free list to the key industry of Sarnia, the Imperial Oil Company. F. F. Pardee, Liberal candidate in West Lambton, who, with James Murdock, candidate in South Toronto, spoke to-night from the same platform as Mr. King, said that the Imperial Oil had been "dragged into the spotlight." It has. Sarnia Liberal workers put it in the spotlight to-day by displaying across Front street a huge banner bearing these words: "Sarnia Got the Imperial Oil Under Liberal Government." The inference, and the only inference possible, is that the Liberal tariff had something to do with bringing that industry to this side of the border. As it was established here in 1897, with the tariff of the late Conservative Government still unaltered, the inference is decidedly interesting, particularly when considered in connection with the fact that the platform of the Liberal party in 1921 solemnly promises to implement by legislation planks which include the abolition of duties on gasoline, lubricating, fuel and illuminating oils and the raw materials entering into their manufacture.

### NO DIRECT INFERENCE.

As previously intimated Mr. King "got by" to-night without a single direct reference to that plank. He repeated his customary advocacy of a tariff for revenue, a tariff for the producer and consumer and a tariff which should bear lightly on the necessities of life, and proclaimed, "that's where I stand."

Mr. Pardee recognized the force of the argument in reference to the Imperial Oil by extended reference to it in forceful and at times irritable style, and concluded with a challenge to Conservatives to obtain from any director a statement that the oil company is afraid of any legislation which the Liberal party plans to carry out if returned to power.

"The great cry in West Lambton and elsewhere," he said, "is that if you elect the Liberals there will be free trade and then annexation to the United States. Isn't that what Mr. Meighen told you the other night?"

Many voices—"No, no."

Mr. Pardee—"Oh, yes it is."

Members of the audience—"No, no." (Applause.)

Mr. Pardee—"That is what he told you on this very platform that I am on to-night. Men and women are running around every street in this town and their one song is: 'Vote for Pardee and the Grit party and the Imperial Oil Company will be moved away.'"

A voice—"That is about right."

"Did you ever have a better period of prosperity in this Dominion than in the 15 years following 1896?" asked Mr. Pardee. "We are here before you to put up exactly the same proposition, in exactly the same way. Any man or any party who to-day would advocate an absolute measure of free trade, with Canada's financial position as it is and her sparse population as it is and 120 millions of people to the south of us, is economicaly unsound and it cannot be carried out." (Applause.)

Mr. Murdock's address was about as previously reported, with references to profits on sugar and other commodities discovered by the Board of Commerce; wage reductions alleged on the Welland Canal, and a declaration that the speaker quit the Board of Commerce because he "refused to take the filthy money that was only intended to have me help the Government to fool the people." He admitted that the Board of Commerce Act and Combines and Fair Prices Act provided all necessary power for the regulation of prices, combines and mergers, but charged that the Cabinet repeatedly prevented the board from doing the things the law said it should do.

### JOHN COWAN PRESIDES.

John Cowan, K.C., presided and summoned up the past by calling upon "Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie" to speak. Both theater and city hall were filled, and an audience was later addressed by the same speakers in the Crescent Theater. Dr. Brown, of Camlachie, was chairman at the city hall. Sarnia City Band gave some excellent music at the Imperial Theater before the meeting opened, and Sarnia Pipe Band led Mr. King to the stage to the skirl of Highland music. The leader escaped with very little heckling, though a member of the theater audience, toward the close of Mr. King's high general remarks on the tariff, interjected: "You have told us nothing." When the speaker demanded to know "what is the difference between Mr. Meighen's attitude and that of Lenine and Trotzky in Russia?" there was a burst of laughter instead of the intended applause, while some things obviously intended as rousers left the audience cold.

Mr. King's presentation of the munitions affair was fuller than ever. He began by reading Hon. Hugh Guthrie's first brief statement given to The London Free Press at 1 o'clock in the morning, following Mr. King's original charge. This was followed by quotations from statements of the premier and Gen. MacBrien. Either the audience had read these in the press or lacked interest, for they seemed a bit bored. Mr. King concluded with quotations from Hansard, which he asked the reporters to take down. One from Hansard of June 17, 1920, purporting to show that Mr. Guthrie had described the Lindsay and Quebec arsenals as adequate to furnish sufficient ammunition for the Dominion in peace times.

### SECOND QUOTATION.

The second quotation, from Hansard of April 29, is a statement from Mr. Guthrie that "We have the stores on hand now, and they must be kept in shape and continually examined and inspected, otherwise on account of deterioration, heavy losses are liable to be incurred."

"Not only is Mr. Guthrie telling what is untrue," said Mr. King, "when he says that nowhere in Hansard can it be found that he said all our artillery ammunition was made there, but that is the reason he gave in Parliament in asking us to vote two millions for ammunition with what ammunition was being manufactured in Canada. Why all this concealment? There is something back of all this which will constitute one of the worst scandals ever heard in the history of Canada. If I had not discovered that shipload of ammunitions at Levis myself, there is not a man or woman in Canada would know of all this material coming into this country during the last few months, and continuously for the past two years. No man would come landing load after load of ammunitions in this country at the time of an election unless it had something to do with the election. If I am returned to power I will see that the searchlight is turned on the whole business."

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## "CIRCUITOUS POMPOSITY."

Mr. King's patform treatment of the tariff has been described by the prime minister as "circuitous pomposity," nevertheless in that very circuitous qaulity it is clever. Here it is in Mr. King's own words:

"Mr. Meighen asks if Mr. King stands pledged to put that platform in effect if returned to power? That question admits of two answers and two only, 'yes' or 'no.' In either case, or if I do not answer at all I am unfit for power That is a nice pickle. I will give you the answer I gave the convention the time I was chosen leader of the Liberal party. I said that I regarded it as a chart, on which was plotted the direction the ship of state would be directed to take if the Liberal party were entrusted with power or while in Opposition, but I said that if I myself had to direct that ship without anyone to assist me I should feel very hesitant about accepting this great responsibility. That attitude was satisfactory to the convention and to the Liberals of the country. If the Liberals are satisfied, why should we need to worry? Mr. Meighen is an autocrat; he stands for one-man Government. I am not that kind. I believe in democracy and collective wisdom and getting the benefit of many minds. Who has Mr. Meighen got with him? His own followers say Mr. Meighen is the only man with brains in the lot."

Another member of the audience—"You have not told us anything."

"The tariff should be considered primarily from the point of view of revenue," continued Mr. King. "Mr. Meighen last night said a tariff for revenue is a protective tariff. If that is the case what on earth is he complaining about our policy for? I tell him here and now our tariff is a policy for revenue. We don't stand primarily for a tariff formed from the viewpoint of protection, but we still have our tariff. We have got to have the wall and it is put at a point that does not throw the door open to every industry, but enough to permit competition, and as long as there is a wall it is helping to protect industries on the other side.

## OLD STUFF.

"No legitimate industry, earning a legitimate profit, no matter what it is, need have the slightest fear that any injury will be done its business under Liberal revision of the tariff, as long as the party has control of the situation during these next years. Can I make that any clearer?"

"The Liberal party does not stand for free trade, and in revising the tariff no legitimate industry need have any fear. If you want me to go further than that, ladies and gentlemen, I am not prepared to go further."

"We say with regard to the implements of production," the wise policy is to have taxation bear as lightly as possible upon them, because as you help development of natural resources you help the manufacturers. In regard to a large class of commodities in the nature of necessities of life, there again you have taxation under the tariff, but in regard to absolute necessaries the wise thing is to have taxation bear as lightly as possible there so that when we revise our tariff we will revise it in a manner which will increase production and make available to consumers the necessities of life at as reasonable cost as can consistently be made in the interests of the country."

Nothing there about the free list including oils.

## APPEAL TO FARMERS.

Mr. King closed with an appeal to the organized farmers.

"If you are in earnest about the reforms you are seeking," he said, "and really want to get them into legislation, you are taking a stand which loses the support of men and women in the towns, which you need. The only effect of a class movement is to array against itself these very classes in a community which feel that they themselves are entitled to consideration and believe they won't get fair government from a class government.

"If you insist upon a candidate upon a Farmers' platform you take away a lot of Mr. Pardee's support and make possible, coming in between the two, the success of the Government candidate."

The campaign of the said Government candidate, Mr. R. V. Lesueur, is progressing splendidly in West Lambton, according to reports from many sources.

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Manitoba Free Press
Nov 3 rd 1921

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# GREAT SCANDAL BEING UNEARTHED, SAYS KING

## Something Vastly Suspicious About Arrival of Munitions, He Declares At Sarnia

## Believes It Constitutes One of Greatest Scandals in Canada's History

Sarnia, Ont., Nov. 2.—One of the greatest scandals in the history of Canada was in the process of being unearthed in connection with ammunition now arriving from England, said Hon. Mackenzie King here tonight. Crowded audiences listened to Mr. King in both the Imperial theatre and the city hall. Fred F. Pardee, Liberal candidate for West Lambton, and James Murdock, South Toronto nominee, also addressed both meetings.

Fred Pardee, discussing the tariff, said the theory of the platform of the Liberal party, as he understood it, was that the burden of the tariff should rest most heavily upon those best able to bear it. Duties of from 23 to 38 per cent. on woollens and cottons, which were absolute essentials for working families, were intolerable at such a time as this.

**Free Trade Not Advocated.**

On no platform today, said Mr. King, was free trade being advocated. The prime minister, in asserting that this was an issue, was deliberately deluding the people.

Mr. Meighen would not come before the people on his record because he was ashamed of it. His remaining at the head of affairs in Canada for the past 16 months was as autocratic a usurpation of power as the action of Lenine and Troszky in Russia. Senators and judges continued to be appointed by Mr. Meighen, who was thus deciding the trend of legislation and its administration for many years to come. In declining to give parliament details of public monies expended in connection with the National railways, Mr. King asserted that the government was responsible for a system particularly calculated to lead to waste, extravagance, graft and theft.

**Sending of Munitions Suspicious.**

Referring to the question of ammunition, which has recently been arriving from England, Mr. King said the truth seemed to be coming out little by little. Mr. King intimated that there was something vastly suspicious about the arrival of munitions, which he believed to be newly manufactured, just at the time of an election campaign.

There was something at the back of it all, which, he believed, would constitute one of the gravest scandals in the history of Canada.

James Murdock referred to the fair wage provision placed on the statutes in 1907, which provides that labor on government works should be paid the going wage of the district concerned. Yet, he said, the schedule of wages recommended by the department of labor for the Welland canal provided a rate of approximately 13 cents an hour less than was being paid by the railroads for similar occupations. Mr. Murdock spoke of profiteering on a vast scale which had come to his notice in 1919 and 1920 as a member of the board of commerce. He told how he had come to discover that the government only desired him to accept his $8,000 a year while he sat quiet and did nothing. He was expected to accept their "filthy" money to help the government fool the peoples of Canada. This, however, he declined to do and resigned his position.

Secondly

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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London Advertiser
November 4/21

# ELGIN VOTERS WELCOME KING AT ST. THOMAS

## Applaud Charge That Meighen Is "Consistent Only As Autocrat."

## TARIFF NOT SOLE ISSUE

## Liberal Leader Declares Other Vital Questions Call For Discussion.

BY WILLIAM SHARMAN.

ST. THOMAS, Nov. 3. — Before an audience that taxed the capacity of the Star Theatre here Thursday night, the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, in one of the most eloquent and telling addresses that he has ever made, challenged the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen to prove that the real issue of the day is not "whether the people of Canada will indorse autocracy or responsible government."

Although scheduled for 8 o'clock the time of commencement was set an hour ahead in order that the Liberal chieftain might deliver his address and leave immediately by special train for Ottawa to attend the funeral on Friday of Lady Laurier.

Mr. King was ably supported by the Hon. Chas. Murphy, M.P. for Russell; James Murdock, Liberal nominee for South Toronto, former member of the Canadian Board of Commerce, and now vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Wm. Tolmie, the Liberal choice in this riding.

**Undaunted by Rain.**

Rain, which fell an hour before the meeting failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the local electors, while scores of followers of the Liberal standard representing every section of two ridings, East and West Elgin, awaited all afternoon with keen anticipation the arrival of Mr. King and his party. The fact that many of these will be compelled to remain in St. Thomas overnight is ample evidence that there has been a great awakening of interest in public aairs in Elgin County.

"Premier Meighen has said there is only one question, the fiscal issue," declared the Liberal leader. "I say to him, why should we limit the discussion on public platforms to one question only, when you well know for ten years we have had no opportunity to submit any opinion upon many other issues than tariff?

"Why should not the workingmen or the returned soldiers or the women be given every opportunity to give an opinion of what they think of their treatment in the past or what they expect for the future?

**Consistent as Autocrat.**

"I say that Premier Meighen is consistent in only one thing—his record as an autocrat. He forgets, however, that on election day he will not be talking to a following in Parliament sitting close waiting for judgeships and senatorships.

"I ask him is there any one of you who gave to him or his cabinet the right to carry on government during the last sixteen months? Not an answer from you. And I have asked that question all the way from the coast, and stand prepared to ask it clear to the Pacific.

"Do you want to know the issue? The people of this country will indorse autocracy or indorse self-government. He knows that if he can get them to talk protection, he can cloud the issue, but if you stop a minute you can realize how your rights have been usurped. During the past sixteen months he has spent millions and taken over railroads, all without consulting the people, and, more than that, he has appointed judges and senators who will be the future law-makers.

**Legislation Takes Time.**

"I say to the workers and the farmers: You may have your platforms, but how are you to get them on the statutes? I venture it means years of struggle to get any legislation of a progressive nature placed on the books.

"Is it not the height of folly to allow Arthur Meighen and his followers to divide your forces and slip into power? Look how they have managed your affairs. Consider the Grand Trunk Pacific; it was taken over without your opinion, but you will have to foot the bills."

The Liberal leader then proceeded to explain the "fight" that he and his colleagues had conducted in the House to have the agreement between the G. T. P. and the Government placed before the consideration of the members. He told how after a determined investigation he discovered that members of the board of directors controlling the road were also members of the companies receiving contracts from the Canadian National roads.

He charged the Meighen party with secret sessions, and condemned th members for applying the closure whe ever the question was opened by Liberals for discussion.

**"Fair Wage" Clause.**

Mr. King related how when the G. T. P. was finally taken over he attempted to have the "fair wage" clause for the G. T. R. employees included, as awarded them in 1910, but had not succeeded. He pointed out that his move was thwarted by Premier Meighen himself.

"Mr. Meighen talks about protection," declared Mr. King, "but the best protection you can give anyone is a square deal. I say that any party with such loose ideas on finance is not entitled to the confidence of the people."

It was the duty of Meighen to see that every dollar expended by the railroads was accounted for on the floor of Parliament, he said.

"The people's business today is carried on by two little groups, the political autocrats and the industrial plutocrats, and the interlocking of directorates involving the Canadian National roads is ample testimony to this."

**Not the Only Issue.**

"The tariff is an important, but not the only, issue. The cost of living is affected by the cost of Government. For this reason we preached economy when the present Government went wild with expenditures for militarism and the like. They seemed unable to get back on a peace-time basis."

"The Liberals do not stand for free trade. With $560,000,000 to be raised in one year, free trade would be impossible, but we do stand for a revision of the tariff, in a way to help destroy the combines and monopolies, but not to destroy industries doing a legitimate business and getting a legitimate profit. It shall be framed in the interests of all classes." (Applause.)

Compelled to break off his rapid-fire address in order to leave immediately for the capital, Mr. King, in conclusion made a stirring appeal to the farmers not to aid in the destruction of the progressive forces. He questioned whether there was any material differences in the platform outlined by the women, the returned veterans and the laboring masses, and warned them to stand united with Liberalism as against the National Liberal-Conservative party, a common foe.

**Received Great Ovations.**

The leader's reception, both on entering and departing from the theatre, was spontaneous and prolonged. He was sent on his way with loud and hearty cheers.

"We have had in the past few years a government for special favored millionaires," declared James Murdock.

"There are representatives of the present government who have said there is only one question—tariff." They have been particularly active in an effort to impress the laboring classes with this."

"As a representative of labor I have never heard of a greater assembly of "bunk" than their present argument—he familiar herring across the trail."

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London Advertiser
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### Ottawa Will Give Cue.

"As railroad men you are interested in prospects of another reduction. I do not know whether there is to be another reduction or not, but if there is to be, I charge that the railroad executives will get their cue from Ottawa.

"On Tuesday last I received a volume from the department of labor, containing quotations from labor legislation. In it I discovered a "fair wage" resolution passed in 1900 and reaffirmed in 1911, both being passed under Liberal administration. Under this resolution in the past I have secured for certain lines standard wages on that basis, but what about the present government? On September, 1921, they issued a schedule of working rules and regulations, for the new Welland canal project.

"We find in this scale what your government considers a fair wage scale." The speaker quoted the figures in question, declaring them to be considerably less than paid elsewhere in the immediate vecinity. As a former member of the Canadian board of commerce, Mr. Murdock at length undertook to explain what he knew about the "strange working" of the body.

### Was "Inveigled" Into Board.

He related how he had been "inveigled" into assuming a membership of the Canadian Board of Commerce. On subsequent investigations, he said, he found certain business conditions appalling. He told of shoe and sugar probes and spoke in particular of how one returned soldier who had fought "for you and me and Sir George E. Foster" had been compelled to pay "appalling" prices for necessities of life.

"That's the kind of protection Meighen wants you to have," he declared amid applause. "Through the war there were men and firms in Canada who made fortunes overnight. Many of the people, directly after the armistice was signed, realizing time was short for excessive profits, proceeded with even greater effort.

"We found absolutely unjustifiable profiteering in overalls, building materials, cement, canned goods and other commodities. We wanted to stop all this, but we were prevented. Take the case of textiles, we met with big opposition. We were refused information by the manufacturers. We put a time limit on them, but they protested to two members of the cabinet.

"I am getting tired of what the Mail and Empire has been insinuating, and if they want to know who they are I'll tell them. However, when Mr. Meighen says protection is the only issue he means, no doubt, for the profiteers."

### Tells of Resignation.

The speaker then related how, after deciding he could no longer accept money under false pretences, he resigned from the board, not before, however, he had made specified charges against members of the Dominion cabinet, which, he said, had not yet been successfully rebutted by the premier, although the latter had the shifty ability and cunning of a police court lawyer.

In conclusion, Mr. Murdock urged as a representative of the railroadmen and a brakeman for eleven years, the laboring people of St. Thomas to support Liberalism, "a party for the masses."

That the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, as well as Sir Robert Borden, were well aware that the election of 1917 was a "steal" by means of the soldiers' vote, was a declaration of the last speaker, the Hon. Chas. Murphy, minister of justice in the late Laurier administration.

### Launches Bitter Attack.

Launching a frank and bitter attack upon the late Union Government for its manipulation of more than 100,000 soldier votes at that time, he related many instances, where, he claimed, bags of ballots in France were diverted into ridings where the Union candidates were not considered strong. He stated that 100 votes, all for Laurier men, were placed to the credit of Kings County, Nova Scotia, Sir Robert Borden's riding, and he insisted that the latter knew that such was being done.

He read a mesasge to France from Winnipeg signed, he said, by the "Union Committee and Arthur Meighen," asking for 1,000 votes to be alloted in that district. In spite of all this, he said, Borden, who too was like Brutus, an "honorable man," had got up in the House and had declared it had been a just and fair election.

The speaker gave the name of one, Hector MacGinnis, who, having been promised a C. B. and rank of major-general, had undertaken the task of diverting thousands of soldier ballots into constituencies where they were most needed.

### "The Big Issue."

Denying that the tariff was the chief issue, Mr. Murphy declared that "Mr. Meighen and his administration is the big issue," and promised that the record of both would be placed before the country before the election.

He recalled that the premier had tried, but failed, to "get the same cry in West Peterborough last February," and would fail again.

He explained that ten years ago and since Premier Meighen had accused the Liberals of being high protectionists, and now he was condemning them as free traders.

"This is but one illustration," he said, "how he can blow hot and cold on an issue. How can you trust him in the face of these inconsistencies?

"How were these records hidden, I ask? Well, since the press sold out in 1917, we have been 'headlined' into fogdom. Some papers supporting Crerar are trying to make it appear that his party is taking the place of Progressive Liberalism. He just made a 'wonderful' addres in Prince Edward Island, where he advocted legislation, word for word, that we moved in the House nine years ago and which a Tory Government voted down.

"We have been saying these things until I am tired, but no one pays any attention to us, but a paper here and there."

### Like Cult of Omar.

Explaining the origin of the name National Liberal and Conservate, Mr. Murphy likened it to the cult of the Church of Omar up in The Pas country, which was exposed, he said, as a religious disguise to get whisky and enjoy it.

The N. L. C., he declared, was a political disguise to attract the Nationalists of Quebec and a few weak-kneed Grits in order to keep the Tories in.

In the course of his remarks he paid a warm tribute to the two Liberal nominees in Elgin, Judge Colter and William Tolmie, both "old war-horses," he said.

Introduced as coming member for West Elgin, William Tolmie, the first speaker, was warmly applauded.

"I am a common, everyday farmer-Liberal," he declared. "We are entering a peculiar fight. I want to say to you that I am a businessman as well as a farmer.

"We are up against a Labor candidate indorsed by the U. F. O. He's a very fine man, at that. But the farmers want men who stick at something consistently. At the present time, however, we have a man who has been both Conservative and Socialist, and I don't know how he can say anything against Liberalism, as in 1917 he said himself that application of Liberalism is our only solution.

### Stands for Square Deal.

"There is one thing sure, if you are going to bring prosperity to the country you must leave your policy in the hands of a man who knows how to handle it.

"If Mackenzie King doesn't do more for the soldiers than the present administration, there will be a row in the camp if I am down there. I say this, that the veterans need a square deal."

Ex-Mayor E. A. Horton presided and spoke briefly.

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CANADA

Toronto Globe
November 4/21

D 5719 (1)

# SAYS MEIGHEN DENIES CANADA NATION'S RIGHT

## Murphy Taxes Premier With Changing Front at London Conference

## DEMANDS EXPLANATION

## King Leaves for Ottawa to Attend Funeral of Lady Laurier

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

St. Thomas, Nov. 3.—Inconstancy of the elements interfered in nowise with Elgin county's reception tonight of Hon. Mackenzie King and his bodyguard of Liberal crusaders. Murky skies and a day-long drizzle that had damped the hopes of local Liberals were forgotten when two thousand electors of East and West Elgin stormed the Star Theatre in this city, filling to its utmost the spacious auditorium and leaving hundreds less fortunate to gather at its doors.

Forced to begin his remarks at 7 o'clock, and end them within a half hour, the Leader of the Liberal party made an eloquent appeal to the reason of his hearers.

**Challenges Meighen.**

Before hundreds of townsmen, who long have known him as an official of the Railway Brotherhoods, James Murdock defied Hon. Arthur Meighen to let him name publicly those concerns whose actions in exploiting the Canadian public he bitterly condemned.

"Some of those gentlemen who stood a few nights ago on this very platform," said Mr. Murdock, referring to the Conservative leaders now on tour, "were quite willing, individually and collectively, to see you exploited to the very limit. I can prove it. I wish they would let me name them. I'm getting tired of what The Toronto Mail and Empire calls 'insinuating,' and I'd like to name them if they would only ask me to do it." (Cheers and applause.)

**A Contrast.**

Hon. Chas. Murphy contrasted recent actions of Premier Meighen with those of General Smuts, drawing applause when he declared that the former owed to the Canadian people an explanation of his change of front in respect to the status of this Dominion within the British Commonwealth, and particularly regarding Canada's representation at the Disarmament Conference.

**National Status.**

"We have all heard a great deal about the League of Nations and about Canada as a member of that League," said Mr. Murphy. "We were told by members of the Meighen Government that the status of Canada had been changed and that our country had risen to the full dignity of nationhood. These statements roused our national pride; but they also roused curiosity and inquiry as to how the change in our national status had been effected.

"While the matter was still under discussion, the Disarmament Conference to be held at Washington was called. But Canada was not specially invited. The national position attributed to her by Mr. Meighen and his colleagues was not recognized either by the United States or the British Government.

"Up to date, the only intimation given as to the part Canada can play at the Disarmament Conference is that she may form a minor part of the British delegation. That part Mr. Meighen and his colleagues are, apparently, willing to play.

**Give Dominions Setback.**

"Contrast the undignified position now occupied by Mr. Meighen with that taken by Premier Smuts of South Africa, who has said: 'If the other Dominions are going to attend without a direct invitation through British diplomatic sources, I believe a serious setback will be given that status of Dominion Statehood and nationhood which they achieved at the Peace Conference.'

"Again I say that Mr. Meighen owes an explanation to the Canadian people for his change of front, and I assert that that explanation should be given during the present election campaign, so that the people may express their opinion upon it at the polls."

**Why Has He Changed?**

William Tolmie, Liberal standard-bearer in West Elgin, referred in complimentary terms to Mr. Hookway, U.F.O.-Labor nominee, but reminded the electors that in 1917 his opponent had declared a return to Liberalism to be the prime essential to national prosperity. Why, then, he asked, should Mr. Hookway oppose Liberalism today?

Hon. Mackenzie King prefaced his address with a reference to the death of Lady Laurier, and described as a tribute to her memory the consideration shown him by the audience in coming to the meeting at such an early hour. He paid eloquent tribute to the character of the dual Liberal nominees, Judge Colter and William Tolmie, expressing the high estimation in which he held those gentlemen.

**Many Issues.**

Autocracy at Ottawa, the Liberal Leader said, had attempted to restrain discussion to one issue, but, fortunately, the public was judging otherwise. There were many issues, all of them vital to the national weal, and all of them would be dealt with at Liberal meetings. The searchlight would be turned upon scandalous expenditures and ruthless disregard of the rights of the people and the stewardship of usurping Conservatism called publicly to task.

The railway question was briefly dealt with by the speaker, whose analysis of the situation brought indications of approval from an audience keenly alive to railway issues. Mr. King condemned the arbitrary action of the Conservative Government in rejecting in the House of Commons a clause safeguarding the rights of railway employees.

**Square-deal Protection.**

"Protection!" he exclaimed. "The best protection you can give any man or any industry is a square deal. If you are not ready to give a square deal in matters such as this, all talk of tariffs is simply meaningless."

Administration of the National Railways, he went on, had been placed in charge of a few persons; expenditures on account of them had been entrusted to a small body of men in no way responsible to Parliament. Gross irregularities, he said, had been discovered in the disposal of contracts and the placing of insurance, yet not one word of explanation was forthcoming from the Government.

**Autocrats and Plutocrats.**

"Your Government lies today," he said, "in the hands of a little group of political autocrats united with a little group of industrial plutocrats, both of them running the country for their own benefit and in complete disregard of the will of the people." (Cheers.)

Owing to the shortness of his time, Mr. King merely stated his attitude regarding the national fiscal policy. He denied that Liberalism stood for free trade. Tariff was absolutely essential for revenue purposes, he said, but should not exist for the benefit of mergers and combines and the spoliation of the common people. The Liberal tariff would be a tariff suitable for all legitimate industries, and one bearing as lightly as possible upon all consumers. (Applause.)

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**Fair Wage Violated.**

Introduced as the man who had given up "an $8,000 job" because of his convictions, James Murdock, former member of the Board of Commerce, launched into an arraignment of Meighenism. The Government of today, he said, was neither responsible to the people nor representative of the people. It made much pretense of "protecting" Canadians, yet by its own acts sacrificed the interests of Canadian workmen—and particularly railway workmen.

In dealing with its employees on certain Dominion Government public projects, it had violated the fair wage resolution passed and affirmed by former Administrations, as witness the case of engineers, conductors, brakemen and firemen on the new Welland Ship Canal, where the ruling wage was 13c per hour below that paid for similar services in the immediate territory.

**Appalling Conditions.**

"If the railroads do take it into their heads to put into effect another wage reduction, then they will have taken their cue from the Labor branch of the Government," said Mr. Murdock. The "failure to function" of the Board of Commerce was again explained by Mr. Murdock, who gave instances of "appalling conditions" that were revealed by the board's investigations.

He showed the manner in which profiteering had been indulged in by dealers in wall paper, boots and shoes, cement, canned goods, overalls and workmen's clothing before and after the armistice.

The Cabinet of Canada, he declared, had by tacit consent been a partner in theft from the Canadian people. Today that Cabinet was refusing to admit its guilt, and in that refusal was being abetted by big interests, such as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association—"one of the most important powers behind the throne in Canada today."

Labor, Mr. Murdock said, had no more right to sole class control of government than had any of the special "big interests" now bleeding the life from Canada. Labor's interests lay with those of all other distressed classes, and its best hope of release from bondage lay in "some reconciling of the differences between the classes and parties" allied against reactionary Toryism.

**Double-lynch-pin Name.**

Hon. Charles Murphy created laughter by referring to the "political disappearance" of Hon. Thos. Crothers, caused, he said, by the moving influence of Liberal sentiment. He asked permission of the audience to use in his remarks the word Tory, as he had "no use for this new double-lynch-pin name they have adopted." (Laughter.)

Ten years ago, Mr. Murphy said, Hon. Arthur Meighen had denounced as protectionists the Liberals, then in power, maintained, as he alleged, behind "ramparts of gold." Now the same gentleman, he went on, denounced Liberals as free traders, out to ruin their country. Support was being given to him by some of the Press of Canada, and Liberals were being misled in many public matters.

**Stolen Votes.**

"When the newspapers sold out in 1917," he declared, "we were left without any support, and since that time the public of Canada has been headlined into fogdom. Nobody pays any attention to us because we have no newspaper support, except a little here and there."

The speaker roundly condemned the methods under which the franchise had been interfered with during the last election. He referred, in particular, to the "soldier vote," carried out, he declared, in pursuance of a bargain for 80,000 stolen votes; "stolen and stored as you would stor potatoes in a warehouse."

"The chief who was to steal then was told that he would be made a Brigadier-General, and that in the honors list he would be made a C.B.," he went on, reading the famous letter from Hector Macinnes, stating that "100 votes would be acceptable in King's county, Nova Scotia, the Premier's constituency."

**Meighen Signed It.**

Further official correspondence he read to the audience, declaring vehemently that Sir Robert Borden personally had known that 128,000 votes had been stolen by his election agents and that one of the letters in his possession, asking for an allotment of 1,000 votes for Manitoba, was signed "Union Committee, Arthur Meighen."

Hon. Mr. Murphy dealt with the matter of huge expenditures on the Houses of Parliament, on "submarines that would not sub" and the construction of public works. His humorous sallies drew frequent applause from the audience, especially when he dealt with the administration of Canadian offices in London, England, during the period of the war.

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THE MEIGHEN AUTOCRACY

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D 5722

# CRUSH MEIGHEN AUTOCRACY, IS KING'S DEMAND

## Liberal Leader Declares Women Have Right To Discuss Living Costs.

## SPURNS PREMIER'S PLEA

## Asks "Cannot Returned Soldiers Debate Treatment of the Past?"

BY WILLIAM SHARMAN.

In a clarion call to the elements of progress and unity as against autocracy and reaction that should compel undivided response throughout the length and breadth of this broad dominion, the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party of Canada, on Friday evening, before an audience of 5,000 men and women who crowded the Winter Gardens to the last available inch, once again challenged the battle slogan of the National Liberal and Conservative party that there is only one question before the people—the tariff issue.

Arriving in the hall at 10 p.m. direct from the bier of Lady Laurier, the Liberal chieftain was given the most spontaneous and fervent reception that has probably been ever tendered any public man in this city. Sharing in the honors of the evening on the platform with their leader as champions of a broad and progressive Liberalism were men of the calibre of the Hon. Charles Murphy, M.P. for Russell and formerly secretary of state in the Laurier cabinet, the Hon. Charles Hyman of London, also at one time a member of the same body as minister of public works, and Charles Ross Somerville, ex-mayor of London, and at this moment the choice of London Liberals for a seat at Ottawa.

**Enthusiasm Uuparalleled.**

The appearance at the commencement hour of Mr. King's local and visiting associates was the signal for enthusiasm of an unparalleled nature. In his opening remarks Mr. Hyman, the chairman of the evening, explained that Mr King was speeding on his way back from the capital and that meanwhile the attack upon the Meighen administration at Ottawa would proceed as scheduled.

"The enthusiasm and extent of this gathering," continued Mr. Hyman, "recalls to mind those good old days of Liberalism in the City of London. Those eventful days of the historic past, when we Liberals received no quarter, and I am pleased to recall we also extended none.

"The Meighen party believes that it is both bold and courageous by its decision in appealing to the country for a mandate from the people. Well they had their choice. They did not really have to do that. They might have elected to die separately or all together. We notice that they have chosen the latter alternative and will perish together on the sixth day of December next."

"No government since Confederation has suffered to the degree that the Meighen administration has suffered in respect to their fate at the many by-elections that have been held throughout the Dominion in past months."

**"Handwriting on Wall."**

"The results of these have indicated in no small measure the undoubted feeling of the people. It was the inevitable 'handwriting on the wall.' I really often felt sorry for Mr. Meighen at those many periods of the past when he has been unable to pick individuals for his cabinet."

"I was indeed surprised to read that the premier when speaking two nights ago in West Peterborough, warned the electors that 'if they wished to have trickery and perfidy in public life they should vote the Liberal ticket.' It had not then occurred to me that Mr. Meighen had joined the Liberal ranks because up to date he is the only one that I could, with any degree of reason, place in that qualification. I have ascertained just what these accusing words of his mean and I find amongst other things that they mean 'traitor'."

"I say that it is a sad case for him when he is forced to apply such epithets to Liberalism. But I have been in public life so many years that such cries like his worry me little. I can safely say, however, that on the sixth of December next we shall be headed in this riding by that 'treacherous example' and 'arch-traitor' that sits yonder, our choice, Charles Somerville, and if Mr. Meighen is hereabouts he will see a jolly bunch of 'traitors'."

**"We Are Not Ashamed."**

"For the first time in the history of Canada there are more than two big parties involved in federal contests. There is the old Liberal party. We have not changed our name, as we have yet to be ashamed of it. Then we have the National Liberal and Conservative party, whatever that means.

A voice, 'Tories.'

"Well, if they are 'Tories,' why don't they come out bravely and say so. There were many good traits in the old Tory party, but this new name is too much of a mouthful for me."

"How are they national, I ask them? We have the Province of Quebec with its population of more than two and one half million Canadian electors and where the National Liberal and Conservative parties are unable to win a riding with the exception of one or two in Montreal. Yet they boldly asume the word 'national.' It seems too ridiculous even for consideration."

"It is now my fervent duty to bring to your notice the sad loss sustained in the death of Lady Laurier. No words of mine can adequately meet the situation. I enjoyed her friendship for many years. Her character was beautiful. Her homelife was ideal in every respect. Her charity was boundless and that inestimable love that she and Sir Wilfrid bore each other was almost beyond comprehension. But she has been taken from us and I know that ever since Sir Wilfrid's death her one wish had been that the time would soon come when she might join her beloved in that realm where time knows no limitations."

**Lands Somerville.**

Alluding once more to the Liberal nominee in this constituency, Mr. Hyman asserted with no little vehemence that he was one who had achieved his full share of upbuilding in the city of London, and while during his two years as the first gentleman of the community had, by his business ability and acumen, left a debt of gratitude upon the shoulders of every citizen regardless of affiliations."

In conclusion the former minister of public works referred to the "coming premier of Canada, the Hon. Mr. King." He outlined his assiduous efforts first as deputy minister of labor and later as minister of that department and attributed to him the credit for the establishment and early achievements of that office.

"Although he has yet to win his spurs," said Mr. Hyman, "I know that he will not be found wanting."

Mr. Somerville's reception as the next speaker was none the less fervent and genuine. Rising from their seats the vast assemblage greeted him with cheer after cheer.

**Revives Laurier's Memory.**

"The city of London is honored by the presence of the Hon. Wm. Mackenzie King," declared Mr. Somerville, "as the present leader of the Liberal party and successor of one whose life was devoted to national unity and concord, and whose statesmanship gave Canada its greatest era of prosperity and whose grateful memory in the hearts of all Canadians is his lasting monument. I refer to our late revered chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier."

"We are further honored by the presence of two of Sir Wilfrid's intimate colleagues. I refer to the ex-minister of public works, the Hon. Charles Hyman and the ex-secretary of state, the Hon. Charles Murphy. The presence of these three gentlemen is sufficient to make this occasion an important one in the history of Liberalism in London."

"We are fighting under the old banners. It seems a long time since this was the case. We are fighting for the same just cause. The late chieftain and his policies we shall not forget. To us with falling hands the torch he threw. Be ours to hold it high. Our new leader will hold it high; and with him we shall take up the old fight against the common foe of selfish and privileged interests in high places. We are fighting under new and better conditions and with better prospects that Liberal principles will prevail.

**Mighty Force in Nation.**

"We have now for the first time the help of a new and mighty force in our country—the women's vote. That force none can doubt will be exerted to secure higher standards of political morality and a deeper sense of honor in political life. How deep that influence is Sir Wilfrid himself has testified in his references to his own helpmate and

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counsellor during all his married life, Lady Laurier; and our hearts are grieving today at the death of that noble lady.

"She it was who in the times of his greatest stress and strain cheered him on with counsel and advice, and she it was who, as he himself said, made him retain the leadership long after he would fain have retired. "Fight on, Wilfrid," she said, and he fought on. His fight is now ours.

"As we have here tonight our new leader and his colleague in Parliament, Hon. Chas. Murphy, together with the old stalwart of many battles in London, Hon. C. S Hyman, whose support and assistance I especially welcome, I will not trespass upon their time, but will let you hear from them the platform and policy behind which I stand.

"So far as I am personally concerned, I have already given to the people of London my position in the public statement issued recently. I hope to deal in more specific manner with some of the questions raised therein at future meetings, but I do not desire now to infringe upon the time of those men whom you came to hear tonight.

**Stands On Issues of Day.**

"As to the character of the campaign upon which we are now entering, let me briefly state this. I have no desire to appeal to any special class or to any special creed. I desire to take my stand simply upon the broad economic issues before the people. I hope to indulge in no personalities of any kind.

"Behind the great traditions and the splendid record of the Liberal party in Canada I stand. I believe that history will repeat itself, and that the era of prosperity ushered in by the last Liberal Government under Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1896 will be repeated again under the new government that I have not the least doubt will be formed after Dec. 6 next by the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

**Hyman Wins Praise.**

While briefly introducing to the gathering the member for Russell and the former secretary of state under the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. Charles Murphy, Philip Pocock expressed heartfelt pleasure that one of the old leaders, Hon. Charles Hyman, was in the chair.

"He has always been an inspiration to the Liberal party," said Mr. Pocock, referring to the former member for London, "he was a model candidate and a tireless fighter from the boots up."

Presenting Mr. Murphy to the electors, the speaker termed him as "a gentleman, every inch of him; a good clean fighter, and a member of the next Dominion cabinet."

In his opening remarks, Mr. Murphy recalled his last visit to London in the fall of 1916, and made touching reference to two great Liberal speakers at that meeting, who have since gone to the "great beyond," the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the late Sir George Gibbons.

"The Hon. Mr. Hyman, 'Charlie' as we always called him at Ottawa," declared Mr. Murphy, "bore the fiery banner of Liberalism in London in days as stirring and trying as now, and to the everlasting joy and gratitude of the Liberal party. I take it that his presence will surely be regarded as an inspiration to the Liberal workers to redouble their efforts. His presence may also be regarded by the Liberals everywhere as an augury of ultimate success of their party on Dec. 6th next.

**Fears No Meighen Ghost.**

"As a manufacturer himself it is quite evident that Mr. Hyman fears little or not at all that ghost that Mr. Meighen and his traveling troupe has taken down from the Tory cabinet of spooks down at Ottawa, and which he has labelled 'free trade.'"

Tackling the vital problems of the hour the member from Russell dwelt almost exclusively with the question involving the operation and maintenance of the government-owned roads, and charged in no uncertain manner the Meighen administration with gross incompetence and absolute helplessness in dealings of this and other nature.

The speaker stated that it was his purpose to briefly indicate in a general way the line of cleavage between the Liberal and the National-Liberal-Conservative parties. He laid stress on his point that in the case of the Meighen Administration, history was simply repeating itself. In 1896, he said, the Tupper Government was tottering to its fall, and just prior to the election, Sir Charles Tupper, in an effort to avert defeat brought into his cabinet four gentlemen from Quebec.

"These four were never heard of again," declared Mr Murphy, "until they died and their obituaries were written in the papers. The present Government has done likewise, and as before, the men whom Mr. Meighen has brought into the cabinet will never be heard from until they too shall pass away."

**"Why Do We Rule?"**

Mr. Murphy told of a meeting in Montreal, at which a Quebec member of the Meighen Administration was present to explain why he and his Quebec associates had entered the Government. Advancing to the footlights the latter, Hon. Mr. Monty, Mr. Murphy explained, asked "Why are we in the Government?" and a voice from the gallery replied, "because Meighen can't get anyone else." And that ended the meeting.

"When Premier Meighen insists that the tariff is the only issue," continued the member for Russell, "the Liberals assert that his record is the issue, and as an outstanding feature of this is the grave problem of the government-owned roads. Premier Meighen and his friends are in the habit of alleging that the Liberals are responsible for existing conditions. While we are willing to assume responsibilities that are reasonably ours, we ask the electors to bear in mind the contrast between the different methods employed by the two parties.

"The Liberals always sought the approval of the people before embarking upon new railway ventures. At the general elections of 1904 and 1908 the Liberals placed their policies for building the National Transcontinental Railroad before the people and these were approved by overwhelming majorities. The Conservatives, however, purchased railroads not only without consultation with the public, but after applying the 'closure' in the House.

**Cites Purchase of 1919.**

"A striking example of this was the purchase in 1919 of the G. T. R. A session had been called supposedly for the purpose of ratifying the peace treaty. After sitting a month Sir George Foster intimated that the session would conclude in a few days. Immediately, without due notice the purchase of this road was 'sprung' on the house, and we sat for a month longer that Sir George predicted.

'It has been alleged that the men responsible for the sudden injection of this particular rail problem into the house are the men referred to recently by the Hon. George P. Graham, who alleged that those behind the scenes and setting the stage for the present election are doing so for the purpose of securing a large proportion of railroad mileage owned and operated by the Government."

As an illustration of the helplessness of the Meighen forces in dealing with the situation Mr. Murphy pointed out that after Dr. Reid, the minister of railways, had admitted a deficit last year of more than $70,000,000, and after the Hon. Frank B. Carvell had publicly alleged that the situation was worse than disclosed, the Government declined to give any information to the opposition and had also declined to appoint a committee of railroadmen to conduct an inquiry or in fact to give any committee that might be appointed opportunity for advisement by experts.

**Scope of Work Limited.**

"When a committee was appointed," declared Mr. Murphy, "ostensibly to inquire into the situation its scope of work was limited directly by the Tory majority in the House. It was told it was only able to answer five questions which all related to parliamentary procedure. The Liberals reasoned that if the only procedure was to answer questions, the questions should be, first, what is the deficit? secondly, what is the reason for such? and lastly, what remedies might be applied?"

Himself a member of this special committee in question, Mr. Murphy described its proceedings and the character of the evidence adduced. He charged that the men in charge of operating roads were unable to state cost of operation between two given points and similar undertakings. This led, he said, to the Tory member for South Winnipeg, G. W. Allen, exclaiming "bankrupt, and they don't know it."

The special committee, he said, had brought in a report entirely justifiable to the Liberal charges and revealed the entire incompetency and helpless of the Meighen party. Speaking generally Mr. Murphy asserted that the public is convinced that the trouble with the rail situation is that it is practically in charge of men who made a failure of the C. N. R. and that the members of the board of directors are connected with companies, many of which have very intimate and had very profitable relations with the Government roads.

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**Challenges Expenditures.**

"So general is this belief," declared Mr. Murphy, "that G. B. Nicholson, the Conservative M. P. for East Algoma, told the committee that in the minds of the Canadian people there is an impression that they are loaded up with something in the Canadian National Railroads that will be impossible for them to carry on. He also challenged the claim of the minister of railways that construction expenditures are covered by revenue. Mr. Nicholson said 'that would be satisfactory if there was any profit.' The latter also charged that there is a general belief that the alarming deficits are due to the fact that the roads are not in a position to be conducted economically."

"As a first step to solve this difficult problem it will be necessary to have experienced railroadmen investigate the entire situation and subsequently confer with the Government of the day as to what remedy should be applied and to what degree in accordance with the finances available. If this is done I am more than satisfied that the Liberal railroad policy which opened the Canadian west and gave Canada its first great impetus would be found again to be the only solution. Yet in the face of such deficits we find the Meighen Government failing to practice economy."

In conclusion Mr. Murphy laid at the very door of the Conservative the responsibility for there being in the country today the united farm movement. "It is a historical fact," he declared, "that there never was a farmers' party in Canada during any Liberal regime because the Liberal legislation has always been satisfactory to the people of the rural districts."

**King's Arrival Timely.**

The arrival of the Liberal leader could not have been more timely if it had been carefully arranged. Just as Hon. Mr. Murphy was directing his final onslaught upon Mr. Meighen and his colleagues in the last House because of their continued and reckless expenditures, Mr. King arrived from the depot.

The honor of presentation fell to Thomas H. Purdom, K. C.

The latter's introductory remarks were brief, but timely:

"It would be a shame to say a word," he declared. "Ladies and gentlemen, the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King."

In a few explanatory words Mr. King told why his arrival had been tardy. "As perhaps some of you have not been told," he said, "I was this morning at the funeral of Lady Laurier, the wife of our late-lamented chiefton, Sir Wilfrid. There is, as you are aware, so little that we can do in the presence of death. I know that you all will feel with me that in paying my last measure of respect I was only permitting you to join with me by your patient waiting until my return."

**Raps Meighen's Record.**

With a few preliminary remarks Mr. King then proceeded in his usual aggressive and capable manner to denounce the Meighen Government on their record at Ottawa as the people's representatives.

"We are passing through a critical period," the Liberal leader declared, one such as except perhaps in the days of the war, has not been experienced in Canada.

"We are beset upon all sides by problems of appalling magnitude that must be met by the ablest minds and the best citizens that we have at our immediate command. I am confident that in Charles Somerville of London, who has honored the Liberal party by his entry into public life again, we have a man whose moderate views, wide experience and interest at all times in every phase of social development, merits our trust at this serious moment.

"I find again today only in the local Government press the echo of Mr. Meighen's election cry that there is only one issue and that is the tariff: I admit that Canada's fiscal policy is an issue, but it is a long way from being the real issue. Let me remind you that it is just ten years since there has been any proper and adequate discussion of public affairs by the people of this country.

**High Cost of Living.**

"Why is it, then, I say, that we should be restricted to one issue—the tariff question? Have not the women of this country, thousands of whom are enjoying the franchise for the first time, any right to discuss the cost of living and other matters that concern them vitally?

"Have not the returned soldiers a right to discuss treatment that they may have had in the past, and ask what they may expect in the future?

"Are the working men or others in this country to have no opportunity to discuss the many problems that confront them? Why is there this shutting off? I ask any one of you who made this tariff the one issue? I ask 'Did you?' No, Mr. Meighen has for so long maintained that autocratic role of his, has become so accustomed to it, that he thinks that he can issue a mandate to the people at any time and they will obey them. I say tonight to him that the affairs of Canada are not to be decided by one individual, but by the people as a whole.

**Meighen a Usurper.**

"I ask you what is the customary British procedure of seeking an opinion of the people? Is it not by a general election? Well may Mr. Meighen hesitate, because from the moment that he assumed the premiership of Canada he usurped his authority.

"Let me put this question. Have any of you in this audience directly or indirectly given him the right to carry on government during the past six months? No, is the answer. I have asked this question from the waters of the Atlantic, and I intend to ask it through the West to the Pacific, and furthermore, I venture to say now that there will be no response in the affirmative.

"What then becomes of government by the people? There is the issue for Mr. Meighen.

"Our right to govern ourselves.

"Do you actually realize to what a degree your rights have been usurped? They have spent millions without your consent. They have taken over thousands of miles of railroads at their own terms. They have appointed civil servants, judges and senators, not one or two, but by the dozen."

"Stop and see what effect this will have in the future. These are the men who in years to come will have a voice in placing and enacting legislation and Mr. Meighen has appointed so many that in the years to come I can see that we will meet with inevitable difficulty in getting any progressive legislation upon the books. I say that if the people understand the true issues they will not be diverted in thought by the wild cries of 'protection.'

"That has been his attitude since he became premier.

**Bares Autocracy.**

"What then was one of his first acts of autocracy?

"I can tell you.

"It was the taking over of 70 millions of dollars for railroads without the approval of the people after applying the "closure" to prevent we the opposition from stopping him.

"The merchant marine service was another extravagant venture on his part without the sanction of the House. When you returned the government of 1917 you did not authorize such expenditures. We protested, of course, but the handy 'closure' was applied again stopping for all time discussion of the matter. If you indorse action of that nature you may as well have no representation at all."

Turning to the railroad situation, Mr. King told how in 1920 the Government asked for an appropriation of $165,000,000 for the roads, as compared with $123,000,000, which, he said, was all that was required to manage the entire Government during the last year of the Laurier regime.

He explained how the Liberal Opposition had made determined efforts to gain definite information as to railroad expenditures, but without success, owing, he asserted, to the continued refusal of the Government to gather or impart more information or allow free discussion.

**Fought Deficit Move.**

Mr. King related how in the House he moved that these deficits be opened for discussion and how Mr. Meighen, "in his usual autocratic manner" rose to defeat it.

He told of how, eventually, certain information had been obtained by private committees, who discovered that the board of railway directors were actually directors of companies that were receiving very profitable contracts from the road itself. These companies were insurance and construction corporations, Mr. King elucidated, and the expenditures involved millions.

It was to Mr. Meighen that the people looked for some explanation as to these conditions, said Mr. King, and to give

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some reason why information as to the same had been seemingly deliberately withheld from them or the House.

Touching upon the acquisition of the G. T. R., Mr. King pointed out that this step had been accomplished without the voice of the people, in strong contrast with what had always been the procedure taken by the Laurier party.

**"Cloud Real Issues."**

He charged that the contract had not been placed before the House, but was sent to England for first consideration by the bond and stockholders of that corporation, while the electors who had to foot the bills remained in absolute ignorance as well as the House.

"Such is not popular government," declared Mr. King. "These are some of the reasons why they wish to cloud the real issues by their cry of 'protection.'"

Reviewing the settlement of the Grand Trunk strike of 1910 the speaker declared that there had been certain rights of employees of that company that were to be granted them, but that such had not been done and when eventually the road was taken over he made a determined effort to have these rights guaranteed.

"That was only honest treatment," said Mr. King. "They talk about protection. Labor is not asking for any special privileges. The only protection they need is a square deal. So we asked for them honest treatment, but you may as well have talked to the four winds of heaven as to Mr. Meighen even in a matter that involved the word of a government. He said emphatically, 'No, the question cannot be reopened."

Taking up the question of the high cost of living, the Liberal leader declared that the cost of Government was greater than any other factor in the high cost of living today. He cited the fact that the indirect tax on every family of five in the Dominion today was $310.

He touched briefly on the merchant marine again, which brought about the purchase of 63 ships at a cost of $73,000,000, though sanctioned by no act of Parliament. Citing again the fact, as he claimed, that there were few cargoes today he told how many of these vessels were now engaged in bring to Canada shipments of munitions from English ports.

After explaining what it costs, he said, to maintain Canada's small navy, $4,000,000 for one trip, Halifax to Esquimalt and return, he declared that in his opinion today was the time for strict economy when expenses, which at other times might be considered advisable, should now be scored out.

Although touching previously at some length on the tariff issue, Mr. King reverted to it again in order to reply to the challenge delivered by the premier during his recent meeting in this city. It involved the Liberal platform and Mr. King's acceptance of it.

The Liberal leader's answer was the same as that given on the day upon which he accepted the leadership of his party. In his concluding remarks he appealed for a united fight for the absolute freedom of the masses, economy, good government and good will to all. The meeting was brought to a successful termination with cheers for the King, the Hon. Mr. King and the local nominee, Charles Somerville.

Seated on the platform with the Liberal chieftain and his colleagues were: Col. T. S. Hobbs, His Lordship the Bishop of Huron and Mrs. Williams, E. S. Little, mayor of London; W. N. Manning, Major Gordon Ingram, Ray Lawson, Thomas H. Purdom, K.C.; Fred G. Rumball, Philip Pocock, John Pringle, George Reid, George Belton, Ald. Watkinson, Mrs. A. G. Calder, Mrs. C. R. Somerville, Mrs. Donald McLean, Mrs. George Perry, Col. Campbell, Harry Ranahan, C. R. May, Frank McCormick, Col. Spittal, Dr. Clifford Reason, Dr. G. A. Routledge, Jas. Gray, Jas. McNee, Major T. J. Murphy, Jos. Nolan, J. K. McDermaid, A. M. Masuret, Edward Parnell, Mrs. Ed. Reid, J. C. Elliott, Sam Stevely, Alex. Purdom, Mrs. Whitwam, J. M. McEvoy, K.C.; U. A. Buchner, Claude Brown, Geo. T. Brown, Dr. W. J. Stevenson, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Grange, R. C. Eckert, C. H. Elliott, W. W. Gammage, Ed. Hayden, C. H. Ivey, Mrs. Ronald McLean, Jared Vining and Mrs. Vining, Alfred Talbot, Miss Macfie, Wm. Heaman and many others.

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Toronto Globe
November 5, 1921

# SAYS PEOPLE'S RIGHTS PERILED BY TORY SENATE

## Country's Will Endangered Even With New Government, King Says

## UPPER HOUSE PACKED

## Tremendous Ovation Given Liberal Chief at London, Ont.

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

London, Ont., Nov. 4.—Hastening direct to the platform of the Winter Garden from the train, after a day spent on a flying trip to Ottawa for Lady Laurier's funeral, Hon. Mackenzie King tonight presented to 4,000 citizens of London and Middlesex county two cardinal principles of Liberalism with unabated vigor and eloquence that swayed his hearers. The Liberal Chieftain pleaded the cause of the common people in such telling vein that, time and again, the enormous arena shook with cheers.

The meeting was the finest of the tour thus far, and splendidly Mr. King rose to the occasion.

Supporting their Leader on the platform were Hon. Charles Murphy and Hon. "Charlie" Hyman, as well as C. R. Somerville, Liberal Candidate for London, and the reception accorded the veterans of Laurier's day was in keeping with that given to their more youthful captain in conflict. The magnificent audience of men and women voters, straining the housing of the Winter Garden, contrasted sharply in size with that addressed recently in London by the Prime Minister of Canada.

**Reviews Entire Field.**

Hon. Mr. King reviewed the entire field at issue in the present contest, and as his indictment of Meighenism lengthened, count upon count, the audience expressed approval by repeated outbursts of applause. The railways muddle, munitions importations, the cost of living, the tariff and other items were broadly handled, and not till shortly before midnight did the great audience file out of the arena.

"The Government of this country is only a committee of the House of Commons," the Liberal Leader declared. "The Executive today begin to think that their powers begin, not with the House of Commons, but with themselves. That is what has come to be, and that it is to which the people of Canada are taking exception." (Cheers and applause.)

**Tariff Revision.**

Hon. Mr. King dealt plainly with the fiscal problems of Canada. His declaration that neither he nor the Liberal party stood for free trade elicited applause, which grew in volume when he stated that he stood for tariff revision that would do no harm to a single legitimate industry in Canada, but which would bear as lightly as possible upon the workers and consumers of this Dominion. He challenged anyone in Canada to place in parallel columns any two speeches of his in the past two years showing the slightest variation in his attitude on the tariff.

**Collective Death.**

Hon. C. S. Hyman, who presided over the meeting, expressed pleasure at being in the campaign after having been for so many years a "hasbeen." He felt keenly, he said, the absence of some old campaigners, especially the late Sir George Gibbons, and George, his son. He was in the fight because the present Government had seen fit to prefer collective to individual demise—and it was going to experience collective death early in December.

Mr. Hyman took sharp issue with the reported utterances of the Prime Minister at Peterboro', in which the word Liberalism was linked with the terms "trickery and perfidy." Such

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a remark, he said, reflected upon the honesty of the electors of Canada and was an insult to those new holders of the franchise—the women of Canada. If this new Meighen aggregation was a Tory one, he asked, why did it not honestly so name itself? Was it ashamed of the old name of Tory?

Introduced by Philip Pocock, Hon. Charles Murphy paid high tribute to the Chairman, Mr. Hyman, whose presence, he said, would be regarded as an augury by Liberals everywhere of success Dec. 6. His presence, too, showed that for sensible manufacturers the Meighen bogey of "free trade and ruin" had no alarms. Another manufacturer who felt no fear, Mr. Murphy noticed, was the candidate himself, C. R. Somerville.

The new "National-Liberal-Conservative party" of Mr. Meighen, the former Secretary of State said, was a disguise to cover the real purpose of the movement behind it. This aimed at attracting the Nationalists of Quebec and certain weak-kneed Liberals of other Provinces to assist the Tories to a new lease of power.

**Disguise Too Thin.**

The disguise, he said, was too thin; the deception was to fail.

Regarding Canada's railway problem, Mr. Murphy declared that Mr. Meighen had ignored the people in putting through his railway proposals, and had resorted to closure to pass them in the House. It had been stated that "unseen hands" directed the Government's railway policies, and it was not improbable that the presence in so many ridings of a third candidate was the result of manipulations of men who, in the event of Mr. Meighen's victory, would get their reward in portions of the Canadian National Railway System.

"The giving of subsidies to the Canadian Northern by the Government of British Columbia and by the new Borden Government of 1911 was the beginning of the railway muddle we are in today," said the speaker, who reminded his hearers that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had refused financial aid for extension of the C. N. lines to the Pacific Coast.

Canadian Northern officials "got in their work" after 1911, grades were altered, temporary work replaced permanent, and huge expenditures on equipment destined for other roads were charged to the account of the lines built under Liberal auspices.

Coming to the matter of contracts on account of Canadian National Railways, Mr. Murphy cited Colonel Cantley, Sir H. Laporte and Mr. Hobson of Hamilton as directors of the system who were directors also of companies with which that system had business relations. Immigration might be the key to the solution. If so, that had been the policy of Laurier and that would be the policy of King. Experts should be hired to determine the extent and cause of deficits and possible remedies therefor.

Gross irregularities, Mr. Murphy said, had resulted from the system whereby others than returned soldiers had profiteered on the exchange of currency. One policeman in Ottawa had made not less than $17,000 in this exchange deal with the Government, and since had retired from the force.

**Who Made Tariff Issue?**

Wildly acclaimed on his arrival, Hon. Mackenzie King evoked cheers afresh when he asked: "Who made the tariff the sole and only issue?" The right of people to govern themselves, he declared, was bound up with the right of free discussion, and that was being refused by the Premier. Even the decision of the people for a change might" seriously be jeopardized by the fact that, following the election, they would find a powerful second Chamber filled with reactionaries appointed by Hon. Arthur Meighen.

Faced in Parliament with a demand for explanation of expenditures, the speaker said, the Premier had mercilessly applied the closure. Representatives of the people were deprived of the right of discussion and denied the information they had a right to secure. The merchant marine of Canada was brought into being without the consent of the House of Commons, and questions of members regarding expenditures on railways account were spurned by the "autocrat at Ottawa." Business affiliations of Canadian National Railways directors were made a closed book, with the result that extravagance, waste and graft were allowed to imperil the project of Government ownership.

"Are you going to endorse that kind of thing?"

Cries of "No, we're not."

**Labor Spurned.**

"Are you ready to endorse it?" asked the speaker. "Surely there must be an end to this conspiracy of silence and secrecy."

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# CANNOT DRAW MR. KING OUT ON BIG ISSUE

## Liberal Leader Fails To Reply To Free Press As To Whether Or Not He Accepts Liberal Tariff Plank.

## LARGE MEETING AT THE WINTER GARDEN

## Hon. Charles S. Hyman, Hon. Charles Murphy, C. R. Somerville and Mr. King the Speakers.

When British, French, Belgian Italians and allies in the late war united the forces of right under one supreme command they triumped over the forces of wrong, and Germany was put in the dust. It is the same in political as in national warfare, according to Hon. Mackenzie King. If Labor, United Farmers and all organizations opposed to the Meighen Government will only line up behind Marshal King, as the allied armies did under Marshal Foch, the result will be approximately similar and desirable.

At the Winter Garden last night the leader put this new twist to an appeal which he has been making everywhere for co-operation of all the "antis." Usually the appeal is directed to the United Farmers. Here Labor was mentioned specifically.

**MUST UNITE.**

"We must unite together those who are seeking victory for greater freedom and liberty and right in this country," said Mr. King. "We must seek to make good the cause for which human life was sacrificed by the million in the great struggle for freedom for mankind. We are trying to carry on this great work of freedom to meet the economic condition of our times. It is a measure of economic and social freedom we are seeking for the masses of the people. Let us join together and make this condition prevail. Make this new era dawning to-day a new epoch in the history of our country."

London Liberals, and no doubt many others, turned out well to the rally last night and the Winter Garden, which holds 3,000, was practically filled. Other speakers, beside the leader, were Hon. Charles Murphy, late member for Russell: the local candidate, C. R. Somerville, and Hon. C. S. Hyman, of this city, who also presided.

**ON THE PLATFORM.**

Eighty persons had been issued tickets to the platform and about 35 made use of them, including Mayor Little, the Bishop of Huron, Samuel Stevely, Jared Vining, John Pringle, George M. Reid, Clifford Reason, U. A. Buchner, G. A. Routledge, ex-M. P. P., J. C. Elliott, ex-M. P. P.

Hon. Mr. King, who had attended the funeral of Lady Laurier in Ottawa yesterday, did not get back to London until about 10 o'clock, and Hon. Mr. Murphy had an opportunity to exercise his well-known ability, often exhibited in the Commons, as a time-filler. Mr. King was given a splendid reception on his arrival in the hall and, indeed, all the speakers were received cordially, and given attentive hearing. Hon. Mr. Murphy was introduced to the audience by Philip Pocock, and the Liberal leader by T. H. Purdom.

Banners decorated the four walls of the auditorium, bearing mottoes apropos to the occasion. "The welfare of the common man at the common task is the first consideration of Liberalism," was credited to Mr. King. "A just balance between the selfish high protectionist and the impracticable free trader" were presented as the words of Mr. Somerville. "Somerville will help house clean at Ottawa" was anonymous.

**ATTACKS FARMERS**

A somewhat curious passage came at the close of Mr. Murphy's address, in reference to the reciprocity campaign. "The Liberal party of 1911," he said,

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"went down to defeat in an effort to give the farmers what they wanted. I don't intend to stand mutely by and listen to wiseacres, whose political education began in 1919, tell audiences around the country that as far as the farmers are concerned there is no difference between the two old parties. There is all the difference in the world between the two old parties, as far as the farmers are concerned. From the standpoint of common sense, to say nothing gratitude, the farmers should be assisting the Liberals in this campaign."

The chairman summed up Mr. Murphy's address under three heads: 1. Give the Tories the divvle; 2. Give the Tories more divvle; 3. Give them all the divvle you can.

**THE FREE PRESS QUESTIONS**

The London Free Press of Friday evening gave prominence to eight questions which it desired Hon. Mr. King to answer, all in reference to the tariff platform of the Liberal party. The leader was requested to state specifically whether the platform of 1919 is still the platform of the party, and whether the pledge to implement it by legislation when returned to power still holds good. Mr. King said in opening his address, that he had found time on his train journey to read the local papers, and "in the Conservative organ much the same note is being sounded as by Mr. Meighen and those speaking for him on different platforms, namely, that the tariff is the issue in this particular contest. Well, ladies and gentlemen, the tariff is an issue, and I purpose to speak to you upon the tariff to-night, but it is a long way from being the only issue."

Then followed Mr. King's customary speech, with the usual references to a "tariff for revenue," a tariff "bearing lightly on the necessaries of life," etc., but, as on previous occasions, no statement as to whether the promised "substantial reductions" and long free list specifically set forth in the platform of 1919 have been ditched or not. If the time ever comes for action, he will consult with the wise men around him—for some reason the opinion of the wise heads cannot be obtained before the election. The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive. That's out of the Bible, but it applies to politics as well as religion. Finally—and this seems to be a new bit—conditions in the country may change before the time comes for tariff revision by a Liberal administration.

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Hon. C. S. Hyman, the chairman, was given a hearty welcome back into the political arena as he took his pace at the commencement. He appreciated this ovation, one could easily see that, even if he had not referred to it in his address.

**THE FIGHTING DAYS.**

"This takes me back to the good old days," said Mr. Hyman after he had expressed his heartfelt appreciation of the welcome given him. "It recalls," he said, "the fighting days in the Liberalism of London, days when we received no quarter, and, I am afraid, we gave no quarter. Whether victorious or defeated in those days—and we had our share of both—I am sure that no man ever had such a loyal lot of men behind him as gave their support to me in every contest. Although I have been out of politics for a long time, I do not forget those things."

Mr. Hyman referred briefly to the death of two men who had always taken a prominent part in London Liberalism, Sir George C. Gibbons and George S. Gibbons.

"Sir George Gibbons gave his best to the Liberal party," said the speaker. "He never thought of self. His son, George, as you know, was our candidate in the last election, and he made a noble fight. But the cards were stacked against him. Had it not been for the chicanery and unfair methods used by the Government then he would have been your representative at Ottawa."

Referring to th present situation, the speaker stated that, while the Meighen Government had claimed to be bold and courageous in going to the people at this time, it had the choice of two propositions.

**HOBSON'S CHOICE.** 4

"It had Hobson's choice," said Mr. Hyman. "The mmebers of that Government knew they could either die separately or together. They chose to die together and on December 6, unless I am much mistaken, they will have consummated this act and will die together."

The speaker then touched on the barometer of a government's popularity, "those pesky by-elections." No Government since the Confederation had lost so many seats in by-elections as has the one which is now going to the country. Mr. Hyman often felt sorry for the prime minister because he could not choose his own Cabinet; he never knew but that the ones chosen would be ignominiously defeated in the by-election. Such things formed the handwriting on the wall, which the Government was compelled at last to notice and heed.

The entrance of women into politics was also dealt with. In humorous vein Mr. Hyman explained that he would never have supported any measure that would not allow a woman to vote until she was 21 years of age. The limit would be much lower than this if he had been a mmeber of the Government. He was surpriscd that his friend, Hon. Charles Murphy, had not fought against it.

**BLAMES THE TORIES.**

"The Tories put that through," explained Mr. Murphy.

The speaker took issue with Hon. Arthur Meighen, who was said to have told the ladies in one address: "If you want trickery and perfidy in public life, vote for the Liberals."

"I have been out of politics for so long that I scarcely knew what he meant," explained the speaker. "But I find, on looking into the dictionary, that the terms mean 'false hearted, base, treacherous and traitors.' Well. I have been a traitor of that kind for a long time. And you may rest assured that we traitors in London will be led by this arch traitor on my left (turning to C. R. Somerville), who is a treacherous example to us all. If Meighen happens to be here he will see the jolliest lot of traitors on December 6 that he ever met."

Mr. Hyman, stating that the time is unique in that three parties are in the field, took some pains to question the reason for the name, the National Liberal and Conservative party. It has no claims to being a national party. Quebec has had no representation in the Government, said the speaker, with the exception of a few seats in the larger centers, for a number of years. Therefore, the Meighen party cannot be called a national one. Quebec will do as Ontario would in similar circumstances, return a solid phalanx of supporters for Hon. Mr. King in December, he asserted.

**TRIBUTE TO LADY LAURIER**

In concluding, Mr. Hyman paid a tribute to the late Lady Laurier.

"I had the esteemed privilege of a long personal friendship with Lady Laurier," said he. "She was truly a great woman. Nothing was more beautiful than the home life of our late chieftain and his worthy helpmeet. The love between those two was such as to be almost beyond comprehension."

C. R. Somerville expressed his gratitude at the warmth of the reception tendered to him and hoped that they would work together in harmony until their effort should be crowned with success.

"So far as I am personally concerned I have already given to the people of London my position in the public statement issued recently. Behind the great traditions and the splendid record of the Liberal party in Canada I stand. I believe that history will repeat itself and that the era of prosperity ushered in by the last Liberal Government, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in 1906, will be repeated again under the new government that I have not the least doubt will be formed after December 6 next by the Hon. Mackenzie King."

**GROWS POETICAL.**

"We are fighting under the old banners. (It seems a long time since this was the case.) We are fighting for the same just cause. The late chieftain and his policies we shall not forget. 'To us with falling hands the torch he threw. Be ours to hold it high.' Our new leader will hold it high; and with him we shall take up the old common fight against the common foe of selfish and privileged interests in high places. We are fighting under new and better condition and with better prospects that Liberal principles will prevail."

Mr. Somerville contended that the tariff was not the real issue in the present election. Mr. Meighen, he said, did not have a tariff, never made one, and merely used the tariff that had been handed to him. Mr. Meighen had no pronounced views on the tariff except to say that it would be a moderate protection if the people wanted it. The real issue was the acts of the Government, and they were but few. It was true, the Government had raised the price of postage stamps. In fact it might be called the postage stamp Government that did not stick.

Philip Pocock was called upon to introduce Hon. Charles Murphy and in doing so referred to the pleasure it gave him to sit at the same platform with Hon. Charles S. Hyman, whom he described as "a fighter from his boots up." Introducing Mr. Murphy, Mr. Pocock predicted that he would be a member of the next Cabinet to be formed after December 6.

**MR. MURPHY.**

Mr. Murphy was in good voice and his address was characteristic. In opening he referred to the last time on which he had addressed a London audience, and to the absence of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. George Gibbons, who had taken a prominent part in that meeting. He also expressed pleasure at the presence of Hon. Mr. Hyman. "McGregor again sits at the head of the table," he said, and thought it was a good augury that Mr. Hyman was again interesting himself in elections. At least he was one manufacturer who was not frightened by what Mr. Murphy termed "the free trade ghost which Mr. Meighen and his traveling troupe had taken down from the closet of spooks in Ottawa and paraded through the country to frighten the manufacturers." He eulogized C. R. Somerville as a man whose character, standing and record would be an asset to the party, and predicted his election by a large majority.

Mr. Murphy claimed that the Meighen Government was not entitled to the credit for extending the franchise to women. That had first been done, he said, by provincial Liberal administrations long before it was thought of in Ottawa. In 1916 Hon. Dr. Pugsley moved in the House that the franchise should be extended to women, but this was rejected. The following year an organization of Conservative women in Toronto sent circulars to other women's organizations asking if the women were given the vote would they vote for the Borden administration. "The character of the reply may be guessed," said Hon. Mr. Murphy, "for the extension of the franchise to women came to some and was refused to those who would not vote for the Borden Government." The pioneering in the campaign for votes for women was done by the Liberals, so if the women were impelled by gratitude they would vote the Liberal ticket.

**DODGES TARIFF ISSUE.**

The Government speakers, Mr. Murphy claimed, were telling the people that the tariff was the chief issue in this election. This the Liberals denied. Mr. Meighen sought to make the tariff an issue, but the Liberals would not fight on ground of his choosing, and insisted on fighting the election on the record of the Government, which, he claimed, has clung to power after its mandate had expired, and had ignored the bidding of the House of Commons as to the legislation it was to enact. What the speaker termed "the tariff ghost" had been "trotted out" in the bye-election in West Peterboro, and the consequence had been that in a field of five a Liberal candidate was elected. He denied that the Government was entitled to credit for courage in deciding to hold a general election, for it was nothing more than a choice between hanging separately and hanging together. Mr. Meighen, he claimed, had been guilty of inconsistency in his stand on the tariff. Ten years ago, when he wanted a lower duty on agricultural implements, he claimed that the Liberals were protectionists. Later, he showed in the House that the average Liberal tariff was 26 per cent., compared with an average Conservative tariff of 21

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per cent., yet to-day he called the Liberals free traders. In view of what he termed Mr. Meighen's inconsistency, in this he held the premier was not fit to administer the affairs of the country.

To support his contention that the Government had acted in defiance of the will of Parliament he cited the creation of the purchasing commission, which has been brought about by order-in-Council after a bill advocating such a commission had been twice defeated in the House. This commission, he claimed, had been established merely to give jobs to friends of the Government, who, otherwise, would "remain jobless for the balance of their lives."

THE RAILWAYS

Touching the railway situation, he claimed that the legislation authorizing the purchase of the Grand Trunk had been railroaded through the House under closure in the dying days of a session really called to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. The men responsible for that action, the speaker claimed, must take the responsibility for the present rail mess. He denied emphatically that the Liberal party was in any way responsible, although the National Transcontinental Railway had been built by the Liberal Government. It was the intention of that Government to give the N. T. R. the finest roadbed and the lowest gradient of any railway on the continent. When the Conservatives came into power they did their best to degrade the road by substituting cheaper trestles for those specified in the original. Then the Conservatives investigated the building of the railway, but the speaker said they failed to show that one penny had been misappropriated. All they could say was that if the road had been built to a cheaper standard $40,000,000 would have been saved and on this basis they claimed the Liberals grafted $40,000,000. This charge Mr. Murphy denied.

The great Gladstone had defined Liberalism as trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and Toryism as distrust of the people, qualified by fear. This was shown in the difference in the railway policies of the two governments. The Liberals built the N. T. R. after the proposition had been aproved by the electors in 1904 and 1908, while the Conservatives went ahead with their railway projects without placing them before the people. He contended that the directors of the Government railway systems were big business men, who did a great amount of business with the Government roads. The real power behind the Government's railway policy was the C. N. R. power, the two men who hoped to get a good slice of the National Railways if the Conservative Government was returned to power.

Just as Mr. Murphy was getting properly warmed up over the railway situation Hon. Mackenzie King, who had just arrived from Ottawa, entered the hall, and the member for Russell brought his remarks to a close with a parting shot at the Agrarians. He contended that there had never been a Farmers' party while a Liberal Government was in power because the legislation passed by the Liberals satisfied the farmers. It was the farmers, he said, who desired reciprocity, and in the election ensuing on that question the Liberal Government was defeated. "If they have practical common sense, to say nothing of gratitude, the farmers should be assisting the Liberals instead of opposing them," he said in closing.

MR. KING.

T. H. Purdom, K. C., introduced Mr. King to the audience, as briefly as might be, as follows: "It would be a sin to say a word, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, Mackenzie King!"

The leader, who possibly had his opening remacks prepared, acknowledged "the all too kind words with which I have been introduced to this audience," and there was a ripple of laughter.

Hon. Charles Murphy, speaking just previously, had recalled the meeting of some five years ago in the same building, when the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a speaker, and the late George S. Gibbons was chairman. Mr. King also alluded to the death of Mr. Gibbons and of Sir George Gibbons, both prominent in the activities of the party in this city.

His address thereafter followed the usual ground. The merchant marine created by the Union Government, was referred to as "another extravagant venture of the Government." Complaint was made that sufficient information had not been forthcoming in regard to expenditure of the National Railways. Reinstatement of the Grand Trunk strikers of 1910 had been demanded by Liberals in the House at the time the Grand Trunk purchase the cost of living passage, leading up to the charge of extravagance by the Government, with an extra touch of pathos in connection with the leader's estimate of a federal taxation burden of $310 for every family of five.

"That one thing," he said, "may mean the difference between being able to do for a loved one what may mean life itself, and not being able to do that thing."

COMEDY.

Then from tragedy to comedy. "No wonder the ladies' dresses are so short, when the cost of living is so high."

Next the "shell scandal," in somewhat abbreviated form, but with this new touch: "The ships of our merchant marine come back to this country laden with cargoes of munitions, simply because they are unable to find cargoes anywhere else."

Finally, the tariff.

"I have been asked about the platform of the Liberal party and where I stand. Questions are being put up to me in different places in that regard. I propose to give an answer which I will leave to this gathering to say whether it is satisfactory or not. I will give the answer which I gave the Liberal convention the day on which I was chosen leader. I stated that I looked upon that platform as a chart, upon which was plotted the course it was expected the Liberal party would seek to follow, whether in or out of office. But I took care to say that I would seek the advice of the counselors around me and out of the collective wisdom created I would find the way that was to be taken with reference to that chart.

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Montreal Gazette Nov 5-6th 1921 D 5731

# MR. KING SAYS HE HAS NOT WAVERED ON TARIFF PLANK

## Carrying Out Anything Literim and Verbatim Would Destroy Spirit

## LONDON MEETING LATE

### Hon. C. S. Hyman Emerges From Long Retirement to Endorse Liberal Leader and Candidate

(By Canadian Press.)

London, Ont., November 4.—A long disquisition on the railroad situation by Hon. Charles Murphy and a rapid fire speech by Hon. Mackenzie King reaffirming his attitude on the tariff and charging the Government with autocratic and extravagant methods were the principal events of the Liberal rally here tonight at the Windsor Gardens attended by about 3,500 people. Mr. King returned from Ottawa at ten o'clock and held his audience until nearly midnight. Hon. C. S. Hyman, former Minister of Public Works, and C. R. Somerville, ex-mayor of London and local Liberal candidate, also delivered shorter addresses. It was Mr. Hyman's first appearance on a political platform, after more than ten years of retirement from public life. The Liberal candidate has recently been identified with the commission investigating the university question in Ontario. His manifesto declares for a just balance between the selfish high protectionists and the "unpractical" free traders.

The fight here is a three-cornered one, Frank White, manufacturer, bearing the Government standard, and Arthur Mould standing for labor. The Progressives have not nominated a candidate. Hume Cronyn, late Government member in the House of Commons, declined re-nomination and so far has taken no active part in the present campaign. The research bureau in which Mr. Cronyn strongly interested himself is being endorsed by C. R. Somerville.

The women in London advocating the interests of both the old parties are strongly organized and working very actively.

HON. C. S. HYMAN SPEAKS.

Hon. C. S. Hyman, in his address, said that no Government since Confederation had suffered so much in by-elections as the present He expressed sympathy with Mr. Meighen with regard to his Cabinet. The question with him had been each time, not did he wish such a man, but could he get him elected if he were invited to enter the Cabinet. Mr. Hyman asked why the Government party called themselves National Liberal Conservatives. How could a party be termed national—which in Quebec, with its 2,500,000 population, could not secure a single seat with the exception perhaps of one or two in Montreal.

C. R. Somerville said that the Liberal party was today fighting the old fight against the common foe of selfish and privileged interests. The new leader, Mackenzie King, he said, had caught the torch of the late chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and would hold it high. Everyone was happy to see McGregor once more at the head of the clan, said Hon. Charles Murphy, alluding to the return of Hon. C. S. Hyman to active political life.

If gratitude for the franchise was to be the impelling factor in determining the choice of the women electors, said Mr. Murphy, then they should vote for the Liberal party, which first stood up for their rights, and not for the Conservative party, which later came haltingly to the same frame of mind.

TEMPORARY MINISTERS.

Like the Tupper administration in 1896, the Meighen Government had had the greatest difficulty in securing any Cabinet members from Quebec. Sir Charles Tupper, said Mr. Murphy, had finally induced four men to join his Cabinet, but the election ensued and nothing further had ever been heard of them till their obituaries were written. So, said Mr. Murphy, would it be with the present new Cabinet members.

"Why are we in the Meighen Government?" had asked a Government speaker recently. And the answer came promptly from the gallery, said Mr. Murphy, "Because they couldn't get anybody else."

The present Government, Mr. Murphy asserted, had been elected for the period of the war. This was proved by the action of Mr. Carvell and others who resigned at the close of the war, saying that their purpose in joining had been fulfilled. Notwithstanding this the Conservatives had hung on to power for three years more.

The present railway situation was a result of the autocratic action of the present Government. The closure had been adopted and the purchase of the Grand Trunk Railway was rushed through without allowing Parliament either time or information before voting. While the Liberal party was willing to accept responsibility where it was theirs, it was to be noted that in the matter of important railroad policy the Liberals had always consulted the people beforehand, while the Conservatives had never taken the trouble to do so.

STOCK WORTH NOTHING.

In the case of the Canadian Northern, the Government had paid millions of dollars for stock which shortly before a commission had reported to be worth nothing. While under Liberal administration there were 284 people to each mile of railway in Canada, today, said Mr. Murphy, the number of people to support each mile of line was only 185.

"Speaking generally," said Mr. Murphy, "the public is convinced that the trouble with the Government Railways is that they are practically in charge of men who made a failure of the operation of the Canadian Northern. That is the primary difficulty. The power behind the throne is still the C.N.R. And the second trouble is that the members of the board of directors who are in charge of the Government Railways are connected with companies doing an enormous amount of business each year with the railway and with great profit to themselves."

"If we are returned to power," Mr. Murphy asserted, the first steps to be taken will be the securing of real railway experts to decide what is wrong and how to remedy it.

RIGHT TAKEN AWAY.

Hon. Mackenzie King, after an allusion to his attendance in Ottawa this morning at Lady Laurier's funeral, spoke of the many issues of vital importance which should be discussed on the platform before polling day. It was the time-honored custom in Great Britain for a Government to go to the country on its record. Well might Premier Meighen hesitate to follow this precedent, said Mr. King, since from the moment he assumed office until today his administration had been entirely without the authority of the people. The real issue before the electors was the right of self-government, and this right Mr. Meighen had taken away. Vast sums had been voted under closure for the railway, and a merchant marine had been established without the people having any choice whatever in the matter. Parliament itself had been denied the details for a discussion of the expenditures. "Don't complain of autocratic government in future," said Mr. King, "if you tolerate such methods now." Publicity and not secrecy was the absolute essential in the conduct of public affairs.

Mr. King referred to the agreement made between the Grand Trunk Railway and its employes after the strike in 1910. Its men were to be reinstated and their pensions thus assured. The company had failed to meet its obligations, and when the purchase of the Grand Trunk came before Parliament, Mr. King had moved that the rights of the men under the agreement should be recognized. Mr. Meighen and his supporters, however, had voted the resolution down. "Mr. Meighen," exclaimed the Liberal leader, "has ideas of government wholly foreign to the spirit of social justice of this age."

DAILY COST TO PUBLIC.

The cost of government, directly or indirectly, said Mr. King, was now nearly $1 a day for every family, an amount which represented the difference between a mortgaged home and one free from encumbrance; an amount sufficient to secure protection against sickness and accident. The present Government had become so extravagant, so accustomed to spend not millions, but billions of dollars, that it could not take small expenses into consideration. Economy and retrenchment, Mr. King said, were the first reform necessary.

The autocratic methods of the Government had been well exemplified by its action in regard to the navy. Hardly had the Minister of Marine informed Parliament that nothing was to be done until after the Imperial Conference had been held to decide Canada's obligations relatively with those of the rest of the Empire than an announcement was made that a small fleet of warships had been accepted as a gift from Great Britain. The gift had been accepted on condition that the ships be manned and kept in commission. Mr. King said he had nothing against Canada doing her part in the defence of the seas as well as the land. The people, however, had the right to be consulted before such obligations were assumed.

Coming to the tariff, Mr. King said his attitude toward the tariff platform today was exactly what it was at the time of the Liberal convention. "Try to carry out anything literim and verbatim and you destroy the spirit altogether."

Mr. King challenged Mr. Meighen to print in two columns, side by side, any two speeches he had delivered on the question of the tariff that in any way varied from each other.

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7 Nov. 1921 Ottawa D 5732

THE AUTOCRACY OF THE MEIGHEN
GOVERNMENT

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5733 (1)

Morning Citizen Nov 8

OTTAWA, CANADA, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1921.

# MACKENZIE KING LINKS UP SHELL PURCHASES WITH CAMPAIGN FUNDS

## The Liberal Leader Insinuates That Extensive Billboard and Advertising Campaign Financing Has Some Relation to Munition Shipments. Three Meetings, Two in Ottawa, and One in Eastview, Addressed by Party Head and Supporters.

Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, spoke in Ottawa last night and before two big meetings—one in the Rideau rink and the other in St. Anne's hall—and delivered a vibrant message of Liberalism. He also spoke at Eastview.

At the rink there were over four thousand people while the big hall in the east-end was filled to overflowing. The meetings lacked nothing in enthusiasm. The cheering was frequent. The crowd appeared to think that the seats of the mighty on the hill are about to be appropriated and the gatherings had about them that buoyancy of spirit that develops when the promised land looms up.

Mr. King has the gift of forcible utterance and his speeches last night were vigorous in condemning the iniquities of the government. He touched on the tariff, denying it was the big issue, he alluded to the usurpation of government, he denied that the Liberals are beneficiaries of party campaign funds, pointing out that in parliament they had supported Mr. Crerar's demand for the white light of publicity of such receipts; he spoke about the civil service and explained his use of the word "barnacles." He said that what he meant by "barnacles" were those "favorites" in all departments pushed over the heads of old and deserving public servants.

**Persecuted, Not Investigated.**

Asked by an ex-service man to discuss the "Griffenhagen scandal," Mr. King said the service had been "persecuted, not investigated." He declared that the Progressives had "no possibility under Heaven of being able to form a government."

**Shells and Campaign Funds.**

But all these references appeared rather secondary to his main point. He stressed the importation, unauthorized or unknown to parliament, of $6,000,000 worth of high explosive shells, and he conveyed the strong hint that these purchases had a direct connection with the campaign fund of the government. He was discussing shells when he switched to the question of campaign funds and then returned to his subject. He insinuated very strongly that, for one thing, out of these shell purchases the government's extensive advertising and poster campaign is being financed. He declared that for years there had been "no scandal comparable to this and promised a full investigation at the next session. While he has said a good deal on the subject at other places, Mr. King reserved for the Capital his first definite hint of what, in his opinion, is behind the purchase of 4,000 tons of high explosives, when the world is talking of disarmament.

At several stages, Mr. King was cheered loudly and the crowd sat out the whole meeting despite a very frigid temperature.

**On the Platform.**

At the Rideau rink, Col. David Whitton presided at first and was later replaced by ex-Mayor Fisher. On the platform besides Mr. King were the Liberal candidates, McGiverin and Chevrier, Mrs. Norman Wilson and Miss Mary Murphy, Hon. Charles Murphy and James Murdock came in at the end, after speaking at St. Anne's hall.

**Mr. Murdock's Address.**

Mr. Murdock's speech in the East end was an account of the industrious futility of the Board of Commerce blocked in its efforts just when its trail of the profiteering interests was getting hot.

**The Liberal Leader.**

Mr. Mackenzie King on rising to speak at the Rideau Rink meeting was greeted with loud applause and cries of "Hullo Mac." He said he esteemed it a very great privilege to have the opportunity of addressing fellow citizens of the Capital of the country, on the evening of the day set apart for Thanksgiving and the celebration of the signing of the armistice. He thanked the chairman, Mr. Harold Fisher, for the generous and kind manner of his introduction. The task of following Sir Wilfrid was, perhaps, the heaviest that could be imposed upon him. Sir Wilfrid, as they knew, regarded himself as a citizen of Ottawa, and as such, he was ever ready to give the city the benefit of his position and influence. Mr. King said he always hoped to have the same privilege should he be the head of the next government. There was one blessing to be thankful for on this Thanksgiving Day. It was at least an opportunity to get rid of the present government. (Cheers and laughter).

**For Local Candidates.**

He asked that he might speak of the pleasure he felt at having the opportunity of supporting Messrs. McGiverin and Chevrier. Mr. McGiverin had referred to the time when they were companions together in 1908 to 1911. During that time he had opportunity of knowing Mr. McGiverin intimately and seeing the interest he manifested in the affairs of the city. Mr. King said that no man in public life had been more zealous on behalf of those he represented than had Mr. McGiverin. Nor was anyone more likely to be considerate of all classes. The same was equally true of Mr. Chevrier, said Mr. King. He had not Mr. McGiverin's years, but he had the same broad general sympathies.

Mr. Chevrier was not so big as Mr. McGiverin, but he had a heart equally as large. He promised them both that should he be returned to power they could always trust to finding him a friend who would be sympathetic with them in the cause that pertained to the public good.

**Issues of The Day.**

In the city and by the wayside, said Mr. King, the prime minister was asserting that the prime issue of the day was free trade versus protection. The Liberal leader denied that there was any such issue before the people. So far as the tariff was concerned, the question was how it was to be revised. If Mr. Meighen was to have his way it would be revised for the benefit of the interests who had kept him in power for the past sixteen months. If returned to power, the Liberal party intended to revise the tariff, having in mind the needs of consumers, and not in the interests of combines, trusts, mergers and monopolies.

**Premier Should be Careful.**

"When Mr. Meighen makes the statement that the tariff is the only issue, I think it is obvious to you why," declared Mr. King. The statement was not true, said Mr. King. It was rather a hard way of putting it, he said, but a prime minister before everything else should be careful of his utterances. He should speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

That statement was neither, however, said Mr. King. It was not even part of the truth, for there was no such issue at the present time in Canada.

So far as the tariff was concerned, there was a call to have it revised, but Mr. King said if he was entrusted with the government of the country he would see that the tariff was revised in the interests of the consumers of the country. They would hear from Mr. Murdock, said the speaker, whose report with reference to combines and mergers must be familiar to them all.

One of the reasons Mr. Murdock was beside him in the campaign was because he thought they might be able to remedy some of this evil.

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D 5734

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Morning Citizen

November 8th, 1921

**To Cover Real Issues.**

Mr. King said that Mr. Meighen's real reason for putting forward the tariff as the issue was that the latter wanted to cover up the real issue. He wanted them to forget it.

"The real issue today," said Mr. King, "is whether or not the people are to have the right to carry on the government of this country of their own free will, or whether they are to have that right usurped by a handful of gentlemen." The fundamental right of the people to govern themselves, appoint their own public officials and administer their own affairs had been deliberately stolen from them. The only difference between the methods of Mr. Meighen and his associates in Canada and those of Lenine and Trotsky in Russia was that in Russia physical violence had been resorted to while in Canada violence had been done to the whole spirit of British constitutional government.

**Authority to Carry On.**

Mr. King asked was there one man there at that meeting who had had anything to do with giving Mr. Meighen the right of carrying on the government of the country. (Cries of "No"). "I hear hundreds of voices cry 'No,'" said Mr. King, and he added that any man or woman who knew all aspects of the case would say that they had nothing to do either directly or indirectly with giving Mr. Meighen authority to carry on. It meant that the right of the people to make their own laws and administer their own affairs had been deliberately usurped. And yet Mr. Meighen having treated them in that way came before them and asked them to support him, and to express their confidence in him.

Mr. King said he doubted if they really appreciated the seriousness of Mr. Meighen's usurpation.

**Influence for Years.**

Had Mr. Meighen, whom Mr. King characterized as a "young autocrat," merely spent some hundreds of millions of dollars; had he only placed on the statute books some laws which could be speedily repealed by a new government, the situation would not be so bad. The Meighen administration, however, said Mr. King, would definitely influence Canadian affairs for many years to come. Without the authority of the people a vast system of railways had been acquired, and a merchant marine organized. Furthermore, Mr. Meighen had been appointing judges, senators and lieutenant governors among his own supporters. This would mean that for a long time ahead in the passing of laws as well as in their administration, Liberal ideals would be constantly checked.

When he listened to some of his Progressive friends he wondered whether they understood the first principles of government. That legislation must pass through both the senate and the commons. Did they think that the gentlemen that Mr. Meighen had appointed during the last two or three months to the senate would be the men who would pass any Liberal or Progressive measure? Mr. King said there was good reason for every man who loved liberty to stand together and fight for the rights of the people in the matter of democratic legislation.

**This "Young Autocrat."**

Mr. King claimed that "this young autocrat," Mr. Meighen had refused in regard to the question of taking over railways to adopt the course taken by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid on former occasions, and submit the matter to the people. Mr. Meighen had said that they must deal with this matter in secret council. And he did, declared Mr. King. The agreement had been sent to England for the solicitors of the shareholders to see if it was agreeable to them. Mr. Meighen denies the rights of the people who had to pay taxes to meet the interest charges.

It was this kind of thing that made Mr. Meighen and his colleagues unworthy of the confidence of the country.

**Instance Of Autocracy.**

As an illustration of the prime minister's "autocratic methods," the Liberal leader said that at the last session of parliament one-sixth of the estimated expenditure of the country was asked to be voted in advance. This was finally put through under closure, the $70,000,000 involved being voted after two hours' discussion, Mr. King said.

It was impossible to defend the methods of the government in its management of the railways. The people were refused details of expenditure. In fact, Mr. King declared, the high cost of government was in a large measure responsible for the high cost of living. At the last session of parliament $560,000,000 was voted to cvoer one year's business. This represented $61 per person in Canada, or $310 for every family of five. It was said that through the system of direct taxation the wealthy were paying more in taxes than the poorer people. Mr. King declared that was not true, and instanced the case of the landlord who passed on increasing taxes by increasing rents. The man who paid the taxes in every case was the consumer. In the event of the Liberal party being returned to power, it was proposed to investigate the effect of taxation on the homes of the people.

Mr. King said that one of the Conservative candidates voted against the proposal to have the railway agreement submitted to parliament, or if he did not, added Mr. King, he was not in the house to vote against it.

In all the autocratic methods of Mr. Meighen he had been supported by one of the Conservative candidates now seeking their support.

Mr. King reviewed the national finances, charging the government with extravagance, at the same time stating that money if properly expended could be defended, but he did not think the government could be defended. It refused information, too, when it was asked for.

**Burden Of Taxation.**

No family, however humble, could escape the burden of the heavy taxation, said Mr. King, as represented by the cost of government of the country, and that was why he felt the indignation he did at the waste and extravagance he saw. It was not to be justified on any ground whatever.

**The Shell Shipments.**

Mr. King again referred to the shipments of shells discovered by him at Levis, Quebec. These shells, he said, were bought with Canadian credits. Credits represented money, and this action was illegal as the government had admitted that the credit used was established in 1920. It was necessary to renew such credits at each session of parliament, and this, Mr. King emphasized, had not been done at the session of 1921. Since the armistice, $2,000,000 had been included in the estimates for the purchase of munitions, but because this money was expended in the Canadian arsenals at Quebec and Lindsay, the government declared that no munitions had been purchased; and believed it was telling the truth.

Hon. Hugh Guthrie in June, 1920, had stated that all heavy and quick firing ammunition was made at Quebec, yet Mr. Meighen had stated that the ammunition coming in from Great Britain was for the use of the Canadian artillery. The people of Canada were being deceived by the prime minister and his government, said Mr. King. Further, Mr. Guthrie, at the last session of parliament had stated that all the warlike stores necessary were on hand.

**Value of Six Millions.**

Subsequently to his correspondence with Mr. Meighen, Mr. King said, he had written to Mr. Guthrie for an explanation of the shell shipments. The reply indicated that the complete shipments would total four thousand tons, with a valuation of more than $6,000,000. Mr. King said that the valuation figures were not

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supplied by Mr. Guthrie, but were estimated by a military expert from the quantities of shells indicated in Mr. Guthrie's statement.

"We have not begun to get at the facts yet," Mr. King asserted.

The munitions had been coming into Canada since June last; since Mr. Meighen, Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Ballantyne went to England, to attend the conference of prime ministers of the British Empire.

**Related to Election?**

"Would they bring in shiploads of ammunition, running into millions of dollars, unless it was related to the present election?" Mr. King queried. "Mr. Guthrie must explain the connection with the bill posters of Mr. Meighen. There is no scandal comparable with it," Mr. King asserted.

There was no excuse for using the credits of Canada for this sort of thing. There was need of an accounting, which would never be secured unless there was a change of government. The policy governing the importation of shells, Mr. King said, was almost identical with the policy governing Canada's navy. The ships were accepted as a gift, as were $5,000,000 worth of aeroplanes, but the people were called upon to bear the cost of the upkeep when every effort should be directed toward economy.

**Campaign Funds.**

In a digression on his munitions argument, Mr. King referred to the charges "with The Citizen behind them," which he said were being made by the Progressives as regards campaign funds. He asked the Progressives to come out into the open and tell them where these campaign funds were. He denied that they existed so far as the Liberal party were concerned. He said he valued his honor and his opponents had no right to make such charges. There was no ground for them, he asserted, and he claimed to have supported Mr. Crerar when he moved for a disclosure of campaign funds in parliament. He said the Liberal party went further and demanded that newspapers should also show at the foot of an advertisement or article where the advertisement came from.

That was voted down, though the Liberal party stood for it. They wanted to find out where the money was coming from for these expensive advertisements.

**Shells and Posters.**

Returning to the munitions question, Mr. King said that Hon. Mr. Guthrie had got to make it clear that these shipments of shells had nothing to do with the posters they saw around. He promised an investigation of the facts if returned to power? What was being done with the money voted in the name of demobilization, he inquired? While they were still voting money for demobilization was there any excuse for voting money up to $6,000,000 for such things as he had been referring to.

**Mr. King's "Shell-Shock."**

"What does Mr. Loughnan mean when he says that Mr. King is shell-shocked?" demanded the speaker. He declared they could continue to hurl epithets; he did not care what they said about him. He recognized that was part of the price of public life. He expected everything to be said to malign his character. What they needed in every department was an accounting to the people, of the money that had been spent during the last few years. They would never get it until they had a change of government.

At a time when there was so much talk of unemployment, if these munitions were needed in Canada why could they not have been made here?

Returned men had been going to the government, to the prime minister and minister of militia, pleading for fairer consideration of their needs. They had been told that the financial condition of the country would not permit of consideration of their needs. "I say the thing is shameful," declared Mr. King. He appealed for a vote for his friends on the platform so that the rest of Canada may know where Ottawa stood on the matter.

He stood by the Liberal platform of 1919 as regards returned men, he said.

**No Mandate of Acceptance.**

Mr. King said that the government had accepted ships for the navy, involving expense of upkeep to the Canadian people without any mandate from the Canadian people. They were not justified at this, of all times, in indulging in expenses of this kind. All this secret diplomacy and secret behaviour was not making either the country or the Empire; it was breaking it.

Dealing with the civil service, he said the service had not been investigated, but persecuted by investigation. Dealing with his famous "barnacles" allusion, he said that he repeated that there were barnacles that had to be wiped off. A barnacle was something that was encrusted on from the outside. People had been put into high places here and there who should have risen by promotion, and that was the kind of thing he meant when he said the ship of state had some barnacles. He promised consideration of such problems as superannuation in the civil service, and the establishment of Whitley councils.

In conclusion, Mr. King said that if they were to get the government out they must close the ranks. He thought the Progressive movement had behind it the purpose of dividing the forces against the government. There should not have been any division in the city along that line, he said.

He declared there was no possibility of the Progressives forming a government. Class government, he said, did not make for unity. They must have no coalition because it meant log rolling. They must get back to solid ways and a solid party. He claimed that third parties had never lasted, and that was why he appealed for unity. He believed the promises given to ex-service men could only be fulfilled through strong government.

It was to bring about good will that he was appealing to them to join in bearing aloft a higher and truer standard.

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Montreal Gazette Nov 8th 1921 D 5736

# MACKENZIE KING TERMS PREMIER YOUNG AUTOCRAT

## Chance to be Rid of His Government Thing to be Thankful for

## LIBERAL TRADE POLICY

### Leader in Ottawa States it to be Revision of Tariff in Interests of Consumers

(By Canadian Press).

Ottawa, Nov. 7.—That shell shipments from Great Britain to Canada totalled four thousand tons with an approximate value of $6,000,000 and that there was a connection between these shipments and the present election, was alleged here tonight by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. Speaking before 3,500 people in the Rideau Rink, Mr. King said: "Would they bring in shipments of ammunition running into millions of dollars unless it was related to the present election?" An explanation was necessary, he added, when declaring that there was no excuse for using the credit of Canada for "this sort of thing."

Mr. King asserted that if the Liberal party was returned to power there would be an accounting.

In his address, the Liberal leader criticized the Government's action with regard to the Grand Trunk Railway and the Civil Service, and challenged Hon. T. A. Crerar to show that the Liberal party had wrongfully obtained one dollar for its campaign funds.

James Murdock, Liberal candidate for South Toronto, said that he did not believe labor should seek class representation. The interests of labor, he said, were bound up in the welfare and happiness of the general community. Labor would be making an Ishmaelite of itself if it separated itself from other forces of progress in political matters. Mr. Murdock outlined his experiences as a member of the Board of Commerce, which, he said, had led to his resignation from that body.

There was at least one thing to be thankful for on this Thanksgiving Day, said Mr. King, and that was the opportunity of getting rid of the present Government.

In the city and by the wayside, said Mr. King, the Prime Minister was asserting that the prime issue of the day was free trade versus protection. The Liberal leader denied that there was any such issue before the people. So far as the tariff was concerned, the question was how it was to be revised. If Mr. Meighen was to have his way it would be revised for the benefit of the interests who had kept him in power for the past sixteen months. If returned to power, the Liberal party intended to revise the tariff, having in mind the needs of consumers, and not in the interests of combines, trusts, mergers and monopolies.

"The real issue today," said Mr. King, "is whether or not the people are to have the right to carry on the Government of this country of their own free will, or whether they are to have that right usurped by a handful of gentlemen." The fundamental right of the people to govern themselves, appoint their own public officials and administer their own affairs had been deliberately stolen from them. The only difference between the methods of Mr. Meighen and his associates in Canada and those of Lenine and Trotzky in Russia, was that in Russia physical violence had been resorted to, while in Canada violence had been done to the whole spirit of British constitutional government.

PREMIER "YOUNG AUTOCRAT."

Had Mr. Meighen, whom Mr. King characterized as a "young autocrat," merely spent some hundreds of millions of dollars; had he only placed on the statute books some laws which could be speedily repealed by a new Government, the situation would not be so bad. The Meighen administration, said Mr. King, would definitely influence Canadian affairs for many years to come. Without the authority of the people a vast system of railways had been acquired, and a merchant marine organized. Furthermore, Mr. Meighen had been appointing judges, senators and lieutenant-governors among his own supporters. This would mean that for a long time ahead in the passing of laws as well as in their administration, Liberal ideals would be constantly checked.

As an illustration of the Prime Minister's "autocratic methods," the Liberal leader said that at the last session of Parliament one-sixth of the estimated expenditure of the country was asked to be voted in advance. This was finally put through under closure, the $70,000,000 involved being voted after two hours' discussion, Mr. King said.

It was impossible to defend the methods of the Government in its management of the railways. The people were refused details of expenditure. In fact, Mr. King declared, the high cost of government was in a large measure responsible for the high cost of living. At the last session of Parliament $560,000,000 was voted to cover one year's business. This represented $61 per person in Canada, or $310 for every family of five. It was said that through the system of direct taxation the wealthy were paying more in taxes than the poorer people. Mr. King declared that this was not true, and instanced the case of the landlord who passed on increasing taxes by increasing rents. The man who paid the taxes in every case was the consumer. In the event of the Liberal party being returned to power, it was proposed to investigate the effect of taxation on the homes of the people.

RETURNS TO SHELLS.

Mr. King again referred to the shipments of shells discovered by him at Levis, Quebec. These shells, he said, were bought with Canadian credits. Credits represented money, and this action was illegal, as the Government had admitted that the credit used was established in 1920. It was necessary to renew such credits at each session of Parliament, and this, Mr. King emphasized, had not been done at the session of 1921. Since the armistice, $2,000,000 had been included in the estimates for the purchase of munitions, but because this money was expended in the Canadian arsenals at Quebec and Lindsay, the Government declared that no munitions had been purchased, and believed it was telling the truth. Hon. Hugh Guthrie, in June, 1920, had stated that all heavy and quick-firing ammunition was made at Quebec, yet Mr. Meighen had stated that the ammunition coming in from Great Britain was for the use of the Canadian artillery. The people of Canada were being deceived by the Prime Minister and his Government, said Mr. King. Further, Mr. Guthrie, at the last session of Parliament, had stated that all the warlike stores necessary were on hand.

Subsequently to his correspondence with Mr. Meighen, Mr. King said he had written to Mr. Guthrie for an explanation of the shell shipments. The reply indicated that the complete shipments would total 4,000 tons, with a valuation of more than $6,000,000. Mr. King said that the valuation figures were not supplied by Mr. Guthrie, but were estimated by a military expert from the quantities of shells indicated in Mr. Guthrie's statements.

"We have not begun to get at the facts, yet," Mr. King charged.

The munitions had been coming into Canada since June last; since Mr. Meighen, Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Ballantyne went to England to attend the Conference of Prime Ministers of the British Empire.

"Would they bring in shiploads of ammunition, running into millions of dollars, unless it was related to the present election?" Mr. King queried. "Mr. Guthrie must explain the connection with the bill-posters of Mr. Meighen. There is no scandal comparable with it," Mr. King assented.

There was no excuse for using the credits of Canada for this sort of thing. There was need of an accounting, which would never be secured unless there was a change of government. The policy governing the importation of shells, Mr. King said, was almost identical with the policy governing Canada's navy. The ships were accepted as a gift, as were $5,000,000 worth of aeroplanes, but the people were called upon to bear the cost of the upkeep when every effort should be directed toward economy.

CHALLENGES CRERAR.

The Progressive leader, Hon. T. A. Crerar, had no right to make charges as to the sources of campaign funds as far as the Liberal party was concerned, declared Mr. King, in challenging Mr. Crerar to show that the Liberal party had obtained one dollar wrongfully. In the House of Commons the Liberal party had supported Mr. Crerar when the Progressive leader moved for a disclosure of the sources of campaign funds. The Liberals had even gone farther and had endeavored to obtain a ruling that every piece of political advertising should contain a paragraph showing the source of the money with which it was paid for. This had been refused. Mr. King believed that in some localities the Progressive movement had been a cause of division of progressive thought. "There is no possibility under Heaven of the Progressives forming a Government," he said.

In conclusion, Mr. King promised consideration of civil service problems in the event of his being returned to power.

The meeting was also addressed by H. B. McGiverin and E. R. E. Chevrier, Liberal candidates for Ottawa, and by ex-Mayor Harold Fisher. Women speakers were Mrs. Norman Wilson, Madame Belanger and Miss Mary Murphy.

An overflow meeting was held in St. Anne's Hall.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe Nov 8th 1921

D 5737

# GOVERNMENT NOT POPULAR IN HOME CITY

## Ottawa Cheers Wildly King's Predictions of Meighen's Downfall

## MORE LIGHT ON SHELLS

## Liberal Leader Charges Guthrie With Deceiving Parliament

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Ottawa**, Nov. 7.—Ottawa gave an uproarious welcome, even beyond the expectation of Liberal workers, to the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, James Murdock and the other Liberal speakers who addressed crowded meetings in Upper and Lower Town here tonight. There was a note of final victory about it, and more so in that great applause greeted statements that the running of Progressive candidates in the city was only dividing the forces of Liberalism that should be united in the attempt to throw the present Government from power.

Every reference to the present Government was received with cheers, which seemed to indicate that the Government was not a favorite in its home town. One reason for that disfavor was evident in the cheer which rang out when the Liberal Leader said that the Civil Service had not been so much investigated as persecuted with investigations, and referred to the necessity of really establishing the merit system in the Civil Service, and of cleaning off the barnacles on the ship of State which had become crusted there through the favoritism extended by the Government.

**More Reasons for Disfavor.**

Every reference to the Government's dealing with the returned soldiers brought cheers, which showed another reason for disfavor, and so did the exposition of policy with regard to labor, the tariff, the public debt, the railways, and other matters of concern.

The Liberal Leader produced a mass of new evidence tonight with regard to the high explosive shipments which the Government has been bringing in from England, and which the country is being informed about for the first time through the lucky accident by which the Hon. Mr. King saw one of the C.G.M.M. vessels unloading at Point Levis.

**$6,000,000 Bill.**

He reviewed the controversy up to the point where the Hon. Hugh Guthrie had at length acceded to his requests for definite information as to what quantities and kinds of ammunition had been obtained from England in this way during the past year or two, and then produced the statement together with an estimate made for him by a military expert, showing that more than four thousand tons, valued at more than $6,000,000, had been thus brought into Canada.

He read three typewritten sheets of the various classes of ammunition, starting with 103,000 quick-firing cartridges (18-pounder shrapnel, marked 1A, plugged, and which the expert estimated to weigh 927 tons and to be worth close on to $1,545,000). The list went on detailing the quantities needed for 13-pounder nine hundredweight guns, for quick-firing 4.5-inch Howitzers, for breech-loading sixty-pounders, and for all other kinds of guns.

Parliament had been asked for money to make ammunition, and he challenged the Hon. Mr. Guthrie to show anywhere on Hansard a statement that Canada was entitled to ammunition from England, as he is now saying. Mr. Meighen had stated that they were drawing this year against a settlement made in 1920, but that was contrary to Parliamentary procedure, as no Government had a right to draw against the credits of one year for another year without securing authority from Parliament.

The fact that the money had been originally obtained from the Canadian people by means of Victory loans did not change the fact that the people provided the money and would eventually have to find out of taxes the wherewithal to pay for these bonds.

**A Quibble.**

It was quibbling on the Hon. Mr. Guthrie's part to state that no purchases had been made of ammunition because what was manufactured at the Lindsay and Quebec Arsenals were in their own factories and, therefore, were not purchased. The money of the people paid for them, and had been voted for the purpose against Liberal protests.

When the speaker had asked that the vote should be reduced, Hon. Mr. Guthrie had stated in June, 1920, that 300 men had to be paid at the arsenals. He had also stated: "All our heavy munitions and quick-firing ammunition, as well as a large part of our rifle ammunition, are made at Quebec—I doubt if any better ammunition is made elsewhere."

Why had the Minister of Militia deliberately deceived Parliament in this way?

The speaker went on to declare that there had never been a worse scandal in the history of Canadian politics.

Not one word had been said to the people of Canada about possessing these munitions. At a time when there was not a shadow of war which promised danger to the Canadian people; at a time when the greatest economy was needed to look after the public debt and shoulder the country's just obligations to the returned men; at a time when the Government had been spending money to send Ministers to a League of Nations intended to substitute other methods of settling national difficulties than by war; at a time when an ex-Prime Minister had been sent to the Disarmament Conference at Washington, the Government was bringing these high explosives, financed with Canadian money, into Canada to be fired away inside of four years, and at the same time asking Parliament for money to make munitions, and saying nothing about these that were coming. Nowhere could be found a worse exhibition of organized hypocrisy.

**More to Come.**

They had not begun to get at the facts as yet. There was more of it still to come, as Hon. Mr. Guthrie had hastened to show in order to have an explanation ready for it when it came.

"Do you think that any Government in Canada, knowing the Canadian people and their sentiments, would bring into this country during a period of election hundreds of tons of high explosive ammunition representing millions of dollars unless in some way these shipments were related to the elections themselves? I say that Mr. Guthrie has to make it clear that these shipments have nothing to do with these bill posters we see all over the country."

Voice—We won't mind them on election day.

"If the people return us to power, as I think they will—(cries of "We will")—we will find out what has been done with the money supplied by Canadians for patriotic purposes, the millions for demobilization—and they were still asking for more at the last session."

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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8 Nov. 1921

D 5738

Sudbury

TARIFF POLICY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers

Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

D 5739

Morning Advertiser.
November 9, 1921

# KING EXPLAINS MEIGHEN PLAN TO WIN VOTES

## Challenges Opponents To Show Any Discrepancy in His Tariff Views.

## ASKS FOR UNITED STAND

## Declares Vital Issue Is War On Sinister Form of Government.

SUDBURY, Ont., Nov. 8.—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).—That there had been no revision of the tariff by Meighen Government because it was on the horns of a dilemma, was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at the Liberal meeting here tonight. "Mr. Meighen could not revise the tariff upward for fear of losing the people's vote," Mr. King declared. "He could not revise it downward because that would have cost him the support of the wealthy interests, who had been the hidden supporters of his Government. Mr. Meighen talks of revisions, but he does not tell you how he intends to revise the tariff. We will tell you our policy is of revision downward."

The Liberal leader challenged anyone to produce any two of his tariff statements which did not coincide. He appealed to all the forces opposing the present Government to get together and make a determined and united fight. The Liberal leader spoke here on his way through to the Prairie Provinces, and was greeted by an audience which filled the Opera House to the doors, all available standing room being filled by residents of Sudbury, Copper Cliff and the surrounding districts of Nipissing and East Algoma constituencies.

**Speaks at Port Arthur.**

Mr. King leaves here at noon tomorfor Port Arthur, where he speaks on Thursday night.

Mr. King, in opening, referred to Mr. LaPierre, Liberal candidate in Nipissing, as "a man whose election had been stolen from him in 1917." The Liberal leader declared that Right Hon. Mr. Meighen had taken and held control of Canada's Government without an elector being consulted. There was, however, an influence behind Mr. Meighen which kept him in power, and this was a selfish and invisible influence.

The pressing issue today was not only the tariff, but "whether the people of these sinister and selfish interests should govern this country," Mr. King asserted.

**Raps Senate-Packing.**

He declared that the government had made sure that the interests supporting it would not be defeated in the next parliament by "packing the Senate with men of its own mind, who would be there to oppose any reforms which were against the interests of those who had kept Mr. Meighen in power."

For this reason, said Mr. King, it was useless for the Progressive or Labor parties to talk of putting through extreme legislation of any kind. The Meighen government had been no friend of the laboring men, Mr. King asserted, though it had been able to protect the interests of its wealthy friends. It had refused justice to the Grand Trunk employes in the matter of pensions and reinstatement.

A great factor in the cost of living was the cost of government, Mr. King asserted. This had risen to an enormous extent in every direction and there could be no hope of Mr. Meighen reducing government expenditures. Parliament this year had been required to vote $560,000,000 for carrying on business of government. National economy was the great need today. Reductions in the cost of government meant reductions in taxation and Canada needed a liberal administration in charge of affairs to bring expenditures back to where they should be.

**Raps Shell Waste.**

Mr. King referred again to his shell correspondence with the premier and said that statements showed that $6,000,000 worth of munitions had been brought in, bought from war credits, before demobilization was complete. This was "a waste and extravagance little short of scandalous." He also charged the Government with "inexcusable extravagance" in naval expenditures at the present time, just prior to the disarmament conference at Washington.

The tariff question was really one of revision, Mr. King stated. The Liberals believed in downward revision, with attention to the needs of both consumer and producer.

A high protective tariff allowed formation of combines and trusts, Mr. King declared. The tariff could not be abolished, however, since revenue was needed, but it should be revised from a revenue basis. To increase the wealth of the country its natural resources must be developed and this demanded the removal of taxation as far as possible from implements of production in the basic industriies. Necessities of life must also be freed from taxation to the greatest possible extent.

**Was Robbed of Seat.**

A. E. Lapierre, the Liberal candidate in Nipissing, declared that in 1917 he had been robbed of his seat "by a gigantic steal, some of the 1,400 soldiers' votes having been thrown into the constituency" to defeat him.

Joseph Demers, ex-M. P. for St. Johns and Iberville, Quebec, declared that the national debt had increased to a "terrible" figure, yet the Government had continued to make heavy expenditures.

Lieut.-Col. Andrew T. Thompson of Ottawa, formerly member of Parliament for Haldimand, declared that what Right Hon. Mr. Meighen's party needed was to be "summer-fallowed." The old members of the Government had been placed to one side and their places taken by untried men, "but perhaps after fifteen years of opposition these new ministers would prove pretty good fellows."

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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Toronto Globe Nov 9th 1921 D 5740

# TORIES IGNORED PLAN TO LOWER COST OF LIVING

## Government Did Nothing, Says Liberal Leader at Sudbury

## GETS GREAT WELCOME

## Northern Ontario Enthusiastic in Reception of Liberal Policy

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Sudbury**, Nov. 8. — Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed a crowd of 1,500 electors of the constituencies of Nipissing and East Algoma here tonight, and was received with the greatest ovation ever tendered any speaker appearing on a public platform here. On opening, after complimenting the electors of the two constituencies on the candidates they had chosen to carry the Liberal banner, he made mention of the large turnout, and stated that he did not take this as a personal tribute, but as a tribute to the message of Liberalism.

Mr. King spoke first on the tariff, which Mr. Meighen had said was the real issue at stake. "He has said that it is Meighen and protection versus free trade, but Meighen has created this issue out of his imagination, and he did it with cunning." He felt that if he could deceive the people by making them believe that the tariff is the real issue, they would forget what problems are really facing them today.

**A Terrible Indictment.**

He dwelt for a moment on the record of the present Government, on which the Conservative party was again asking the support of the people. "Isn't the fact that he has usurped power a terrible indictment? And he wants the people to forget it."

The speaker went on to point out that the Government had taken over the railway system, besides enacting other legislation, without consulting the people.

"There is an influence behind Meighen," Mr. King asserted. "But it doesn't dare show its face in public and say, 'We are the ones,' because they find it to their advantage to serve their interests rather than those of the public."

**Interests in the Senate.**

The Liberal Leader pointed out that the Premier had filled the second Chamber with Senators who had his way of thinking, and they would be there to fight bills of legislation introduced by the lower House.

"There's no use of talking of extremes, as do certain class parties, when we will have all we can do to get moderate legislation past this second Chamber," he added. Another subject to which the speaker gave considerable time was that of the clause he introduced into the House in connection with the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway. The clause that the "pension rights" and other concessions to the employees be embodied in the agreement with the company was voted down by Meighen and his men.

The next question treated was that of the high cost of living. At the last session af Parliament he (Mr. King) asked the Premier what the Government was doing to relieve the H.C.L. situation. The answer was that the Government had received no complaints.

"No complaints!" burst forth the orator. "I then drew his attention to Mr. Murdock's report of the Board of Commerce, named to investigate that situation, and he replied that he was ignoring it, but Mr. Murdock is making him take notice of it. That man who gave up a position that gave him $8,000 a year for 10 years because he would not be made the tool of the large interests is running today on the Liberal ticket in Toronto. He has seen so much of the influences that are controlling the Government that he has realized that there is only one way to solve the situation, and that is by fighting together on one platform large enough to embrace all creeds, all classes and all the people."

Dealing with the tariff, the speaker pointed out that the tariff that affected the working classes directly went no farther, but when it affected the "big bug" it was passed on to the consumer in the price he paid for the necessaries of life. "It is not the wealthy who pay, but the honest humble toilers."

He was preceded on the platform by Col. Andrew T. Thomson and Joseph Demers, who addressed the French-Canadians in their own language.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Montreal Gazette Nov 9th 1921 D 5741

# TARIFF REVISION DOWNWARD POLICY OF KING'S PARTY

## Government Dare Not Revise Either Way, Says Liberal Leader

## MEETING AT SUDBURY

### Nipissing Candidate Claims He Was Victim of "Gigantic Steal" in 1917 Election

(By Canadian Press.)

Sudbury, Ont., November 8.—That there had been no revision of the tariff by the Meighen Government because it was on the horns of a dilemma was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at the Liberal meeting here tonight. "Mr. Meighen could not revise the tariff upward for fear of losing the people's vote," Mr. King declared. "He could not revise it downward because that would have cost him the support of the wealthy interests which had been the hidden supporters of his Government. Mr. Meighen talks of revision, but he does not tell you how he intends to revise the tariff. We tell you our policy is of revision downward."

The Liberal leader challenged anyone to produce any two of his tariff statements which did not coincide. He appealed to all the forces opposing the present Government to get together and make a determined and united fight.

The Liberal leader spoke here on his way through to the prairie provinces and was greeted by an audience which filled the Opera House to the doors, all available standing room being filled by residents of Sudbury, Copper Cliff and the surrounding districts of Nipissing and East Algoma constituencies.

Mr. King leaves here at noon tomorrow for Port Arthur, where he speaks on Thursday night.

There is a three-cornered fight under way here. Charles R. Harrison, who was elected in 1917 as a Union Government-Labor candidate is again in the field as a Government supporter, while the Farmer-Labor forces are represented by J. B. Lovert, and the Liberals by A. E. Lapierre.

ROBBED OF ELECTION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in opening his address tonight, referred to Mr. Lapierre as "a man whose election had been stolen from him in 1917." The Liberal leader declared that Right Hon. Mr. Meighen had taken and held control of Canada's Government without one elector being consulted. There was, however, "an influence behind Mr. Meighen which kept him in power, and this was a selfish and invisible influence."

The pressing issue today was not only the tariff, but "whether the people or these sinister and selfish interests should govern this country," Mr. King asserted.

Mr. King declared that the Government had made sure that the interests supporting it would not be defeated in the next Parliament by "packing the Senate with men of its own mind, who would be there to oppose any reforms which were against the interests of those who had kept Mr. Meighen in power." For this reason, said Mr. King, it was useless for the Progressive or Labor parties to talk of putting through extreme legislation of any kind.

The Meighen Government had been no friend of labor men, Mr. King asserted, though it had been able to protect the interests of its wealthy friends. It had refused justice to the Grand Trunk employees in the matter of pensions and reinstatement.

COST OF GOVERNMENT.

A great factor in the cost of living was the cost of government, Mr. King asserted. This had risen to an enormous extent in every direction and there could be no hope of Mr. Meighen reducing governmental expenditures. Parliament this year had been required to vote $560,000,000 for carrying on the business of government. National economy was the great need today. Reductions in the cost of government meant reductions in taxation, and Canada needed a Liberal administration in charge of affairs to bring expenditures back to where they should be.

Mr. King referred to his shell correspondence with the Premier, and said that statements showed that $6,000,000 worth of munitions had been brought in, bought from war credits, before demobilization was complete. This was "a waste and extravagance little short of scandalous." He also charged the Government with "inexcusable extravagance" in naval expenditures at the present time, just prior to the disarmament conference at Washington.

The tariff question was really one of revision, Mr. King stated. The Liberals believed in downward revision, with attention to the needs of both consumer and producer.

A high protective tariff allowed formation of combines and trusts, Mr. King declared. The tariff could not be abolished, however, since revenue was needed, but it should be revised from a revenue basis. To increase the wealth of the country, its natural resources must be developed, and this demanded the removal of taxation as far as possible from implements of production in the basic industries. Necessities of life must also be freed of taxation to the greatest possible extent.

Mr. Lapierre declared that in 1917 he had been robbed of his seat "by a gigantic steal, some 1,400 soldiers' votes having been thrown into the constituency" to defeat him.

Joseph Demers, ex-M. P. for St. Johns and Iberville (Que.), declared that the national debt had been increased to a "terrible" figure, yet the Government had continued to make heavy expenditures.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5742

10 Nov. 1921 Port Arthur

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

News - Chronicle
November 11/21

D 5743

# DECLINES TO GIVE PROMISE ON WATERWAYS

## Mr. King Says He Doesn't Wish to do Anything That Would Look Like Bribery

## LIBERAL LEADER SPEAKS HERE

## Charges Government With Being in the Control of Invisible Power

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* Hon. W. L. M. King's attitude *
* on the deepwaterway project: *
* "I cannot make any promise *
* which might be construed as a *
* bribe to any locality." *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Running the whole gamut of controversial issues from the Riordon promissory note to the alleged combination of big interests in the Canadian National Railways directorate, Hon. William Lyon MacKenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, talked for one hour and a half to an audience, estimated to have been upwards of 2,000 persons, in the Port Arthur Armory last evening.

The leader, who followed an address by A. J. McComber, harangued the Government on every hand. His criticism of Hon. Arthur Meighen was sharp and biting and it is said by some of those traveling with him that his attacks upon the Premier last night were more bitter than at any previous meeting. He accused the Premier of being held in office by a sinister influence of big interests, "who dared ... show their faces to the public."

### Says Tariff Not the Issue

The Liberal Leader dodged the free trade tariff issue by stating that it was not the issue on which the election was being fought, but had been brought forward by the Prime Minister and his associates to cloak the real issues that of "whether the people of Canada still have the right to govern themselves."

Mr. King for a time trained his big guns on the Canadian National Railways. He chose the directorate for the broadside and accused them, or some of them, of being heads of other companies doing business with the Canadian National Railway System. He cited instances where insurance had been given to one company, the head of which was one of the directors of the railway system. He even went so far as to declare that four-fifths of the directorate had become interested in other companies selling to the railways and this "right under the very nose of the Prime Minister who had not investigated the business attachments of the directors."

### His Deepwaterways Promise

The deepwaters project, in which the people of the Head of the Lakes are vitally interested, was one of the local issues that the Leader successfully "got around" without committing himself or his party to any definite policy. He said that the Liberal Party, if elected to power, would carefully go into any project of transportation submitted to them and would choose the best for the good of the entire country. "I cannot and will not make any promise in connection with the Canadian Deep Waterway Scheme which might be considered as a bribe to any locality," said Mr. King. Thus the matter of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway scheme was passed over excepting for a reference to an editorial appearing in the News-Chronicle, which Mr. King held in his hand almost throughout the speech.

### "East Against West"

Mr. King sounded a new note in connection with his Western campaign and one that has not appeared in any of his addresses in Eastern Canada, "the pitting of West against East, province against province and religion against religion," which Mr. King declared was the new move of the National Liberal and Conservative Party to obscure the tariff, issue which had become threadbare "It is always the scheme of parties seeking power to try out one issue for a time and if it suits the people they carry on with it; if it does not they bring up another and work on that and so it is with the Conservative Party," said the speaker. He also said there was an effort being made to prejudice Quebec.

### Predicts Victory

With regard to the standing of parties following the election Mr. King was not at all bashful in predicting the return of the Liberal party to power with sufficient seats to carry on. He predicted a solid Maritime Provinces' vote, a solid Quebec and a solid British Columbia. He did not hesitate to take a few odd seats in Ontario and a few scattered ones in the Prairie Provinces, which all told would give the Liberal Leader about four-fifths of the entire number of seats in the Dominion.

The speaker entered the realms of eloquence in referring to the "sacred right of the ballot, the sacred right of every man and woman to exercise his franchise whether he be a public servant or not." Mr. King Would brook no intimidation of railway men on the Canadian National System. For the benefit of the two thousand persons in the hall Mr. King said that he had "heard" that canvassers of the opposing party had been going from house to house in Port Arthur telling the wives of railwaymen that their husbands would lose their jobs if the Liberal Party went into Power. "If I find out that any employee or boss on the Canadian National System has used threats to his under employees, that man's life on the Railway will not last one day when I get into power."

### The Riordon Affair

The Liberal Leader, in attacking the Riordon "promissory" note for tax payments, laid the blame of the whole transaction at the door of the Government. He declared, but without documentary proof, that the Riordon Company had paid a dividend of ten percent. to its shareholders during the years 1917-18 and 19, but also during those years it had paid its taxes to the Government with promissory notes. He did not mention the Finance Minister's statement as to why the Government had accepted the notes of this particular company as published in the News-Chronicle which he held in his hand much of the time but turned the matter into one of the right of every taxpayer in the Dominion, when financially embarrassed, to pay his or her taxes with promissory notes.

### Millions For This and That

The speaker accused the Government with spending fabulous sums of money on unnecessary expenditures, millions for railways, millions for canals, millions for this and millions for that. "The Ministers of the Dominion of Canada in the next Parliament have got to get away from thinking in millions and get down to thinking in thousands and hundreds." He also accused the Government with being "governed" by outside influences and that the government was doing things in return for the backing of those big interests.

Mr. King made only a passing reference to Frank H. Keefer, who is contesting the local seat, by mentioning the fact that he had voted with his government and with the Premier "to deny the people of Canada the right to say whether they should take over the railways."

### Cost of Living

"The Cost of Government," was Mr. King's forte during the discussion of the Cost of Living. Mr. King's arithmetical brain easily reduced the national debt of Canada of $2,350,000,000 "with interest" to the actual amount to be paid in tax by a family of five, three children and the father and mother. He figured that every family of five would be assessed $60 or a total of one dollar a day for every man, woman and child in the

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Dominion of Canada. "We own, but we owe," said Mr. King.

The Liberal Leader, who was suffering from a severe cold, concluded his address with a final charge that the country was "in the hands of a little group of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats who are bringing the country on the verge of bankruptcy."

**Mr. McComber**

The address of the Liberal Leader was preceded by one from A. J. Mccomber, the Liberal candidate. The main point in Mr. McComber's speech was his statement in connection with his being termed a "protectionist." There has been a persistent effort to put me in the camp of the protectionist and that I could not support the policy of the Liberal Party I want to tell you now that I stand squarely on the platform of MacKenzie King in this campaign, in the House of Commons, or anywhere else, said Mr. McComber. In the next sentence he said the time had come for a downward reduction of the tariff in articles of food, clothing and shelter. "It is not a question of free trade; it is a question of reduction. There must be a revenue, but the tariff can be so adjusted so as not to fall so heavily on the consuming class. I am not in favor of free trade and I am not a protectionist," declared Mr. McComber.

**Mr. Cole's Question**

In answer to a question, submitted in writing by A. E. Cole, barrister, free trader, as to what stand he, Mr. McComber, would take should there be a coalition between the Meighen government and the protectionist group, Mr. McComber replied, "I stand by the principle I have just enunciated and I would not double-cross Mr. King or any other person."

Col. A. W. Thompson, former member for Haldimand, gave a short humorous address before the close of the meeting Walter H. Arnold acted as chairman. On the platform were: A. J. McComber, H. R. Halton, W. F. Fortune, W. H. Arnold, J. J. McCaffery, Miss McComber, Mrs. A. J. McComber, Mrs McComber, Sr., Mrs. M. W. Bridgman, H. B. Dawson, T. W. Kinder, T. N. Andrew, J. W. Flatt, Dr. G. E. Eakins, Col. A. W. Thompson, A. B. Conmee, Mrs. A. B. Conmee. On the right hand of the speakers was a painting of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and on the left an engraved picture of King George. The City Band played on the streets and at the Armory.

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THE SOLILOQUY



Little Lord Fauntleroy King: "I wonder where little boys go when they die — — at the polls."

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Manitoba Free Press
November 11, 1921

# KING TAKES UP ISSUE OF RIORDON TAXES

## Says At Port Arthur Dividends Declared While Notes Given Government

## SENATE APPOINTMENTS

### Liberal Leader Now On Way To Winnipeg En Route To Melville, Sask.

Port Arthur, Ont., Nov. 10.—(By Canadian Press Staff Reporter)—That during 1917, 1918 and 1919 the Riordon company had declared dividends of 10 per cent. and at the same time had been allowed to pay its federal taxes in promissory notes was the further charge made during this evening's meeting in the armories here by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, to an audience of almost 3,000 people. Mr. King declared that the government had been carrying the Riordon company in this way until the company had come almost to bankruptcy. "If the Riordon and other companies were entitled to this sort of treatment," he said, "then the same should be accorded the poor man who cannot pay his taxes." The Liberal leader further stated that the losses to this country during the last four years must have totalled millions of dollars, other companies, he believed, also having given the government their notes.

**Senate Appointments**

The Liberal leader dealt also with senate appointments and characterized the appointment of Brig.Gen. Macdonell, in the place of Claude Macdonnell, as "a cold-blooded and heartless action." It had been made now, he said, because there was little likelihood of Hon. Claude Macdonell recovering from his illness and the government wanted to fill all possible senate seats with its supporters before too late.

Another new feature of the meeting was the statement that a new issue was being thrown into the arena by the government, "which had found its tariff issue insufficient to mislead the people." It was a dividing of province against province and class against class, in the government's "attempt to show that Quebec was opposed to national ownership of railways."

Mr. King declared that the Liberal party stood for giving public ownership a fair chance to make good, "which it had not done in the past," and that if after such a fair trial public ownership was found unsatisfactory, the Liberals would place the facts before the people and consult them.

Hon. Mr. King leaves here at 2.10 tomorrow morning for Winnipeg, enroute to Melville, Sask., where he is to speak Saturday night.

**Usurpation Real Issue.**

The premier, said Mr. King, had no right to confine discussion to the issue of protection versus free trade. This was the act of an autocrat, put forward to conceal the real issue. Transportation, re-establishment, and other problems were more vital today. The Meighen government, Mr. King declared, sought to shield its record behind the tariff cry.

The Liberal leader declared that usurpation of power was the real issue. Powerful influences, "which dare not show their hands," had kept Mr. Meighen in power, while by-elections swept away his majority. The cost of living and cost of government were discussed by Mr. King, who declared that a "house-cleaning" was necessary to reduce this latter cost.

"A government which can only think in millions will never bring down the cost of government," Mr. King declared. "We need to get back to thousands and hundreds of dollars."

**Riordon Promissary Notes.**

The Liberal leader dealt with the Riordon tax payments. This company, he said, had paid dividends of 10 per cent. during 1917, 1918 and 1919, but during these years it had paids its taxes with promissary notes. "The government," said Mr King, "carried these people until they came almost to bankruptcy. If these big companies can pay their taxes with promissary notes, why should not the poor man do the same?"

"We'll never get the income taxes that we should get until there is a thorough examination of these big companies and a proper collection of their taxes." The country, said Mr. King, must have lost millions of dollars in this way during recent years, since the Riordon company was probably not the only one whose promissary notes were accepted.

**Appointments to Senate.**

The Liberal leader dealt also with recent appointments of senators. There had "never been a more cold-blooded transaction than the appointment of Brig.-Gen. MacDonnell to succeed his brother, Hon. Claude MacDonnell," Mr. King declared.

The Liberal leader declared he could not recall "any more heartless act than this, which aimed at getting another supporter of Mr. Meighen into the senate before it was too late. Hon. Claude MacDonnell was ill and not expected to recover, and it was desired to have another supporter in his place to defeat any reforms which the next government might seek to put through parliament."

Mr. King dealt also with the Grand Trunk acquisition and charged the Meighen government with having been "autocratic in the extreme" in its method of taking over and operating the present government railway system.

**Canadian Railway Board.**

The railway men should have a representative on the Canadian National Railways' Board, said Mr. King. "With a man like Mr. Murdock on that board, we would soon see the real story behind those deficits," he declared. If the Liberal party were returned, railway men would be given representation on that board.

The Meighen campaign policy had undergone a change, said Mr. King. The government "was seeking to set east against west and class against class." He referred to a special newspaper despatch, which declared that Quebec was fighting against railway nationalization.

"The attitude of the Liberal party is now, as it was in parliament, that we must try to make these roads a success," declared Mr. King. "We have the railways and must try to make them a success. If the Liberals found the roads could not be operated with publicity instead of secrecy, then they would come back to the people and, saying so, would ask what the people desired to have done. While a small group of men were allowed to milk these roads they could never be a success," said Mr. King.

**Threats to Railway Men.**

Dealing with alleged threats made to railway employees, "that they would be discharged if the Liberals were returned," Mr. King told his hearers that the right of every man to vote as he saw fit was sacred. However, any Canadian National employee or official "who sought to practice intimidation would find his job gone from him very quickly."

Mr. King declared the country was sick of coalitions. "There is talk at present of Mr. Meighen and certain Liberals coalescing," he said, "but I can tell you as far as the Liberals are concerned there will be no coalition."

He had been asked to declare himself on the great waterways scheme and said that his party, "would do the best it could with the best project that could be placed before it."

Mr. King declared that in forming the Labor department, and in passing necessary legislation for the protection of Labor's rights, the Liberal party had earned the continued support of Labor. The Liberal leader outlining the revenue tariff policy, declared that free trade was impossible, and unthought of at present, and that the Liberal party stood for downward revision, making the tar-

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iff bear as lightly as possible on necessities of life and implements of production.

He challenged Mr. Meighen to say whether he (the prime minister) intended to revise the tariff upward or downward, and on what articles he intended to make upward or downward revision.

Mr. King declared he had been making exactly the same tariff speeches in all parts of Canada for the past two years. Any statement to the contrary made by his opponents was "cowardly and contemptible," since no proof was being produced.

**A. J. McComber Speaks**

A. J. McComber, Liberal candidate in this riding, declared that the meeting was the greatest political gathering ever held in Port Arthur. Mr. McComber declared he stood squarely on Mr. King's tariff policy, as enunciated in the Liberal leader's last budget speech. Free trade was not at present practicable, but the tariff should be readjusted to bear less heavily on consumers. As for the great waterways scheme, he declared the government had not declared itself in support of this proposal and it was useless to talk of encouraging foreign trade by this means, while maintaining a high tariff which would keep foreign trade out.

Col. Andrew T. Thompson, of Ottawa, who is accompanying the Liberal leader on his western trip, also spoke briefly. Characterizing the Farmer and Labor movements as a class movement, which, he said, were against the best interests of the country and were in themselves undemocratic.

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D 5748 (1)

# HON. M'KENZIE KING EXPLAINS POLICIES TO LARGE AUDIENCE

### Twin City Audience Takes Opportunity To Hear Liberal Viewpoint Personally Explained By Leader

## Late Political News

Broad political principles as embraced in fundamental differences between liberalism and conservatism, rather than the government—proposed question of protective tariffs, are the issues on which the Dominion election of December 6, is to be decided, according to the Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the loyal opposition to the existing government of Canada, who delivered a lengthy address to one of the largest, if not the largest political gathering, every held in the Port Arthur and Kenora riding.

Despite a somewhat persistent cold which has handicapped his speaking voice, Mr. King held the undivided attention of his audience for nearly two hours. As a matter of fact his voice rounded into fairly good tone before he had concluded his preliminaries, and every one of the audience blessed with ordinary hearing facilities must have caught every word.

The character of the audience in contrast with the character of audiences of the "good old days" of male electorates, must have impressed itself on the "old wheel horses" of all the parties represented by them. The ovation extended to the leader on his introduction was no less enthusiastic than of old, but it was more decorous. There was no smoking and no ardent champion of the "other side" had to be ejected or silenced. There were frequent outbursts of applause, but on the whole, the audience had more of the character of a gathering to hear a lecturer than a political leader.

That is what one would have taken it to be, had one compared it with a similar meeting, a decade ago.

The reason was apparent. There were nearly as many women as men occupying seats in the Port Arthur armories, when the platform party entered.

W. H. Arnold, president of the Port Arthur liberal association, was chairman, and after declaring the meeting to be the largest ever held in Port Arthur he congratulated the audience on what it was going to hear from the three speakers of the evening, and introduced A. J. McComber, liberal candidate of the party in the local riding.

### Applause for McComber

Mr. McComber was received with sufficient applause to satisfy his most jealous supporter. He remarked upon the fortunate circumstances, under which the meeting was being held, and said that the most fortunate was the fact that Mr. King was present, and would clear up a number of misrepresentations spread by his political rivals.

The candidate declared that liberalism would win a large majority of the seats from coast to coast, and that while he did not wish to appear overly optimistic, his victory in the local riding would be overwhelming.

### Necessities on Free List

The speaker declared there had been a persistent effort on the part of his opponents to make a protectionist out of him. He then read the liberal party platform in respect to tariffs as expressed by the Hon. W. L. MacKenzie king, in the debate on a recent speech from the throne, and declared that he stood on that platform, and no other. That platform outlined as objects to be maintained, the placing of the necessities of life on the free list, the revision of the duties on implements of the four basic industries, downward to a considerable extent, and all tariffs to be for revenue and not for protection.

Mr. McComber declared that he was for a tariff for the consumer and producer, but was not for the enrichment of special interests to the detriment of the country, as a whole.

### For Benefit of Treasury

"I am not a protectionist. I am not for free trade. The government has tremendous obligation. It has to have money. We need a tariff for revenue. There should be substantial reductions. If the treasury of our country benefitted from a high protective tariff, such a tariff would not be so bad. But the treasury does not benefit. Organized monoply reap the benefit. They charge all that is possible behind the protective tariff wall."

Mr. McComber read a question submitted to him in writing, by A. E. Cole. Mr. Cole wanted Mr. McComber to state publicly if Mr. McComber would stick with the liberal leader, should Mr. Meighen retain control of the governemnt, by merging his party with the protectionist liberals of Quebec. Mr. McComber declared that rather than do that, he would place his resignation in the hands of his constituents, and he declared that his reputation did not warrant any suspicion that he would double cross anyone, particularly such an able statesman and true gentleman as the Hon. Mr. King. Mr. McComber stood and would stick with the liberals under the leadership of Mr. King, come what may.

### Takes Up Local Issues

Taking up local issues, Mr. McComber paid his respects to Mr. Keefer. He said Mr. Keefer apparently staked his election on whatever merit there was in his deepwater activity. If Mr. Keefer's party stood committed to dig the canal, Mr. Keefer would perhaps have some real political capital in his contention. As matters stood at present, everything was equal here, in respect to a deep waterway to the sea. Everybody here favored it. But, even in that position, Mr. Keefer was inconsistent. He professed to want deep waterways in order that cargo ships from all ports could dock here, and then, according to Mr. Keefer and the formal declaration of his party, a tariff wall should be built to keep them out.

"If we do not want the goods of other nations, if we are to use none of their products, how are we going to sell them, and what would be the use of having a deep-water canal if there are no cargoes for the ships, which the canal is destined to serve?" asked Mr. McComber. The audience greeted the question with a burst of applause.

### Turns Guns on Kennedy

The speaker then turned to Mr. Kennedy, of Dryden. He questioned Mr. Kennedy's position in several particulars. Combined, the farmers and the politically organized laborers of the riding did not include 20 per cent. of its electorate. Their claim for representation in parliament, over the other 80 per cent., was not valid. He said that there was no democracy in Mr. Kennedy's act, when he placed his resignation, if elected, in the hands of a small group at Dryden. Mr. McComber wanted to know why any small group should have any such power of the representative of this riding. Democracy would end as soon as such practice prevails.

Promising to discuss local issues in more detail at a subsequent meeting Mr. McComber yielded the floor to his leader, with the declaration that the victory, of which he was certain, would return an era of prosperity lity that of the years between 1896

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and 1911, and fulfill the prophecy of Sir Wilfrid that the twentieth century belonged to Canada.

Chairman Arnold provoked the ovation of the evening, when he announced, "I take great pleasure in introducing the Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King."

**Liberal Leader Speaks**

Mr. King stood while the audience cheered and gave every evidence of real appreciation. The effect of his slight indisposition on his voice, wore away in the first five minutes of his speech. In fact, it was gone as soon as he warmed up, and he was not long getting under way. He expressed his thanks for the impressive approval of liberalism. He did not take the ovation as a tribute to himself, but as a tribute to the principles he represented, and the organization of which he was the leader. He said his interest in the two cities here was a 20 years' standing, and that he was amazed at the remarkable development of local possibilities. The cities had the appearance of a metropolis of 100,000 population, and he said "once you get a change of government you will not be long in getting the population."

**He Likes McComber**

Turning to Mr. McComber, the liberal leader congratulated the liberals of the riding, on the wisdom of their selection. He declared Mr. McComber to be the exact type needed in the government of the country, and, doubted if there was a better qualified candidate in any riding of the country. He expressed appreciation of the fact that Mr. McComber's mother was on the platform and said that his cup of pleasure would be full if his own mother could be there.

Taking up under the general head of the "questions of the day," Mr. King denied that the tariff was the big issue, or the one issue of the election.

**Gets Down to Issues**

All over the country that is what you hear. Protection or free trade.

Who made the issue?

Nothing, I say, except the imagination of Premier Meighen. There is no divine right in the making of issues. There is, however, a real reason for Mr. Meighen wanting to make that the issue. He had to have an issue and an election, or face defeat in the house and go to the country as a defeated government. This tariff talk has for its purpose the concealemnt of the real issue.

The real issue is one of fundamentals. Liberalism versus conservatism. Progress, improvement, making better, and liberty, against standing still, leaving things as they are, and vesting autocratic power in the hands of political autocrats, who are in hidden league with industrial pluocrats.

That is what this country is up against today. It has been 10 years since this country had a real election. It has been that long since our electorate had an opportunity to decide matters of domestic concern. In 1917 there was a "win the war" election. Of course, that was hardly an issue. That was what the country meant to do, and it was the matter of first importance.

**Annother Big Question**

The cost of living is a big question. There are important labor matters to be considered. It is almost vital to the nation that the transportation problem, involved in the 22,000 miles of railways under government control, be correctly solved. In this connection we have assumed some huge obligations.

Why does the government attempt to make this a one-question-election? British tradition requires that a government going to the people, shall go on its record. That is what the Meighen government should do. They should say to the people, "judge us by our record." What we have done is about what we will do, if we are returned.

**Thinks Meighen Ashamed**

Mr. Meighen is afraid and ashamed to do it. Well he may be. The performance of his government for 16 or 18 months, from its very inception, does not warrant respect for British election traditions.

I have asked many an audience a question and I now put it to you. I have never received an affirmative answer, and I do not expect one tonight. This is the question:

"Did any of you have a part in giving Mr. Meighen his authority as premier of this country, either directly, or indrectly?"

There was no answer.

The Meighen government had usurped authority. It had assumed autocratic power. It had discounted liberty, and had virtually suspended the right of the ballot. It had taken away from the people, the right to govern themselves, and what was a right dearer to the people, than any other right.

**In Debt; Not Free**

Mr. King said that the cost of living was largely due to the cost of government. He predicted that there would be no redress along this until there was a change in governments.

Our country, he said, was very much like a home, and the effect of "own and owe" upon it. If in your home you owned much and owed little, you could do about as you liked. You were free. If you owned little and owned much, you could not do much. You were not free. The speaker cited figures showing just how much, and why Canada's annual expenditure had increased so tremendously, and he declared that for every male adult in the country the government had to have a revenue of about $1 per day. Everybody had to pay on everything, every day. The difference between this tax and no tax was the difference between poverty and comfort to many families. Taxes would never be reduced, he said, with a government which could not think of monies below the million figure, and the Meighen government was so disqualified.

taxes, as fixed by laws.

Mr. King declared that through Premier Meighen a serious effort was being made to fill the senate with a block of ultra conservative members, who would impede all progressive legislation, and he warned his labor friends that in dividing the progressive strength of the country, they were giving men of the conservative impulse a better chance to dictate gov ernmental policies, and determine legislation.

**Putting Up Young Ones**

This effort had in some cases been carried to the extent of forcing aged members, in poor health, to resign in order that they might be succeeded by younger men, who could serve longer. He gave names in one such alleged instance, and said he could give others. This, he declared, to be most heartless, and indicative of a complete lack of proper sentiment. The idea he said was to center all possible power in the hands of a few and retain that power as long as possible.

Recalling the methods the then government used in taking over two of the big railways of the country, he

**Pays With Promises**

Poor people, Mr. King said, paid the income taxes of the rich, because the rich had individual power to increase income at the expense of the poor. He arraigned the government for allowing a large paper company to pay tax dues with promissory notes. That was another example of special privilege for the favored interests. If the rich pay with notes, why not the poor? Why has this fact been so long concealed? Powerful interests must be made to pay the

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said they were absolutely opposed to the tradition of the country.. The country was not informed as to the terms, and neither were the members of the house. There was no discussion of details. The government had forced it through, and it was from the bond-holders, in England, that the information reached the public, in the form of press despatches. They thought well of it, and we got our news from them. And we have assumed a tremendous annual obligation.

**Claims Information Witheld**

The government had persistently refused to give information concerning expenditures in connection with the operation of the railways. Premier Meighen had declared the business affairs of the roads to be exclusively in the hands of the directors, and the government voted down a resolution calling for a report from them. Mr. King charged there was a system of interlocking directors, through which directors of the government railways threw much business to private companies, of which, they were also directors. Four-fifths of the government board were directors of such private companies. Business distributed among the interlocking directors would, he said, total millions. In fact, they seemed to have a working monopoly of the big business. The government charged high freight rates to high wages, and made wage schedules public. Why not investigate the profits of the companies with the interlocking directors. Also the light of publicity should shine there. He declared for a representative of the operating employes, on the board of directors, and said that no employe would be annoyed by a possible liberal government, for attending to any of the duties of true citizenship.

**Charges Meighen a Divider**

Returning to the matter of issues, Mr. King declared that it was part of the Meighen party to set the east against the west, cities against farming communities, section against section and church against church, in an effort to create confusion under cover of which they might win. Constant is the endeavor to keep alive prejudice against Quebec. In this connection, he referred to the turn given news despatches by newspapers supporting the Meighen government, and cited one or two instances.

**His Forecast**

He declared he would not only get a solid delegation from Quebec, but he would get solid delegations from the maritime provinces, and from British Columbia. Ontario would supturn more liberals than Meighen supporters, so there was no need to abuse any particular part of the country for doing so.

We are now operating our railways. They are ours. It is not a question of the merits of public ownership. It will be the policy of liberals to do their best. **All political jobs must go.** Favoritism in the matter of salaries and contracts, must go. We will let the people know what we are doing.

**No Answer on Deep Canal**

Answering the request of a newspaper for a statment of his position on the deep-waterway project, Mr. King refused to commit himself. The paper asked if Mr. King would favor going ahead with the work, as soon as the United States agreed to share the expense. Now was he going to make such a deal, when the same paper advised him to have no truck or trade with the Yankees? He declared it would be the policy of his government to do the best, with the best transportation projects, as they develop. The Meighen government was not committed on the canal project, and he was not offering any section a bribe in the form of a promise which he possibly would be unable to make good.

**Wants Liberals Here**

Mr. King declared it was his desire that Fort William liberals nominate a candidate, and elect him December 6. There were few ridings with a liberal candidate, and he did not want nomination day to pass without there being one in every riding.

Reviewing his labor record, Mr. King said it was 20 years ago that he became deputy minister of labor, a department created by the Laurier government. He originated the official Labor Gazette, edited it for 8 years and was minister of labor for three years. The cause of labor had been materially advanced during those 11 years, he declared, and there was no better friend of labor than himself.

Free trade was a great deal, but he said there was no one in Canada advocating its practical application at this time. The country must have $650,000,000 annually, and some must come for a tariff for revenue, which could not be too high or it defeated its own purpose. He would revise downward, where special interests clashed with the interest of the masses. He would lower duties on the impliments of the four basic industries, and if possible, free the necessary articles of life. Premier Meighen would not define his position. If he did he would lose his following among the people, or the support of the dark and secret forces behind him, and in either event, he would be unable to carry on.

**Denies "Various Speeches"**

Mr. King flatly denied that he had one speech for one section of the country and other speeches for other sections. He defied anyone to show an instance of such, and he had been speaking frequently for more than 2 years. Under protective tariff some specially favored interests were making 500 per cent. profit on their turnover. Such he said, should be prevented, there was no justice or right in such a system.

**Right Would Prevail**

Urging unity, Mr. King said that of the five groups opposed to the Meighen government, their platforms agreed on the whole with the liberal platform. United victory would be undoubtedly sure. In division, such as at present exists, there was the one possible chance of defeat. It was not enough to be right. We must make right prevail. We had promised the soldiers a better day, and we must make good. This better day must include all. Good will among men and among nations is essential. Class divisions are a menace to democracy.

**Soldiers' Bonus**

Col. Thompson spoke briefly, as he said the previous speakers had handled the question of the day so completely, there was little for him to say. He pledged the loyalty of the returned man to the country, declaring at the same time that the $2,000 bonus was not more than he deserved, in view of the high wages paid during the war to the ones who remained in the industries. But the returned men were for the country, just the same. They would always be loyal. He deplored the obvious policy of the present government to favor the few against the many and, the growth of class distinctions among the people. Liberals were not a class. Liberalism was a principle on which all classes could unite. The speaker concluded with a pormise to speak again to a Port Arthur or Fort William audience.

**On the Platform**

With the speakers and the chairman on the platform, were the following, among others: J. W. Flatt, W. F. Fortune, H. R. Halton, H. P. Dawson, G. E. Eakin, T. W. Kinder, T. N. Andrew, J. J. McCaffery, Mrs. James Conmee, Mrs. McComber, Mrs. A. J. McComber, Miss Laura McComber, Mrs. Bridgeman, Mrs. H. P. Dawson, Mrs. D. R. Byers, Mrs. G. M. Francis. The stage was simply decorated, photographs of King George and Sir Wilfrid occupying the left and right of the platform. The Port Arthur city band played several selections and closed the meeting.

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Morning Citizen
November 11, 1921

# "NO DISCRETIONARY POWERS ACCORDED MINISTER BY LAW"

## Hon. Mr. King Declares the Riordon Co. Not Entitled to Any Special Privileges.

**Canadian Press Despatch.**

PORT ARTHUR, Ont., Nov. 10.—The Riordon Company is not entitled to any special privileges from the government or the minister of finance, in the matter of acceptance of promissory notes for its business profits and other taxes, according to the opinion expressed this morning by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, who is to speak here this evening.

If the finance minister's explanation was that the government either had to accept the promissory notes or force the company into bankruptcy by demanding payment of $800,000 in cash, said Mr. King, the fact was not altered that the law gave the finance minister no discretionary powers.

The Riordon Company, declared the Liberal leader, was not entitled to favored treatment simply because it was an important company which had fallen into financial difficulties.

"If this course is correct," declared Mr. King, "then any individual who happens to be financially handicapped or claims to be so, has an equal right to give the finance minister his promissory note for the amount of his income tax or business profits tax, and certainly the law does not admit of any such course. This is but another instance of the Meighen government's favoritism and special concern for a few special interests, which have been keeping it in power and whose ends rather than those of the public it has been seeking to serve. The finance minister might inform the public whether he has granted similar favors to other concerns and if so to whom and to what extent."

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Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5752 (1)

Free Press Bulletin

November 11/21

# KING RETURNS TO CHARGE REGARDING FEDERAL TAXATION

## Says Riordon Company Declared Dividends, While Paying Government in Notes.

Port Arthur, Ont., Nov. 10.—(By Canadian Press Staff Reporter)—That during 1917, 1918 and 1919 the Riordon company had declared dividends of 10 per cent. and at the same time had been allowed to pay its federal taxes in promissory notes was the further charge made during this evening's meeting in the armories here by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, to an audience of almost 3,000 persons. Mr. King declared that the government had been carrying the Riordon company in this way until the company had come almost to bankruptcy. "If the Riordon and other companies were entitled to this sort of treatment," he said, "then the same should be accorded the poor man who cannot pay his taxes." The Liberal leader further stated that the losses to this country during the last four years must have totalled millions of dollars, other companies, he believed, also having given the government their notes.

### Senate Appointments

The Liberal leader dealt also with senate appointments and characterized the appointment of Brig.Gen. Macdonell, in the place of Claude Macdonnell, as "a cold-blooded and heartless action." It had been made now, he said, because there was little likelihood of Hon. Claude Macdonell recovering from his illness and the government wanted to fill all possible senate seats with its supporters before too late.

Another new feature of the meeting was the statement that a new issue was being thrown into the arena by the government, "which had found its tariff issue insufficient to mislead the people." It was a dividing of province against province and class against class, in the government's "attempt to show that Quebec was opposed to national ownership of railways."

Mr. King declared that the Liberal party stood for giving public ownership a fair chance to make good, "which it had not done in the past," and that if after such a fair trial public ownership was found unsatisfactory, the Liberals would place the facts before the people and consult them.

### Usurpation Real Issue.

The premier, said Mr. King, had no right to confine discussion to the issue of protection versus free trade. This was the act of an autocrat, put forward to conceal the real issue. Transportation, re-establishment, and other problems were more vital today. The Meighen government, Mr. King declared, sought to shield its record behind the tariff cry.

The Liberal leader declared that usurpation of power was the real issue. Powerful influences, "which dare not show their hands," had kept Mr. Meighen in power, while by-elections swept away his majority. The cost of living and cost of government were discussed by Mr. King, who declared that a "house-cleaning" was necessary to reduce this latter cost.

"A government which can only think in millions will never bring down the cost of government," Mr. King declared. "We need to get back to thousands and hundreds of dollars."

### Riordon Promissory Notes

The Liberal leader dealt with the Riordon tax payments. This company, he said, had paid dividends of 10 per cent. during 1917, 1918 and 1919, but during these years it had paid its taxes with promissory notes. "The government," said Mr. King, "carried these people until they came almost to bankruptcy. If these big companies can pay their taxes with promissory notes, why should not the poor man do the same?"

"We'll never get the income taxes that we should get until there is a thorough examination of these big companies and a proper collection of their taxes." The country, said Mr. King, must have lost millions of dollars in this way during recent years, since the Riordon company was probably not the only one whose promissory notes were accepted.

### Appointments to Senate.

The Liberal leader dealt also with recent appointments of senators. There had "never been a more cold-blooded transaction than the appointment of Brig.-Gen. MacDonnell to succeed his brother, Hon. Claude MacDonnell," Mr. King declared.

The Liberal leader declared he could not recall "any more heartless act than this, which aimed at getting another supporter of Mr. Meighen into the senate before it was too late. Hon. Claude MacDonnell was ill and not expected to recover, and it was desired to have another supporter in his place to defeat any reforms which the next government might seek to put through parliament."

Mr. King dealt also with the Grand Trunk acquisition and charged the Meighen government with having been "autocratic in the extreme" in its method of taking over and operating the present government railway system.

### Canadian Railway Board.

The railway men should have a representative on the Canadian National Railways' Board, said Mr. King. "With a man like Mr. Murdock on that board, we would soon see the real story behind those deficits," he declared. If the Liberal party were returned, railway men would be given representation on that board.

The Meighen campaign policy had undergone a change, said Mr. King. The government "was seeking to set east against west and class against class." He referred to a special newspaper despatch, which declared that Quebec was fighting against railway nationalization.

"The attitude of the Liberal party is now, as it was in parliament, that we must try to make these roads a success," declared Mr. King. "We have the railways and must try to make them a success. If the Liberals found the roads could not be operated with publicity instead of secrecy, then they would come back to the people and, saying so, would ask what the people desired to have done. While a small group of men were allowed to milk these roads they could never be a success," said Mr. King.

### Threats to Railway Men.

Dealing with alleged threats made to railway employees, "that they would be discharged if the Liberals were returned," Mr. King told his hearers that the right of every man to vote as he saw fit was sacred. However, any Canadian National employee or official "who sought to practice intimidation would find his job gone from him very quickly."

Mr. King declared the country was sick of coalitions. "There is talk at present of Mr. Meighen and certain Liberals coalescing," he said, "but I can tell you as far as the Liberals are concerned there will be no coalition."

He had been asked to declare himself on the great waterways scheme and said that his party, "would do the best it could with the best project that could be placed before it."

Mr. King declared that in forming the Labor department, and in passing necessary legislation for the protection of Labor's rights, the Liberal party had earned the continued support of Labor. The Liberal leader outlining the revenue tariff policy, declared that free trade was impossible, and unthought of at present, and that the Liberal party stood for downward revision, making the tariff bear as lightly as possible on necessities of life and implements of production.

He challenged Mr. Meighen to say whether he (the prime minister) intended to revise the tariff upward or downward, and on what articles he intended to make upward or downward revision.

Mr. King declared he had been making exactly the same tariff speeches in all parts of Canada for

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Winnipeg Tribune
November 11/21

# COLLECTION OF TAXES SCORED BY MACKENZIE KING

## Says Government Has No Right to Accept Promissory Notes

[By Canadian Press]

PORT ARTHUR, Nov. 11—That during 1917, 1918 and 1919 the Riordan company had declared dividends of 10 percent and at the same time had been allowed to pay its federal taxes in promissory notes, was the further charge made Thursday by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party to an audience of 3,000 people. Mr. King declared that the government had been carrying the Riordan company in this way until the company had come almost to bankruptcy. "If the Riordan and other companies were entitled to this sort of treatment," he said, "then the same should be accorded the poor man who cannot pay his taxes." The Liberal leader further stated that the losses to this country during the last four years must have totalled millions of dollars. Other companies, he believed, also having given the government their notes.

The Liberal leader dealt also with senate appointments and characterizes the appointment of Brig.-Gen. MacDonell in the place of Claude MacDonell was a cold-blooded and heartless action." It had been made now, he said, because there was little likelihood of Hon. Claude MacDonell recovering from his illness and the government wanted to fill all possible senate seats with its supporters before it was too late.

Another feature of the meeting was the statement that a new issue was being thrown into the arena by the government "which had found its tariff issue insufficient to mislead the people." It was a dividing of province against province and class against class, in the government's "attempt to show that Quebec was opposed to national ownership of railways."

### Would Give Chance

Mr. King declared that the Liberal party stood for giving public ownership a fair chance to make good, "which it had not had in the past," and that if after such a fair trial public ownership was found unsatisfactory, the Liberals would place the facts before the people and consult them.

Mr. King opened with a discussion of the issue in the campaign. The premier, he said, had no right to confine discussion to the issue of protection versus free trade. This was the act of an autocrat put forward to conceal the real issues. Transportation, re-establishment and other problems were more vital today. The Meighen government, Mr. King declared, sought to shield its record behind the tariff cry.

The Liberal leader declared that usurpation of power was the real issue. Powerful influences "which dare not show their hands" had kept Mr. Meighen in power, while by-elections swept away his majority. The cost of living and cost of government were discussed by Mr. King, who declared that a "house-cleaning" was necessary to reduce this latter cost.

"A government which can only think in millions will never bring down the cost of government," Mr. King declared. "We need to get back to thousands and hundreds of dollars."

### Says Govt. Autocratic

Mr. King dealt with the Grand Trunk acquisition and charged the Meighen government with having been "autocratic in the extreme" in its method of taking over and operating the present government railway system.

The railway men should have a representative on the Canadian National railways board, said Mr. King, "with a man like Mr. Murdock on that board, we would soon see the real story behind those huge deficits," he declared. If the Liberal party were returned, railway men would be given representation on that board.

"The attitude of the Liberal party is now, as it was in parliament, that it must try to make these roads a success," declared Mr. King.

He challenged Mr. Meighen to say whether he (the prime minister) intended to revive the tariff upward or downward, and on what articles he intended to make upward or downward revision.

Mr. King declared he had been making exactly the same tariff speeches in all parts of Canada for the last two years. Any statement to the contrary made by his opponents was "cowardly and contemptible" since no proof was being produced.

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Montreal Gazette Nov 11th 1921 D 5754

# TAX CONCESSION TO RIORDON COMPANY DISPLEASES KING

## Not Entitled to Any Special Privileges From Government, He Says

## LAW PLAIN IN MATTER

### Minister of Finance Given No Discretionary Power, Insists Liberal Leader

(By Canadian Press.)

Port Arthur, Ont., Nov. 10.—The Riordon Company is not entitled to any special privilege from the Government or the Minister of Finance in the matter of acceptance of promissory notes for its business profits and other taxes, according to the opinion expressed this morning by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader.

If the Finance Minister's explanation was that the Government either had to accept the promissory notes or force the company into bankruptcy by demanding payment of $800,000 in cash, said Mr. King, the fact was not altered that the law gave the Finance Minister no discretionary powers.

The Riordon Company, declared the Liberal leader, was not entitled to favored treatment simply because it was an important company which had fallen upon financial difficulties.

"If this course is correct," declared Mr. King, "then any individual who happens to be financially handicapped or claims to be so, has an equal right to give the Finance Minister his promissory note for the amount of his income tax or business profits tax, and certainly the law does not admit of any such course. This is but another instance of the Meighen Government's favoritism and special concern for a few special interests, which have been keeping it in power, and whose ends rather than those of the public it has been seeking to serve. The Finance Minister might inform the public whether he has granted similar favors to other concerns, and, if so, to whom and to what extent."

## ELLARD NOT SATISFIED

### Wants More Particulars in Riordon Matter

Ottawa, Nov. 10.—H. M. Ellard, Progressive candidate in Wright constituency, has replied to the statement issued yesterday by Sir Henry Drayton, Minister of Finance, dealing with the first allegation made by Mr. Ellard that the Government had accepted notes for $800,000 business profit taxes owing by the Riordon Company, in lieu of the cash.

Mr. Ellard, in his statement today, wants to know how the Government proposes to recover the amounts due from the Riordon Company, and why the corporation received Government credit. Mr. Ellard reiterates his demand upon the Government for information as to whether or not it has favored industrial corporations and whether or not individuals should receive the same consideration.

"I positively assert upon my responsibility as a candidate for Parliament that the corporation should be suppressed forthwith in its exercise of corporate activities and in the creation of new liabilities, until it can show solid reason for its existence," Mr. Ellard declared.

Further, Mr. Ellard requests bankers, trust companies and other financial concerns connected with Riordon to make "an acknowledgment of their moral responsibility in the matter."

The statement declares that the original questions propounded by Mr. Ellard still remain unanswered. It also asks that if it is true that the farmers of Canada have given their notes for income taxes to the federal Government, their names and the security advanced be published.

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Montreal Gazette Nov 11th 1921 D 5754

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D 5755

Toronto Globe
November 14 1921

# "GIVE AND TAKE" GAME OF TORIES AND INTERESTS?

## Mackenzie King Not Greatly Surprised at Riordon Charges

## FOR VALUE RECEIVED

## Calls Senate Appointment of Gen. Macdonell "Cold-blooded Action"

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Port Arthur**, Nov. 10. — That a policy of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" had been the arrangement at Ottawa between the Meighen Administration and certain big interests was suggested in the remarks of Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, here tonight, in commenting on the charges made by H. M. Ellard, Progressive candidate in Wright, that the Riordon Pulp and Paper Company had been permitted to pay its income tax obligations in promissory notes, at a time when it was a dividend-paying concern.

It would appear, said Mr. King, that the Government carried these people almost to the verge of bankruptcy. The Government had back of it these powerful interests, and was evidently returning favor for favor. If these big companies could meet their obligations to the country in promissory notes, he asked, why not every taxpayer in the Dominion?

"We'll never get the income taxes that we should get until there is a thorough examination of these big companies and a proper collection of their taxes." The country, said Mr. King, must have lost millions of dollars in this way during recent years, since the Riordon Company was probably not the only one whose promissory notes were accepted.

**"Cold-blooded Action."**

The Liberal Leader dealt also with Senate appointments and characterized the appointment of Brig.-Gen. Macdonell in the place of his brother, Claude Macdonell, as "a cold-blooded and heartless action." It had been made now, he said, because there was little likelihood of Hon. Claude Macdonell recovering from his illness and the Government wanted to fill all possible Senate seats with its supporters before too late, in order to defeat any reforms which the next Government might seek to put through Parliament.

The Liberal Leader declared he could not recall any more heartless action than this.

Mr. King also declared the country was sick of coalitions. "There is talk at present of Mr. Meighen and certain Liberals coalescing," he said, "but I can tell you, as far as the Liberals are concerned, there will be no coalition."

He had been asked to declare himself on the great waterways scheme and said that his party "would do the best it could with the best project that could be placed before it."

**Heard by Big Crowd.**

Hon. Mr. King addressed an audience of more than 2,000 persons and was given a splendid reception.

"I can now foresee that the Meighen Government will, in all probability, forsake the tariff issue in favor of some other, and that one will be the dividing of East and West—the pitting of Province against Province, religion against religion—in a last attempt to coerce and to destroy the cause of unity of all peoples. It is the old tactics of Toryism. "If one issue does not work, try another."

The Riordon Company is not entitled to any special privileges from the Government or the Minister of Finance, in the matter of acceptance of promissory notes for its business profits and other taxes, said Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Leader, in an interview before the meeting.

**Violated Power.**

If the Finance Minister's explanation was that the Government either had to accept the promissory notes or force the company into bankruptcy by demanding payment of $800,000 in cash, said Mr. King, the fact was not altered that the law gave the Finance Minister no discretionary powers.

The Riordon Company, declared the Liberal Leader, was not entitled to favored treatment, simply because it was an important company which had fallen upon financial difficulties.

"If this course is correct," declared Mr. King, "then any individual who happens to be financially handicapped, or claims to be so, has an equal right to give the Finance Minister his promissory note for the amount of his income tax or business profits tax, and certainly the law does not admit of any such course. This is but another instance of the Meighen Government's favoritism and special concern for a few special interests which have been keeping it in power, and whose ends rather than those of the public it has been seeking to serve.

"The Finance Minister might inform the public whether he has granted similar favors to other concerns, and, if so, to whom and to what extent."

**Are Farmers Involved?**

**Ottawa**, Nov. 10.—H. M. Ellard, Progressive candidate in Wright constituency, has replied to the statement issued yesterday by Sir Henry Drayton, Minister of Finance, and dealing with the first allegation made by Mr. Ellard that the Government had accepted notes for $800,000 business profits taxes owing by the Riordon Company in lieu of the cash.

Mr. Ellard, in his statement today, requests from bankers, trust companies and other financial concerns connected with Riordon to make "an acknowledgment of their moral responsibility in the matter."

The statement declares that the original questions propounded by Mr. Ellard still remain unanswered. It also asks that, if it be true that farmers of Canada have given their notes for income taxes to the Federal Government, their names and the security advanced be published.

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12 Nov. 1921

D 5756
Melville, Sask.

THE PROGRESSIVES AND
THE LIBERAL PARTY

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D 5757

Montreal Gazette
November 14, 1921

# STERN ULTIMATUM FOR PROGRESSIVES FROM W. L. M. KING

## Must Seek Unity With Liberals Before, Not After, Elections

## MEETING AT MELVILLE

### Overtures Not Welcome After Fighting Government Dividedly—Country Sick of Coalitions

(By Canadian Press.)

Melville, Sask., November 13.—If the Progressives desire unity with the Liberal party in a joint effort to secure the passage of legislative measures sought by both of these parties, then the Progressives must seek to bring about that unity before the election by working with the Liberals for success in the campaign. This was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in his first speech on the prairies during his present campaign, on Saturday.

"The country is sick of coalitions," declared Mr. King. "If the Progressives have any idea of seeking to work with the Liberals they should seek to work with us in a campaign now, rather than in dividing forces opposing the Government and then hoping to make overtures later."

The Progressives, said Mr. King, gave the people the idea that they had no use for either of the old parties. If that was the line the Progressives took, said Mr. King, then they could not hope that either of the old parties would "have any use for them." The Liberal party, declared Mr. King, was coming into power with a strong representation from all the provinces. Quebec was as strongly Liberal as ever, as also were the Maritime Provinces. British Columbia would return more than half Liberal members, and in Ontario the Liberals were looking forward to winning many of the seats. In the prairie provinces the indications were daily more favorable for the Liberals, so that there was little doubt that the Liberal party would be returned with strength sufficient to act independently of any coalition. The Progressives were heading toward what could only be more or less complete isolation of the prairie provinces, said Mr. King, and by bringing about three-cornered contests in seats which the Liberals were almost certain to win they were making it possible for the remnant of a "Tory force" to remain where otherwise it would be practically wiped out.

HELPING TORY REMNANT.

"The Tory party would not have a remnant in the House of Commons," said Mr. King, "if it were not for this force of Progressives which will permit of Tory candidates slipping in between."

Mr. King said that last year he had visited the West to deliver a message urging co-operation between the Liberal and Progressive forces. The policy of the Liberal party had not been antagonistic toward the farmers. He had all along regarded the farmer movement as a Liberal movement; as a movement destined to give one great body of producers fuller expression of their needs.

"We have come to the point," he said, "where we are face to face with the question whether we are fighting for a principle or for the triumph of a name."

Mr. King reviewed the platform as put forth by the Liberals, and said that his party stood for downward revision and for relieving of taxation as far as possible on implements of production in the basic industries and necessities of life. The record of the Meighen Government was attacked by the Liberal leader, who declared that a change of government was absolutely necessary in order to give Canada proper management.

Mr. King said that if there was one part of Canada above another which had reason to be gratefull to the Liberal party, it was Western Canada. The Liberal party had had to fight every stage of the way against Toryism to make its policies prevail. These policies included a railway programme which provided competition aimed against the monopoly of any one railroad; the establishment of a Railway Commission to help control rates; the creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta; the immigration policy; tariff revision in 1897 and in 1907; the reciprocity proposals of 1911; and the British preference.

FINANCIAL RUIN COMING.

Dr. Michael Clark, formerly member for Red Deer, Alta., and in recent years an outstanding figure in the Progressive group in the House of Commons, was another speaker. Dr. Clark, who left the Progressive party, is now running as a Liberal in Mackenzie (Sask.) constituency, declared that financial ruin faced the West if the present Government were continued in office. Living costs in the West were abnormally high and only a change to Liberal government would bring about a reduction. The Liberal party had the history, personnel and creed behind it to give Canada the government required.

Col. A. T. Thompson, of Ottawa, who is accompanying the Liberal leader, declared that the Liberal party was the most democratic in Canada. There was no great difference between the aims of the Liberals and the Farmers, and only lack of co-operation between these two bodies could prevent the greatest political victory of Canadian history.

Mr. King and party left this morning for Edmonton, where the Liberal leader speaks on Monday night.

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Manitoba Free Press

November 14 1921

D 5758 (1)

# KING TAKES SLAM AT PROGRESSIVE PARTY

## Predicts Political Isolation For West in Speech At Melville, Sask.

## First Western Address Disposes of Any Idea of Frame-Up Between Parties

(Staff Correspondence)

Melville, Sask., Nov. 13. — The speech of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at the town hall here last night must have made plain one fact, namely: That there is no sort of frame-up between the Liberal party and the Progressives of the west. For almost three-quarters of an hour, or half the duration of his speech, Mr. King lambasted the movement with the utmost vigor. When not engaged in this he was pleading for the return of the wanderers to the Liberal fold. But it seemed a curious way to get the errant prodigal back to tell him that if he stayed away he was going to be forever without the pale, which is what the Liberal leader did and in no uncertain tones. He predicted political isolation for the west if it returned a solid Progressive block to the next parliament. Inferentially there would be other forms of isolation, presumably due to absence of the smile of the two regular parties on whom rested the distribution of all favors.

The Mackenzie King who spoke last night was, on the platform at least, a very different individual to the leader who made the tour of the west last fall. One might have then been not unjustified in describing him as a dilletante in politics preaching a mild and academic Liberalism. There was nothing mild about the speech tonight. True his voice was somewhat harsh from the strain of the campaign but harshness did not confine itself to the voice. His whole attitude was that of a fighter; he was treating 'em rough all round. There was almost passion in his utterances regarding the attitude of the Progressives and his peroration was full of vigor and almost eloquence.

### Still for Reciprocity.

It was a good meeting. The city hall was filled comfortably. A large quota of ladies were there and it is said not a few Progressives. It was not unnatural therefore that his references to their position did not meet with the whole-hearted applause that greeted his declaration that he had gone down fighting for reciprocity and that he was still as strong for it as ever.

The meeting was a trifle on the chilly side for a start but it warmed up perceptibly and Mr. King got an ovation at the finish. Apart from the attack on the Progressive movement Mr. King discussed the iniquities of the present government and the episode of the shells at Levis came in for further comment. He scented sinster designs on the part of the government in bringing to the province of Quebec six million dollars' worth of high explosive at the time of a general election. It was almost, he declared, as if Providence had guided his footsteps to that wharf at Levis.

### Michael Clark Also Speaker

Dr. Clark, Liberal candidate in Mackenzie, contributed the joy of the evening. The doctor was in a witty vein. His description of the embarkation of the government ship on the tempestuous seas of a general election was a delightful piece of sarcasm with reference to protection. The millenium does not come at once so the doctor did not expect free trade for a while, though he told the Liberal leader in a delightful passage that he expected to expound economics in the next parliament and hoped that the Liberal leader would pay close attention.

It was of course the first occasion in which Liberal leader had met Dr. Clark since the latter's return to the fold. There was the traditional joy in heaven over the returning sinner. Mayor Lindsay, of Melville, also errant from the fold, has returned bringing, it is believed, nearly 1,000 votes with him, and Mr. King paid him a tribute on his course. On the platform with the speakers were the mayor, Jas. Gardiner, M.L.A., for Qu 'Appelle, J. A. Smith, M.L.A., for Pheasant Hills, Dr. Shalmark, M.L.A., for Saltcoats, and Judge Blain, of the district court. The chair was taken by J. J. Keith, president of the local Liberal association. Dr. Christie, local candidate, and Col. A. Thompson, of Ottawa, also spoke.

### Gives Due Warning.

Melville, Sask., Nov. 13.—(Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).—If the Progressives desire unity with the Liberal party in a joint effort to secure the passage of legislative measures sought by both of these parties, then the Progressives must seek to bring about that unity before the election by working with the Liberals for success in the campaign. This was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in his first speech on the prairies during the present campaign.

"The country is sick of coalitions," declared Mr. King; "if the Progressives have any idea of seeking to work with the Liberals they should seek to work with us in a campaign now rather than in dividing the forces opposing the government and then hoping to make overtures later."

The Progressives, said Mr. King, gave the people the idea that they had no use for either of the old parties. If that was the line the Progressives took, said Mr. King, then they could not hope that either of the old parties would "have any use for them."

### Sure of Victory.

The Liberal party, declared Mr. King, was coming into power with a strong representation from all the provinces. Quebec was as strongly Liberal as ever, as also were the maritime provinces. British Columbia would return more than half Liberal members, and in Ontario the Liberals were looking forward to winning many of the seats. In the prairie provinces the indications were daily more favorable for the Liberals so that there was little doubt but that the Liberal party would be returned with strength sufficient to act independently of any coalition. The Progressives were heading toward what could only be more or less complete isolation of the prairie provinces, said Mr. King, and by bringing about three-cornered contests in seats which the Liberals were almost certain to win they were making it possible for the remnant of a "Tory force" to remain where otherwise it would be practically wiped out.

"The Tory party would not have a remnant in the house of commons," said Mr. King, "if it were not for this force of Progressives which will permit of Tory candidates slipping in between."

### Visit Of a Year Ago.

Mr. King said that last year he had visited the west to deliver a message urging co-operation between the Liberal and Progressive forces. The policy of the Liberal party had not been antagonistic toward the farmers. We had all along regarded the Farmer movement as a Liberal movement; as a movement designed to give one great body of producers fuller expression of their needs.

"We have come to the point," he said, "where we are face to face with the question whether we are fighting for a principle or for the triumph of a name."

Mr. King's speech was well received by the audience which filled the town hall to capacity. A heavy fall of snow had kept many farmers out of town during the day but there were many from the surrounding country districts in the audience. Mr. King reviewed the platform as put forth by the Liberals, and said that his party stood for downward revision and for relieving of taxation as far as possible—implements of production in the basic industries and necessities of life. The record of the Meighen government was attacked by the Liberal leader, who declared that a change of government was absolutely necessary in order to give Canada proper management.

### Liberals And Western Canada.

Mr. King said that if there was one part of Canada above another which had reason to be grateful to the Liberal party, it was western Canada. The Liberal party had had to fight every stage of the way against Torvism to make its policies prevail. These policies included a railway programme which provided competition aimed against the monopoly of any one railroad, and to develop and people the western country; the establishment of a railway commission to help control rates; the creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta; the immigration policy; tariff revision in 1897 and in 1907; the reciprocity proposals of 1911; and the British preference.

Dr. Michael Clark, formerly mem-

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ber for Red Deer, Alta., and in recent years an outstanding figure in the Progressive group in the house of commons, was another speaker. Dr. Clark, who left the Progressive party and is now running as a Liberal in MacKenzie (Sask.) constituency, declared that financial ruin faced the west if the present government were continued in office. Living costs in the west were abnormally high and only a change to the Liberal government would bring about a reduction. Dr. Clark said he had been known as a free trader during his entire parliamentary life; but he had known that the "millenium could not be reached overnight," and he had come to realize that the Progressive movement was a "class movement." The Liberal party had the history, personnel and creed behind it to give Canada the government she required.

**Clark Talks Degeneration.**

"It is with a feeling of sorrow," Dr. Clark concluded, "that I see any men allowing what might have been an advanced wing of Liberalism to degenerate into a narrow and illiberal movement, because all class movements are of necessity that."

Colonel A. T. Thompson, of Ottawa, who is accompanying the Liberal leader, declared that the Liberal party was the most democratic in Canada. There was no great difference in reference between the aims of the Liberals and the farmers and only lack of co-operation between these two bodies could prevent the greatest political victory of Canadian history.

Dr. S. G. Christie, Liberal candidate, in Saltcoats constituency, declared that despite reports being sent from west to east, Liberalism was very much alive on the prairies and the results on December 6 would prove a surprise to those who thought otherwise.

Mr. King and party leave Sunday morning for Edmonton where the Liberal leader speaks on Monday night.

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Toronto Globe
November 14, 1921

# WARNS PRAIRIES AGAINST RISK OF BEING ISOLATED

## Mackenzie King, in Saskatchewan, Asks Support of Liberal Cause

## SAYS HIS PARTY WINNING

## Cannot Have Strong Government by Coalition of Groups

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Melville, Sask.**, Nov. 13.—Pointing out that Saskatchewan and other Western Provinces ran the risk of occupying a position of isolation in the next Federal Parliament if the people support the Progressive party, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Federal Liberal Leader, opened new furrows in the first speech of his Western campaign here last night.

Urging the plea that laws were required to give expression to the views of all classes, the Liberal Leader stated that consideration must be given to other sections of the Dominion. The rising tide of Liberal opposition sweeping the country assured the Liberal party a majority group in the House at the coming elections. The Progressives were attempting to draw their support from the old parties, and how, he asked, could they expect consideration at the hands of the old parties after theh battle was over?

**Name or Principles.**

On his Western trip a year ago he had said that he regarded the Farmers' movement as a desire on the part of the producers to give fuller expression to their needs in legislation. He pointed out, however, that the policies of the Liberals and the Progressives were the same, and, he said, "We have now to consider whether it is to be a triumph for a name or for principles. I would like the Progressives to point out," he said, "wherein the principles for which they stand differ from those of the Liberal party as advocated in their platform. If there are some differences they amount to nothing if we consider how they are going to be enacted into law. What we want is laws which will give expression to the views and wishes of all the people, but it is only wasting time to try and legislate extreme measures."

In the government of the country there was not only the West to be edtaken into consideration. There were other Provinces to be considered. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were going to send to Parliament a Liberal phalanx almost as solid as that of the Province of Quebec. In the next House there would not be a single Progressive from British Columbia. In Ontario three parties were in the field, but it was a large Province, and no one was prepared to hazard a guess as to the lead of one party over another, except of course, a very pronounced lead over the Government party. He would not be surprised if Ontario gave the Liberals a majority group.

**Foresees Isolation of Prairies.**

As a result of this situation if the views of the Western Progressive prevailed, Saskatchewan and Alberta would stand aloof in the House of Commons, and where, he asked, would Western Canada get to in the next five years? Fortunately for Western Canada, however, the Liberal representation from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta was going to be much greater than the Progressives anitcipated.

The object of a party was a means to an end. The creation of a party was to enable men and women who thought alike to get together for the purpose of enabling the principles for which they stood to prevail. All through history there had been two principal parties in existence. The one party looking for privilege and the other standing for the liberalism of sharing for all. These two forces had struggled all through time for power of government.

Today the Tory forces were absolutely devoted to the interests of privilege, and there would only be a remnant of Toryism in the House of Commons, because the people were determined to put an end to their machinations. The only strength the Tories would get would be where Progressives came in as a class and cut into the Liberal support. Now, before the elections were held was the time to think of this, and the present was the time to decide what was the wisest course to adopt.

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Edmonton, Alta.

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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# KING ADDRESSES THREE MEETINGS AT EDMONTON

## Urges Liberals of Constituency To Settle Their Differences

## Says People Have Waited in Vain For Helpful Policies From Government

Edmonton, Nov. 14. — (Canadian Press staff correspondent)—Edmonton people gave a cordial greeting to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King when the Liberal leader spoke here tonight in the first of his Alberta campaign meetings. The Pantages theatre was filled to the doors and several hundred people, who were unable to gain admission to the main meeting, were addressed at the Metropolitan theatre and West Edmonton committee rooms. All the speakers, Mr. King, Colonel A. T. Thompson, of Ottawa, Hon. F. Oliver, Liberal candidate in West Edmonton, and Joseph Clark, East Edmonton, were heard at each meeting. During the afternoon the visiting Liberals were tendered a reception at the War Veterans' Memorial hall.

At midnight Hon. Mr. King left for Calgary where he will address a meeting tomorrow evening.

**Return to Prosperity, Says Oliver.**

Opening the main meeting, Hon. Frank Oliver, who is the Liberal candidate in West Edmonton, declared that the return of the Liberals in 1896 had brought prosperity and would do so again. Canada had become a nation during the fifteen years of Liberal rule and a return to Liberalism meant renewed prosperity.

Hon. Mr. Oliver referred to his own service during the Laurier regime and declared he was in the field to continue those efforts. Mr. Oliver believed that the principles of Liberalism, applied in Canada by Hon. Mackenzie King, would bring about the same good results as they had brought during the Laurier regime when the whole Dominion had benefited.

**Urges Settlement of Differences.**

Hon. Mackenzie King, in his address, declared the people had waited in vain for the present government to institute some helpful policies. Mr. King paid a tribute to the work in parliament of Hon. Frank Oliver and declared that no man had served western Canada better.

The Liberal leader referred to the difficulties facing Canada today. The ablest and best informed men in Canada were needed in parliament today. Mr. Oliver's seat had "been literally stolen from him in the last election," Mr. King asserted. There were, he said, some little differences among Edmonton Liberals, but he expected these would be settled before the election. In East Edmonton two Liberals had taken the field and both could not be elected. Mr. King said he was prepared to leave the matter in the hands of local Liberals, who would undoubtedly work out a settlement. For himself he was prepared to accept the choice of any regular convention. His chief desire was to see two Liberal supporters elected from Edmonton.

**Deals With Issue.**

Mr. King dealt with the matter of the issue. The "protection plank," he declared, was a rotten one. Mr. Meighen, and not the people, had decided that protection or free trade was to be the issue, but the people were entitled to make that decision. It was ten years since Canadians had voted on domestic affairs and a new electorate had grown up since that time. The women and young men were entitled to hear full discussion of the pressing problems of the day. The issue of protection or free trade "did not exist in that form in Canada at present."

Mr. Meighen, declared the Liberal leader, dare not place his record before the people of Canada today. The rule of Mr. Meighen had been "Toryism in its very worst form." No elector had been responsible for placing Mr. Meighen in office. The rights of the people had been usurped. During his regime, said Mr. King, Mr. Meighen "had filled the senate and the bench with his own appointees." The Liberal leader referred particularly to the appointment of Sir Edward Kemp.

"And Jim Calder," said one of the audience.

**Charges Autocracy.**

The government was again charged with autocracy in handling the country's affairs. Estimates had been passed and millions of dollars taken from the treasury while Canada was denied the right of debate. Referring to the Canadian government merchant marine, Mr. King said there was no legislation discussed which provided for the building of a merchant fleet.

"Sir John MacDonald would never have followed such a course," Mr. King asserted.

Mr. King dealt at length with railway matters and declared the government had taken over 20,000 miles of railway without consulting the people. The Canadian Northern was taken over during the war and the Grand Trunk immediately after. The people and parliament were both ignored. Laurier or MacDonald would have gone to the public for their mandate. Dealing with railway deficits, Mr. King placed part of the blame on the present system of management. The directors were allowed to administer the roads and were protected from giving any accounting to parliament.

**Must Be National "House Cleaning"**

The government had refused all information, said Mr. King, though he had personally moved that information should be given, except where publication of such was against the public interests. Millions of dollars had been spent "by a group of the government's friends and no information as to the expenditures could be secured." "Four-fifths of the road's directors were also directors of companies dealing with the railways," Mr. King stated. Never had there been "such opportunities for private individuals to profit by the spending of public funds," Mr. King asserted. The people at the coming election were the ones to break up such a combination. The government must be changed and a national "house cleaning" undertaken in order to reduce living costs. The cost of government had increased in Canada to an enormous extent. The interest on the public debt today was greater than the entire cost of government ten years ago. Parliament had voted some $560,000,000 to carry on government this year, and this for a population of some 8,500,000 people. Every dollar spent on government must come from the pockets of the people. Canada's annual per capita tax bill was some $310.

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THE PROGRESSIVES AND THE
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# LIBERAL LEADER'S CALGARY MEETING ( OF BEST IN THE ENTIRE CAMPAIGN, A CERTAINLY LIVELIEST SINCE BEGI

## Hecklers Were Busy from the Start But Speakers Were Well Able to Take Care of Themselves; Leader Made an Able Address Dealing With Leading Issues of Campaign

## Duncan Marshall and E. F. Ryan, Liberal Candidates, Well Received and Made Able Addresses; Many People Were Turned Away from the Meeting.

Before a crowd of 3,000 people, who tramped through blustery weather and heavy snow to hear him, and packed every nook and corner of the Victoria pavilion, W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, made a direct and forceful appeal to "all the progressives" to mobilize behind the Liberal party as "the only party which embraces all classes of the people, and whose policy is as broad as the country itself." He deplored the diversions in the ranks of those opposed to autocratic government headed by Mr. Meighen, but in the same breath he attacked the farmer movement as one confined to only one class, and one which could not unite in any effective way, all those opposed to reactionary administration.

Last night's meeting must have been the liveliest to greet the Liberal leader in the nine weeks of his campaigning in this present election contest. Col. Thompson, who has been traveling with Mr. King, characterized it as the greatest meeting the leader has had aside from his gatherings in Toronto, and one which he held in Amherst, down by the Atlantic. There was scarcely a breathing spot left in the big pavilion, from the rafters right down to the cement floor where people crouched and squatted for the three hours that the meeting held sway.

Many braved the elements only to be turned away.

It was a much better meeting than that in Edmonton Monday night. It was friendly in the extreme to Mr. King and his supporters, but it was kept lively throughout by hecklers, and Mr. King was challenged from the audience on everything from his war record to a possible coalition with some other group. All these challenges Mr. King took good-naturedly and appeared to be never lost for an answer.

Mr. King got down to definite statements of policy a little more last night, than in Edmonton, and this was partly due to the hecklers, who brought out definite declarations on many things.

The hecklers kept things lively. But the crowd grew impatient after a while, and tried to drown them out. None of the speakers escaped the fire of questions, but managed to come through with colors still aloft.

Ed. Ryan, candidate in West Calgary, made his maiden speech, and his native Irish humor came to his rescue at several stages.

Duncan Marshall made his tariff speech, but suffered from a slight cold, which bothered him considerably.

A human touch was given to the proceedings when Mackenzie King was presented with bouquets by the two dainty little daughters of Col. McGuffin. The Liberal chieftain picked them up in his arms and kissed them before the big crowd, remarking, "Who says I wouldn't make a good father of a family?"

Dr. Egbert, in introducing the speakers, referred to the crowd as "ratepayers," a break which brought a laugh. "Well, you are ratepayers, and you're rates won't come down till you change the government," he said.

### Flayed Farmer Movement

All the speakers took occasion to flay the farmer movement, and Ed Ryan set the pace in thinly veiled remarks about "candidates who were farmers in one place, labor in another and talked Liberalism when King came to town," and when he referred to Duncan Marshall as a farmer whose ancestors were pioneers in this country before "civilization pitched its tent on the banks of the Mississippi," this evidently being intended for a rap at "Wood of Missouri."

Col. Thompson spent most of his speech in forecasting results, and predicted that the Liberals would have 125 seats after election.

Col. Thompson was referring to "my comrades who fought with me in France," when some veteran sitting up behind him called, "Will King give us the $2,000 indemnity?"

"The country can't pay it," was Col. Thompson's reply.

Duncan Marshall referred to the efforts of the farmers to cure the party system by group government, and said, "You might as well try to cure a wild horse by painting his stable a quiet color."

He got mixed up with a heckler when he was talking of the money the farmers had lost.

"The landlords got it all," this heckler said.

"There aren't any landlords. If you want a quarter section, I can take you to tax sales where you can get one for a song," replied Mr. Marshall.

### Hecklers Were Busy

Mr. King had scarcely got started when the heckler up behind the speakers rose to his feet and demanded attention. But this time he was not a veteran, he was a farmer and wanted to know about the wheat pool.

"Sit down," the crowd kept shouting. But Mr. King put up his hand for silence and asked the man for his question.

See page 3 - Mr King.

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"Will you restore the wheat board?" was what he asked. "Yes or no, give us a straight answer."

Mr. King declared that he had not made a study of this question, but said "I can say that one of the first questions I will take up will be the marketing of the grain. It is wrong to leave this at the mercy of speculators."

Mr. King was challenged directly on his war record a few minutes later.

"My record, I told to the commons, and it is there. If my friend will look it up I think he will be satisfied My opponents in the house were."

The leader was attacking the farmer movement as a class movement, when another chap asked him if he would unite with the Tory party.

"There are some things I wouldn't combine with at any price, and the Tory party is one of them," said Mr. King.

"Then what about the Farmer party?"

"That depends on what they say. But I tell you that after election, the Liberals will be independent of any of them."

"Give us group representation, not group government, that's all we claim," came back the voice.

## E. F. RYAN

"The Conservative party, the Tory party, has always been the party for protective government by the few, for the few. The Liberal party since its inception over a hundred years ago, has always been a party of reform and progress, standing for the rights of the people," declared E. F. Ryan, in making his first speech from a political platform since he definitely decided to stand as a Liberal candidate in West Calgary.

Mr. Ryan expressed his great pleasure at the privilege of speaking on the same platform with the leader of his party and made a strong appeal for unity of the party in standing behind Mackenzie King. "We will never get any place by criticizing the other fellow," he said, "if we wish to consolidate the forces of progress in the interests of the progressive parties, we must get together on common ground."

He called attention to the four or five political parties in Calgary, the Liberals, the Independent-Progressives, the Farmer-Labor, and the National Liberal and Conservative. This last named, he said, reminded him strongly of the old fellow who when it came time for him to die requested that he be buried between his two wives, with "just a kink of the neck toward Biddy." The National Liberal and Conservative party was in just the same position with just a kink of the neck toward the Conservatives.

### Wider Markets Needed

"What we want more than anything else," he said, "is wider markets." In referring to the Progressive-Farmer party, he stated that in fiscal matters they were in the same position as the Liberals and pointed out that there had been no Progressive-Farmer party when the Liberals had been in power for the reason that there was no necessity for it. The farmers' interests were looked after.

## COL. THOMPSON

Colonel Thompson, ex-M.P. from Ontario, who is accompanying Mr. King on his trip, predicted that on Dec. 6 the Liberal party would be returned to power with a majority of 120 seats in the house with 'one 'to grow on from the Yukon. This you may be assured of," he said, "the poor old Tory party will come trailing along at the tail end and Mackenzie King will be in the lead, with the Progressives more than a nose behind him."

### Predictions From East

In discussing election gossip which he had heard in the east, Col. Thompson said that W. F. Fielding, for fifteen years minister of finance, predicted that the Liberals would carry 80 seats east of the Ontario line, 20 in the maritime provinces and about 60 in Quebec. In Ontario the feeling against the government is almost as great as in Alberta except in a few manufacturing centers. In some constituencies the opposition is divided between the farmers and the Liberals and in a few of these there are some slim chances for the Conservatives. Altogether there will be in Ontario about 25 seats for the Liberals. This brings the party to the Manitoba line with between 100 and 105 seats. In the western provinces the news has been good and it has been estimated that in British Columbia 6 or 8 of the seats will be carried by the Liberals.

### Group Government

In attacking the principle of group government, Col. Thompson called attention to the fact that the individual under this system suffers if he does not happen to be one of the members of an organized group, while the nation suffers still more inasmuch as group government tends to rule out the services of some of the finest men in the country.

He presented the hypothetical case of Lloyd George and Clemenceau coming to Canada and offering their assistance in solving the problems under which the country is laboring today. Despite the fact that they are among the world's greatest statesmen they would under a system of group government be turned down because they are not farmers.

"This group organization deprives the country of the services of our best men," he declared, "and with $432,000,000 levied in taxes last year, and a deficit of $101,000,000 and a probable deficit this year of $67,000,000, we want the best men that we can get. We want the best, brains, and character and experience that we can command to send down to Ottawa."

### Bonus to Soldiers

Col. Thompson, who with his two sons served overseas, touched on the proposed bonus of $2,000 to each returned soldier and said that the soldiers had shown their patriotism in not forming a soldiers' party and pressing their demands for this bonus. "Our returned men," he said, 'replied to the demands of those who wished that the government be forced to pay this money regardless of its financial difficulties, 'We saved Canada in time of war. We will not ruin her in time of peace.'"

He was interrupted at this point by the voice of an ex-service man from the audience demanding to know whether Mackenzie King, were he returned to power would grant this bonus? Col. Thompson answered that though the men were entitled to it, and though he for one would be most delighted at the thought of $6,000 in the family coffers, the government would be unable to pay it.

"The government can pay it," came a voice from another quarter.

"I should be sorry to see the time come," Col. Thompson answered when the veterans of the great war tried to run their country into bankruptcy."

### The Tariff Issue

In touching on the tariff issue, he called attention to the fact that a revision of the tariff was due every ten years and that the last one had been due since 1917, and had been uromised by the Meighen government, but that this promise has never been fulfilled. Big interests behind the Meighen government were responsible for this delay, for everybody knows that if there is any revision it will have to be downward even though it is by a Tory government.

"Mr. Meighen," he declared, "has said that the issue in this election was between free trade and protection. He has not stated the issue correctly. It is between his policy of protection and our policy of a revision downward. He says 'Protection has built up Canada and made it what it is.' I can agree with only half of that. Protection has made Canada what it is, and thanks to it we have in the last ten years lost 1,500,000 people which we should have gained through immigration."

In answering the arguments of the opposition that a change could not be

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made in the percentage of the tariff without making a change in the revenue, he said that the Liberals were prepared to lower the tariff on necessities and raise it on luxuries, and that the revenue would in all probability be greater.

## DUNCAN MARSHALL

Duncan Marshall held up for the edification of the audience the safeguarding of industries bill which the protectionists have of late been quoting as evidence of the fact that England, the foremost free trader of the world, was no longer a free trade nation and had joined the ranks of the protectionists. The two copies which he possessed, said Mr. Marshall, were to the best of his knowledge the only ones in Alberta for he had procured his by special request, just to satisfy his curiosity.

He had found this formidable safeguarding of industries bill much more harmless than it was painted. In the first place provision was made that no tariff or duty contained in it should apply to British colonies. Furthermore, no duty which it listed applied to meat or drink.

Reading from the bill Mr. Marshall pointed out that it called for a duty of one-third of the cost on optical instruments, precision instruments and certain chemicals entering into the manufacture of dye stuffs and other chemicals. Nearly every article listed had a name of at least four syllables and most of them were quite unfamiliar to the lay mind. Galvanometers and pyrometers were two of the most difficult of pronunciation. In referring to them, Mr. Marshall said, "They can put all the duty they want on galvanometers if they'll only take it off my pitchfork, and they can make the tariff just as high as the want on pyrometers if they'll just reduce it on my kids' shoes!"

This act was passed, he said, as bait for a campaign fund by a government that would undoubtedly go down to defeat soon and it was opposed by nearly all of the great representative manufacturing interests. It was further significant that the first division into which the act was divided should be in force but five years and no more, according to provisions contained therein, while the second division was to remain in force but two years. It was merely a bill passed to protect a certain few manufacturers of certain highly specialized products against the competition of German manufacturers.

### The U. S. Tariff Bill

In dealing with the most recent protective tariff of the United States, the Fordney tariff bill, he read from the New York Times an article which stated that for every dollar of Canadian goods that had been kept out of the States by the tariff, $2.25 worth of American goods had been kept out of Canada. Last month alone Canada bought $50,000,000 less from the United States than in October, 1920.

He spoke strongly in favor of a reciprocity treaty with the United States and said, "I am proud that the Liberal party has gone on record as favoring reciprocity when in the last session of the legislature, W. R. Fielding, seconded bq Mackenzie King, moved that negotiation be opened with the United States to renew negotiations for a reciprocity treaty. We as neighbors would be doing business with one another and not robbing each other for the benefit of a few manufacturers. I hope to live to see absolute free trade between Canada and the mother land."

### Money, Men and Markets

Money, men and markets were Canada's prime needs at the present, he said, but before you can get the first two you have to get the last. The government had been trying to get trade by building up a barrier of protection, or by acquiring markets with every country on earth but the ones that Canada wants to trade with, the United States and Great Britain.

### Cabinet Material

Dr. Egbert, who acted as chairman of the evening, in opening the program stated that this was the second time that he had had the pleasure of standing on the same platform with a party leader as he had been in the same position a year ago on the occasion of Mackenzie King's visit. Just by way of a gentle hint to the party leader, who, he stated, would undoubtedly be Canada's next prime minister, he called attention to the fact that Calgary in her two candidates, E. F. Ryan and Duncan Marshall, was presenting some excellent cabinet material for his selection.

## MACKENZIE KING

In calling upon the principle speaker to address the meeting, the chairman introduced him as "the Hon. Mackenzie King, the next prime minister of this great Dominion of Canada." Mr. King got a good reception on taking the platform and opened his address by commenting that he is entering the third month of the campaign. This is his ninth week in the election and it has been a strenuous time. Although he had had the privilige of speaking in all the provinces with the exception of British Columbia, he had not yet been present at a more enthusiastic meeting. "Never in my life have I addressed a more enthusiastic meeting than this vast throng," he said.

He publicly thanked those who had arranged the luncheon and reception given yesterday and remarked that it was with regret he learned that about a hundred citizens had boarded the sleeper on its arrival at 7:30 yesterday morning and found that he was still asleep.

### The First Interruption

He was commenting on other features of his welcome to Calgary when a man in the audience rose and shouted a question. The meeting immediately warmed up and shouts of "sit down," and "put him out" were heard on all sides. Mr. King called for silence and asked the questioner to repeat his query.

"This is a very vital question," the man shouted. "It is vital to the farmers and I am a farmer myself. If returned to power would you reappoint the old wheat board?" After a pause he shouted "answer yes or no."

Mr. King turning to the audience said: "My friend has been reading some of the literature which has been circulated since the campaign started. I believe Mr. Meighen started that question by asking if I would put the platform of the Liberal party into effect if I was elected. He answered the question himself by saying that if I stated 'no,' I would be unfit to become prime minister of Canada, if I answered 'yes,' I would be unfit to be prime minister and if I refused to give any answer I would be unfit because of lack of candor. I will make the same answer to Mr. Meighen and to this meeting that I have made to the great Liberal convention when that platform was adopted. At that time I said I would hesitate to accept the great responsibilities unless I had a platform to help me in the task. The platform is like a chart on which the course is marked for the ship of state. Every mariner has his chart and compass, he explained, and added that if elected he would surround himself with the best men available to follow that chart. He would carry out the platform in accordance with the needs of the country as they changed from time to time and announced this while appealing to the common sense of the people. "The Liberal platform will be my guide," he said. "We will get the colleetive wisdom of the best men and will carry out the platform in accordance with the necessities of the times."

He remarked there seemed to be a very great difference of opinion among authorities regarding the wheat board, even between Mr. Crerar and other men of the west and would want to know the causes that need remedying before making any definite steps. "One of the first questions I will take up will be the marketing of grain and other products of the country," he declared, adding he was strongly opposed to any form of gambling in connection with the foodstuffs of the people.

"Let me tell my friend I am not like Mr. Meighen; I am not the whole party myself. I hope to get the best advice and deal with the problem in the best possible manner." This declaration was greeted with prolonged applause.

Having disposed of this interruption, Mr. King explained it was with sincere regret he had to announce he would not have an opportunity to visit British Columbia. Exigencies of the cam-

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paign made it most desirable that he be in Ontario during the last two weeks of the campaign. It was not lack of interest in British Columbia which prompted him to turn back east but that step was made possible through the confidence he has in the coast province to support the Liberal cause. "The Liberal tide has turned there and during the last year the tide of Liberalism has continued to grow more and more," he said.

### Group Government

It was a source of deep regret to him that he could not address more meetings in Alberta, as he would have liked to speak to his fellow countrymen here on the subject of group government, particularly as it refers to western Canada. "The moment any one class tries to form a group to control the country it causes to rise enemies to that group," he said. He explained that group government could only result in government for the people within that group and not government for the people as a whole. No matter if the group were formed to represent farmers, labor, business or professional men, it would be a group and would immediately lose the sympathy of others who would help it under different conditions.

He declared he had always supported labor and farmers. The lot of the toilers and producers should be made as happy and contented as possible. In 1911 he was defeated after fighting for reciprocity, but while doing so he was not working for the farmers alone but for the welfare of all the people. He contended that western Canada is suffering through lack of reciprocity today and this had been brought clearly home to him since his arrival in the west. "I am grieved to find the west in so serious a condition, brought about by the defeat of reciprocity," he said.

### The War Record

**The audience was startled out of its attentive attitude by a voice shouting, "What did you do in the war?" After loudly repeating the question to ascertain if he had heard it properly, Mr. King replied, "I have told the house of commons and the nation what I have done. That is on record in Hansard for the house of commons and he would feel rather proud of the record he may read there. Judge me by my deeds." Mr. King was accorded generous applause and immediately resumed his address.**

He explained that after the war of all the countries who required financial assistance, Belgium was the most needy and the most deserving. When Belgium asked for a loan in foodstuffs it was refused, yet when Greece and Rumania asked for help they got $25,000,000 each because they were willing to take it out in manufactured goods as well as food. So far Canada has not even received any interest on these loans, but the manufacturers got paid of their goods for cash. He stated that it was found that six members of the government belonged to manufacturing concerns that supplied many of these goods.

He declared that while western Canada is suffering because a market cannot be found for the produce of the west, on the other hand eastern Canada is suffering because of the loss of purchasing power of those in the west. "They are suffering in the east and you are suffering," he said. "You cannot expect one part of the country suffer and another part enjoy prosperity." He saw a great danger, because of this fact, in group government. There was danger that the manufacturers might run men of various classes or groups and put up the election expenses in hopes that the people would elect them. If they put up the money to elect such men they would control them after election. On the other hand the straight class group loses the sympathy of the remainder of the people and the only alternative was the Liberal party, which stands for no interests at all but represents all the people.

### Injuring Cause of Farmers

"I think group government is injuring the cause of the farmers, as I believe the farmers need the support of the whole country," he said. Dr. Michael Clark has described group government as a new kind of Toryism. James Murdock, a prominent Labor man, considered the situation so serious that he is now running on the Liberal platform. Mr. King contended the people must always come back to the two great parties, one representing the big interests and the other representing the rest of the people. "The party where all classes can unite together," he added.

He deplored the fact that not only was the group government idea to be government for that class, but it was to be limited geographically. It would be most unfortunate to have any one province isolated in this way from all other provinces. Even if elected the farmer group candidates, on arriving at Ottawa, could not expect the new government to receive them with open arms in welcome after having been denounced during the campaign. He wanted all representativse of the provinces heard sympathetically in the house by the other provinces.

### No Combination With Tories

The speaker was again interrupted by a man shouting, "Do you want to combine with the Tory party?" and Mr. King replied, "There are some things I wouldn't combine with under any consideration and the Tory party is the last of all." He believed the Tory party would gladly combine with other parties, but added, "There will be no combine with the Tory party."

"Do you want to combine with the Farmer party?" shouted another man.

"The Liberal party, after December 6, will be independent and dependent on no one," was the reply.

"How about the Labor party?" another shouted.

"Labor is showing sound sense when men like Murdock come and take the Liberal platform," said Mr. King.

"It is group representation and not group government," someone roared.

"I think men should be outstanding and represent all the different reflections of the country. Representation should be for labor, farmers, veterans, business and professional people in corresponding numbers to their proportion in the population."

Question: "Are you sure the Progressive party will not represent all the people?"

Answer: "I am perfectly sure they will not. How about the difference between Mr. Wood and Mr. Crerar? This is the last province such a question should come from."

### Coalitions Are Expensive

The speaker was then allowed to proceed in silence and expressed the opinion that coalitions were most expensive and meant increased taxation. One party would demand that a favored supporter should be made a judge, then another party would insist that its favorite should also get a wig and so it went on. It was simply a case of compromise all the time and the people had to pay.

"Why shoudln't it be so?" shouted a man.

"I will show it. The cabinet today has twenty-four members, while in the Laurier government it had only twelve or fourteen. R. B. Bennett represents one group, Manion another group and so on."

"What did it get from the Labor party?" someone shouted.

"The Tory party takes mighty little from the Labor group," was the reply. "I undertake to see that all groups will be represented in the new government and will not tolerate a policy of I'll scratch your back and you scratch mine."

### Meighen, Lenin and Trotzky

After declaring that Mr. Meighen had stated the issue was protection or free trade because he feared to go to the country on the record of the government, Mr. King called on any member of the audience who could state he or she was directly or indirectly responsible for placing with Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the government. There was a distinct silence following this challenge and he remarked that results were the same in Edmonton, Toronto and other places where he had asked the same question. He declared there was no difference between the manner in which Lenin and Trotzky had seized the government of Russia, by open violence and the methods of Mr. Meighen in seizing the government of Canada by open violation of the traditions of the country.

"What was the government you returned in 1917?" he asked, adding "it was a coalition to win the war, representing both political parties." He declared a promise had been given that the people could decide on other issues

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(b) Morning Albertan

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after the war was won. "Is there any one here who can say that they have done this Is any one here who will say differently?" he asked and again there was complete silence.

He then showed how all the old government had resigned and finally Sir Robert Borden went also. It was a Unionist party in 1917 and since then the government had not only refused to come to the people but had formed a new party with a strange name which meant nothing. They had even drawn up a new platform although elected as a coalition. He described this as "the worst betrayal of public trust and power in the history of the country."

While all this was bad enough there was the issue of the merchant marine, the railway situation and Mr. Meighen has now filled the senate with his own appointees.

**What About the Senate.**

"Will the Liberal party abolish the senate?" he was asked.

"I think we'll have to if we find it impossible to put through progressive legislation," he replied, adding that this must not be misconstrued to mean he undertook to abolish the red chamber but that he undertook to prevent it holding up progressive measures. "If they try that there will be one of the biggest rows in the history of the country," he said. Herein lay yet another argument against group government, he contended and asked: "Where are you going to be in fighting that second chamber? What are you going to do with them "

"Hang them," promptly shouted some one.

"You can't do that and the difficulty remains."

"How about the Liberals? You put some in yourself," roared a man.

"Thank God for small mercies—they are our only hope," was Mr. King's retort.

**The Calgary Candidates**

In commenting on the two Liberal candidates for Calgary seats the Liberal leader remarked they both were fine cabinet timber in the new government. It was very gratifying to state that all over the country the Liberal candidates were of cabinet timber.

He contended that the cause of high freight rates was lack of sufficient traffic caused by the loss of markets and consequent falling off in population. The last appropriation for railways and canals was $165,000,000 and a board of directors had been appointed to carry on the work. He had no objection to a board being appointed but did object to tht members being directors of firms supplying goods or securing business from the government railways and canals. On investigation it was found that four-fifths of the directors on the government board were connected with firms supplying these utilities. When questions were asked in the house of commons regarding the affairs of the railways the answer was that no information was available. He contended that as it was the peoples' money and their railways an accounting should be made for every cent expended. If an investigation could be made he believed it would be found the situation of the railways was brought about by this interlocking of directors.

**Cost of Government**

"The greatest problem," declared Mr. King, "Is the cost of government." He said 560 millions had been voted last session for the cost of government. This was $61 per individual or $310 per family of five. The family does not escape this burden, but shares it through indirect taxation, said Mr. King. This burden comes home to the people when it affects the home life. "This $310 represents, I dare say, the difference between a mortgage and an unburdened farm, the difference between insurance for the family and inability to pay such insurance, the difference perhaps, in times of sickness, in the saving of life and the losing of it.

"These taxes are always passed on. You know the way the landlord passes on the taxes through the rent, and the merchant through the price of his goods. And I have made a little rhyme, a parody on the well-known verse about the flees.

"Big bugs have little bugs,
To which to pass their taxes,
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind the axes".

"And so the whole thing is landed onto the family. No wonder the ladies are wearing such short skirts, when they have to take account of every yard of goods."

**Question of Disarmament**

Mr. King deplored the action of the Meighan government in accepting the five warships from Britain and appropriating three millions for them when the whole civilized world was talking disarmament. All these warships had done was to sail back and forth from Halifax and Esquimalt.

"We will never get taxation reduced until we have change of government and a housecleaning," said the leader.

**The Returned Men**

"What about the soldiers?" called someone.

"The first obligation of the govt. should be to deal with the returned men in a generous way." replied Mr. King.

Regarding the tariff, Mr. King said: "We stand for a tariff for revenue, not to protect monopolies. But we would have the tariff revised for the producers and consumers. The burden should bear as lightly as possible on the tools of production of farm mine, lumber camps, and so forth, and on the food and clothing of the people".

Mr. Meighen had been in favor of a tariff revision, but he would revise it upward, to favor his few friends, such friends as the Riordon Co., which while paying dividends, had given the government promissory notes for its taxes. now the company was bankrupt and the government had the notes instead of a million or so in taxes.

**Prosperity of the Home**

"We propose to begin with the prosperity of the home, to make the home and family and its needs the criterion for the revision of the tariff.

Mr. King declared that the platforms of the labor and farmer parties, of the veterans, of the women, were not at variance with the Liberal policies on the great question of the common rights.

"The question is to make these policies prevail", he said. "The forces of reaction are united, but we find the forces of progress divided. The only consequence can be to strengthen our enemy's forces. Let us, then, stand together and ally ourselves with the party which embraces all sections of the people. We needed unity in wartime to win. Let us now be united against the common enemy, and stand behind the policy that is as broad as the country itself.

"It is for us to decide whether we are to allow the next five years to be a period of reaction, or the dawn of a better day".

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Morning Albertan Nov 16th 1921

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# WHERE MACKENZIE KING STANDS

**THE TARIFF**—"We stand for a tariff for revenue, but not for the protection of monopolies. But we stand for a revision of the tariff downward, on all implements and tools of production necessary in the development of our natural industries, and also on the food and clothing of the people. The happiness and prosperity of the home and family should be the starting point of our fiscal policy."

**THE RETURNED MEN**—"The first obligation of the government should be to deal with the returned men in the most generous way."

**HIS WAR RECORD**—"What did I do in the war? I have told the house of commons what I did, and it is on record there in Hansard. My opponents were satisfied with it. I am not ashamed of it."

**GROUP GOVT. AND THE FARMER MOVEMENT**—"I have one message to the west. It would be most unfortunate if any part of our provinces became isolated in government. The west must have a voice that can be listened to with sympathy by all the rest of the provinces. Parliament should be a mirror of the nation, of all classes."

**HIS POLICY OF GOVERNMENT**—"The Liberal platform shall be to me as a guide and chart, something which, surrounded by the ablest men I can find, I can accept as a compass. I intend, if returned to power, to carry out the Liberal principles in accordance with the needs of the country."

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Nov 16th 1921

D 5770

# KING IS ASKED MANY QUESTIONS AT CALGARY

## Says He Will Secure Best Advice On Wheat Board, if Returned

## Will Demand Senate Reform if Attempt Is Made To Block Measures

Calgary, Nov. 15.—(Canadian Press Staff Correspondent) — Questions from members of the audience and his answers considerably enlivened the speech of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at tonight's gathering in the Victoria pavilion, when some 3,000 persons gave the Liberal leader an attentive hearing and followed keenly the exchange between Mr. King and some of his auditors. Resuscitation of the Canada Wheat board; abolition of the senate; the dangers of group government; and Mr. King's war record were among the subjects of questioning. The questions were placed before the Liberal leader respectfully and answered in similar manner. It was perhaps a typical western audience which filled the huge pavilion and followed closely the points dealt with by the various speakers.

**Seek Advice On Wheat Board**

Mr. King declared he was not in a position to make any immediate definite replies as to what he would do regarding resuscitation of the wheat board. If returned to power, however, the Liberal party would secure the best advice it could on the wheat board and general matters of marketing and would lay down a course in the interests of all Canadians.

The question of senate reform came up when Mr. King attacked senatorial appointments made recently. Asked if he intended to abolish the senate, Mr. King said that if there was an attempt by the Tory majority to block all reform measures, there would soon be an insistent demand for senate reform.

**Not a Wheat Marketing Expert**

As Mr. King commenced to speak a man in the audience asked him to say whether or not he would reinstate the wheat board. The Liberal leader said the question placed before him was like the series laid down by Premier Meighen at London, Ont. In answer to Mr. Meighen he had declared that the 1919 tariff platform of the Liberal party would be his guiding chart and the combined wisdom of the Liberal party, his compass. He would follow the spirit of that 1919 tariff platform and would be governed by conditions as they arose. This was the tariff position he had taken in every province of Canada.

Mr. King said he was not a wheat marketing expert. There appeared to be differences among westerners themselves on this problem and before the Liberal party was very long in power the question of markets would be one of the problems taken up. Mr. King said he would secure the best possible advice on such subjects as the wheat board. "I'm not the whole party myself," said Mr. King. "I hope in all these matters not to be an autocrat, but to deal with such subjects as this in the interests of all the people."

Mr. King voiced regret at his inability to visit British Columbia.

**Deals With Group Government**

Dealing with group government, he said that the moment a group sought to rule it lost sympathy of other groups, who would otherwise help it. Mr. King said he had always been sympathetic toward both farmers and labor. In 1911 he had been defeated in North Waterloo riding on the fight for reciprocity, which he believed to be in the interests of farmers and consumers alike. Western Canada today was suffering through the defeat of reciprocity.

"Have you not heard of the war?" asked one man, and "tell us what you've done in it," said another.

"I'm quite prepared to leave my record in the hands of the Canadian people," said Mr. King. "I told the house of commons and the country what I had done." The Liberal leader said he was not going to take up the time of the campaign discussing misrepresentations of his opponent.

**Hypocrisy About the War**

The war, said Mr. King, was not so much responsible for present conditions as the government sought to claim. "There's been enough hypocrisy in that direction," he declared. "Western Canada is suffering for lack of markets and Eastern Canada suffers because you cannot buy goods there."

Policies, declared Mr. King, must be based on the needs of all classes and all parts of Canada. In this way there arose the danger of group government. "You cannot divide a country, expecting one part to suffer and another to prosper," said Mr. King. Labor and farmers would hurt themselves by losing the support of other groups. A group which denounced both old parties must know that after the elections it must stand alone, since it would have alienated the friendship of those two parties.

**Independent After Dec. 6.**

"Do you want to combine with the Tory party?" asked a voice from the back of the hall.

"That is the last thing on earth," said Mr. King. "After Dec. 6. the Liberal party will stand in a position independent of all other parties. The farmers' party is misnamed. It represents only those farmers who seek direct political action."

The Liberal leader declared that his party represented all groups and classes and had among its candidates representatives of every class. Coalitions were no longer wanted, Mr. King stated. They had in the past been "an expensive log-rolling proposition, with enforced appointments to the senate and to judgeships. "What Canada needs today is a government with a mind and policy of its own," Mr. King asserted, "and that government should stand before the people on its record."

**Abolition of Senate**

The prime minister raised the issue of protection or free trade to hide behind it the record of his government, Mr. King said. Usurpation or the return to recognition of the people's right to self-government was the great issue today.

Abolition of the senate came up when Mr. King talked of "appointments made to the senate by a moribund government." A man in the hall asked if the Liberal party would abolish the senate. Mr. King replied that if there was a blockade of reform measures, as seemed likely in view of the filling of the senate, there would soon be a strong agitation for senate reform.

**Vigorous Immigration Policy**

"Some of those men are Liberals," cried one of Mr. King's auditors.

"Then, thank God for small mercies," said the Liberal chief. "Without those Liberals there we would have little chance of getting a single reform measure through."

There was need, Mr. King said, for a wise and vigirous immigration policy. All the statesmanship and brains in Canada were needed to bring Canada out of the "morass of debt into which she had been led."

**Tariff for Revenue**

The Liberal party, he declared, stood for a tariff for revenue. This, he believed, was in the interests of all producers and consumers. He also held that duties should bear as lightly as possible on the implements of production in the basic industries and on the necessities of life.

Mr. King declared the main principles of the Liberal, Labor and Progressive platforms were not widely different. He believed these parties could get much further toward their aims by working together than by working separately to attain the same ends, and urged combined effort for the betterment of all Canada.

**"Danger of Class Parties"**

Col. Andrew T. Thompson, former member of parliament for Haldimand, warned against "the dangers of class parties." The present fight, he said, was on the issue of high protection versus downward revision of the tariff. The adoption of reciprocity, he declared, would have meant another million people in Western Canada at the present time and the increased business this would have brought would have kept railways busy and prevented deficits.

Hon. Duncan Marshall, Liberal candidate in East Calgary ,and E. F. Ryan, candidate in West Calgary, both stressed the need of wider markets. Hon. Mr. Marshall declared the farmer movement would end as had that of the "patrons of industry," which had grown from an attempt of farmers to secure "proection against protection."

Western Canada wanted a reciprocity treaty with the United States above everything else, and the Liberal party had already shown its desire to renew negotiations toward this end. Mr. Marshall said he hoped to see before long absolute free trade with the mother country.

Mr. King leaves here at 1.35 tomorrow morning for Regina, where he is to address a meeting on Wednesday evening.

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Calgary Daily Herald

D 5771

November 16/21

# LIBERAL PARTY STANDS FOR ALL CLASSES, KING TELLS CALGARY WOMEN

"The centre of the nation is the family," declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King in an address delivered before the large gathering of women and men present at the reception tendered him at the Palliser hotel Tuesday afternoon, "and national prosperity depends upon happiness in the homes."

Defining the policy of the Liberal party, the speaker said that it aimed at all times to make the laws of peace, health and work prevail in the affairs of men and women throughout the country. Then the speaker touched on the subject of group government.

"The minute you get any group in power you raise up a sort of jealousy, a division between the classes," said Mr. King. "We must seek to obliterate these lines of division and bring about a more co-operative spirit among the people, although I am afraid so far as the Grit and Tories are concerned we will never get there; they will always have something to fight about. All through history you have found two groups seeking to govern the people. There are those who want to keep things as they are, who think conditions are good enough and should not be changed, who would keep things moving along in the same old rut, and there you have the Conservative party. Then there are those who seek to widen the liberties of their fellows, who do not want to keep things as they are, who have a vision of Canada's future, who see a great forward, progressive reform movement, and there you have the Liberals.

### Knows No Boundary

"Our position knows no boundary," continued the speaker, "it knows no line of sex, no line of creed or class." (Applause).

Mr. King said he wanted to point out to his friends in the west how important are these parties that unite all interests and prevent extremes and how serious it was for any group to isolate itself. He said the people should go as far as they could to prevent the group government idea from spreading and stand only for a strong progressive movement. In closing he spoke of the privilege he felt it had been to speak to so many ladies and the inspiration he had derived from the splendid reception they had given him. (Continued applause).

Mrs. R. C. Marshall thanked the Liberal leader for his address saying that the Calgary women's committee of the Liberal party considered it an honor to have him with them. Then she introduced Duncan Marshall, the Liberal candidate for East Calgary.

In beginning his appeal for the support of the women voters, Hon. Duncan Marshall stated that the women were the most interested in the national issues of the campaign. Women were both the secretaries and treasurers of the home and were concerned in everything which effected the prices they had to pay for commodities. Women were the ones w knew the conditions of the country and knew that things were not right.

### Getting Steadily Worse

Going back to the time when the Liberal party came into power under the leadership of the late Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the speaker declared that all the development Canadian agriculture and industry had enjoyed was during the Liberal regime. Conditions, Mr. Marshall said, had been getting steadily worse under the present government until it could be said of that government that it had failed to help the country to recuperate after the war. He urged that the people of Canada return to power the only party that had ever brought about prosperity for all the people. If Mackenzie King were elected to the premiership of Canada the speaker felt confident a new progressive era for Canada would dawn.

### Women Fair Traders

Again referring to the woman's interest in the present election, Mr. Marshall said that there was one thing about every woman that could be depended upon and that was that she was a free trader because she was a fair trader. It was all very well to talk this "Buy Made-in-Canada Goods" stuff, but the speaker was sure that every woman present was tired of the "shoddy trash" offered in Canada and not one of them but would be glad to get her hands on some good Scotch fingering wool. Women did not care whether a thing was made in Kalamazoo or Hong Kong so long as it was cheap. He advocated the lowering of the tariff that trade with Great Britain might be developed.

### Bennett An Example

"Your immaculately dressed Mr. Bennett," said the speaker, "who is a strong advocate of the "Buy Made in Canada" goods policy, stands on every platform from which he urges the people to support and protect home industries dressed in English worsted, and not in cheap Halifax woollen goods." The speaker said he did not blame Mr. Bennett for having a preference for English goods over those made in this country. He wanted to be able to get Scotch tweeds and English serges himself.

"I want to be able to get a decent suit of clothes for my boys," continued Mr. Marshall, "made from English or Scotch tweeds that will wear, because the rotten cloth I have to buy them now doesn't last them a week. I want to open this market to Great Britain because then she will open her market to the grain and cattle I have on my farm." (Applause).

### Reduce Living Cost

The speaker declared that this policy of free trade would reduce the cost of living, people would get more for their money, the workingman's wages would go farther, he would be able to pay his dentist and doctor bills and prosperity would be general.

"That is the kind of thing I'm standing for," concluded the speaker. "If you ladies want cheaper stockings, vote for me." (Applause).

Col. T. A. Thompson, of Ottawa, was then introduced by Mrs. Marshall. He prefaced his brief speech by saying of Duncan Marshall that he believed a man who could talk like that would be elected. He dwelt for a moment on class groups in politics, arguing that there was only one thing Canada should have and that was democracy—government of all the people by all the people. He thought there never had been a time when Canada had been in such dire distress as now—never a time when the country needed such big, capable men in power as in the present crisis. Group government had a tendency to rob the country of such leaders as would give the nation the greatest service. Defining the various parties which exist in Canada, he said that the Farmer party stood for agricultural interests, Labor for those of the working classes, Tory for the privileged class and the Liberal party for no class at all, but for all the people—the greatest good for the greatest number.

### For the Masses

If the Liberal party were compelled to make a choice then it would be for the masses rather than the classes. This, said the speaker, was the attitude of Mackenzie King who had the love of the people in his heart and he declared that the destinies of this country were safe in the hands of such a leader as William Lyon Mackenzie King. (Loud applause).

Those in attendance at the reception numbered about three hundred men and women who were received in the large dining room by Mrs. R. C. Marshall (acting chairman), Mrs. Duncan Marshall, Mrs. Edward Ryan, Mrs. Egbert, Mrs. Colbeck and Mrs. A. McTeer. Mr. King was supported by Mr. Duncan Marshall, Mr. Edward Ryan and Dr. Egbert during the time the guests were being presented. Others assisting were: Mrs. J. W. McDonald, Mrs. D. W. McNab, Mrs. D. A. MacLeod, Mrs. T. A. Wright, Mrs. H. A. Howard, Mrs. D. L. Allen Scott, Mrs. Clinton Ford, Mrs. Geo. Webster, Mrs. J. E. Varley, Mrs. Alex. Russell, Mrs. O. E. Culbert, Mrs. W. F. W. Lent, Mrs. Geo. Lane, Mrs. J. T. McDougall, Mrs. W. M. Davidson, Mrs. David McDougall, Mrs. J. N. MacLeod, Mrs. Hugh S. MacLeod, Mrs. Frank Pegler, Mrs. Alex. Allen, Mrs. Geo. Kerr, Mrs. Henry Haskins, Mrs. J. C. Linton, Mrs. H. O. Marshall, Mrs. A. H. Carr, Mrs. L. Williams, Mrs. J. P. McArthur, Mrs. F. Jarrett, Mrs. Muns, Mrs. W. Gow, Mrs. J. W. MacDonald, Mrs. A. Samis, Mrs. Alex. Mossman, Mrs. F. Morehouse, Mrs. J. R. Walker, Mrs. Isabel MacLean, Mrs. J. R. Royce, Mrs. W. H. Parker, Mrs. Geo. Morrison, Mrs. Walter Hamilton, Mrs. W. H. Green, Mrs. W. S. West, Mrs. C. F. Parker, Mrs. C. H. Thompson, Mrs. Watts, Mrs. Spence, Mrs. E. Williams, Mrs. J. F. Price.

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16 Nov. 1921 Regina D 5772

THE USURPING OF GOVERNMENT BY
THE MEIGHEN ADMINISTRATION

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CANADA

D 5773

Morning Leader
November 7/21

# MEIGHEN'S USURPATION SCORED; TEN YEARS SINCE PEOPLE HAVE VOTED ON DOMESTIC QUESTIONS

## LARGEST AUDIENCE WHICH HAS FACED LIBERAL LEADER ON HIS WESTERN TOUR HEARS HIM IN THE STADIUM—CROWD IS FRIENDLY WITH LITTLE HECKLING

## ISSUE IS NOT CONFINED TO TARIFF—PREMIER HAS NO RIGHT TO RESTRICT ISSUE—ADDRESSES GIVEN BY HON. W. R. MOTHERWELL AND COL. W. T. THOMPSON

Regina

Over five thousand people accorded a royal reception to the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Federal Liberal leader, in the Stadium last night.

The audience was stated by those who have been traveling with Mr. King as the greatest he has addressed during the western campaign now coming to a close, and drew from the leader himself the statement on the platform that in the last three months he had not met a more inspiring audience in any of the three provinces.

While not wildly demonstrative at any stage of the address the vast audience, which included many women, gave every evidence that they were drinking in and pondering over every word uttered by the Liberal leader during the hour and a half he occupied the center of the platform.

In declaiming the usurpation of the people's prerogatives by the Meighen administration and the waste and extravagance of the Government, Mr. King did not use honeyed words. He struck straight from the shoulder and his ringing tones and earnest demeanor carried conviction home to the hearts of his auditors.

### No Chance of Expression

The Liberal leader emphasized the point that it is now ten years since the people have had an opportunity at the polls of expressing their views on domestic questions and that an attempt was now being made to deny to the people the right to discuss the record of the administration.

"Who," he asked, "makes the issue? Is it Mr. Meighen or is it the people of Canada? What right has Mr. Meighen to say that the issue is confined to the tariff? I challenge the right of any man to restrict the issue and that an imaginary issue of protection and free trade."

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Morning Leader
November 17/21

D 5774 (21)

Volleys of "No, No," greeted his question, particularly addressed to opponents of Liberalism in the audience, whether "any one of you has given Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the Government of Canada during the past six months?" "You see," he said, "Mr. Meighen stands convicted by his own supporters."

Mr. King dealt with the Progressive movement, emphasizing the impossibility of any coalition between the Liberals and Progressives in the next Parliament in view of the attitude of the Farmers' party, and while stressing the certainty of a Liberal victory, emphasized the danger of this "class movement."

**Little Heckling**

There was comparatively little heckling. A few interruptions came from a small block located in one of the galleries but the interrupters were speedily silenced by Mr. King's ready retorts.

Brief addresses were given by Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Liberal candidate for Regina, and Col. W. T. Thompson, of Ottawa. The chair was occupied by Col. J. A. Cross, and with him on the platform were gathered Premier Martin, Rev. E. W. Stapleford, J. F. Bole. Andrew MacBeth, W. G. Vancise, Hon W. R. Motherwell and other stalwarts. At the conclusion of the meeting, which did not break up until after 11 o'clock, hundreds crowded up to the platform to shake the hands of the Liberal leader.

Mr. King said:

"I am now beginning the third month of the campaign but I think I can safely say that in all the provinces that I have been I have not met with a single audience more interested in every way than the present audience which greets my good friend, Dr. Thompson, and myself this evening.

"I thank you most heartily for your kindness in turning out this evening and meeting with me in support of the candidate who is running in the interests of the Liberal party in this constituency.

**Regret Hard Times.**

"Before touching on the questions of the day I would like to also thank the many friends who came to the station this evening to meet my friend, Dr. Thompson, and myself, and to also thank your chairman and Mr. Motherwell for all the kind things they have had to say in reference to myself. I deem it a great privilege to again have the pleasure of visiting Western Canada and to again find myself in the city of Regina. There is the experience that every man from Eastern Canada experiences when again coming to this great province of the West, to see from time to time, the evidences of great expansion which are so much to the fore. I only regret that at the present time the country is not quite so prosperous as one would wish.

"Everyone in the West is going through a trying experience. Speaking as a Liberal I cannot help but feel that had that great policy of reciprocity which we fought so hard for in the West at the time of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration have been saved to us, there would have been a demand for our manufacturing and commodities that would have inevitably brought prosperity to our country.

**Is Liberal Movement.**

"When the East is prosperous the West is prosperous. I have always maintained that the Progressive policy as I saw it at the time I was here before was a Liberal movement. I stated on the last occasion I was in the West that I thought the underlying purpose of the Progressive movement was a great liberal expansion having regard to the needs of the farmers of our country.

**Hoped For Unity**

"Believing that, I did my utmost to hold out to all whom I met the need of co-operation between all the men and women who feel and think alike in liberal principles to make these policies prevail. I had great hopes that when the day of the election came along we would, after waiting so long to form a democratic government, have brought together the men and women who were of one mind in the matter of defeating the administration that has anything at heart except the interests of the people.

"But I regret to find that notwithstanding that the Liberal Party shows its sympathy in the city as well as in the rural section with the great agricultural industry of the West by selecting for its candidate one who was for years the Minister of Agriculture in this province, that it has been thought desirable to force into the contest a third candidate, the only effect of which will be to so divide the forces opposed to the present administration as to make possible the return of a supporter of that administration.

**Need Consideration**

"It is a serious situation, and I hope you will think it over very carefully, from the point of view of your own interests, because you will be choosing the man who will voice your opinions in Parliament for the next five years. It will come too late after December 6 for you to realize that the Liberal Party stretched out the hand of good will toward the farming community of this province (believing by so doing it was helping the cities and towns) and that it was refused and there has been returned a supporter of the administration which we are wanting to see defeated.

"From the point of view of Liberals and Progressives alike there is the desire to see the present administration end as speedily as possible. While there many be that desire, never have we had in Canada before an administration that has so completely usurped the rights of the people and ignored the will of the people at every turn. I do not think I need go far to make plain that fact.

**Who Made Issue?**

"Mr. Meighen is telling you there is only one issue before the people, protection or free trade. Who made that issue? Did you? Unless you did your rights have been usurped because in a country where we believe

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in self-government the people have the right to make the issue. No one man has that right. There is the difference between autocracy and democracy. Autocracy says this and this is so and shall be. Mr. Meighen presents that attitude to the people of the country.

"It is 10 years since the people of Canada have had any chance to discuss their own domestic questions. In that time a new generation has grown up. In the election of 1917 the fight was on the one question, the ending of the war. Since 1911 there has been no opportunity of discussing the questions which pertain to matters of domestic policies.

**Electorate is Changed.**

"In that time the young men of 21 have become 31. These have had no chance to discuss matters of domestic interest. The men overseas in 1917 have come back imbued with larger desires than ever to play their part as citizens. Are they not to be considered in the matters and questions which they might want to have discussed? I might add the most important of all the new group that makes up the electorate of today, the women. Irrespective of any special group they have the right to take their part in the government of the country.

"Why should any man come before the people of Canada and seek to restrict discussions of public questions to one imaginary issue such as protection or free trade? Has the labor of our country to have no right to have the problems of their concern discussed at the present time? Are the returned men to have no right to have questions of interest to them discussed? Are the women to have no right to have the question of the high cost of living discussed at this time? Why are we restricted in this way? We have railway systems taken over without the people being consulted and members of Parliament ignored in regard to the transactions. Have we no right to discuss the question of freight rates and all that relates to transportation?

"The more you think of it, the more arrogant is the attitude of our Prime Minister in appealing to the people on a single issue, and that, one of his own imagination.

**Wants to Forget**

"There is a reason why the Prime Minister has chosen the course he has. You do not have to go far to discover it. The reason is that he wants the people to forget about all these questions. He wants them to forget all about his administration and government. Under British parliamentary institutions the custom is when a government has been in office, to come before the people and place its record before them and deal with it. That is just the very thing that Mr. Meighen does not want to do. Speaking last night in Winnipeg, he said, referring to campaign funds, that he had had the greatest difficulty to get anyone to give him enough money to prepare the record of the administration. I do not wonder at that, because the less his friends know about his administration the better. That is the very thing he wants us to forget.

"I presume in this gathering there must be at least a few who are supporters of Mr. Meighen and the candidate who is running in his interests here."

Mr. King was interrupted by a wave of applause. He continued:

**Who Gave Mandate?**

"I want to ask them this question. Have you or has anyone that you know directly or indirectly been responsible for giving to Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the Government of this country during the last 16 months?"

Cries of No, No!

Mr. King: "Is there anyone that will say yes?"

There being no reply, Mr. King continued:

"I must ask what sort of citizens you are? Are you going to support a man who refuses the public the right of government, the most fundamental of all the rights of a free people? Are you going to return a Prime Minister to power for another five years who has deprived the people of that fundamental right of carrying on the Government of the country? I say Mr. Meighen is condemned by his own friends in this very audience.

# Rights of People Usurped

"It is bad enough that Mr. Meighen during 16 months should have spent millions upon millions of the money of the people but when you remember the fact that he has committed this country to vast obligations from which it will be difficult to free ourselves it becomes more serious the extent to which the rights of the people have been usurped.

"Most serious of all, not only has he spent the money of the people and incurred obligations of the most serious kind but in regard to our whole future legislation he has helped to put a blot on the pages of legislation. Remember this: Every law in this country has to go through two houses, the Commons and the Senate. You have only to look at the newspapers of the last few months to see that he has been filling the Senate with appointees of his own men, with men of mentality akin to his own, indifferent to the desire or wish of the people

"These men will have their say as to whether or not any particular measure is likely to be enacted into law in the course of the next few years.

**Should Unite.**

"If we are wise, those of us who are interested in Liberal and Progressive legislation, instead of dividing our forces at the present time in a manner that will help to give Mr. Meighen supporters in the House of Commons we will unite our forces and march forth to battle with the second chamber, one of the great struggles ahead of our people. No wonder Mr. Meighen wants the people to forget his record and that of his administration and seek to make an issue out of protection or free trade.

"Let me come to my point. Not only has Mr. Meighen in the administration of the affairs of the country been indifferent to the rights of the people but he has been indifferent to the rights of the representatives of the people in Parliament. I want to refer to one question particularly which will be of interest to you in Regina, the railway rates. When the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier went out of power we had in the control of this country some 2,200 miles of railway.

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# People Never Consulted

"Today we have 22,000 under the control of the Government. That 20,000 additional miles has been taken without any reference to the wish of the people. The C.N.R. was taken over during the war by the government of Sir Robert Borden and the G.T.P. system acquired since. Notwithstanding that the people were not given a chance to pass on the acquisition of these railways and all that means in the way of obligations Mr. Meighen absolutely refused to allow the representatives of the people in parliament to see the terms of the acquisition before they were signed.

"In the days of Sir John Macdonald when the C.P.R. was being built and Sir Wilfrid Laurier when the transcontinental was being put through, the terms of the agreement were brought into Parliament and laid on the table. The members were given the opportunity of discussing these terms and the press of the country and the railway experts were given the opportunity of viewing the whole situation before it was too late to change the terms of the agreement.

"We believe it was in the interests of the people that the proper course should be followed in Parliament and that the agreement as to the acquisition of the G.T.P. should be submitted to the representatives of the people before it was signed. Will anyone say that that was not the right attitude to take? Will you believe me? Mr. Meighen asked his followers to see to it that that course was not followed. The agreement was signed, sealed and delivered without the representatives of the people in Parliament ever seeing the agreement at all.

### Information From England.

"What is worse! Although the representatives of the people were denied that right, the agreement was sent to England and the bond and shareholders of the G.T.P. whose interest payments are being guaranteed for ten years to come out of the taxes of the people of this country saw the agreement, and having found it satisfactory, accepted it and we learned its terms by cable dispatches that came from the Old Country.

"Rights were granted to the bondholders in England which were denied the representatives of the people of Canada, the taxpayers of this country. Can you endorse government of that kind? That is the most extreme of autocratic government. No wonder railway rates are what they are. Members of Parliament had no opportunity to see if there were any injustices in the agreement. The people are carrying the burden of that contract at the present time.

"Now that the railways are in the possession of the country, how has Mr. Meighen dealt with them? He has appointed a group of his friends and calls them the board of directors of the C.N.R. The act that provides for the creation of a board of directors has not yet been put into force. This so-called board is already formed under some legislation passed in 1914 in connection with the C.N.R. These gentlemen have assumed the power and the Government has permitted it. They have the management of the railways together with the merchant marine.

"Parliament last year voted 165 millions on account of railways and navies alone. Ten years ago it only took 123 millions to run the whole government of Canada, including railways, canals and interest on the public debt. Most of this money is transferred to this board, the spending of it, as well as the revenues. It is an enormous sum of public money. You would expect that the Government would be most careful and ready at all times to give to the peoples' representatives the fullest information possible. We took that view. We began to ask the Government how much money had been spent, how about contracts, and we were told they had not the information but would try and secure it.

"Finally we saw that the Government did not intend to give us the information. They answered us that the Government had not the information, and that the information was of a type that belonged to the directors of the system.

### Questions Asked

"What were the questions? Mr. Meighen says he wants to keep the system out of politics. Do you think these questions would tend to bring the system into politics? Who are the board, and are they directors of any other companies, and if so, what? Has any insurance been placed on government railways, and if so, with what companies, and the rates? Has the Government let contracts for railway equipment, and if so, with whom, and the rates?

"The Government reply, 'We have not the information.' It is a matter of concern to the C.N.R., as if that organization had nothing to do with the people of this country.

"Well, we had a little committee that went into the question. The first thing we found was that three-quarters of the directors were directors in concerns that were doing business with this board of the C.N.R. Then we found that 140 millions of insurance had been placed, of which 30 million was placed by the C.N.R. to take care of its own insurance, and the balance had been placed with one company, all the premiums paid in advance, and that two

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of the directors of that company were directors of the C.N.R.

"Mr. Motherwell has drawn your attention to the reason the railways do not pay. We are told that because of the wages that the men are receiving the rates are so high. What about the profits that the contractors are receiving? If the wages that the section man, the engineer, the conductor, the brakeman is receiving is public property, what about the profits of the contractors? If it is right that what men are paid for their labor in wages should be a matter of public knowledge, it is right that what contractors receive of public money in the way of profits should be equally public.

"We took that position in Parliament. The Government would not give information. When we came to look into the contracts, we found 11 million had gone to one concern in Eastern Canada, and a director of that concern was a director of the C.N.R.

A voice: "Scandal."

Mr. King: "Of course. We found that in another contract for nine million, it had been placed with a firm in Ontario, and a director of that company was also on the C.N.R.

"Take this board and look at it. If there were on it railway men of experience, there might be some defense for transferring such huge sums of public money to its control. One of the great complaints of the people is the fact that the board is composed of men who have no knowledge of railways and management. There are one or two experts, but the majority know nothing about it.

"The point I want to bring out is: This is the charge I bring against the Government and which I brought on the floor of the House: This country today is being run by a little combine of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats and that these two groups are working together for their own ends, and doing so at the expense of the people of this country.

**Tell Nothing.**

"I believe that nowhere in this civilized world will you find such a combination spending millions of the people's money and the whole business kept secret by the Government from the country. If the Government would answer the questions put to them by the people's representatives we might think the transactions were above board but the Government is taking this position (by law these gentlemen are exempt from the personal liability) that if will tell the people nothing about what they do and they give to this group the right to control these millions.

"That sort of system is wrong. If you cannot have public ownership with publicity you cannot have it at all. One of the main purposes of public ownership is that the public might know how far they are being milked one way or the other in the administration of that public utility. The railways are not being given a fair chance, neither is Government ownership under such an administration. We should have the greatest publicity in regard to all these matters.

**Will Aid Labor.**

"The Liberal party stands committed to give labor the representation it should have. If we had had a man like Jim Murdock of the Board of Commerce who today is standing by my side helping me fight the battle of the people against this sort of influence on that board do you think there would have been the expenditures that there have been without someone knowing something about it? We come back to the right of the people to have a full accounting for all public expenditures as well as in connection with all taxation.

"You cannot expect from that administration any change. We need a house cleaning. We do not know what position our finances are in. The greatest of all questions today is the cost of living. Of all the contributing factors to that cost is the high cost of Government and it is one of the most important. One thing we can all see and that is the relation of Government in the matter of taxation as it affects the income of the home. That is where the women of the country have the right to share in the government of the country. They have to share in the sacrifices of the home and are interested in these Government expenditures.

**Like Managing House**

"Let me draw your attention to some figures. I have spoken of 165 millions being voted for railways. Ten years ago the public debt was 340 millions. Today it is $2,350,000,000. Now that the women are permitted to take an interest in these things let me say that the management of a nation is like the management of a house. What you can and cannot do depends on what you own and owe. If you own a great deal and owe a little you can do pretty well what you like; if you own and owe a great deal you have to consider it at every turn; you have to consider what is right and proper. Canada today owns to all intents and purposes what she did ten years ago but look at what she owes. Not to pay the interest on the public debt is to acknowledge that we are bankrupt.

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# Pay Debts to Soldiers

"But there is another charge on the money of the country which is more important and sacred than anything else. Not to meet this charge is to be guilty of dishonor and ingratitude of the worst kind. I mean what is owing to the returned man and his dependents and relatives. There, to my mind, is the first charge on the treasury of this nation and that charge should be met in a generous and proper way, but to meet it needs a large sum. This year alone the charge came to about 135 millions

"That brings us to a consideration of the total expenditure. This year Parliament voted 500 millions to carry on government alone. To our population it means about $61 per individual or to a family of five, the average is $310.

"Now do you begin to see why the women of the country have an interest in the question of government and why the cost of government is the most important of all as a contributing factor to the high cost of living?

"Supposing your wealthy man happens to be a landlord and a large sum is taken from him in taxes. He simply passes it on to the tenant. The same is true in the purchase of dutiable commodities. The consumer ultimately pays it."

**Illustrates By Rhyme.**

"There is a little rhyme that might help you to see the force of my argument:

'Big fleas have little fleas
Upon their backs to bite 'em;
And little fleas
Have lesser fleas
And so ad infinitum.'

"If instead of taking that little rhyme you will take another calling the flea the big bug instead, you will have this truth:

Big bugs have little bugs
To whom they look for taxes;
And little bugs have lesser bugs
Who have to grind the axes.

"That is the position in regard to taxes. Sooner or later it gets down to the homes of the people and to those who can least afford it. No wonder the women of our country are beginning to take an interest in government.

"I want to quote you two items to illustrate what I have said. Meeting today in Washington is the greatest conference on armaments the world has ever seen. After the war was over while the work of demobilization was going on we all felt that with our great public debt it was desirable to cut down expense as much as possible. So the Liberal Opposition took the view that until demobilization was complete we should go easy on expenditures on war account.

**Accept Five Ships.**

"Will it not surprise you to know that the Government accepted from the mother Government five ships, one cruiser, two torpedo boat destroyers and two subs without ever saying a word to Parliament about it or giving the people a chance to discuss it or their representatives. They came into Parliament after accepting these ships and asked us for two million last year and this year three million to manage these ships as ships of war. All the ships have done is to sail from Halifax through the Panama to Esquimalt and back again. Today at this conference comes the word from England that they would like to do away with submarines. Can you think of a greater waste of public money? The Government had no policy on the naval question and said they would not have until after the next Imperial conference.

**No Reduction**

"Another instance. The Minister of Militia asked us to vote money for ammunition. We knew that great quantities of ammunition had been prepared for the war and that great quantities remained after the war, and when I suggested that we cut down the money for ammunition to a figure that was equal to the amount expended the year before the war the minister said, 'No.' He said our heavy artillery ammunition is manufactured at Quebec, and we have to pay wages which are so much higher than before the war. The other ammunition for infantry is manufactured at Lindsay. The minister asked that the proposed expenditure be accepted, and it was. This year much the same thing happened. Altogether two million was voted for ammunition and war supplies in the last two years.

# High Explosives Imported

"What happened? Without having said a word to Parliament about credit elsewhere, we discover a ship coming to Levis carrying high explosives to an enormous extent. I happened to go down to the river, and saw a ship, and discovered 40 men in uniform taking these high explosives off. Nine box cars were filled, and a great quantity was still on the ship. I learned this was one of five ships that had come recently with it. The boxes were marked to be fired or destroyed by June, 1925.

"I was told on inquiry that these explosives were going to the different depots to be stored. I wrote the Prime Minister, and the answer was that the Minister of Militia gave out an interview that this was a gift from England. One of the officers of the department also gave out a statement, but it was different. He said this is part of Canada's credit, be-

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cause we sent a lot of stuff to England during the war, and there was a balance to our account, and we learned there was something like three million to our credit in July, 1920.

"Here is the point: not one word was said by the Minister of Militia in Parliament about there being a credit of that kind. That credit is the same as money; it represents the taxes of the people that was loaned during the war.

"We have been told there was 2,300 tons of these explosives for artillery alone. An expert of the department gives the figure that it represents 4,000 tons, or a value of six million.

"Do you think any government in this country would allow such expenditures during the time of an election unless the ammunition had something to do with the election itself? When you look at certain posters you begin to wonder where the funds are coming from.

**The "Tariff"**

"Let me now discuss the tariff for a few moments. Mr. Meighen has said that in this election the question is protection or free trade. Just by the way, you have seen the posters of Mr. Meighen leading Miss Canada out of the rocks. Mr. Crerar had a little to say about it last night. He pointed out that Mr. Meighen is saving Miss Canada and that he is taking her to a rocky and barren shore. He says if you give him the work of government he will lead Miss Canada to the land of promise.

"I think I can go one better. This country does not want to be taken to the rocks and we have had enough of promise. If you endorse the Liberal party, I promise you that I will take Miss Canada to the land of hearts' desire. What Canada wants today is happy and contented homes, and if she will entrust herself to the Liberal party, she will get a home of contentment and happiness, which is what this nation needs.

**No Free Trade**

"There is no man in Canada advocating free trade, and Mr. Meighen insults Canada when he says that the Liberal party is standing for free trade one way or the other. I challenge any man to take any utterance of mine and see in it where I have made any variation of my stand on the tariff. Do you think that if I had made any variation that the Tory party would be wasting billboard advertising on pictures of Mr. Meighen leading Miss Canada to the rocks? They would have taken my variation and posted in on every billboard in the country.

"I want to say here and now that the Liberal party does not stand for free trade, just as I have said it in Ontario and elsewhere.

**Tariff for Revenue**

"We stand for a tariff for revenue. The Liberal Party realizes that we have to have a tariff today unless we are prepared to go in for direct taxation to an amount of 560 millions, which I do not think any will advocate. If we are returned to power we propose to raise some of the revenue of this country by means of a tariff, but our tariff will be one for revenue, not one to protect special interests and give special privileges to those who are associated together in monopolies, combines, mergers and the like.

"The Liberal Party stands for a revision of the tariff downwards. Mr. Meighen has stated there should be a revision. In the speech from the throne last year the Governor-General was made to say: 'My advisors are convinced of the necessity for revision of the customs tariff. In order to secure the most complete information a committee has secured, after a thorough inquiry, the views of all parties in every province. The conclusions arrived at will be submitted in due course.' That was about as strong a statement as could be made—that the tariff would be revised.

**Reason for Inaction**

"Why was it not revised? Because it had to be revised one way or the other. If it went up Mr. Meighen would get no support from the people. If it went down he would get no support from the special interests he has been protecting.

"Think of the disclosures that have been made! The Riordon Paper Company was declaring a dividend of 10 per cent., and it's said its manager was getting a salary of between $50,000 and $75,000 a year, and it is further said that the company was putting its money into large properties in the United States, and was paying taxes to the United States.

"So far as Canada was concerned, what did the Government do? Instead of requiring the company to pay its taxes, it accepted its promisory notes for nearly a million dollars, and now the company, having gone to extremes in its management, seeking to create a monopoly, has suddenly come to the point of bankruptcy, with the result that the Government has these promisory notes accepted for taxes.

"And this is only one of the Big Interests behind the Government. The point is, are we going to protect these special interests and allow them to make profits anywhere from 100 to 500 per cent. while the people suffer? Or, are we going to have these things done in such a way that the interests of the consumers and producers of this country will be protected?

**Develop Resources**

"The Liberal party believes the only way we can meet the burdens thrust upon us is to develop the natural resources of our country. Labor is necessary to give us the full benefit of these resources, and labor has to have the tools and implements—its capital—wherewith to develop these resources. I ask the manufacturer, would he like to have his capital taxed? Therefore, the capital of labor must not be taxed. Tax as lightly as possible the implements of production in our resources, but in addition, our people require certain necessaries, and therefore, taxation should bear as lightly as possible on these necessities of life.

"That is the Liberal policy, and it is one, I submit, that is in the interests of both Eastern and Western Canada.

**Views on Wheat Marketing.**

"Just a word or two in regard to the grain marketing question, a subject of considerable interest to the people of the West. I have been asked what I will do in regard to this particular phase of our activities. I find that in the West different views are held among men with expert knowledge. Mr. Partridge, for instance, who has given a great deal of attention to this subject takes the view that there should be a compulsory wheat board as in 1919. Mr. Crerar, on the other hand, took the view in Parliament, that it should not be a permanent thing; that there should be a voluntary system with possibly state aid, as was found necessary. In Saskatchewan you had an investigation and the report by Messrs. Stewart and Riddell—a very valuable report.

**Nothing This Year.**

"So far as the Liberal party is concerned I do not see how we can do anything that will be of service to this year's marketing, because Mr. Meighen will want to hang on to office as long as he can after his defeat and it will take a few days for the next administration to shape into shape. The problem, therefore, will not come to us until there has been sufficient time to have these different views studied. I would seek, in the event of the Liberal party being returned, to have such an investigation and study made in the effort to place on our statute books a measure that will best serve the interests of Western Canada.

I have spoken about the need for revenue. I have here the platform of the Liberal party. I have also the platform of the National Political Party, also the platform of the Labor Party, and the platform of the Grand Army of United Veterans, and also the women's platform. Take these five platforms and you will find that in regard to the important matters in our country all practically agree and it is in only smaller matters that they differ.

**Against Progress.**

Then I have another platform, that of the National Liberal Conservatives, which indicates the things that Mr. Meighen and his followers stand for. You have in it a united force against which you have the forces of progress that represent the will of the people divided instead of united. And there is one reason why I differ with the Progressive party at the present time. I have always hoped that the Progressives and Liberals who have so many things in common, would unite together to make these things prevail. Dr. Clark has made it clear and has shown that he had great faith in the Progressive movement as advanced Liberalism, but he has found that it was not the principle for which they stood, but the power and control.

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### Go to Origin.

"The fact that you have running here for the Progressive party a much respected physician does not answer the question. It is nevertheless a farmers' party. You have to look at the origin of things.

"Suppose the manufacturers were to say we will have a platform and allow the farmers and the Labor party to put a candidate in the field, would the farmers and the working man have any faith in a platform of that association? No, you must go back to the origin of things and see if it is a class organization.

"I want to say to my farmer friends, it is because I believe to work out the reforms they need, that they require the co-operation of all the elements in the country they can get, that I feel they are making a mistake in their Progressive movement. There are thousands of men in the cities and town who believe in the needs of the farmers and who believe in meeting them in the proper way, who would like to serve the interests of the farmer, but who are being turned against them because they see one class seeking to get control of government, and in this way sympathy and support are lost

"After all a political party is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end, the means whereby men and women who think and feel alike may make their views prevail in the matter of government and the most unfortunate thing that can happen to any group or class is that they become isolated as a group, when they need the co-operation of all the other groups.

"Such a situation is serious to the men and women in this province. If you want to get the kind of legislation that is going to help make this part of Canada prosperous you will have to have in our Parliament not only the active sympathy but the co-operation of men from all the other provinces. It was to bring you this message that I have come to Western Canada. I appeal for co-operation. I want to point out before it is too late—but not in a spirit of threatening, because my sympathies are and will remain with the farming and laboring communties—do not be led into allowing Western Canada to isolate itself in regard to our Parliament for the next five years.

"That is why I ask you to support Mr. Motherwell. You cannot find in Saskatchewan any man who has a better right to speak for the farmer than Mr. Motherwell. And you cannot send to Parliament a man with a larger heart, sincerity of purpose and integrity of character. Think twice before you strike down the best friend you ever had.

### Sees No Union

"They are saying to me today, 'If you come into power you will make overtures to the Progressives and form a government of Liberals and Progressives.' I want to ask you how easy is that task likely to be; if as a result of the election a certain number of Progressives and Liberals are returned and the Progressive has to stand out before his fellow members in Parliament as the man who had no use for either of the old politicals? The Progressives are making their whole campaign on the grounds that they do not want to vote for either of the old political parties. They are doing what they can to destroy the Liberal Party. Do you think human nature would make it possible for any man to turn around and immediately embrace those who had sought to destroy him. That must be thought of. There is no mistake about this: the Liberal party is going to have a lead to the extent that it will be independent and above the Progressives and every other party; and I want to say to you in the West for your own interest, send to Parliament as many supporters of the Liberal party as you can, because only in supporters of the Liberal party can you unite all classes together.

"Co-operation is necessary. During the war, the allied nations for two years carried on to a large extent independent of each other, while Germany nearly triumphed because it was united. Finally the allied powers came together and agreed to accept the leadership of one man, all with the object of defeating a common enemy. It is the same in political warfare. Divide and the day may be lost. Unite under one standard of a strong and able man such as Mr. Motherwell and you will carry the day and help to make the future certain.

"The war was fought that autocracy might be overthrown. The war made for waste and extravagance and we must get back to economy; because it made for destruction of human life we must get back to a better appreciation of the value of human life; because it made for autocracy in matters of government, we must get back to methods of true democracy; because it made for ill-will between race and race, class and class, we must seek to get back to the place where we shall make our country one that we may live in. We must get back to good will between class and class, race and race, province and province,—a great family of nations. We must get back to good will in our policies both national and international, in order that we might build up a happy and more contented country, helping to strengthen the Empire of which we are a part, and to make a valuable contribution to the sum of human sacrifice and human endeavor."

### Make Sure of Vote

In a few introductory remarks, Col. Cross emphasized the duty of the citizens who were not yet on the voters' lists to attend the court of revision before the close of this week. He then introduced Hon. W. R. Motherwell as one "who has lived practically all his life in Saskatchewan, who has gone through all the pioneer hardships and is still going through hardships."

Stating that the present government is obsolete now "and ready to be laid on the shelf for repairs," Mr. Motherwell dealt with some of the misstatements being made by Government supporters during the campaign. Dealing with the allegation that the Liberals had no policy, the speaker declared their policy was to give the Dominion as progressive government as the country enjoyed after Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power in 1896.

Referring to statements that the Liberal tariff policy was the same as that of the Conservatives, the former Saskatchewan minister of agriculture said that Mr. Meighen's figures showed that their tariff was higher than the Liberal tariff. "On what side of the political fence," he asked, "do you find the beneficiaries of the protective tariff? You don't see any of the privileged interests rushing over to support the Liberal party," he added.

### Paid in Promises

Dealing with the income-tax question the speaker said that while it was sound in principle it did not produce enough revenue in the west after the cost of collection had been deducted. "This year there will be no revenue at all in the west," he said. He referred to the collection of the Riordon Company's $800,000 tax by promissory note in favor of the Meighen government. "The more the government is paid by promises," he said, "the more you and I have to put up in taxes. Those incidents mean something substantial to you and me.

Referring to the railway problem, Mr. Motherwell adopted the attitude that while the people had the government railways thrust on them not by choice but by necessity, they should support the system and give it a fair trial. It should be administered, however, by a government in which the people have more confidence than the present one.

Speaking of the necessity for a reduction in freight rates, the speaker declared that he would expel Carvell from the board of railway commissioners, if for nothing else, but for the improprieties which he has been committing in addressing club dinners throughout the country and trying to justify the existing rates.

### Comes Too Late

Referring to Mr. Meighen's recent utterances on this question Mr. Motherwell said that he, the premier, "always has the faculty of coming on the scenes with his reforms one or two laps too late," and instanced his grain marketing scheme as another example of death-bed repentance.

Col. W. T. Thompson, of Ottawa, and former M.P. for Halcmand, who

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is accompanying Mr. King on his western tour, followed Mr. Motherwell.

Announcing that he had a little gossip to give them, Col. Thompson outlined the political situation throughout the Dominion at the present time. Stating that the Hon. A. K. MacLean a few weeks ago conceded the Libera's 21 out of 31 seats in the Maritime provinces, the speaker quoted later authorities as giving first 23 and then 24. "When we get back east," he said, "we expect to find that it is 31." In a humorous way he quoted others as giving the Liberals all 65 seats in Quebec and said he was satisfied that the returns would give the Liberals not less than 20 to 25 seats in Ontario. "That," he said, "gives us 105 up to the Manitoba boundary. Add another 15 west of that with the Yukon thrown in for good measure, and we will have a total of 120 or a majority over all."

"You are counting your chickens before they are hatched," yelled a voice from the audience.

**No Bad Eggs**

"We don't mind counting our chickens before they are hatched because in the Liberal party we have no bad eggs," the speaker flashed back to the accompaniment of prolonged and loud applause.

Dealing with the Progressive movement, Col. Thompson declared that class rule perpetrated two wrongs. It was a wrong to the private citizen because one of the most cherished rights was the right of a man to represent his fellow citizens and it was wrong to the nation, because it deprived the nation of representation of all classes. He pointed out that in the Farmers' movement or the Labor party such statesmen as Lloyd George or Clemenceau could not be accepted as representatives. "The farmers' group stands for the farmers," he said, "the labor party stands for labor, the Conservatives for the privileged class and the Liberals for no class." He pointed out that the returned soldiers, recognizing the restrictions and evils of class movement, had formed no political party.

Dealing with the tariff, the speaker said there had been no change in the tariff policies of either of the two parties. The Liberal policy, that of tariff for revenue, was the same in 1896 as it was today. The Conservative policy, that of tariff for protection to privileged interests, was the same today as it always had been.

**Brings Prosperity**

In 1896 when the Liberals came into power on a tariff for revenue policy, Sir Chas. Tupper had declared that such a policy would result in grass growing on the streets in the cities and women and children starving for bread, but the actual result was 15 years of great prosperity for Canada. "Mr. Meighen attributes the prosperity of that period to a continuance of the old national policy," he said, "but if the old national policy were being continued, how could Sir Chas. Tupper have made the remarks he did?" he asked.

The British preference was inaugurated during the Laurier regime, but the British preference was opposed by the party that was flapping the flag in 1911. The same party opposed reciprocity and successfully opposed it. "I venture to say," he said, "that had reciprocity been carried in 1911 we would have added a million to our population and we would have had no railway problem today."

Referring to the fact that the tariff was revised in 1897 and in 1907 the speaker said tariff revision should take place every ten years. There was no revision in 1917, this being the occasion of the formation of the Union government. He pointed out, however, that all preparations had been completed for an ostensible revision of the tariff but nothing had been done despite the very definite promise contained in the budget speech brought down to the house. "Mr. Meighen," he said, cannot revise the tariff upward, because he would lose the support of the people, and he cannot revise it downward because if he did, what would become of the source of the campaign funds?"

In his concluding remarks, Col. Thompson made some humorous comments at the expense of the Meighen government and its connection with the big interests, illustrating his portrayals with apt quotations and allegorical anecdotes.

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D 5762 (1)

# PROSPERITY IN CANADA WOULD HAVE FOLLOWED RECIPROCITY, SAYS KING IN REGINA ADDRESS

Regina, Nov. 17—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, in his address to a large adience here last night, said:

"I am now beginning the third month of the campaign, but I think I can safely say that in all the provinces that I have been I have not met with a single audience more interested in every way than the present audience which greets my good friend, Dr. Thompson, and myself this evening.

"I thank you most heartily for your kindness in turning out this evening and meeting with me in support of the candidate who is running in the interests of the Liberal party in this constituency.

### Regret Hard Times

"Before touching on the questions of the day I would like to also thank the many friends who came to the station this evening to meet my friend, Dr. Thompson, and myself, and to also thank your chairman and Mr. Motherwell for all the kind things they have had to say in reference to myself. I deem it a great privilege to again have the pleasure of visiting Western Canada and to again find myself in the city of Regina. There is the experience that every man from Eastern Canada experiences when again coming to this great province of the West, to see from time to time, the evidences of great expansion which are so much to the fore. I only regret that at the present time the country is not quite so prosperous as one would wish.

"Everyone in the West is going through a trying experience. Speaking as a Liberal, I cannot help but feel that had that great policy of reciprocity which we fought so hard for in the West at the time of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration have been saved to us, there would have been a demand for our manufacturing and commodities that would have inevitably brought prosperity to our country.

### Is Liberal Movement

"When the East is prosperous the West is prosperous. I have always maintained that the Progressive policy as I saw it at the time I was here before was a Liberal movement. I stated on the last occasion I was in the West that I thought the underlying purpose of the Progressive movement was a great Liberal expansion having regard to the needs of the farmers of our country.

### Hoped for Unity

"Believing that, I did my utmost to hold out to all whom I met the need of co-operation between all the men and women who feel and think alike in Liberal principles to make these policies prevail. I had great hopes that when the day of the election came along we would, after waiting so long to form a democratic government, have brought together the men and women who were of one mind in the matter of defeating the administration that has anything at heart except the interests of the people.

"But I regret to find that notwithstanding that the Liberal Party shows its sympathy in the city as well as in the rural section with the great agricultural industry of the West by selecting for its candidate one who was for years the Minister of Agriculture in this Province, it has been thought desirable to force into the contest a third candidate, the only effect of which will be to so divide the forces opposed to the present administration as to make possible the return of a supporter of that administration.

### Need Consideration

"It is a serious situation, and I hope you will think it over very carefully from the point of view of your own interests, because you will be choosing the man who will voice your opinions in Parliament for the next five years. It will come too late after December 6 for you to realize that the Liberal Party stretched out the hand of good will toward the farming community of this province (believing by so doing it was helping the cities and towns) and that it was refused, and there has been returned a supporter of the administration we are wantijng to see defeated.

"From the point of view of Liberals and Progressives alike there is the desire to see the present administration end as speedily as possible. While there may be that desire, never have we had in Canada before an administration that has so completely usurped the rights of the people and ignored the will of the people at every turn. I do not think I need go far to make plain that fact.

### Who Made Issue?

"Mr. Meighen is telling you there is only one issue before the people, protection or free trade. Who made that issue? Did you? Unless you did your rights have been usurped, because in a country where we believe in self-government the people have the right to make the issue. No one man has that right. There is the difference between autocracy and democracy. Autocracy says this and this is so and shall be. Mr. Meighen presents that attitude to the people of the country.

"It is 10 years since the people of Canada have had any chance to discuss their own domestic questions. In that time a new generation has grown up. In the election of 1917 the fight was on the one question, the ending of the war. Since 1917 there has been no opportunity of discussing the questions which pertain to matters of domestic policies.

### Electorate is Changed

"In that time the young men of 21 have become 31. These have had no chance to discuss matters of domestic interest. The men overseas in 1917 have come back imbued with larger desires than ever to play their part as citizens. Are they not to be considered in the matters and questions which they might want to have discussed? I might add the most important of all the new group that makes up the electorate of today, the women. Irrespective of any special group they have the right to take their part in the government of the country.

### Why Restrict?

"Why should any man come before the people of Canada and seek to restrict discussions of public questions to one imaginary issue such as protection or free trade? Has the labor of our country to have no right to have the problems of their concern discussed at the present time? Are the returned men to have no right to have questions of interest to them discussed? Are the women to have no right to have the question of the high cost of living discussed at this time? Why are we restricted in this way? We have railway systems taken over without the people being consulted and members of Parliament ignored in regard to the transactions. Have we no right to discuss the question of freight rates and all that relates to transportation?

"The more you think of it, the more arrogant is the attitude of our Prime Minister in appealing to the people on a single issue, and that, one of his own imagination.

### Wants to Forget

"There is a reason why the Prime Minister has chosen the course he has. You do not have to go far to discover it. The reason is that he wants the people to forget about all these questions. He wants them to forget all about his administration and government. Under British par-

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liamentary institutions the custom is when a government has been in office, to come, before the people and place its record before them and deal with it. That is just the very thing that Mr. Meighen does not want to do. Speaking last night in Winnipeg, he said, referring to campaign funds, that he had had the greatest difficulty to get anyone to give him enough money to prepare the record of the administration. I do not wonder at that, because the less his friends know about his administration the better. That is the very thing he wants us to forget.

"I presume in this gathering there must be at least a few who are supporters of Mr. Meighen and the candidate who is running in his interests here."

Mr. King was interrupted by a wave of applause. He continued:

**Who Gave Mandate?**

"I want to ask them this question: Have you or has anyone that you know directly or indirectly been responsible for giving to Mr. Meighen the right to carry on the Government of this country during the last 16 months?"

Cries of No, No.

Mr. King: "Is there anyone that will say yes?"

There being no reply, Mr. King continued:

"I must ask what sort of citizens you are? Are you going to support a man who refuses the public the right of government, the most fundamental of all the rights of a free people? Are you going to return a Prime Minister to power for another five years who has deprived the people of that fundamental right to carrying on the government of the country? I say Mr. Meighen is condemned by his own friends in this very audience.

**Rights Usurped**

"It is bad enough that Mr. Meighen during 16 months should have spent millions upon millions of the money of the people but when you remember the fact that he has committed this country to vast obligations from which it will be difficult to free ourselves it becomes more serious the extent to which the rights of the people have been usurped.

"Most serious of all, not only has he spent the money of the people and incurred obligations of the most serious kind, but in regard to our whole future legislation he has helped to put a blot on the pages of legislation. Remember this: Every law in this country has to go through two houses, the Commons and the Senate. You have only to look at the newspapers of the last few months to see that he has been filling the Senate with appointees of his own men, with men of mentality akin to his own, indifferent to the desire or wish of the people.

"These men will have their say as to whether or not any particular measure is likely to be enacted into law in the course of the next few years.

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Edmonton Bulletin Nov 16th 1921 D 5784

# CANADA SEEKS RULE WITHOUT CLASS MOTIVE

## Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Addresses Large Audience at Regina

## WAS WELL RECEIVED

## Declares Progressive Movement Is an Offshoot from Liberalism

REGINA, Nov. 16. (By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).—Addressing a large audience of Regina people, apparently including in the number many Conservative and Progressive supporters, at the Stadium rink tonight, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, again warned of the danger of the Progressive movement bringing about isolation of the middle-west of Canada, and urged his hearers before it was too late to get together in their fight for what he termend were after all mainly Liberal principles.

**Questions Answered**

Shortly after the outset there were indications that Mr. King was likely to have several interruptions in his speech. It was evident that there were many in the large audience who differed from him politically ,but the outbursts were sporadic in their nature, and there was nothing which would justify the work "heckling." The Liberal leader replied to his questioners without hesitation, and apparently had much the better of the exchanges, since the attempt at heckling ended as suddenly as it had begun. The Liberal leader said he had considered the Progressive movement a Liberal Movement, and had done his best to bring about unity between it and his own party. The organized farmers, however, had repelled such advances and went into the fight with the declaration that they had "no use for either of the old parties."

There was talk of coalition after December 6, but, said Mr. King, as he predicted a majority in the house for his party, the country was sick of coalitions and, in any case, the Progressives could not expect any coalition with a party which they had deliberately sought to antagonize.

**What Canada Needs**

Canada, said Mr. King, needed government based on the needs of the whole Dominion, and any attempt to rule the country on the basis of the needs of any class, group or section could only lead to divisions in the state.

Mr. King charged the prime minister with autocracy, in seeking to restrict the issue to that of protection versus free trade. With this and the charge that he (Mr. King) had trimmed his tariff policies according to the districts he was speaking in, the Liberal leader declared there was no question of free trade in this election. His policy, he said, was one of downward revision, with the lightening of the tariff burden on implements of production in the basic industries and on the necessities of life.

The Liberal leader dealt with the matter of grain marketing, saying that the problem of the wheat board was one which needed consideration. Experts in the west were not agreed on the matter of a wheat board but if returned to power, he would seek the best advice obtainable and on that, base a policy which was considered in the best interests of all Canada.

**Danger of Isolation**

Dealing again with the Progressive party, Mr. King said its supporters evidently thought more of a name than of their principles. He warned against the danger of isolation and said that this was no time for experimenting in matters of government. If the farmers of Saskatchewan wanted a representative who understood the problems of Saskatchewan, they could choose no better man than Hon. Mr. Motherwell.

Hon. Mr. King said he did not wish to be understood as threatening the Progressives, but rather as warning them that if they sought to work with the Liberal party for the things they held in common, they must seek unity before the election rather than afterward.

The Riordan tax payments and railway matters came in for considerable attention from Hon. Mr. King. In respect to the former, he stated that the Riordan company had become the owners of companies which were paying taxes to the United States government, while the parent company gave promissory notes in Canada. In regard to railways, Mr. King charged that an "autocratic policy of secrecy" had been pursued. Railwaymen, he promised, would be given representation on the Canadian National railways board if the Liberals were elected.

**Ammunition Shipments**

Mr. King criticised naval and army expenditures during after-war years, and declared that the recent shipments of munitions from England to Levis ,apparently had something to do with the election itself and might prove to be the greatest scandal that was ever known.

Mr. King blamed the defeat of reciprocity largely for the lack of markets for western products and said that as the west suffered for lack of markets, the east was suffering for lack of western business. The Liberal policy, he believed, would bring prosperity to all sections of the country and would prove best for all.

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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# FOUGHT FOR JUSTICE TO G. T. R. STRIKERS IN 1910--KING TELLS HOW MEIGHEN REFUSED IT LAST SESSION

**Liberal Leader, Before Audience of 2,500 at Armouries, Explained His Part in Strike Negotiations—Told of Laurier's Efforts to Make Company Keep Agreement—His Own Effort to Have Meighen Implement Agreement When Taking Over Grand Trunk—Regrets Division of Reform Element—Points Out That Effort of Progressives to Destroy Liberal Party, Makes It Class Movement.**

On his recommendation as Minister of Labor in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet, the Government of the day refused to complete a loan of seven million dollars to the Grand Trunk, until the company fulfilled to the letter its agreement with the men, in 1910, at the time of the strike. This agreement specifically provided that the company would reinstate the strikers to their positions and their pensions. This was the statement of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, on the platform at the Armouries, Thursday afternoon. It was made at the request of Hon. W. E. Knowles, K.C., Liberal candidate in this constituency, because of criticism of Mr. King's action in the matter.

The Liberal leader then showed that the Liberal Government of Sir Wilfrid had been defeated in 1911, the Borden Government failed to implement the agreement, and Mr. King told his hearers that he had endeavored to have the Meighen Government at the last session repair the injustice by Act of Parliament, and the Government Members, at the request of Mr. Meighen, had voted down his motion. He told his audience that the leader of the strikers, in 1910, had been James Murdock, of the Commerce Board, the same James Murdock who was today campaigning Ontario as a Liberal candidate, and had spoken many times from the same platform as he, (Mr. King). He declared that Mr. Murdock was the type of individual who would fight to the drop of the hat for the rights of Labor. Mr. Murdock believed, and told his audiences that Labor would secure its aims through a Liberal administration at Ottawa.

The audience of close to 2,500, who had braved a western prairie blizzard, listened intently to the Liberal leader in an address lasting over one hour and a half. The day was more inclement than that upon which Mr. King addressed an audience of 1,600 persons, in October, of last year. There was only one interruption during his address, when in discussing Union Government, a man at the back of the hall shouted: "No Liberals resigned in protest." Mr. King answered that all those who had resigned were Liberals, but pointed out that the Member from Moose Jaw, Hon. James A. Calder, had not resigned, but had stuck to Mr. Meighen, and was now in the Senate.

He asked his audience whether they had expected when they voted for Mr. Calder, in 1917, that he was going to support the Government for an indefinite time after the winning of the war, and then retire into the Senate.

Mr. King, paid tribute to Hon. Mr. Knowles' work at Ottawa, during thirteen sessions of the House, declaring that he knew as Deputy Minister of Labor and after, as Minister of Labor, that Mr. Knowles was the most active man in the interests of the common people, who sat in Ottawa as a representative of the West.

While not attacking the Progressives, Mr. King outlined clearly the danger of class control. He asked whether the Progressives thought that the Liberals of the East and the far West would consent to a coalition or a union with the Progressives after the election. As long as human nature was human nature, he asserted, men would not unite with those who sought to destroy them.

He also exposed the special privilege extended by the Government to the big interests of the East in the matter of paying their income taxes and profits taxes by promissory notes.

When the Liberal leader, Col. A. E. Thompson, of Toronto; William Grayson, K.C., chairman of the meeting, and Hon. W. E. Knowles, mounted the platform, they were given a rousing reception. The party had been preceded to the Armoury by the Great War Veterans' band.

Mr. William Grayson, chairman of the meeting, confined his opening remarks to a short introduction of the Hon. W. E. Knowles, Liberal candidate for this constituency. The assembly knew, he stated, of the many benefits received by the people of Western Canada while Mr. Knowles was in Parliament. Farmers were well aware of these benefits, he declared, adding that Mr. Knowles had worked successfully for labor.

In concluding his introduction Mr. Grayson affirmed that Mr. Knowles was no novice in the business of government. His experience as a parliamentarian and a public man deserved well at the hands of the electors.

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### Hon. W. E. Knowles

W. E. Knowles, in opening his address, spoke with great warmth of his friendship for Mr. King. In Mr. King the people had a man who, by reason of his character, was one of the most generous democrats in Canada. Mr. Knowles commented on the large number of people who had assembled to hear Mr. King. They had come, he stated, not as a pastime. Considering the inclement weather, the large crowd proved that the cause was a serious one. If the people expressed their views on the merits of the candidates, he believed they would place Mr. King in Parliament. The only question was whether the Liberals would have a substantial majority over all parties.

"What we want in Canada today with our doubts, anxieties and settlements to face," he said, "is a strong stable government." If it was a mere matter of groups that was the issue, those groups would be unfit to rule the country. Canada needed to be guided by a strong permanent government. All doubts and uncertainty would have to be removed.

Whether the people assembled were devoted to the Liberals or to the Conservatives, they would find that Mr. King placed his cards on the table. He was not a hair splitter, while Mr. Meighen was known as the greatest living hair splitter —with all respect to Mr. Meighen.

### Col. Thompson

Colonel Thompson, of Ottawa, a former member of the Federal House, gave a short address preceding the main speech of the afternoon. He dealt chiefly with the excellent prospects of the Liberal party in the coming election and the injury done to the country by political groups or classes.

In opening Colonel Thompson referred to Hon. W. E. Knowles, the Liberal candidate in Moose Jaw constituency, whom he stated had been a very vigorous representative during his term in the Federal House. He had always been active when the interests of those whom he represented had been concerned.

In dealing with the prospects of the Liberals in the coming election, Mr. Thompson stated that he beheved the Liberals would have a majority over all other groups in the House after December 6. From statements he had received from prominent men in touch wtih the political situation in the various parts of the country, and from his own observations, he believed that Mr. King would be the next Premier of Canada with a following in the House of from 115 to 120 members. It was expected that the Liberals would secure 23 or 24 of the 31 seats in the Maritime Provinces, while Quebec would return an almost solid Liberal representation. In Ontario, the Liberals were confident of 25 seats, while in the West fifteen members were expected to join the Liberal standard.

Mr. Thompson then referred to the class movement which has made its appearance in Federal politics. He said that democracy meant the power of the people, not one class of the people but all the people. He stated that it was an injury to individuals and to the country as a whole as it deprived certain citizens of the right to sit in Parliament and in some cases deprived the country of the men best fitted to carry on the business of the country as they could not be put up as candidates but such political groups.

### The $2,000 Bonus

As an illustration of his point, Col. Thompson referred to the returned soldiers, who, when they came back to their native country found that many of their comrades, who had not been to the front, were prosperous and happy, while they had had nothing but $1.10 a day during the time they had worked to save their country. Some of these men advocated a $2,000 bonus, and the speaker was of the opinion that they were entitled to it, but when they saw that the imposition of this additional burden on the back of the already over-taxed country would be likely to ruin it, they said that as they had saved Canada at war, they would not ruin it in peace. Consequently they had abandoned their claim to the bonus and the idea of taking political action to secure their ends.

Coming to the tairff, Mr. Thompson said that the present tariff was all right at one time, but it was a recognized fact that it should be revised about every ten years. The Liberals had revised it in 1897 and in 1907. Owing to the war, it had not been revised in 1917, but in 1920 an investigation had been carried out, which was supposed to be with the intention of making a revision. This revision had also been mentioned in the speech from the throne in 1921, but to date nothing had been done along this line.

The speaker charged the Meighen Government with being afraid to revise the tariff before an election for the reason that if they had revised it upward, it would have been goodbye to the Government in the election, while if a revision had been made downward, the Government would have no funds to carry on the election campaign.

### Same Old Stuff

Col. Thompson claimed that the Conservative propaganda of 1896 could be used in the present election if the date was changed. They had then stated that if the Liberals were returned to power the factories would be closed and the country go to ruin. Instead there had been fifteen years of prosperity. He referred also to the British preference established by Fielding under Laurier, and said that those who fought this preference were those who were now making all the talk about loyalty and doing all the flag waving. He also spoke of reciprocity, which was defeated at the polls in 1911, and stated that if it had been supported there would have been no question of high freight rates in the West today, as there would have been at least a million more people on the prairies, and the increased traffic and prosperity which they would have brought would have solved the problem.

### Introduces Mr. King

Introducing Mr. King, Mr. Grayson declared that the leader of the Liberal party had distinguished himself when in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government. As Minister of Labor, Mr. King had fought battles for Labor when it was not profitable to do so.

The chairman stated that the country had never had such a need for men of Mr. King's calibre as it had now. Mr. King had been chosen by Laurier as one of his ministers because the great statesman believed in him.

In his opening remarks Mr. King told his audience that he felt it a great privilege to be in Moose Jaw. It was only about a year ago that his colleagues and himself had the privilege of addressing an audience in the Armouries. He had had more time to visit smaller points at that date, but now that the whole Dominion had to be covered it was not possible to visit more than two points in the province. He hoped that those whom he found it impossible to visit would not feel that they had been overlooked. He would have liked particularly, he stated, to have had the opportunity to speak to the farmers.

"I believe," Mr. King said, "that the principles which the farmers are supporting are Liberal principles and that whether they belong to the Progressives or the Liberals, that they are sincere. It is wiser for those that face a common enemy to stand together."

Mr. King stated that when he was here before he had had the privilege of sitting in Parliament with Mr. Knowles. Before that time, when Deputy Minister of Labor, he had found that there was no member of Parliament who was more interested in Labor than Mr. Knowles. This was especially true in industrial problems. His name figured more than any other man as advocating more measures in the interest of Labor in Western Canada.

This was a time, Mr. King affirmed, when we could not afford to experiment. Never before in Canada were there such problems to face. For that reason electors should feel that they had a great responsibility upon their shoulders.

Political experience was not easily gathered. One who had served years was better fitted to have the privilege of taking part in the government of the country than one who was not experienced. The speaker declared that there was no need to inform his audience of the ability of Mr. Knowles.. His ability was unques-

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tionable, and there was no greater democrat in the country. A democrat was one, who among other things, wanted the liberty to develop the industry in which he was engaged.

"I know how kindly Mr. Knowles was regarded by Laurier," Mr. King stated. "I know how much he was respected by the Old Chief." He added that if he were returned he would know Mr. Knowles as a supporter on whom he could depend.

"You are to make one of the most momentous decisions in the history of Canada," said the speaker. "You are to decide what form the Government of Canada is to take. There is no part of Canada more interested in the final result than these Western prairies." That was one of the reasons, Mr. King declared, that he deplored the entrance into Federal politics of a third party, for it was dividing into groups those who stood for Liberal principles. It was not good for class consciousness to develop into a class movement and thus be isolated. The leaders of the Progressive party will assert, continued the speaker, that their movement is broader than class. They will point out that they have doctors and others not in their class, who are candidates in the coming election. Referring to the tour of the West which he had made a year ago, Mr. King drew attention to the speeches which he had made then, when he had appealed to men and women, Progressives and Liberals, who thought alike to co-operate in the fight against the common enemy. He asserted that he viewed the Progressive movement in very much the same light as did Dr. Michael Clark, as an advanced wing of the Liberal party. He had never spoken against it and had welcomed a desire on the part of the people within its membership to share in the government of the country.

Mr. King stated that he had gone from constituency to constituency all over the West where the Progressives were fighting the Liberals. He asserted that he had the strongest sympathy for the Progressive movement, but it was not the principles but the class which would prevail in the government of the country. He illustrated his argument by asking whether the people would support the manufacturers if they should draft a platform for a political party, and allow all men to run on that platform. "How much faith," asked Mr. King, "would the Labor men and the farmers have in such a platform or group?" He felt that the movement originated with a class which sought to control the government of the country.

The class movement raised enemies among men and women who are going along the same lines. It was possible for it to result in this and that group, saying we will have our group, instead of all co-operating together and bearing their share in the control of the government.

Mr. King pointed out that what should be the desire of the people would be to get the men into Parliament who would serve the interests of the farmers, for the interests of the farmers actually meant the interests of the cities, and what would benefit the Western farmers would benefit the East as well.

**Fighting Own Friends**

What is required are men who will espouse the principles and the cause of the West, not those who seek office but men who stand for principles. "What man," asked Mr. King, "is better able to do this than Hon. W. R. Motherwell, in the city of Regina. He was Minister of Agriculture in the Provincial Government for many years. The Liberals of Regina city showed their sympathy with the farmers' cause by nominating Mr. Motherwell. The Progressives," declared Mr. King, "nominated a city man in order to get the city vote and help defeat Mr. Motherwell. What is that but a class movement?" asked the speaker. "What has become of their principles? By dividing the vote of the reform thinkers they are making it possible for the return of some supporter of the common enemy."

"That," asserted Mr. King, "is one of the reasons that the Progressives have lost much of the support that they otherwise would have secured. It is not fair to call it a farmer movement. The great body of the farmers, for there is only a section of the agriculturists who are Progressives, know that the only way that they can make their principles prevail is by supporting the men and women who are fighting not for class, but for all the people.

He then pointed out the serious situation which would develop in the country when one section of the country was isolated from the rest of the Dominion. It was the position the Progressives were putting themselves in when they declared that they were fighting the old parties.

He asked the Progressives in the audience whether they thought that they could seek to destroy the Liberal party the same as they sought to destroy the Tories and then when the election was over expect that the Liberals would invite them in to form an alliance.

**Sick of Coalitions**

"The day has come," he declared, raising his voice to almost a shout, "when the people are sick of coalitions, unions and complications." (Cheers.) Mr. King continued when the cheering had subsided, declaring that the people wanted a government that stood for one policy from the Atlantic to the Pacific and a government that would carry through. He reiterated his assertion that the Liberals of the Maritime Provinces, of Quebec, Ontario and B. C. would not likely take kindly to the proposal that they should share the authority of government with the class which had sought to destroy the Liberal party. As long as human nature is human nature he was sure they would not.

He then appealed to the electors to send as many Liberals to Ottawa as possible and only by this would they accomplish that union of the East and West which is the urgent need of the Dominion today.

**Protection**

Turning his attention to the assertions of Premier Meighen that the question to be decided was Protection or Free Trade, the Liberal leader asked "Who has the right to decide what the issue will be but the people?" Mr. Meighen has been an autocrat so long he has become indifferent to the will of the people, and he has convinced himself that all he has to do is to put something forward and the people will accept it.

Mr. King then pointed out that the whole structure of the political situation had changed since the last test of public opinion on Federal issues. The men who were 21 years of age ten years ago were today 31 years of age. The men who had been overseas had returned realizing their responsibility. The women of Canada were realizing their duty and right to have a share in the Government of the country. There was a good deal of presumption on Mr. Meighen's part to state that the affairs of Labor and of the returned men or the high cost of living—a matter of importance to every woman—should not be discussed. "Surely it is most important to the country that the question of what made the railway rates so high should be discussed."

**Meighen Dare Not**

"The reason," declared Mr. King, "that Mr. Meighen wants to discuss protection vs. free trade is that he wants the people to forget all about the record of his Government during the past sixteen months. It is a custom under our constitution," the speaker asserted, "after a government has been in office for it to appeal on its record. Mr. Meighen dare not do that."

**Who Helped Him?**

Mr. King then repeated his question, asked on every platform upon which he has spoken, whether there was anyone in his audience who had directly or indirectly had anything to do with the giving to Mr. Meighen

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of the right to carry on a government. He asserted that at no time had he received an answer from any person who would admit that they had. "Mr. Meighen has stolen the right of the people, the sacred right of the people to say who shall rule them." (Applause).

"Yet he comes to you and asks you for your confidence when he has abused your confidence as he has done.

Referring to Premier Meighen the Liberal leader said, "he dared at Winnipeg to say that no pledge was given to the people in 1917 that the Union Government would not carry on indefinitely after the war. If that were true then Mr. Meighen, when he and the other members of the Borden Union Government were pleading with you in 1917 to forget politics, was secretly planning to continue in office once they gained it. Was there ever any worse betrayal of a nation? If he tells that there was no pledge in 1917, then he was deliberately deceiving the nation in the time of greatest distress."

At this juncture a voice from the back of the hall was heard with the question: "How many Liberals resigned from the Union Government?"

**One Stuck**

With simple directness Mr. King silenced his questioner, his reply apparently meeting with the approval of the gathering. "Every man who left after the war was a Liberal; there was McLean, Carvell, Mewburn, Crerar and Rowell, and Sir Thomas White who was once a Liberal, as was Mr. Crerar when he entered the Union Government. There was one gentleman from Moose Jaw who didn't resign, but continued to support Meighen, and now he's in the Senate."

"Union Government was formed in 1917," continued Mr. King. "It was composed of the representatives of two political parties, and was formed for the one purpose of winning the war. The government of Mr. Meighen was not of that character. Mr. Meighen and his government became so sick of the name Union Government that they changed the name. They wanted something entirely different, something which could not be associated with Union Government of Sir Robert Borden. They formed the National Liberal and Conservative Party, and cut away all old associations. How then, can they pretend that there was any implied right from the Government of 1917. When Sir Robert Borden resigned the people of Canada were entitled to return the new parliament."

**The Railway Problem**

Mr. King continued his arraignment of the Meighen Government by an attack on its railway policy, stating that not only the rights of the people to know what was going on, had been denied, but that the members of Parliament were also kept in the dark.

In the past few years the Government had taken over about 20,000 miles of railways without consulting the people in regard to the transactions, although it was the people who must meet the obligations. It had not even discussed the terms of the agreement in the House.

During the Laurier regime, the speaker stated that the terms of such statements had been brought up for discussion on the floor of the House. He had moved that such a policy by adopted in connection with the taking over of the Grand Trunk Railway, but Premier Meighen had asked his followers to vote against such a procedure. The shareholders and directors of the Grand Trunk Railway, however, had been given a chance to see and discuss the terms of the agreement and accepted them. Then the public of Canada, which became the other party to the agreement, had learned the terms by cable.

Another instance of the undemocratic methods of the Meighen Government was the fact that the railways were placed in control of a Board of Directors, eight or ten men who were friends of Mr. Meighen and his colleagues. They were exempted from personal liability and no accounting of the vast expenditures incurred was made public. When questions were asked in regard to whether or not the directors were also directors of other companies, what insurance was carried on the railways or what contracts had been let, the Government stated that it had no information, and when Mr. King himself moved that the same accounting as for other departments be given, the Premier asked his followers to vote against the motion and they did, Mr. Calder included.

"Later on we found out in committee who the directors were," said Mr. King. "Four-fifths of them were also directors on other companies, who were doing business with the Board of Directors of the National railways. It was found also that there was some $140,000,000 insurance on the system and a very large share of this was held by one company, two of whose directors, were also on the Board of Directors of the National Railways. It also came to light that one $11,000,000 contract and a $9,000,000 contract were let to companies who had a director each who was also on the Board of Directors of the National Railways. This is the cause of the railway problem in Canada.

"The Government is in the hands of an oligarchy," said Mr. King, which, allied with industrial plutocrats, is working against the common people. Until the time comes or is brought about by the electors of the country when we get back to responsible government and publicity in public expenditures, there will be no relief from the present condition."

**The Grand Trunk Question**

Mr. King next dealt with the charge made that he was responsible for the Grand Trunk going back on its agreement with its striking employees in 1910. He stated that he was present at the time the agreement was drawn up and knew the terms, one of which was that the men should be taken back and granted full rights of pension, regardless of whether they had been on strike or not. The Grand Trunk did not keep faith.

It was just before the election of 1911, stated Mr. King, and the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was about to make a loan of seven millions to the Grand Trunk. Sir Wilfrid refused to make the loan and declared that until I told him that the agreement with the men had been carried out that the Grand Trunk would not get a five-cent piece. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government was defeated and the Borden Government did not make the Grand Trunk fulfill the agreement. Last session when the Grand Trunk requisition bill was before the House of Commons and before the bill was signed I pointed out that while the matter was still open was the time to correct this error. I pointed out that there was one account that had not been settled—the account of the men who had been deprived of their pensions—and I moved that Parliament restore the full pension rights according to the settlement made with the company and the men in 1910. It was an opportunity to remedy an injustice by act of Parliament. What happened? Mr. Meighen got up in the House of Commons and asked his supporters to vote down the motion, and they did so.

"Who is going from platform to platform, speaking for the Liberal cause in Ontario, today?" asked Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. "Has spoken on the same platform with me? James Murdock, leader of the railway labor men and labor men in general. In 1910 he was leader of the strikers in that strike. Is that not a proof of my sincerity and honesty? That is the reason he became a Liberal candidate in South Toronto. He believes, and he is one of the type who will fight to the drop of the hat for the cause of the laboring people, that the Liberals can and will do more for the cause of labor than any other party. That is my answer to that question," concluded Mr. King.

"I helped to create the Department of Labor. I had a part in the forming of legislation for fair wages and I am on record in Hansard as being one of the champions of the cause of Labor."

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D 5730 (a)

### The Tariff

Turning attention to the tariff, Mr. King declared that it was not a question of Protection and Free Trade. He asked his audience who stood for Free Trade, adding that Free Trade meant absence of tariff and the raising of money by direct taxation. The huge expenditures by the Government for military purposes, railways, etc., must sooner or later relate to the cost of government and the cost of living.

### $310 Per Family

Ten years ago the national debt was $340,000,000, and today it was two billions three hundred and fifty millions. Ten years ago the interest on the national debt was 12 to 13 millions, and today it is 140 millions of dollars per year. The country was not being run into debt to pay the debt to the dependents and the men who were overseas. The last Parliament had a total of 560 million dollars to run the country for one year. It meant $61 per head for each individual in the country or $310 for each family of five for the Federal purposes only. It did not include Provincial and Municipal taxes, but $310 for each family of five for the Federal Government.

The farmers were badgered to pay their income taxes. The system which had been devised was most complicated, but, the speaker asserted, millions of dollars were being wasted yearly in the Dominion for the collection of taxes. He diverted for a moment from the subject to suggest that he could see no reason why a central system to handle, Dominion, provincial and municipal taxes could not be created and thus save the people of the country an immense amount in tax collection.

### Special Privilege

However, continued the speaker, the worst part of the situation was that it had been found out that some of the big concerns in the East were not paying their taxes. The Riordon Company had been able to pay 10 per cent. dividend during the war. It had been able to put much money into pulp leases in Canada and into lands in the United States and was paying its taxes in the latter country, but to the Government of Canada it had been allowed to give promissory notes. "How many of you farmers were allowed to give promissory notes for your income tax?" asked Mr. King.

### What It Means

The sum of $310 per family would mean much to many families in Canada in a year. It would mean to some the difference between having a mortgage on the home and having it free. It would mean inability to pay life insurance to provide for dependents. It would mean much in case of sickness. "That's why it is a matter of vital importance to the women."

He pointed out that it was not the man who imported the goods who paid the tariff but the consumer, that was why the cost of many articles were so high.

Mr. King then quoted a poem by an American (Swift):

"Great fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em,
And little fleas have lesser fleas, and so ad infinitum."

"I have written a little poem myself," said Mr. King. "It runs like this:

"Big bugs have little bugs to whom they pass their taxes,
And little bugs have other bugs who must grind the axes."

### For Good of All

"We should view the tariff in the light of what is best for the Dominion as a whole. If life will be made easier for the great majority and greater prosperity for the masses will ensue, then we should revise the tariff. The tax on necessities is now too high and the way to lower this is to revise the tariff. Greater production and greater demand will follow cheaper prices.

"The basic wealth of Canada is derived from four great industries. These are agriculture, mining, fishing and forestry. It requires implements and tools to turn these into a state for consumption. These implements can be regarded as capital. That being the case, it is a foolish policy as any financier will tell you to tax capital. Yet a heavy tax is put upon these. The reason why we advocate a lower tariff on implements is that it will make the finished product that much cheaper. In this manner production will increase.

"Our policy is not a tariff for protection of special interests but simply a tariff for purposes of raising revenue. The present tariff must be revised to help production. Where it bears too heavily on any one class it should be lowered and this is the case regarding implements and tools.

"My political opponents have been stating that I have one set of statements for the West and one for the East. If that were the case, don't you think they would have taken two of my speeches containing contradictions and placed them side by side for the whole of Canada to read. I have been reported by the press from coast to coast and never yet have they pointed out one place where I have contradicted myself. I have always maintained, everywhere I have spoken, that the tariff should be maintained for purposes of revenue and should be greatly revised."

Mr. King then reviewed the platform of the Progressive party and showed how it had many planks similar to those of his party. It differed in some respects, but the things on which it agreed were of much greater importance than those upon which it disagreed. Here were two great parties divided while the Conservative party stood solid. It was this division of the parties which have many points of similarity with the Liberal party, that was giving the so-called Liberal-Conservative party its strength.

He said that one evidence of Meighen's attempt at usurpation was the manner in which he was putting Tories into Senate appointments. The Senate was rapidly becoming a Tory Senate, and it would soon be a great problem to get even the most moderate reform measures past this body. They were going to block progress and ruin the country's prosperity.

### Plea for Unity

"Meighen has made the election laws and has control of the election machine," he continued. "We find ourselves with this great force of might and power arrayed against democracy. It isn't just enough to be in the right; we must make right prevail. United we stand. Divided into groups, working at cross-purposes, we stand grave chances of failure. Whether you are a Liberal or a Progressive, if you want to see right prevail you should unite under one banner. Under the banner of Liberalism you will see a brighter and more prosperous era dawning for this great Canada." (Applause).

After concluding his address Mr. King descended from the platform and was greeted by many of his old supporters and friends. He shook hands warmly with them and conversed upon side issues of the forthcoming election.

Having made his last speech in Saskatchewan of this election campaign, Mr. King left for the East on No. 2 train, leaving Moose Jaw at 5.55 p.m.

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CANADA

Edmonton Bulletin Nov 18, 21

D 5791

# PRAIRIES MIGHT BE ISOLATED DECLARES KING

## Liberal Leader Points Out Danger of Electing a Third Party

## REGRETS CLASS MOVE

### Policy of Downward Tariff Revision Will Be in Interest of Whole Country

MOOSE JAW, Nov. 17 (Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).—Another warning tc the people of the prairie provinces that they were liable to bring about political isolation by their course "in seeking to defeat both old parties and support a third class group," was given by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at this afternoon's meeting here. The Liberal leader also declared that Premier Meighen's claim of "No pledge in 1917" showed the prime minister to have "been a party to the betrayal of this nation."

When Mr. King was charging the government with having "hung to power after the war," a man in the audience said "No Liberals had resigned in protest."

"Why all who resigned were Liberals," declared Mr. King as he named the ministers who left the Union government.

**Hon. J. A. Calder**

"There was one man you elected from this riding Hon. J. A. Calder, who did not resign. Did any of you elect him to remain in the government as long as he could and then find a life job in the senate?" (Cries of "No, No.")

In his speech, Mr. King voiced regret that he had been unable to make a more extended tour of the prairies. Particularly would he have liked to lay before the farmers his views on the problems of the day. Canada could not afford to experiment in matters of government. No part of Canada was so deeply interested in the outcome of this election as the west, Mr. King stated. It was regrettable that a class movement should have sprung up in the western provinces. The Progressives had claimed Liberal principles, said Mr. King, and had urged co-operation in attempting to secure these principles. The Liberal leader asserted that the record of the Liberal party showed also its friendship for the farmers of the west.

The speaker dealt with the tariff, and declared his policy of downward revision would be best for all Canada. Dealing with taxation, Mr. King declared the farmers "were being badgered in regard to their payments, while some big companies like the Riordan got away by giving promissory notes. The government has no right to discriminate. We will never know how much Canada is losing until we have a house-cleaning.

Mr. King asserted the present great cost of government meant an added tax bill to every householder in Canada.

**Would Continue Friendship**

Economy and retrenchment were most necessary. Today Progressive candidates were being placed in the field to defeat Liberals. He deplored the Progressive tendency which raisd up enemity where there had been only friendship. The Liberal leader warned his audience that coalition was not to be expected after elections. He predicted a majority over all for the Liberals and the return of a strong Liberal administration. Western Canada must have full voice in the forming of a government, but it could not secure this by defeating the Liberal candidates in the field.

The Liberal leader dealing with railway matters charged the government with ignoring both parliament and the people. The Meighen government had given the very opposite of democratic government. He said it stood "as an autocratic body between the group of its friends, to whom management was entrusted, and the people whose money was being spent."

There could be no relief in railroad rates or anything else until the present combination in control was broken up.

The Grand Trunk strike of 1910 is still of a certain interest here and Mr. King mentioned this part in the settlement of it. The Laurier government had shut off a loan to the Grand Trunk because the railway president had refused to reinstate his employess as promised. Mr. King said he had proposed an amendment to the Grand Trunk railway bill, to require fulfillment of the company's obligations and the Meighen supporters had voted it down. James Murdock, who represented the trainmen in that strike was now a Liberal candidate "an expression of his confidence in Liberalism, and its friendliness toward labor," Mr. King declared.

**Tariff Speeches**

Mr. King again renewed his challenge to any one to produce any two of his tariff speeches which differed. He had made the same statement from the Pacific to the Atlantic, he said. He believed in a revenue tariff, revised to protect the consumer and not to add to manufacturers' profits.

Dealing with the differences between Liberal and Progressive platforms, Mr. King declared it would be almost impossible to put any reforms through the senate, "because of the Tory majority there."

Mr. King closed with a strong appeal for unity of all classes in Canada.

Hon. W. E. Knowles, Liberal candidate, welcomed Mr. King as "one of the most honest-to-goodness Democrats in Canada and a leader to whom Liberal principles could safely be trusted."

Mr. Knowles asked calm consideration of the problems of the day and of the parties on their merits. A strong stable government was Canada's need, Mr. Knowles declared that Hon. Mr. Meighen was known on both sides of the ocean as the "greatest hair splitter of his generation."

Col. Andrew Thompson said he expected the Liberals to carry a majority of seats in the next parliament.

"Counting chickens was safe in this case," he said, 'since there were no bad eggs in the Liberal party." He believed there would be fifteen Liberal seats west of the lakes. The government, Col. Thompson declared, admitted the need of tariff revision, but was afraid to introduce it.

Mr. King left here this evening for Winnipeg, where he speaks tomorrow morning.

**Crerar at Winnipeg**

WINNIPEG, Nov. 17.—(By Canadian Press).—"I believe that the Progressives will come to power in Canada after December sixth," said Hon. T. A. Crerar here tonight. "The people," he said, "will see the present government through on that date."

The leader of the National Progressives suggested that his audience should not be shocked to hear on the evening of election day that fifty Progressives had been elected in Ontario, where he said the new party was the government's real opposition. They had about fifteen candidates in the maritime and might have twenty by nomination day, declared Mr. Crerar.

The Progressive leader has concluded his tour of eastern Canada, and in the west, where originated the political movement which he now leads, he will spend the balance of the campaign. Tonight he addressed two meetings of electors of Springfield constituency in school rooms of St. Boniface and Norwood respectively.

In his brief address Mr. Crerar outlined the fiscal policy of the Progressive party, and attacked the Meighen government on its record and on its platform.

**Meighen at Boissevain**

BISSEVAIN, Man., Nov. 17.—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).—Premier Meighen in opening his speech here this afternoon declared that he did not know how farming was to be successful when there was droughth all summer and rain all fall combined with falling prices. The west had suffered severely as a result of weather conditions he said.

The prime minister reiterated his former statement that railway rates must come down and emphasised the statement that the government had no jurisdiction over the railway commission but all indications were that rates would fall.

"No living man has any warrant to say that I favor high protection," Mr. Meighen insisted. "The government favored a tariff sufficiently high to enable Canadian industries to compete with those in the United States and no higher."

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D 5732

Winnipeg Tribune
November 18/21

# MACKENZIE KING FINISHES TOUR OF WEST CANADA

## Addresses Moose Jaw Voters and Urges Support For Party

[Tribune Staff Correspondence]

MOOSE JAW, Nov. 18 — Despite inc ement weather, more than 3,000 persons gathered here Thursday to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, speak on the political issues of the day. On the platform supporting Mr. King were: Hon. W. E. Knowles, Liberal candidate for Moose Jaw; Col. Andrew Thompson, K.C., of Ottawa, and William Grayson, K.C., who presided.

Mr. King expressed regret at being unable to hold more meetings in the west, particularly in the rural districts. He urged farmers of the province to rally to the Liberal standard and present a solid front in the face of a common enemy. He spoke highly of the political experience of W. E. Knowles, Liberal candidate for Moose Jaw, and stated that Mr. Knowles had the courage, ability and resource necessary to make the policies of the part of the country he represented prevail.

### Says Policy Is Broad

The speaker deplored the formation of a third party in Canadian politics. The policy of the Liberal platform was broad enough to embrace all groups and factions, he said. Co-operation was needed and not isolation, he declared. When the Progressive movement first had been organized the Liberals welcomed it as an advanced wing of the Liberal party. He considered now, however, that the Progressive policy was an effort on the part of one class to take control of the government of the country.

If the farmers of Canada continued in this attitude, then other individual groups also would adopt a similar attitude, he said. He assured the farmers of Saskatchewan that all questions directly affecting them would receive the greatest consideration at the hands of the Liberal representatives of the province. He did not consider that it was fair for the Progressives to refer to their party as a Farmer party, as it did not represent all the farmers.

### Not Only Issue

The statement by the opposition that the tariff issue was the only issue in the election was presumptuous, the speaker continued, and he charged the Conservative leader with endeavoring to conceal his past record behind this one issue. He considered the railway policy of the government just as important a question, he said.

The speaker referred to the similarity of platforms adopted by the Grand Army of United Veterans, Progressive and Labor parties, the women of the Dominion, and the Liberal party, and appealed again for co-operation of these parties to defeat "their common enemy." Unity of command, he declared, was as vitally necessary to success in this fight as it had been to the Allies in their struggle against German despotism.

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Montreal Gazette Nov 18th 1921 D 5793

# KING DEPLORES OBTUSENESS OF PROGRESSIVES

## Prairie Provinces May be Isolated When Liberals Are Victorious

## MEETING AT MOOSEJAW

### Hon. W. E. Knowles, Liberal Candidate, Hails Leader as Honest-to-Goodness Democrat

(By Canadian Press.)

Moosejaw, Sask., November 17.—Another warning to the people of the Prairie Provinces that they were liable to bring about political isolation by their course "in seeking to defeat both old parties and support a third class group" was given by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at this afternoon's meeting in the armouries here. The Liberal leader also declared that Premier Meighen's claim of "no pledge in 1917" showed the Prime Minister to have "been a party to the betrayal of this nation."

When Mr. King was charging the Government with having "hung on to power after the war," a man in the audience said: "No Liberals resigned in protest."

"Why, all who resigned were Liberals," declared Mr. King as he named the Ministers who left the Union Government. There was one man you elected from this riding, Hon. J. A. Calder who did not resign. Did any of you elect to have him remain in the Government as long as he could and then find a life job in the Senate?"

Cries of "No, no-"

The Liberal leader asserted that the record of the Liberal party showed friendship for the farmers of the west. He dealt with the tariff and declared that his policy of downward revision would be best for all Canada.

Dealing with taxation, Mr. King declared the farmers "were being badgered in regard to their payments, while some big companies like the Riordon Company got away by giving promissory notes."

Today Progressive candidates were being placed in the field to defeat Liberals. He deplored the Progressive tendency, which raised up enmity where there should be only friendship. The Liberal leader warned his audience that coalition was not to be expected after elections. He predicted a majority over all for the Liberals and the return of a strong Liberal administration. Western Canada must have full voice in the forming of a Government, but it could not secure this by defeating the Liberal candidates in the field.

BREAK UP COMBINATION.

The Liberal leader, dealing with railway matters, charged the Government with ignoring both Parliament and the people. The Meighen Government had given the very opposite of democratic government, he said. It stood "as an autocratic body between the group of its friends to whom management was entrusted and the people whose money was being spent." There could be no relief in railway rates or anything else until the present combination in control was broken up.

The Grand Trunk strike in 1910 is still of a certain interest here, and Mr. King mentioned his part in the settlement of it. The Laurier Government had shut off a loan to the Grand Trunk because the railway president had refused to re-instate its employees as promised. Mr King said he had proposed an amendment to the Grand Trunk Railway bill to require fulfillment of the company's obligations, but the Meighen supporters had voted it down. James Murdock, who represented the trainmen in that strike, was now a Liberal candidate, "an expression of his confidence in Liberalism and its friendliness toward labor," Mr. King declared.

Mr. King again renewed his challenge to anyone to produce any two of his tariff speeches which differed. He had made the same statement from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he said. He believed in a revenue tariff, revised to protect the consumer and not to add to manufacturers' profits.

Dealing with the differences between the Liberal and Progressive platforms, Mr. King declared it would be almost impossible to put any reforms through the Senate "because of the Tory majority there." Mr. King closed with a strong appeal for unity of classes in Canada.

Hon. W. E. Knowles, Liberal candidate in Moosejaw, welcomed Mr. King as "one of the most honest-to-goodness democrats in Canada and a leader to whom Liberal principles could be safely entrusted."

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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November 18/21

# KING ADDRESSES CITY AUDIENCE

The Liberal tariff policy, the government railway situation, comparison of the Liberal and government party platforms, and an appeal for unity among Liberals and Progressives of the west, were the principal issues dealt with by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, in an address before an audience of about 1,500 persons in the Walker theatre this morning. The meeting was characterized by frequent interruptions in the nature of questions put to the speaker, all of which Mr. King answered, his replies being received for the most part by applause from the audience.

On the stage with the Liberal leader were Col. Andrew Thompson. K.C., of Ottawa, and Senator Robert Watson, of Portage la Prairie, who presided.

In opening the meeting, Senator Watson expressed satisfaction at the size of the audience which, he thought, was indicative of the interest in Mr. King's policies.

Mr. King, who received a favorable reception, said he was sorry circumstances, over which he had no control, had ruled against an evening meeting even thought he would have cancelled a meeting in western Ontario, and denied any indifference to the electors who were unable to attend an evening meeting.

Launching at once with the issues of the campaign, he referred to Mr. Meighen's appeal in Winnipeg. The speaker believed the appeal was not on the record of the government, but an attempt to set up an imaginary issue of whether protection was preferable to free trade as the tariff policy of the country. The premier had avoided any reference to the record of his government to cover up the work of the administration. Applause). He was anxious that the people shsould forget the manner in which he had carried on.

"Have had you any say in Mr. Meighen's carrying on the government for the last 16 months?" he asked. There were shouts of "no" from the audience.

This question had been put to thousands in Canada, and the answer had not been an affirmative one. Therefore, Mr Meighen was guilty of usurpation, but his excuse was that no pledge was given that he would give up the reins of office at the close of the war, and Mr. King believed when Sir Robert Borden made his patriotic plea Mr. Meighen had in mind the idea that he would occupy Mr. Borden's place when the latter resigned.

"We do not want these mental reservations in the government of this country," Mr. King added, amidst applause.

The Union government was a coalition, formed under Sir Robert Borden for one specific purpose—to win the war—and to contend that the action of the Meighen government in carrying on did not create a precedent was incorrect, Mr. King said. Mr. Meighen was head of, not the Union government now, but the National Liberal-Conservative party with a platform entirely different to Sir Robert Borden's platform which was discarded and thrown to the winds.

"We need nothing more than that to show Mr. Meighen does not hold the confidence of the people, and any person who usurps rights such as that is not entitled to the confidence of the people," Mr. King declared.

Not only that, but Mr Meighen had ignored parliament and committed the country to vast expenditures, he added.

"What about the old country?" a heckler shouted.

"You never found the old country carrying on—" Mr. King was about to answer, when the same man shouted, " What about Lloyd George?"

### British Parallel

"As soon as the war was ended Lloyd George appealed to the country (Hear, hear), and Canada was the only country in the British Empire which was denied the right to choose a representative government; Canada was the only country of all the countries that participated in the war—the allied countries—France, Italy, Belgium, United States and Japan, which has not permitted its people to choose a representative government; it was the only country of the neutral and even the enemy countries, which had been deprived of its rights," Mr. King declared.

"What is the difference between Mr. Meighen and Lenine and Trotsky?"

"What is your platform?" someone asked.

"Our platform is to put an end to this kind of thing. What we need to get back to is a responsible ministry that will give an account of itself to the country?"

"Where were you in the war," Mr. King was asked.

"I am ready to answer your questions if you are interested in the truth and do not wish to be carried away by prejudices. I will till you that I made a statement to the parliament of Canada of my war record, and it was received with applause by both sides of the house. I am proud of the opportunity I had during the war to serve my country, King and the allied forces.

"Mr. Crerar and Mr. Meighen were not at the war. They were serving their country better in the positions they occupied."

"They were making 530 percent profit," was the next interjection.

"Who was?" a man asked.

"Tom Crerar," the first interrupter replied.

"I will tell you why Mr. Meighen does not want the public to know the record of his government," Mr. King said. He illustrated his remarks by referring to the railways. It is ten years since the people have had a chance to have a voice in the affairs of the country. Mr. Meighen says he gave the women the right of the franchise He took it away from them, except from the women he thought would support. him.

"Have the returned men and labor no right to hear the questions that affect them discussed on a public platform?" Mr. King asked. "What right has Mr. Meighen to take away this privilege from the Canadian people? It is the people, not Mr. Meighen, who will settle the issue of this campaign."

### Railway Policies

Referring to the railways Mr. King stated that the public had not been consulted when the government took over 20,000 miles of national railways. When Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfred Laurier did anything that directly affected the people of Canada they discussed the matter first with the representatives of the people. Mr. Meighen has not done this, the Canadian people have been denied this right, the speaker said.

### Labor Demands

"Labor wants fair play and honest dealing; if they got a fair deal, that is the best kind of protection. Labor is not looking for favors," Mr. King declared after reciting his attempts to secure pay for men striking on the Grand Trunk railway in 1999, and how he blocked a $7,000,000 grant to the railway until the terms of the strike settlement—giving the men their pay—had been fulfilled by the company.

"Will you put a labor man on the board of railway commissioners if elected?" he was asked.

"I will; that's not an election promise—it's part of the Liberal policy," Mr. King replied.

Criticizing the government for permitting business men to handle the national railways who were interested in other concerns, the lead-

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er of the Liberal party said the government had refused to give information in regard to the contracts let by the board. But four-fifths of the board of directors was connected with other forms of business which were obtaining orders from the board of management. There was one instance of where $11,000,000 worth of equipment was bought from one concern, the head of which was a director of the national railways; the road was insured for $140,000,000, part of which was given to a firm with which a director of the board was connected. "And, it seems that we have political autocracy on the one hand, an industrial plutocracy on the other, the former working for political ends, the latter for industrial purposes and the people suffering as a whole," he added.

**Natural Resources**

"What is your view on the natural resources," one of the audience asked.

"I'll willingly give that," the speaker replied, and reviewed what the Liberal party had done for the Dominion.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government took pride in the interest it had in Western Canada; first of all it revised the tariff, it interested British preference, giving the mother country a preference of 33 1-3 percent, the speaker said.

In all these things Sir Wilfrid was opposed by the Conservatives. He broke the railway combine of the Canadian Pacific railway by building the government railways, and then formed a railway commission. The provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were organized by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"The Liberal party will not evade the question by suggesting parties in the province getting together to arrange an amicable settlement. That is one of the faults of t coalition government; it does not formulate definite policies," said Mr. King.

"Get Bob Rogers on the other side," someone interjected.

"Well, you may be sure we don't want him on our side," Mr. King replied, adding a plea for the return of a strong Liberal party.

One of the main reasons for his western tour was to appeal to the Progressive followers of the west to unite with the Liberal party to obtain legislation suitable to all groups and classes, Mr. King said.

"It was not with threatening attitude that I made this appeal. I believe that the country will prosper only as the great basic industries of Canada, farming, fishing, mining and lumbering, are developed," he said.

Mr. King said he had been accused of suiting his speeches to the section of the lountry in which he happened to be speaking.

A voice: "That's right."

"Is it? Take any two of my speeches within the last few years and if you can show me any difference I'll give you $1,000," he said.

The meeting closed with cheers for Mr. King and he left immediately for the Canadian Pacific depot, where he entrained for the east.

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# BIG MORNING CROWD HEARS LIBERAL LEADER

## In An Hour Speech Mackenzie King Covers Most of Campaign Issues

## Special Attention Paid To Assumption of Power By Premier Meighen

In little more than an hour Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, speaking to a large audience in the Walker theatre in this city yesterday morning, dealt with most of the great problems before the electorate at the present time He did not have time to go into any of the issues very fully, but left little of the ground untouched. He devoted most of his time, however, to a most severe criticism of the National Liberal Conservative party in general and Hon. Arthur Meighen in particular.

**Mr. King again warned the Progressives of the danger of isolation which threatened them in the federal parliament if the Liberals came into power or even if the present government were returned at the forthcoming elections.**

The Liberal leader promised that his party, if elected, would give immediate and most carefull consideration to the question of the control of the natural resources by the provinces and that it would not try to evade its obligations in that direction

Senator Robert Watson, of Portage la Prairie, occupied the chair and introduced the speaker. The meeting which was held at 9.45 in the morning and lasted only about an hour, as Mr. King had to leave on an early train for the east, was a most orderly one, only a few interruptions taking place when some of those present wished to press some question of particular interest. Mr. King was listened to with a great deal of attention and was greeted with much applause and cheers when he appeared on the stage and again when he left the platform at the conclusion of his address.

### Compliments Audience

After complimenting the audience, and particularly the ladies, for turning out in such large numbers, early in the morning, Mr. King explained how he had been obliged to hold the meeting in the forenoon instead of calling it for the evening. Circumstances over which he had no control had obliged him to follow that course.

During his many weeks of campaigning throughout the country, said the Liberal leader, he had found that Hon. Mr. Meighen was not making his appeal to the people on the record of the government, but on one particular issue which he used to try to detract the attention of the electorate from the great vital problems of the day. Mr. Meighen, said the speaker, purposely avoided speaking of the government record in the past, as he could not very well defend it, and wished to keep it in the dark as much as possible. The premier wished the people to forget how he had seized the power and how he had in violation of the constitution taken control of the affairs of the country. Mr. King said it was his duty as leader of a party to remind the people of those facts.

The Liberal leader again asked whether there was any one in the audience who had had anything to say as to whether or not Mr. Meighen should assume the position of premier of Canada and as no one answered in the affirmative, the speaker drew the conclusion that the people fully realized that Mr. Meighen had taken possession in defiance of the constitution and the wish and desire of the people of this Dominion.

The people, said Mr. King, when they supported and elected a Union government, had done so in the belief they were electing a government to conduct the affairs of the country during the trying times of war and not to look after those same affairs after the war was over, but they had very evidently been deceived.

### Lloyd George Re-elected

Some one in the audience here asked: "What about Lloyd George?" Lloyd George, replied Mr. King, had gone to the people after the war and had been re-elected to power, and this remark was greeted with loud applause.

### Denied Right to Choose.

Canada, said Mr. King, was the only country in the world, even including China, where the people were denied the right to choose their own government. The Union government had been electetd to win the war, said Mr. King, and here again he was interrupted with the question: "Where were you during the war?" but the question was drowned by the cries from another section of the audience, "Where was Meighen during the war?"

Mr. King said he was glad the question had been brought up at the meeting. He would like to repeat what he had said on the floor of the house of commons when he had explained what he had done during the war, but the time did not permit doing so. He could, however, refer anyone who wished to know his war record to Hansard, where they would find his explanation and see that even his opponents in the house had been forced to approve of his conduct during the years of war. "I need scarcely mention where Mr. Meighen and Mr. Crerar were during the war," concluded Mr. King.

### Railway Issue.

The speaker then resumed his discussion of the issues before the electorate. Dealing with the railways, he said Mr. Meighen and his friends had entirely ignored the people of this country in all their railway dealings. The people had never been consulted, although he, Mr. King, had tried to have a motion to that effect accepted in the house, as to whether the railways should be taken over by the government or not.

Agreements with the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific had been made public by the former Liberal leaders, and the people had been in a position to know exactly what was being done, but the Meighen government had even denied the necessary information to the members of parliament. The people of Canada never knew the details of the agreement between the government and the railways until the whole business had been signed, sealed and delivered, although the shareholders of the Grand Trunk in the old country knew what was going on, the people of Canada, who are expected to foot the bills, were left entirely in the dark.

Mr. King went on to explain his attitude during the Grand Trunk strike in 1911 when he had suggested that the employees should be reinstated in their formr positions so they could benefit of their pension fund, but all in vain.

### Labor Man On Board

"Will you appoint a labor man on the railway board if you are elected and become premier?" some one asked.

"I most certainly will, and this is not an election promise as it is contained in the Liberal platform," replied Mr. King.

The speaker pointed out that the man who was fighting hardest alongside of the Liberal leader during the

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present campaign was James Murdock, the vice president of the brotherhood of railway employees, and it was because Mr. Murdock understood that the Liberal party had always stood for the interests of the working classes and in particular because he remembered what that party had done for the Grand Trunk employees in that great strike. Mr. Murdock was not running as a Labor candidate in Toronto, but as a straight Liberal.

**The Railway Board**

Speaking of the railway board, Mr. King said the whole management of the railways had been entrusted to a group of men who were not only directors on the railway board but also directors on many other concerns who dealt in goods and material required for the operation of the railways. It was therefore not to be wondered at if there was a waste of public money in connection with the railways of Canada owned and controlled by the government. Mr. King thought the people of this country were entitled to all possible information in connection with the expenditure of money for the railways, but that was denied the people and even denied its official representatives in the house of commons.

**Early Railway History.**

Mr. King went back to the origin of the G.T.P.R. and C.N. railways and pointed out they had been constructed to help settle the western plains and break the monopoly of the then one existing railway He said the northwest territories had been converted into provinces under the Liberal government in order they could have the entire management of their own affairs like the other provinces of the Dominion, but this could not be accomplished unless the provinces were given the control of their natural resources.

If the Liberals were returned to power he would see to it that that question was given the very first and very best consideration and attention, and he did not intend to deal with the matter as Mr. Meighen claimed it should be, by saying that it was a matter to settle between the provinces, but he would assume the full responsibility for the settlement of that question. The Liberal party had as one of its policies the control of the natural resources by the provinces, and it was ready to stand or fall by its great policies.

**Progressive Movement.**

Speaking of the Progressive movement, Mr. King said he thought at first it looked like an advanced idea of Liberalism, as there were so many of its principles which were the same as those adopted and approved of by the Liberal party, but he had been deceived. He now realized that the Progressives were not working as much in the interests of certain policies as to get control of power in the interests of certain groups. Mr. King wondered how the Progressives, who had refused to co-operate with the Liberals during the election campaign, could possibly expect to obtain the support of those same Liberals when they got into parliament. They would unfortunately find themselves isolated and their isolation as a party in the house would also mean the isolation of the western provinces. He did not make that statement in the form of a threat, as he had been accused of doing recently, said Mr. King, but simply to point out the folly of the Progressives in not getting together with the Liberals, so as to be able to present a united front to the common enemy.

The country, said the speaker, could prosper only if agriculture, forestry and the fisheries prospered, and it was the duty of all governments to do all in their power to help those basic industries prosper and succeed. Since the Liberal party took that stand, it was evident and natural that it should receive the entire co-operation of all other parties and particularly of the party which claimed it stood for the agriculturists in all parts of the country.

**Criticizes Progressives.**

Mr. King severely criticized the action of the Progressives who had chosen a doctor to oppose Hon. Mr. Motherwell, who had been for many years minister of agriculture in the Saskatchewan government. He claimed that action did not indicate the Progressives placed their principles above their desire to obtain power for the benefit of a certain class or group.

Dealing briefly with reciprocity, Mr. King said the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been amply vindicated. The people now realized the great mistake they had made when they rejected the reciprocity pact. All parts of Canada were suffering, in the west, in the east, the industries and the workers, the professionals and the farmers, all classes and sections of the community, owing to the lack of proper markets for the disposal of the surplus of the production of the land in this country.

**Tariff Challenge.**

Here Mr. King strenuously denied he made different speeches on the tariff in the different provinces, and as one man in the audience challenged the statement he offered him $1,000 in cash if he could produce a copy of any of his speeches to show his utterance different in one part of the country from what it was in another.

The Liberal tariff policy was tariff for revenue. He had said that in the east, and he again repeated it here in the west.

Some one called, "Where do the election funds come from?" "By George, I wish I knew where they are," replied Mr. King, who added he had moved in the house that all the source of election funds be made public as well as the source of the funds to pay for advertising during election campaigns, but his motion had been defeated.

Asked by some one in the theatre to read the resolution adopted at the great Liberal convention in Ottawa, Mr. King answered that his good friend who asked the question could read it himself, as he supposed he could read. He stated, however, that he had regarded the platform which was then accepted as a chart to help guide and direct him in the future. He would, if called to power, choose the very best men he could secure to help him in the great task and with their combined wisdom he would be able to secure the compass which would enable him and his cabinet to safely direct and conduct the ship of state, through the dangerous reefs and many rocks and breakers which would have to be avoided. He was not the Liberal party, he was not on autocrat, and would simply try with the assistance of the very best talent he could possibly gather around him, to carry out the Liberal platform.

Mr. King was again greeted with loud cheers as he resumed his seat, and the meeting was brought to an end with three cheers and a tiger for the Liberal leader, and the singing of the National Anthem.

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Free Press Bulletin
November 18/21

# LIBERAL LEADER OUTLINES POLICIES TO BIG AUDIENCE

## Mackenzie King Repeats Statement Regarding Isolation of Progressive Party.

## TARIFF FOR REVENUE

If he and his party were returned to power one of the first things which would be given special attention and consideration would be the control of natural resources by the western provinces, was a statement made by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, at the Liberal meeting held in the Walker theatre this morning. The Liberal leader said he did not make that statement as an election promise, but because it was one of the very planks of the Liberal platform and one of their great principles that the provinces should be given control of those resources.

Mr. King accused the Meighen government of usurpation of power and violation of the constitution. He claimed the government was not a representative one, and that the people had been denied the right to decide on many of the great issues which today were before the electorate.

### Not Union Government

Canada, he said, was the only country in the whole world which was denied the choice of its own parliament. The late government was not a continuation of the Union government which had been elected on a "win-the-war" cry; it was a revival of the old Tory government and nothing else.

Mr. King denied he made different statements on the tariff question in the various parts of the country, and offered to give any man in the audience who questioned that statement, one thousand dollars in cash if he could produce evidence to show that he had done so.

### Farmers Isolated

Referring to the Progressive movement, Mr. King again repeated what he had said at Melville some short time ago, that if the Farmer party refused to co-operate with the Liberals during the campaign in order to present a united front to the common enemy, it could hardly expect co-operation on the part of the Liberals when they got into parliament. They would naturally find themselves isolated, and this would also mean the isolation of the representatives of the western provinces in the House of Commons. Mr. King stated he did not make those remarks as a threat, but simply to point out the unwise attitude followed by the Progressives in not fully co-operating with the Liberals.

### Question of Tariff

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said the Liberal policy was tariff for revenue. He did not have the opportunity, owing to the short time at his disposal, to go fully into all the matters regarding the fiscal policy of the Liberal party. He dwelt at some length on the railway question, pointing out that extravagant expenditure in connection with government railways was unavoidable when the members of the board who had control of the railways were also directors of other companies which were interested in providing goods and material required for the operation of the railways.

### Theatre Well Filled

The Walker theatre was well filled, only a few seats in the top gallry being vacant when Mr. King appeared on the paltform and the Liberal leader was given a very good reception and was subject to only very few interruptions during his address.

Senator Watson occupied the chair and in a few words introduced the principal speaker of the meeting.

After complimenting the audience, and particularly the ladies, for turning out in such large numbers, early in the morning, Mr. King explained how he had been obliged to hold the meeting in the forenoon instead of calling it for the evening. Circumstances over which he had no control had obliged him to follow that course.

During his many weeks of campaigning throughout the country, said the Liberal leader, he had found that Hon. Mr. Meighen was not making his appeal to the people on the record of the government, but on one particular issue which he used to try and detract the attention of the electorate from the great vital problems of the day. Mr. Meighen, said the speaker, purposely avoided speaking of the government record in the past, as he could not very well defend it, and wished to keep it in the dark as much as possible. The premier wished the people to forget how he had seized the power and how he had in violation of the constitution taken control of the affairs of the country. Mr. King said it was his duty as leader of a party to remind the people of those facts.

The Liberal leader again asked whether there was any one in the audience who had had anything to say as to whether or not Mr. Meighen should assume the position of premier of Canada and as no one answered in the affirmative, the speaker drew the conclusion that the people fully realized that Mr. Meighen had taken possession in defiance of the constitution and the wish and desire of the people of this Dominion.

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**Labor Man On Board**

"Will you appoint a labor man on the railway board if you are elected and become premier?" some one asked.

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The speaker pointed out that the man who was fighting hardest alongside of the Liberal leader during the present campaign was James Murdock, the vice president of the brotherhood of railway employees, and it was because Mr. Murdock understood that the Liberal party had always stood for the interests of the working classes and in particular because he remembered what that party had done for the Grand Trunk employees in that great strike. Mr. Murdock was not running as a Labor candidate in Toronto, but as a straight Liberal.

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If the Liberals were returned to power he would see to it that that question was given the very first and very best consderation and attention, and he did not intend to deal with the matter as Mr. Meighen claimed it should be, by saying that it was a matter to settle between the provinces, but he would assume the full responsibility for the settlement of that question. The Liberal party had as one of its policies the control of the natural resources by the provinces, and it was ready to stand or fall by its great policies.

**Progressive Movement.**

Speaking of the Progressive movement, Mr. King said he thought at first it looked like an advanced idea of Liberalism, as there were so many of its principles which were the same as those adopted and approved of by the Liberal party, but he had been deceived. He now realized that the Progressives were not working as much in the interests of certain policies as to get control of power in the interests of certain groups. Mr. King wondered how the Progressives, who had refused to co-operate with the Liberals during the election campaign, could possibly expect to obtain the support of those same Liberals when they got into parliament. They would unfortunately find themselves isolated and their isolation as a party in the house would also mean the isolation of the western provinces. He did not make that statement in the form of a threat, as he had been accused of doing recently, said Mr. King, but simply to point out the folly of the Progressives in not getting together with the Liberals, so as to be able to present a united front to the common enemy.

The country, said the speaker, could prosper only if agriculture, forestry and the fisheries prospered, and it was the duty of all governments to do all in their power to help those basic industries prosper and succeed. Since the Liberal party took that stand, it was evident and natural that it should receive the entire co-operation of all other parties and particularly of the party which claimed it stood for the agriculturists in all parts of the country.

**Criticizes Progressives.**

Mr. King severely criticized the action of the Progressives who had chosen a doctor to oppose Hon. Mr. Motherwell, who had been for many years minister of agriculture in the Saskatchewan government. He claimed that action did not indicate the Progressives placed their principles above their desire to obtain power for the benefit of a certain class or group.

Dealing briefly with reciprocity, Mr. King said the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier had been amply vindictaed. The people now realized the great mistake they had made when they rejected the reciprocity pact. All parts of Canada were suffering, in the west, in the east, the industries and the workers, the professionals and the farmers, all classes and sections of the community, owing to the lack of proper markets for the disposal of the surplus of the production of the land in this country.

**Tariff Challenge.**

Here Mr. King strenuously denied he made different speeches on the tariff in the different provinces, and as one man in the audience challenged the statement he offered him $1,000 in cash if he could produce a copy of ony of his speeches to show part of the country from what it was in another.

The Liberal tariff policy was tariff for revenue. He had said that in the east, and he again repeated it here in the west.

Some one called, "Where do the election funds come from?" "By George, I wish I knew where they were," replied Mr. King, who added he had moved in the house that all the source of election funds be made public as well as the source of the funds to pay for advertising during election campaigns, but his motion had been defeated.

Asked by some one in the theatre to read the resolution adopted at the great Liberal convention in Ottawa, Mr. King answered that his good friend who asked the question could read it himself, as he supposed he could read. He stated, however, that he had regarded the platform which was then accepted as a chart to help guide and direct him in the future. He would, if called to power, choose the very best men he could secure to help him in the great task and with their combined wisdom he would be able to secure the compass which would allow him and his cabinet to safely direct and conduct the ship of state, through the dangerous reefs and many rocks and breakers which would have to be avoided. He was not the Liberal party, he was not on autocrat, and would simply try with the assistance of the very best talent he could possibly gather around him, to carry out the Liberal platform.

Mr. King was again greeted with loud cheers as he resumed his seat, and the meeting was brought to an end with three ceers and a tiger for the Liberal leader, and the singing of the National Anthem.

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19 Nov. 1921 Cobalt, Ont.

THE USURPING OF GOVERNMENT
BY MEIGHEN

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe Nov 21st 1921

D 5802

# SAYS TROTSKY USED VIOLENCE, MEIGHEN CRAFT

## But Will of People Was Usurped in Both Cases, King Declares

## RETURNS TO ONTARIO

## Receives Enthusiastic Welcome in Cobalt and New Liskeard

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Cobalt, Nov. 20.**—Last night the residents of the southerly part of the district of Timiskaming turned out in great numbers to hear Hon. Mackenzie King address audiences in New Liskeard and Cobalt.

Hon. Mr. King was due to arrive in New Liskeard in time to speak at 7 o'clock, but the "Continental" train from the West did not arrive until 8.30, thereby necessitating a very short address in order to allow him to motor ten miles to Cobalt, where a second meeting was held.

At New Liskeard, in the interval pending the arrival of the Liberal Leader, a number of other speakers addressed the audience, including Donald McEachern, Liberal candidate for Timiskaming.

Hon. Mr. King made a comparatively brief address in New Liskeard, summing up the issue before the electorate, and deftly pushing aside the "tariff curtain" which the Tories of the Dominion are endeavoring to hang over the sins of the past and issues of the present.

**Hurries to Cobalt.**

At the close of his address to some 800 persons here he was hurried away to Cobalt, where shortly after 10 p.m. he was greeted by one of the largest audiences that ever gathered at a political meeting in Timiskaming.

Mr. King declared that it was an outrage against Canadian citizenship that there had been no opportunity to render a free expression of opinion at the polls since 1911. The young men of this country of the age of 21 in 1911 had been denied the right to exercise their vote until they reached the age of 31. He charged the Government with violating the whole constitution and with defiance of the rights of the people.

**Power by Intrigue.**

"The only difference between Arthur Meighen and Lenin and Trotsky, in Russia, is that the latter seized the right of government by force, while Meighen came into power through conspiracy.

"I regret," said Mr. King, "that the forces opposed to the present Government should be divided. I regret this deeply. It gives to the Meighen Government about the only chance it has of electing even a small following."

The question of the Government accepting promissory notes from the Riordon Company and others in payment of taxes was dealt with, and pointed to with scorn.

Here a heckler asked, "What about the Quebec Government?"

Mr. King replied, "I know nothing about the Quebec Government."

"Then, as Leader of the Opposition, why did you not oppose the Riordon method of tax payment at the time of the incident?"

Mr. King replied that therein lay the trouble, because, try as he would, he found himself quite in the dark as to the actions of the Government. As an instance of the wall of secrecy that the Government had erected, he referred to the Canadian National Railways, to which a large amount of money had been voted. He had wanted to know how this money was to be used, and the Government reply was that it was in the hands of the directors.

"I found that the railways had been placed in the hands of a Board of Direction, with the Government standing between that board and the people. I asked the Government if the National Railways had placed any contracts for material, and I was told it was the business of the National Railways.

**Friends on Board.**

"The truth is," said Mr. King, "that the Government appointed friends to the board, and then stood between the board and the people. Four-fifths of the directorate were directors of companies which were supplying material for the railway. I found that $140,000,000 in insurance in the railways was placed through one company And I found that premiums were paid in advance to a company which had on its directorate two of the directors of the National Railways.

"For every man, woman and child in Canada," declared the speaker, "there is today an annual tax of $61. This means that if a family of five was allotted to each worker the tax upon such man would average $305, or approixmately $1 per day for each working day of the year. Such a tax may reasonably mean the difference between a home for the family and a mortgage which may take away their only shelter."

Mr. King urged upon all Canadians the necessity of a revision of the tariff so as to make it possible to develop the natural resources of the Dominion. In this manner only, he stated, will it be possible to meet the country's financial obligations. Instead of maintaining a Government which allies itself and is associated with interests, combines, corporations and monopolies, the people of Canada should return a Government that would cultivate social, religious and racial harmony, and revise the tariff so that, as in the case of the implements of production, the duty may be made extremely light and thus permit the unrestricted development of natural resources.

**Truth Still Unknown.**

In reference to the arrival of munitions at Levis some weeks ago, the speaker declared that it was his firm conviction that the full truth was not yet known. "I believe," he said, "that there is a great scandal behind the whole affair."

Concerning the division of the forces which are opposing the present Government the Liberal Leader said: "I sympathize strongly with Labor and with the Farmers. I want to see Labor get its rights. I want to see the Farmers get their rights, but I do not want to see them cut their own throats by isolating themselves into class groups."

Labor and Farmers should not go out in class groups if the desired representation was to be secured, he said. Class movements are invariably of only short duration, and the manner in which to secure for Labor and for the Farmer the lasting representation they deserve is through allegiance to a great political party which represents all the people. The country is sick of coalitions, and the time has come when the Women's party, the Labor party, the Soldier party, the Farmers' party and the Liberal party should not isolate their class difference, but should look to the Liberal party as the logical power of the people to overthrow the common enemy in the form of the protected interests of the Meighen Government.

**Answers Veterans.**

At the close of the meeting representatives of the G.W.V.A. presented a questionnaire to Mr. King, to all of which the Liberal Leader expressed sympathy, with the exception of one question in which he was asked if he was in favor of "endorsation of the principle of the future exclusion of Chinese and Japanese, and prevention of the sale or lease, directly or indirectly, of land to same."

To this Mr. King said that, particularly in view of the present Disarmament Conference at Washington, where the nations of the world are in council seeking to assure harmony for all, it would be unwise for [illegible] Canada to open

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D 5803

# LIBERAL LEADER RENEWS ATTACK ON C.N.R. DIRECTORS

## Says Hon. J. A. Stewart's Statement Bears Out Allegations

## SECRECY IN CONTRACTS

### Murdock Entitled to Support and Respect for Giving Up $8,000 Job to Expose Wrongs

(By Canadian Press.)

Cobalt, Ont., Nov. 20.—That Hon. J. A. Stewart's statement on Canadian National Railway contracts had only served to strengthen the case made out by the Liberals against the "interlocking of directorates" on the Canadian National management was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at two well-attended meetings here and at New Liskeard last evening. Mr. King arrived at Temiskaming riding on Saturday to assist the Liberal candidate, Donald McEachren, in his fight.

"We find from Mr. Stewart's statement," said Mr. King, "that instead of the Eastern Car Company getting $11,000,000 in contracts from the Canadian National Railways, as we had supposed, they got $14,000,000. And Mr. Stewart, in attempting to show that other companies, which were not represented on the Canadian National board, got big contracts also, quotes the Montreal Locomotive Company as having received a $10,000,000 contract. But the Minister did not tell the people of Canada that Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Naval Affairs, was one of the directors of the Montreal Locomotive Company."

The Liberal leader disputed the claim that tenders had been properly called. They were not advertised, but contracts were secretly given, Mr. King stated. The board of management, he said, was able to draw down to two or three the companies notified of the impending contracts, which were not always let to the lowest bidder. There should, he said, be public tenders called, and there was no reason for not making public all the details. By means of these secret contracts, he declared, the friends of the Government were able to make millions out of the public funds.

Referring again to the contracts awarded the Eastern Car Company, the Liberal leader stated that a director of that company, who at the time the contracts were awarded was also a director of the Canadian National, was now running as a Tory candidate in the county of Pictou, N.S." (Col. Cantley.)

RAILWAYS IN POLITICS.

"That," he declared, "does not fit in very well with the professions of keeping the railways out of politics. How can you keep track of anything, when contracts are awarded that way?" he asked his audience. "I first made these charges in regard to railway contracts many months ago. Mr. Hanna came out then with a denial, but now the Minister of Railways admits all and makes the thing worse—and then he says this was not secret information, but that we got it in committee. We did get it in committee, but only after the Government had refused information to Parliament."

The Liberal leader referred to recent speeches by Hon. G. D. Robertson, Minister of Labor, in which said Mr. King, Senator Robertson had referred to James Murdock as "the eight-thousand dollar hero," because he had given up a position on the Board of Commerce at $8,000. This was "poor business on the part of the Minister of Labor," declared Mr. King. "Mr. Murdock, in giving up an $8,000 position in order to tell the people where he had found wrongs in the Board of Commerce, was entitled to a great deal more of the people's support and respect than was Senator Robertson, who, from a life job at present paying $14,000 a year, tried to attack him."

The Liberal leader dealt with tariff matters, and laid before his audience his platform of downward revision, with a lightening of the tariff burden on implements of production in the basic industries and on the necessities of life. This, Mr. King declared, was the tariff policy in the best interests of all Canadians.

In his two meetings the Liberal leader had the assistance of Col. A. T. Thompson, of Ottawa; I. Vautrin M.L.A., of St. James Division, Montreal; Donald McEachren, Liberal candidate in Temiskaming, and Gaston Delisle, of Montreal.

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D 5804

# HON. W. L. M. KING REPLIES TO G.W.V.A. QUESTIONNAIRE

## Liberal Leader at Cobalt Meeting Takes Up Veterans' Resolutions

## ADVOCATES GENEROSITY

### Would Have Whole Matter of Re-establishment Considered By Special Parliamentary Committee

(By Canadian Press.)

Cobalt, Ont., November 20.—Replying to the G.W.V.A. questionnaire which was placed before him at last night's meeting here, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, declared that he would favor, if returned to power, as he expected he would be, having the whole matter of soldier re-establishment thoroughly investigated by a special committee of Parliament, to see whether there was anything which Canada could do for her returned men which had not yet been done.

"Our duty to the returned men, their dependents and the dependents of those who have not come back is clear," Mr. King stated. "It is a demand that we treat their requests with generosity, which is more than mere justice. To the men who sacrificed their all in that fight for freedom, we owe all the freedom we have today; though we might default the interest on the national debt (which would mean national bankruptcy), we cannot afford to let one of our returned men or their dependents suffer."

The Liberal leader said he had expected the G.W.V.A. resolutions would have been forwarded to him through the Dominion Command of the organization, so that he could have made a written reply. However, he had not yet received them. In view of their presentation at the meeting, he would deal with them then.

Mr. King declared he was wholeheartedly in favor of a "reasonable measure of housing for ex-service men"; "immediate legislation looking towards the solution of unemployment conditions; endorsation of the proper re-establishment of 100 per cent. of our returned soldiers after adequate investigation, and, an immigration and naturalization policy conducive to the continuation of British traditions and employment for Canadian citizens."

EXCLUSION OF ORIENTALS.

Dealing with the resolution requiring "endorsation of the principle of future exclusion of Chinese and Japanese and prevention of sale or lease, directly or indirectly, of land to same," Mr. King reminded his audience that the present was a bad time for discussion of such a question. The Chinese and Japanese questions were prominently before the world at the Disarmament Conference, and for any Canadian public man, at this time, to make public statements with regard to the exclusion of Orientals would perhaps lead to serious difficulties at that great conference.

On the other resolution reading: "Are you in favor of retaining the present bonus and rating of disability pension at one dollar per cent. disability." Mr. King said he was not perfectly clear. However, if, as he understood, the bonus referred to was a cost of living bonus, he favored governing it by cost of living conditions. If the cost of living increased it might be necessary to increase that bonus. Certainly he would not propose cutting off such a bonus. The contents of this resolution, the Liberal leader said, he would favor submitting to a parliamentary committee, since he considered that the whole matter of re-establishment had not yet been properly investigated.

"If there had been less spending of public money needlessly in the past," Mr. King declared, "I do not think it would have been necessary to tell the returned men, as the Government did, that we could do no more for them because there was no money. Their requirements should be a first charge on this country, and I would favor seeing if there was not some way in which money now being spent needlessly could not be saved and made available for re-establishment."

## SPEECHES AT STATIONS

### Hon. Mr. King Goes to His Own Riding

(By Canadian Press.)

Cochrane, Ont., November 19.—Five speeches at various stations on the National Transcontinental Railway early today was the record of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, on his way back from the Prairie Provinces to Ontario to continue his election campaign. Yesterday morning, shortly after 9 o'clock, Mr. King addressed an audience of over two thousand people at the Walker Theatre, Winnipeg, and this morning shortly after 8 o'clock he was faced by a couple of hundred people at Hearst, where he spoke from the steps of the car while the train stood at the station. Subsequently at Kapuskasing, Moonbeam, Fauquier and Cochrane there were crowds waiting at the station when the train pulled in, and in each of these places, Mr. King spoke briefly. Next Tuesday, nomination day, he will speak in his own constituency, of North York, and spend the rest of the campaign in Ontario.

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THE MEIGHEN AUTOCRACY

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D 5806

Toronto Globe
November 23/21

# MR. KING ENTERS ARENA ON WAVE OF ENTHUSIASM

## Newmarket Town Hall Jammed to Hear Leader's Nomination Speech

## THREE IN NORTH YORK

## Says Burnaby's Opposition Can Serve Only to Harm Farmers' Cause

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Newmarket**, Nov. 22. — William Lyon Mackenzie King, journalist, of Ottawa, was this afternoon nominated to contest the riding of North York in the Liberal interests at the coming election, along with R. W. E. Burnaby and J. A. M. Armstrong, U.F.O. and Government candidates, respectively.

The formal handing in of nomination papers took place in the Newmarket Rink, following which the Liberal and Conservative nominees held party rallies—the followers of Mr. King in the Town Hall and the Government supporters in the rink. High local feeling regarding the campaign and inability of the local Executives to agree rendered impossible a joint meeting, such as had been held in former years.

**Hall Packed to Doors.**

Packed to the doors, with windowsills and outer stairways carrying scores of eager Liberals, the old Town Hall of Newmarket was the scene of a demonstration that visibly affected the Liberal Leader when he rose to address his followers. Feelingly expressing his appreciation, Mr. King likened his situation at present to that of his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, when, on behalf of the young democracy of Canada, that sturdy patriot, in the same riding of North York, had raised his voice against the autocracy of the Family Compact.

**Registration Criticized.**

Vigorous criticism of the manner in which registration had been carried out in the constituency was indulged in by P. W. Pearson of Newmarket. Mr. Pearson declared that local officials entrusted with the compilation of lists had locked up the official list furnished to them by Judge Coatsworth as a basis of revision of lists. He had personally approached the Returning Officer, Mr. Pearson said, and asked him whether or not he had received such a list from Judge Coatsworth.

"He said 'No,' and when I told him that he had, he said, 'Well, it's up at the Conservative Committee Rooms".

"We went there and found that, while the lists for Wards One and Two were there, that for Ward Three was out in the hands of a Tory worker, and no part was in the personal care of the Registrar, as it should have been," he continued.

**Thirty Persons Refused.**

Alleging that, to his knowledge, at least 30 persons in Newmarket had been refused registration, although their names were not on the lists, Mr. Pearson declared that no full and proper list had been hung up in Newmarket, as required by law, nor had any such new and full list ever been prepared by the Registrar.

"Today there is the same old fight, autocracy against democracy," he declared. "Today there is the same old condition—the privileges of the few against the well-being of the many. (Cheers.) We have one great object: the fundamental basis of all Liberalism, past and present, is to preserve the rights and liberties of the people; to oppose the evils of secret diplomacy in the administration of our domestic affairs."

**Climax of Enthusiasm.**

The enthusiasm of the great meeting reached its climax when, at the close of his address, the Liberal Leader made reference to his determination to win or lose in the historic field of North York.

"I never entered this constituency against Mr. Burnaby," said Mr. King. "I was nominated here while I was still out of Parliament, before any other candidate was in the field, and before I was Leader of the Liberal party. When it came to the issue in Glengarry I retired, as I did not wish to antagonize the Farmers. Mr. Burnaby, on the other hand, announced his intention of opposing me. If by that action he wishes to antagonize the Liberals against the Farmers, then the consequences will be his, not mine, when it comes to administration of affairs later on.

"I believe," he went on, "that had he been able to see the situation at the start as I saw it, and as I told him I saw it develop between political groups, I do not believe he would have stuck so tenaciously to North York."

According to Mr. Burnaby credit for believing that he (Mr. King) could secure a seat elsewhere, and agreeing that other constituencies had been opened to him, the speaker said:

**Takes Harder Road.**

"But it would have meant going outside North York, and I ask you what opinion you would have had of me as a man if, when you nominated me when I did not have a seat in Parliament, after I had suffered defeat in election, when, under the circumstances, I had become Leader of the Liberal party, with the possibility of becoming Prime Minister, I had left this riding and taken some seat outside, with possibility of an acclamation. If I knew it meant certain defeat here, I would take that defeat a thousand times rather than quit the field. (Applause and cheers.) But it won't be defeat. It will mean the surest victory." (Prolonged cheering.)

"It is a great pleasure indeed," said the Liberal Chief, "to come back after a tour of Canada to find in North York an organization and an enthusiasm unsurpassed in any part of Canada. (Cheers.)

**"Victory With Us."**

"The victory is with us, if the signs mean anything whatever, and I can say that Liberalism never shone more brightly in North York than at this very moment. Interest is keen and widespread; and rightly so, for there is not a man or woman in Canada but will be affected, for better or for worse, by the result of the polling on December 6.

Declaring that no one man had any right to tell Canadians that there was in this election only one issue, Mr. King said that he ventured to remind the Prime Minister that the issue was what the people wished to make it, and that what most concerned the people at the present time was the nature of the Government, that was to represent them during the next five years.

**End Autocracy.**

"Autocracy had held sway," he said, and the people were ready to put an end to the autocracy that was represented in the War Times Election Act, the lessening of power of the Commons, the usurpation of authority by a small group at Ottawa and close alliance with the Big Interests of industrialism.

Dealing specifically with the Government's railway policy, the Liberal Leader described it as a splendid example of autocratic disregard of Parliament and the people. The members of the House, he said, were denied rights and even information given freely to English bondholders, and Canada learned of the terms of the Grand Trunk purchase deal only

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from the cable despatches. Further, control of management of the entire National System, he said, had been vested in a Board of Directors not responsible to Parliament, and under no necessity of explaining its disbursements of public moneys. Instances of gross favoritism in awarding contracts for supplies had been uncovered by the Liberals, and in a recent statement the Minister of Railways had failed to deny a single allegation that had been made by speakers on Liberal platforms. Interlocking of directorates had given the present Administration opportunity for disbursements that were shameless and indefensible.

**No Possible Check.**

"A grave feature of it all is this: We cannot check by the process of audit," said Mr. King. "All the other public accounts of Canada are audited by the Auditor-General, who can be removed only by a vote of Parliament, but these railways, in so far as their accounts are concerned, are empowered to audit their own books through their own auditor."

Pointing out that, by her attitude at the Disarmament Conference at Washington, Great Britain went on record as favoring the abandonment of submarines as a means of waging war, the speaker declared that the Government of Canada even now was paying out the taxes of the people for submarines it had acquired following the war. Similarly, while disarmament was engaging the attention of the world, Canada was importing shells to the value of $6,000,000—shells that had been proved to be, not a gift, as had been implied by the Minister of Militia, but an actual purchase by virtue of the fact that it was on account of a war credit due to Canada.

**Tariff Revision Need.**

The tariff, the Liberal Leader declared, was another great issue, and the incidence of the tariff fell upon the consumer, through the costs of living. The incidence of taxes in Canada meant to many families the difference between a mortgaged and an unencumbered home; the difference between a bare living and the ability to carry a little life, accident or sick insurance. Promised revision of the tariff, as a result of the tariff investigation, had not been made, and consumers were "paying the piper." No legitimate Canadian industry, Mr. King declared, need have the slightest fear of what would happen in the event of Liberals being returned to power. Present conditions would be improved, not made worse, and that improvement would be for producers and consumers alike.

Mr. King stated that he did not wish to indulge in any personalities regarding the contest in North York. He would refer to Mr. Armstrong's fitness as a representative by pointing to his public record, which showed that in the House of Commons Mr. Armstrong very rarely spoke, and that he voted almost as seldom. Silence alone might be interpreted, he said, as a sign of inward strength, but silence that was carried to the vote could not work much good to anyone.

**Wider Representation.**

"Now, as to the Farmers," he went on, declaring that from the beginning of his public career he had had at heart the welfare of the basic industry of agriculture, "I will give you my opinion of the political needs of the farmers. The farmers need the sympathetic help and co-operation of business men, professional men, Labor, and the people of our towns and cities, if they are to get enacted in Parliament the laws of which they stand in need. (Cheers.) What this country needs is a larger representation of agriculture, of working men, of business men and of returned men—a larger representation of all these elements. And we today have on Liberal platforms, from Atlantic to Pacific, outstanding examples of all these elements. That's what we need—sympathetic co-operation. A policy of isolation of one group from all others cannot secure that co-operation so keenly desired by us all."

The other speaker was Mrs. H. H. Carpenter of Hamilton, President of the Women's Liberal Association of Ontario. Mr. Howard Cane of Newmarket presided.

**Addresses an "Overflow."**

From the Town Hall Mr. King had to go to the Strand Theatre, which had been requisitioned for an overflow when it was seen that one meeting would not begin to accommodate the crowds. The theatre was filled to capacity a few minutes after the doors were opened, and there Mr. King and his local supporters repeated their addresses.

Mr. Cornelius McCabe, a prominent farmer of King township, gave a brief address at the Town Hall, declaring that although a member of the U.F.O. Club at Schomberg, he would support Mr. King.

"I am not only a member of the club," said Mr. McCabe, "but I am a shareholder in the Farmers' Co-operative Company, and, between Mr. Burnaby and Mr. King, I choose the latter. If Mr. Burnaby in 1911 had had at heart the farmers' interests as much as he says he has today, he would have seen that he was in Canada, and not in Chicago, on the date of polling."

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Montreal Gazette
November 23/21

# KNOWS THERE IS NOTHING AHEAD OF HIM BUT VICTORY

## But King Would Suffer Defeat 1,000 Times Before Deserting North York

## MEETING AT NEWMARKET

### Liberal Leader Says There Is Yet Time for Mr. Burnaby to Retire in His Favor

(By Canadian Press).

Newmarket, Ont., November 22. — Bands and policies were very much in evidence here this afternoon when the three parties in North York placed their candidates in nomination and two of these later held meetings. Bands were out in honor of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal candidate, and J. A. M. Armstrong, Government supporters, both of whom addressed meetings during the afternoon. Mr. King spoke at the town hall and Mr. Armstrong at the rink. This evening R. W. E. Burnaby, the Progressive nominee, addressed a meeting in the town hall. No surprises were sprung, the candidates placed in nomination being:

Government, J. A. M. Armstrong; Liberal, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King; Progressive, R. W. E. Burnaby.

Hon. Mr. King was greeted with cries of "Good boy, King," when he appeared on the platform to open his meeting. The chairman announced an overflow meeting in the Strand Theatre. He also stated that Mr. King's two opponents had declined an invitation to take part in a joint meeting.

P. W. Pearson, of Newmarket, criticized the method of building up the lists. Over thirty persons had been refused registration, said Mr. Pearson, though their names were not on the list. The registrar, Mr. Pearson declared, had locked away the provincial list that he should have used and followed a municipal list. Subsequently the official list sent out by Judge Coatsworth was found in the Conservative committee rooms, Mr. Pearson alleged, and one section was placed in the hands of the ward party workers. Mr. Pearson also charged that no lists had been posted up in Newmarket as required by the Dominion Elections Act. Colonel O. M. Biggar had been notified by telegraph, Mr. Pearson said.

THANKS FOR NOMINATION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, expressing thanks for his nomination and referring to conditions in North York, said that Liberalism had never shone so splendidly as in this riding today. All signs pointed to victory for the Liberals in the present fight. Mr. King repeated his charge of usurpation, and declared the people were entitled to full discussion on public affairs. The question of autocratic government was Canada's big issue today. Mr. Meighen, he said, had carried on after his mandate expired.

Mr. King dealt with railway matters and stated that the late member for North York had voted with the Premier to deny information to Parliament and the people.

The shipment to Canada of high explosive shells to the value of six million dollars was again dealt with by Mr. King. Parliament had not been consulted as to the purchase of such munitions, Mr. King declared.

In this campaign, said the Liberal leader, the people must choose between economy and extravagance. There were savings which could be made. The country's debt to the returned men, however, must be met, though everything else was defaulted. There must be an attempt to bring down the cost of government in order to reduce the cost of living.

FINANCE MINISTER SILENT.

The Liberal leader declared the tariff to be only one of the issues. The Prime Minister talked of tariff revision, but Sir Henry Drayton, who headed the tariff commission through the Dominion, maintained a discreet silence as to any proposed tariff changes. No legitimate industry, said Mr. King, would suffer because of the Liberal tariff revision, though that revision would be downward.

"The Government speakers preach ruin if the high protective tariff were changed," said Mr. King, "Why then does the high protective tariff not provide work for the unemployed and keep the factories busy?"

The Liberals believed in revising the tariff in a manner to increase production by lightening the burden on implements of production in the basic industries and on the necessities of life.

Mr. King referred to J. A. M. Armstrong as a member who had voted seldom and spoke seldom. His parliamentary record was brief. It could be told in a breath, Mr. King declared.

INTERESTS OF FARMERS.

He did not think the farmers' interests had been looked after as they should have been during recent years. Farmers and all other classes must each prosper before Canada could prosper. "But if the farmers are to secure what they want, they need the help of all other classes," Mr. King said. He did not believe that, because some non-farmers were in it, the farmer movement was other than a class move. The Liberal party was wide enough, Mr. King declared, to take in representatives of all classes.

The Liberal leader dealt with the nomination as Progressives of men not themselves farmers. He did not think the choice of a doctor to oppose a Liberal farmer showed anything more than a desire for group control ,regardless of principles.

Referring to Mr. Burnaby, Progressive nominee, the Liberal leader declared that he (Mr. King), had been first in the field. He had been nominated in North York, and would not have considered going elsewhere.

"If I knew it meant defeat, I would take that defeat a thousand times rather than run elsewhere," Mr. King declared, "but I know there is nothing ahead of us but victory."

There was yet time, Mr. King reminded his audience, for Mr. Burnaby to throw his weight in behind the Liberal cause, and cease striving to divide the forces opposing the Meighen Government. The Liberal leader closed with a confident prediction of victory in the coming fight.

Tonight Mr. King spoke at Schomberg. In his afternoon meeting, Mr. King was assisted by Mrs. H. H. Carpenter, of Hamilton.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

23 Nov. 1921

D 5803

Woodstock

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

London Advertiser Nov 24th 1921

D 5810

# KING EXPLAI WHY MEIGH CLOUDS ISS

ON MacKENZIE KI... LEADER OF OPPOSITION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

## Declares Premier Must ...tect Big Interests at All Costs.

## ASKS TARIFF REVISION

## Denies Truth of Tory Cry That Party Demands Free Trade.

[BY WILLIAM SHARMAN.]

WOODSTOCK, Nov. 23.—Like the homecoming of a conquering hero was the reception tendered Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King in Woodstock tonight.

Crowding the spacious armories to the doors, and jamming the corridors in a determined effort to catch but a glimpse of the Liberal chieftain, 3,000 Woodstock and North Oxford electors patiently awaited his arrival for more than an hour.

So hopeless became the situation that it was eventually necessary to hold an overflow gathering in the city hall, where waited for three solid hours 800 equally patient residents of the riding, and where Mr. King at 11 p.m., delivered his second address of the evening.

All day long into Woodstock journeyed the electors from the rural districts, not only followers of the Liberal standard, but citizens representing politics of every shade. Unbounded enthusiasm prevailed throughout the evening, but it reached a climax with the long-delayed arrival of the Liberal leader at the city hall to deliver his second series of charges upon the late Meighen administration.

### Candidates Speak Briefly.

On the platform and speaking briefly to make way for the speaker of the evening were Dr. D. J. Sinclair, the Liberal candidate in North Oxford; Mayor Dean, of Tillsonburg, the Liberal candidate in South Oxford, and James Stewart, president of the North Oxford Reform Association. George Mahon, secretary of the latter body, presided.

Denying emphatically that he had, as the Tory press claimed, been preaching free trade in the west and protection in the east, and laying particular stress on his contention that the Liberal platform did not include free trade, Mr. King challenged the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen to state definitely just where the National Liberal and Conservative Party stood on the same issue.

"The Tories have been saying that I vary in my speeches," declared Mr. King, "but don't you think that by this time with all the press of the country at their disposal the Meighen forces might have secured two of these 'varying' speeches of mine and printed them side by side?

"They have not and cannot. They certainly would not have overlooked the opportunity, and on these billboards you see, in place of Meighen rescuing old ladies you would see my speeches in double columns. It would have been great stuff. But they can't do it. For the past two years since I have been leader of the Liberal party and spoken throughout Canada I have not once varied relative to tariff.

### Tariff Needs Revising.

"What I have said is this: The tariff needs revising. We note that thought from other sources. For example, from the lips of the governor-general, upon the advice of the Meighen administration. The latter admits that it has been convinced of the necessity for such revision, but that although a commission was appointed to investigate conditions with this end in view, nothing was ever accomplished.

"Why?"

"The government knew it would have to revise it up or down. If it revised it up it knew it would lose the support of the people, and if downward it would lose the support of the big interests behind it. So it was left alone.

"I want to say this: Premier Meighen has never yet told how he proposes to revise the tariff, up or down. He has been spending his time hounding me, and thus seeking to avoid any expression on the subject, and at this moment you don't know what he stands for. I say it is the greatest piece of deception ever practiced upon a people.

"We see three members of that commission, Drayton, Robertson and Calder, who have at this time all this information which is the people's, but which they withhold. If the tariff is to be the main issue this data should be presented to the electors for full discussion. What they found out but is still a secret is a necessity to us.

"How can we carry on a discussion in the dark? I say one of the strongest indictments against Premier Meighen is the very fact that as yet his minister of finance has maintained an absolute silence on the tariff issue.

### Explains Issue Clearly.

Clearly and concisely Mr. King once again defined the Liberal stand on the fiscal question.

"Do you know how much is to be raised in taxes this year?" he queried. "Just $560,000,000 without paying off one cent on the public debt. What is the sense then of any person declaring for free trade? And I say on behalf on the Liberal party that I do not stand for free trade because we feel that to raise this revenue it must be done by other means than direct taxation.

'How can we raise it? Our policy as I say is not absolutely free trade, but we must revise our tariff so as to get revenue, not to protect little mergers and combines but to protect Canadian industries and Canadian workmen.

"Do you think that in framing a tariff the Liberal party calculates to destroy our own industries? Our aim is the reverse. We seek to build them up and enter in again an area of prosperity. I say this to the manufacturer and workingmen, that as far as the Liberal party is concerned no legitimate businesses reaping legitimate profits need fear the return to power of the Liberal party.

"The Tories talk protection, but what do they say to Labor? They tell railroadmen high wages are responsible for high freight rates. I say 'propaganda.' They do not say anything about the big profits that were made by their friends as exposed by James Murdock, who quit a commission because his hands were tied.

### Knows Tory Tactics.

"Protect the special groups with their interlocking of directorates. There's your protection for the workingmen. I know something of Mr. Meighen's mentality and tactics, and if there is one thing he is skilful at it is clouding the main issue. That's the reason for the free trade cry. I say the issue is Meighen himself and his record."

Pointing out that Premier Meighen had appointed, and was still giving away judgeships, etc., Mr. King continued, "Let me say to the Progressives, you talk of progressive legislation. How do you expect to get it from men of the same mental calibre and type of Premier Meighen, who will control the situation for years to come?"

"I say it will be a great struggle to get even moderate legislation. In view of this what folly it is for we Progressives, Farmers, Women's Councils, laboring people and returned soldiers, whose platforms vary but little fundamentally, to allow ourselves to be so divided as against a common foe.

"I say we need a strong party in the house. We must not divide the real true forces of progress. Now is the time to think. There is the great danger, and that is why I feel so strongly about the Progressives. I have always taken the position that the Progressives were advanced Liberals, and I have always pleaded for closer co-operation, hoping that when the fight came we might co-ordinate and co-operate in a firm stand for the common interests. Not a man living has hear me say a word against the Progressives.

### Raps Power Behind.

"There is a mighty power behind the Meighen party," declared Mr. King, "that does not dare show itself, or how would it be possible for anyone even of more experience than he to carry on?

"This power is not an influence for the good of the people, they who secret themselves behind the screen of protection vs. Free Trade. You have only to survey the recent disclosures by Jas. Murdock to realize this.

"This government is visible, but the real power is invisible, the special interests that are protected are the ones who are paying for these magnificent billboards and advertising.

"The revelation by Jas. Murdock gave you an idea of this enormous fund.

"You had another taste of it last year, the sugar combine, and now later the Riordon Paper and Pulp Company, which we find pays the government with promissory notes.

"We are told by Sir Henry Drayton that there are others, but he can only tell his story to the house. That is a new version.. I ask what law gave the government power to accept these notes? The parliament makes the law, not the minister of finance. They think authority is vested in the prime minister and percolates downwards, but that's another form of old-fashioned Toryism.

"The Liberal leader covered a wide range of subjects and dealt at considerable length with the mismanagement and autocracy of Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen's policy regarding the Canadian National Railways and related the unsuccessful efforts by himself and associates to seek information or gain free discussion of the same in the house.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe Nov 24th 1921

D 5811

# NATION'S NEED IS MANY MINDS, DECLARES KING

## Liberal Party Not a "One-man" Affair, Says Leader at Woodstock

## CO-OPERATION IS URGED

## Deplores Divisions in Forces Bent on Ousting "Entrenched Toryism"

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Woodstock**, Nov. 23.—What was regarded as one of the best speeches of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's campaign was delivered by him to an enthusiastic audience of more than 3,000 persons in the Armories here tonight. The historic Liberal riding of North Oxford filled the great building, and also the City Hall, where a overflow meeting of 800 persons waited until after 10 o'clock to hear the Liberal Chieftain.

The Leader's chief appeal was to all classes with progressive views to unite and defeat the 'reactionary forces of entrenched Toryism.

**Not One Man.**

"What Canada needs today is not one man, but many minds," declared Mr. King in reference to the Government poster campaign. "This country may need Nestle's milk, but when it comes to needing any one man, there is no one man indispensible. The Liberal party is not a one-man party; it proposes to be guided by the best collective counsel of the best men in Canada."

He reviewed his efforts to have the Agrarians unite with the Liberals, and only when the Progressive party had not been willing to co-operate in fighting the common enemy had the Liberals decided to put men in the field

He explained that in some instances, where it had been proved conclusively that the vote would be split, allowing the Tory candidate to win, had the Liberals withdrawn, but he had seen no disposition on the part of the Progressive party to reciprocate.

**Other Speakers.**

Besides the Liberal Leader, Dr. D. J. Sinclair, the local candidate, and M. G. Dean, Liberal candidate in South Oxford, spoke briefly, and were well received.

In his speech Mr. King referred to the fact that he had spoken in Woodstock on behalf of E. W. Nesbitt, "when that gentleman was a Liberal," but that Mr. Nesbitt appeared to have undergone a change of heart since them. Some Liberals might have been led to look for an advanced wing of the Liberalism in the Progressive party, but the division between these forces was to be deplored. Mr. King believed this had ceased to be a movement for a principle and had become a class movement, thereby alienating those of other groups.

**Government Record.**

The Liberal Leader discussed the question of the issue, which, he declared, was wider than that of protection versus free trade. "Mr. Meighen's attempts to restrict discussion is an attempt to avoid examination of the Government's record," Mr. King declared. "Mr. Meighen and his colleagues have absolutely stolen the people's right of representation; if Mr. Meighen in 1917 intended to hang onto office after the war, then he deliberately misled the people at that time."

The people had neither passed upon Mr. Meighen's party nor his platform, Mr. King asserted. The Liberal Leader criticized the appointment of a score or more of men to life jobs by the Government. He asked the Progressives how they expected to get any reforms through Parliaemnt with a "packed" Senate against them. What was needed now was a strongly united party in control of affairs. "We must not divide our strength now," said Mr. King. "It will be poor consolation after the election is over for people to see Tory members elected, though two-thirds of the electors voted against them."

**Murdock an Example.**

The Liberal Leader cited the candidature of James Murdock as an example for both Labor men and Farmers. Dr. Michael Clerk, said Mr. King, had led the Progressives in the House, "but he came to see in the Progressives a new form of Toryism," Mr. King declared, "since it sought for one group what it was not prepared to concede to others." Mr. King also spoke of the Progressive opposition to Hon. W. R. Motherwell in Regina, and Hon. Duncan Marshall in Calgary, two outstanding agriculturists of the West," by a doctor and a retired preacher.

The Progressives, said Mr. King, objected to a Liberal opposing Hon. T. A. Crerar in Marquette, while they applauded R. W. E. Burnaby for opposing Hon. Mr. King in North York. That did not look like co-operation.

Referring to the Riordon tax question, Mr. King declared Parliament had not given the Minister of Finance the right to accept promissory notes from anyone. Only Parliament could give this power.

Mr. King dealt with tariff matters and with the need for revision. The high-protection tariff, he said, meant abuses and prices increased to the extent of the protection. Under a revenue tariff, which was the Lib- with an eye primarily on revenue. eral policy, the tariff was drawn up The Liberal party did not stand for free trade, but it did propose downward revision, with a lightening of the tax burden on implements of production in the basic industries and on the necessaries of life. There would be an aim to make Canadian industries flourish rather than endanger them.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5812

Gazette
November 24/21

# CANDIDATURE OF MURDOCK EXAMPLE TO INDEPENDENTS

## Mackenzie King Also Lauds Dr. Clark for Recanting Principles

## MEETING AT WOODSTOCK

### Leader Refers to "Change of Heart" of E. W. Nesbitt, Now Government Candidate

(By Canadian Press.)

Woodstock, Ont., Nov. 23.—Some three thousand electors of Woodstock and district packed themselves into the Armouries tonight to hear the Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, speaking in the interests of D. J. Sinclair, the Liberal candidate in North Oxford. There is a three-cornered fight here, and interest is of the keenest. E. W. Nesbitt, who sat in the House as a Liberal Unionist since 1917, is now running as a supporter of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen's tariff policy, and J. H. Lillico is the candidate in the Progressive interests.

The Armouries were filled to the doors some time before the meeting was due to start. Many South Oxford electors were among those present, and it was announced that an overflow meeting would be held in the City Hall later. Besides the Liberal leader, the local candidate, and M. G. Dean, Liberal candidate in South Oxford, spoke briefly.

Mr. King referred to the fact that he had spoken in Woodstock in behalf of E. W. Nesbitt, "when that gentleman was a Liberal," but that Mr. Nesbitt appeared to have undergone a change of heart since then. Some Liberals might have been led to look for an advanced wing of Liberalism in the Progressive party, but the division between these forces was to be deplored.

"Mr. Meighen's attempt to restrict discussion is an attempt to avoid examination of the Government's record," Mr. King declared. "Mr. Meighen and his colleagues have absolutely stolen the people's right of representation. If Mr. Meighen in 1917 intended to hang on to office after the war, then he deliberately misled the people at that time."

POOR CONSOLATION.

The people had passed upon neither Right Hon. Mr. Meighen's party or his platform, Mr. King asserted. The Liberal leader criticized the appointment of a score or more of men to life jobs by the Government. He asked the Progressives how they expected to get any reforms through Parliament with a "packed" Senate against them. What was needed now was a strongly united party in control of affairs. "We must not divide our strength now," said Mr. King. "It will be poor consolation after the election is over for the people to see Conservative members elected though two-thirds of the electors voted against them." He had sought co-operation in the East and West to avoid such division.

The Liberal leader cited the candidature of James Murdock as an example for both labor men and farmers. Dr. Michael Clark, said Mr. King, had led the Progressives in the House. "But he came to see in the Progressives a new form of Toryism," Mr. King declared, "since it sought for one group what it was not prepared to concede to others."

The Progressives, said Mr. King, objected to a Liberal opposing Hon. T. A. Crerar in Marquette, while they applauded R. W. E. Burnaby for opposing Hon. Mr. King in North York. That did not look like co-operation.

Referring to the Riordon tax question, Mr. King declared that Parliament had not given the Minister of Finance the right to accept promissory notes from anyone. Only Parliament could give this power.

Mr. King dealt with tariff matters, and with the need for revision. The high protection tariff, he said, meant abuses and prices increased to the extent of the protection. Under a revenue tariff, which was the Liberal policy, the tariff was drawn up with an eye primarily on revenue. The Liberal party did not stand for free trade, but it did propose downward revision, with a lightening of the tax burden on implements of production in the basic industries and on the necessities of life. There would be an aim to make Canadian industries flourish rather than endanger them.

The Liberal leader criticized the Government for having delayed tariff revision, and declared that the members of the tariff commission, Sir Henry Drayton and Senators Robertson and Calder, should come out, informing the public as to what they had found by their investigations.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

24 Nov. 1921 Brantford

D 5813

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe Nov 25-1921

D 5814

# KING ABOLISHES MEIGHEN BOGEY OF FREE TRADE

## Liberal Leader Again Replies to Premier's Platform Question

## REPEATS TARIFF POLICY

## Points to Tory Chief's "Ludicrous" Billboard Portrait Campaign

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Brantford,** Nov. 24.—"I am not, and the Liberal party is not, in favor of free trade."

This definite answer was given by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King this evening to a Brantford audience which crowded the Opera House, an audience from all sections of the "city of agricultural implements." Representatives were there of all shades of political thought.

It came in answer to a question from the audience as to whether the Liberals were in favor of free trade.

It followed a repetition of the question asked by Premier Meighen as to whether Mr. King and the Liberal party would stand by what the Premier was pleased to call "the free trade plank of 1917," and upon which Mr. Meighen had commented that if he answered "No" he was not fit to be trusted; if he answered "Yes" he would lead the country to ruin, and if he did not answer at all he was not fit to lead anything. Mr. King declared that he would answer, and in the words quoted he gave the answer direct.

**Protection and Protection.**

Mr. King dwelt largely with the issue of the election: whether protection of the kind which created trusts, monopolies and mergers, on the one hand, was Canada's need, or a tariff for revenue which would protect industries, protect the farmers, protect the people of all classes, but would not create multi-millionaires, monopolies, mergers, trusts and combines.

He sharply criticized the Government for its failure to present to the people, as an aid to discussion of the Government's own issue, the information gathered by the Tariff Commission, to the end that the people might know what had been discovered, and base their judgment upon that.

This information had been withheld, though the Government had promised that tariff revision based upon it would be introduced at the last session of the House.

**Information Withheld.**

Information as to the people's railways had also been withheld, though it had been furnished, in part, to the shareholders and bondholders of the G.T.R. in England, after which this information had been cabled to Canada, to be read in the daily papers by the people who were to take over the road and pay the price.

In concluding, Hon. Mr. King appealed for the unity of all Progressives and Liberals to overcome the common enemy. Otherwise an autocratic Administration might remain in power, and there would be no government of, by and for the people.

W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in Brantford, and Hon. Charles Murphy also spoke. Reg. Scarfe presided. The three principal speakers also addressed a gathering at Victoria Hall held simultaneously.

The Liberal Leader declared that Mr. Meighen "had violated the most sacred pledge ever given the people," and for this would be condemned.

**Those Ludicrous Posters.**

Mr. King referred again to the poster campaign of the Government. "An old statesman of the type of Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Sir John A. Macdonald might fittingly have their names on billboards," declared Mr. King, "but it is ludicrous for a man who has only exercised stolen power for two years to conduct such a campaign and say 'Canada needs Meighen.'" Mr. King also dealt with "the rescuing of a drowning lady." What Canada needed, he said, was not to be led to a barren and rocky shore, but to the "heart's content" of happiness and contented homes, and this would be the aim of the Liberal party when returned to power.

Referring to Senator Robertson, the Liberal Leader said: "When the Liberal party gets into power there will be a Minister of Labor who sits in the House of Commons and is able to speak in the name of Labor, instead of conducting attacks from the shelter of a life position."

**Leader at Burlington.**

**Hamilton,** Nov. 24.—(Special.)—This afternoon Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal Leader, addressed an enthusiastic meeting of electors of Halton county at Burlington, where he was given a splendid hearing. In his address he followed his previous line of argument, and again emphatically denied that either he or the Liberal party stood for free trade.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

London Advertiser Nov 25-12 1921 D 5815

# KING ANSWERS MEIGHEN QUERY IN SHORT ORDER

## Flatly Denies That Liberal Party Is in Favor of Free Trade.

## APPEALS FOR JUSTICE

## Attacks Conservative Government for Failure to Serve or Consult Voters.

BRANTFORD, Nov. 24.—"I am not and the Liberal party is not in favor of free trade."

This definite answer was given by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King this evening, to a Brantford audience which crowded the opera house. An audience from all sections of the city of agricultural implements, representatives of all shades of political thought.

It came in answer to a question from the audience as to whether the Liberals were in favor of free trade and was preceded by Mr. King's illustration of a mariner going to sea with a plotted chart, but without a compass and without knowledge of unknown seas which faced him.

It followed a repetition of the question asked by Premier Meighen, as to whether Mr. King and the Liberal party would stand by the free plank of 1917, to which Mr. Meighen answered that if he answered no he was not fit to be trusted; if he answered yes, he would lead the country to ruin, and if he did not answer at all, it showed he was not fit to lead anything.

**Gives Answer Direct.**

Mr. King declared that he would answer—and in the words quoted he gave the answer direct.

Mr. King dwelt largely with the issue of the election as to whether it was protection, protection of the kind which created trusts, monopolies and mergers on the one hand, and a tariff for revenue which would protect industries, protect the farmers, protect the people of all classes, but would not create multi-millionaires, mergers, trusts and combines.

He attacked also the government on its failure to present to the people for discussion the issue the government had raised and the information which they had gathered through the tariff commission so that the people might have known what conclusions had been reached, and base their judgment upon that. This information had been withheld though the government had promised that tariff revision based upon it would be introduced at the last session of the House.

**Information Withheld.**

Information as to the people's railways had also been withheld though it had been furnished in part to the shareholders and bondholders of the G. T. R. in England, the information then being cabled to Canada to the people who were to take over the road and pay the price.

In concluding Mr. King appealed for the unity of all Democrats, Progressives and Liberals to overcome the common enemy, as otherwise the autocratic government might remain in power and there would be no government of, by and for the people.

W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in Brantford, and Hon. Chas. Murphy also spoke. The three principal speakers also addressed a gathering at Victoria Hall, held synonomously.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5816

Ottawa Citizen
November 25/21

# LIBERAL POLICY OR THE ALTERNATIVES

## Mr. King Says This Is the Real Issue in the Election Campaign.

(Can. Press Staff Correspondent.)

BRANTFORD, Ont., Nov. 24.—"The real issue in this campaign is not protection or free trade. It is whether for the next five years we shall have the Liberal policy of government of the people, by the people, for the people, or its alternatives of continued autocracy, or government for and by a class."

This was the keynote declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, to two large audiences here this evening. Mr. King was accompanied by Hon. Charles Murphy, former secretary of state in the Laurier administration, and W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in Brantford.

The people had no idea of electing Mr. Meighen premier in 1917, Mr. King declared, and now the government must face investigation of its record, "which had been a betrayal of public confidence." Mr. King charged the prime minister with usurpation and said the government had chosen an election to defeat in the house.

The Liberal leader declared that Mr. Meighen "had violated the most sacred pledge ever given the people," and for this would be condemned.

**Protection of Public.**

The government's acquisition and managemnet of the National Railways was criticized, as well as the governmental attitude toward giving of information. The letting of contracts by the National Railway board to companies whose directors were also directors of the National Railways was condemned. "Protection is an issue in this campaign," Mr. King declared, "but it is a question of whether the public or these companies are to be protected."

James Murdock's resignation from the board of commerce and his acceptance of Liberal nomination were evidences, Mr. King declared, that Mr. Murdock saw there was evil to be combated and that he knew no group could alone hope to win this combat.

"The keeping up of the price of sugar last year," said Mr. King, "showed one of the inefficiencies behind the Meighen government. Another one is shown by the acceptance of promissory notes from big companies in place of tax payments."

**Labor Minister in House.**

Referring to Senator Robertson, the Liberal leader said: "When the Liberal party gets into power there will be a minister of labor who sits in the house of commons and is able to speak in the name of labor, instead of conducting attacks from the shelter of a life position."

**Tariff for Revenue.**

"The cruel part of the campaign against us," declared Mr. King, "is the attempt being made to make people believe that the Liberal party intends to wreck things." Mr. King reiterated that the Liberal party did not stand for free trade. The people now realized this fact. But the tariff must be primarily for revenue. And it must be revised in a manner to bring about increased production. Implements used in basic industries and necessaries of life must be relieved of taxation as far as possible.

"There are already indications, as in North York," said Mr. King, "that by the manipulation of lists and similar acts the government intends to steal this election as it stole the last."

Hon. Charles Murpny, Liberal candidate in Russell, and W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in this riding, also addressed both meetings. Mr. Murphy declared the government campaign was "one of fables and a free trade spook."

Tomorrow Mr. King goes to Chesley, in South Bruce, and on the following day he speaks at Peterboro.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Manitoba Free Press
Nov 25-th 1921

D 5817

# KING FEARS ELECTION LIKELY TO BE STOLEN

## Says Manipulation of Lists, As At North York, Is Indication

## Charges Government With Betrayal of Public Confidence

Brantford, Ont., Nov. 24.—(Canadian Press Correspondent)—"There are already indications, as in North York," said Mr. King, "that by the manipulation of lists and similar acts, the government intends to steal this election as it stole the last."

This was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, to two large audiences here this evening. Mr. niKg was accompanied by Hon. Charles Murphy and W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in Brantford. During the afternoon, Mr. King had addressed a meeting of some 600 electors at Burlington, in Halton county.

**Beclouding the Issue.**

Mr. King charged Mr. Meighen with attempting to becloud the issue by his tarig cry, though domestic questions had not been discussed for a decade.

The people had no idea of electing Mr. eMighen premier in 1917, Mr. King declared, and now the government must face investigation of its record, "which had been a betrayal of public confidence." Mr. King charged the premier with usurpation and said the government had preferred an election to defeat in the house.

Referring to Senator Robertson, minister of labor, the Liberal leader said, "When the Liberal party gets into power there will be a minister of labor who sits in the house of commons and is able to speak in the name of labor, instead of conducting attacks from the shelter of a life position."

**Cruel Part of Campaign.**

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"The cruel part of the campaign against us," continued Mr. King, "is the attempt being made to make people believe that the Liberal party intends to wreck things." Mr. King reiterated that the Liberal party did not stand for free trade.

"No legitimate industry is going to be hurt by our tariff policy," Mr. King declared, "but if we find industries taking advantage of the tariff to build up combines and trusts, then, if I have anything to do with it, we will put an end to the amassing of fortunes at the people's expense.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Edmonton Bulletin
Nov 25-th
1921

D 5818

# GOVERNMENT BY PEOPLE OR CONTINUED AUTOCRACY IS POINT TO BE DECIDED

**Liberal Leader Charges Meighen with Attempting to Becloud the Issue by Tariff Cry—Declares Control Must Face Investigation of Its Record, Which He Terms Betrayal of Confidence**

BRANTFORD, Ont., Nov. 24.—(Canadian Press Staff Correspondent)—The real issue in this campaign is not protection or free trade. It is whether for the next five years we shall have the Liberal policy of government of the people, by the people, for the people, or its alternative of continued autocracy or government for and by a class.

This was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, to two large audiences here this evening.

Mr. King charged Mr. Meighen with attempting to becloud the issue by his tariff cry, though domestic questions had been discussed for a decade.

The people had no idea of electing Mr. Meighen premier in 1917, Mr. King declared and now the government must face investigation of its record, "which had been a betrayal of public confidence." Mr. King charged the premier with usurpation and said the government had chosen an election to defeat in the house.

Referring to Senator Robertson, the minister of labor, the Liberal leader said, "When the Liberal party gets into power there will be a minister of labor who sits in the house of commons and is able to speak in the name of labor instead of conducting attacks from the shelter of a life position."

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"There are already indications, as in North York," said Mr. King, "that by the manipulation of lists and similar acts, the government intends to steal this election as it stole the last."

## Experiment in Aerial Service from England to Australia Is Sought

LONDON, Nov. 24 (Canadian Press).—A cable from Reuters Melbourne correspondent states that Premier Hughes has invited the house of representatives to consider a proposal for an experimental air service between Australia and Europe, with the airships as a free gift from the British government.

It is estimated that the total cost for two years' service will be £1,640,000, of which Great Britain would contribute half and the dominions half. The dominions' contribution being on a per capita basis, would cost roughly £800,000 for the experiment. Asuming that the dominions' share was one-half, Australia's proportion would be about £200,000.

Premier Hughes stated if the house of representatives was not hostile to the proposal he would have a statement compiled showing what the liability would be and whether the experiment would be worth the money, if only as an advertisement.

**LIBERAL WOMEN'S MEETINGS**

A meeting of all Liberal women of West Edmonton will be held in the West Edmonton committee-rooms, 102nd street (La Fleche building), at 3 o'clock p.m., Friday the 25th instant.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Montreal Gazette
Nov 25th 1921

D 5819

# ROCKS AND SHOALS MAY DIVERT ROUTE OF LIBERAL SHIP

## King Will Not Lay Out Course by Convention Tariff Chart Alone

## BRANTFORD MEETINGS.

### Liberal Leader Foresees Government Attempt to Steal Election, "As It Stole Last"

(By Canadian Press.)

Brantford, Ont., November 24.—"The real issue in this campaign is not protection or free trade. It is whether for the next five years we shall have the Liberal policy of government of the people by the people for the people, or its alternatives of continued autocracy or government for and by a class."

This was the keynote declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, to two large audiences here this evening. Mr. King was accompanied by Hon. Charles Murphy, former Secretary of State in the Laurier administration, and W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in Brantford.

Packed houses greeted Hon. Mr. King at both of his meetings. Nearly 2,000 people were estimated to be present in the Grand Opera House, and another 1,000 or so at the overflow meeting in the Victoria Hall.

During the afternoon Mr. King had addressed a meeting of some six hundred electors at Burlington, in Halton county, where the Liberal standard-bearer, W. F. W. Fisher, was also a speaker.

Mr. King, at his Brantford meetings, charged Premier Meighen with attempting to becloud the issue by his tariff cry, though democratic questions had not been discussed for a decade.

The people had no idea of electing Mr. Meighen Premier in 1917, Mr. King declared, and now the Government must face investigation of its record, "which had been a betrayal of public confidence." Mr. King charged the Prime Minister with usurpation, and said the Government had preferred an election to defeat in the House.

The Liberal leader declared that Mr. Meighen "had violated the most sacred pledge ever given the people," and for this would be condemned.

PROTECTING COMPANIES.

The Government's acquisition and management of the National Railways was criticized, as well as the Governmental attitude toward the giving of information. The letting of contracts by the National Railway board to companies whose directors were also directors of the National Railways was condemned. "Protection is an issue in this campaign," Mr. King declared, "but it is a question of whether the public or these companies are to be protected."

James Murdock's resignation from the Board of Commerce and his recent acceptance of a Liberal nomination were evidences, Mr. King declared, that Mr. Murdock saw there were evils to be combatted and that he knew no group could alone hope to win this combat.

"The keeping up of the price of sugar last year," said Mr. King, "showed one of the influences behind the Meighen Government. Another one is shown by the acceptance of promissory notes from big companies in place of tax payments."

The Liberal leader declared the tariff to be one issue only. Tariff revision was a real issue, and revision should have followed immediately on the heels of the Tariff Commission's sessions. But the Government had feared to announce revision either way. If the tariff was the real issue, there should have been an announcement from Sir Henry Drayton or one of his colleagues on the Commission, Mr. King said.

Referring to Senator Robertson, the Liberal leader said: "When the Liberal party gets into power, there will be a Minister of Labor who sits in the House of Commons and is able to speak in the name of labor, instead of conducting attacks from the shelter of a life position."

REVISION DOWNWARD.

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The tariff questions asked by the Prime Minister in his London speech were dealt with by Mr. King. The 1919 Liberal platform, said the Liberal leader, would be followed as a tariff chart, with the combined advice of the best Liberal minds in Canada as a compass. Mr. King asked if this answer was satisfactory.

There was a cry of "no" from someone in the gallery.

"This country does not need any one man, but the collective wisdom of many," said Mr. King. "Any man who would not consult the best minds available in such a task as this would be a fool." He did not propose to lay down any course to be blindly followed without regard to future conditions. "Unknown rocks and shoals" might be encountered. No wise man would steer directly into these simply because his earlier intentions had been to cross the spot where those spots were now to be found.

"The cruel part of the campaign against us," declared Mr. King, "is the attempt being made to make people believe that the Liberal party intends to wreck things." Mr. King reiterated that the Liberal party did not stand for free trade. The people now realized this fact. But the tariff must be primarily for revenue, and it must be revised in a manner to bring about an increase in production. Implements used in the basic industries and necessaries of life must be relieved of taxation as far as possible.

"No legitimate industry is going to be hurt by our tariff policy," Mr. King declared. "But if we find industries taking advantage of the tariff to build up combines and trusts, then, if I have anything to do with it, we will put an end to this amassing of fortunes at the people's expense."

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Hon. Charles Murphy, Liberal candidate in Russell, and W. G. Raymond, Liberal candidate in this riding, also addressed both meetings. Mr. Murphy declared the Government campaign was "one of fables and a free trade spook."

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Montreal Gazette
Nov 25- Ck
1921

D 5819

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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CANADA

25 Nov. 1921 Chelsey, Ont. D 5820

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ottawa Citizen Nov 22nd 1921

D 5821

# MR. KING SURE OF DEFEAT AND BURIAL FOR GOVERNMENT

## No Tory Living Would Bet Against It, Says Liberal Leader

## MEETING AT CHESLEY

### World Sick of Coalition, Which Means Costly Government and Lack of Decision

Chesley, Ont., November 25.—Hon. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, addressed three meetings here tonight, aggregating in attendance over a thousand people, in the interests of R. E. Truax, the Liberal candidate in South Bruce, who is being opposed by John Purvis, Conservative, and J. W. Findlay, Progressive. Speaking at the main gathering in the Town Hall, Mr. King said he had seen a good deal of what was likely to happen in the election, and one thing was absolutely certain. He did not think there was a Tory living who would take a bet to the contrary that the Meighen Government is going to be completely defeated, and "it is going to be buried after the sixth of December," declared the Liberal leader.

The only hope that the Meighen administration have of getting any real number of supporters in the House of Commons was that those who were opposed to it were divided, continued the speaker. The Progressives were not going to draw from the Tories, because the Progressive policies were very much along the line of the Liberal policies. "Indeed, they are Liberal policies when you come down to the principle, whatever their result is," said Mr. King. "Division can have but one effect, to give Mr. Meighen a number of followers he otherwise would not have."

TO AVERT BANKRUPTCY.

Mr. King then touched on the financial situation that confronts Canada, and said the question came down to whether the nation was able to carry on successfully and avert bankruptcy, or cut down expenditures. "Until we get a Parliament and a Government entirely changed, we will never bring down the expenses of Government in this country," affirmed the speaker.

Referring to the talk about coalition, Mr. King declared: "If there is one thing this world is sick of, and ought to be sick of, it is coalition. Coalition means expensive government, it means lack of decision in matters of policy, it means costly administration, it means you don't get quickly progressive legislation. The only way in which we will carry on in Canada and get a sort of Government that is going to help our country in the future is by having one party so strongly supported in Parliament that it will be able to have a policy of its own, a mind of its own, and carry out that policy in the eyes of the people and go before the people on its record in its administration."

Mr. King wanted to see in Parliament representatives of all classes and groups, with better legislation for the farmers, for labor, for the great business and social classes, but he felt that the only way they could get these reforms was by a party which was big enough to bring co-operation and good-will among all these groups. The Liberal party took that broad position, he declared.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 5822

26 Nov. 1921 Peterborough

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe Nov 28th 1921

D 5823

# LIBERAL TARIFF PLAN APPLAUDED BY PETERBORO'

## Mackenzie King Given Enthusiastic Reception in City of Industry

## 5,000 ACCLAIM LEADER

## Premier's Bitter Attacks Like Methods Used in Police Courts

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

**Peterboro'**, Nov. 27.—More than 5,000 persons filled the Arena rink here Saturday night to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, despite the counter-attraction of a meeting of all the Orange organizations of the district in Victoria Hall. The enthusiastic reception tendered the Liberal Leader was in marked contrast to the apathy of the meeting addressed by the Prime Minister here a little over three weeks ago. On the platform with Mr. King and G. N. Gordon, ex-M.P., Liberal candidate, were several leading Conservatives and farmers, and Thomas Tooms, Labor M.P.P. for West Peterboro'.

Mr. King's clear definition of his tariff policy, in an essentially industrial riding, was greeted with prolonged applause. He declared that he regarded the tariff platform adopted by the Liberal convention of 1919 as a chart, and that the course to be pursued as to the tariff must be governed by existing conditions.

**Childish Talk.**

Mr. King declared that the Prime Minister in his recent speeches, during which references had been made to "quacks and mountebanks," as applied to the gentlemen opposing himself had expressed himself "as might a little boy, but not a Prime Minister."

"The Prime Minister," Mr. King asserted, "when he comes down to using such terms as 'infamous perfidy,' and the like, shows the country that he realizes he is fighting on the losing side, and he hopes to detract attention from his own losing fight by resorting to calling names."

The Liberal Leader also criticized Senator G. D. Robertson, who "from a safe seat in the Senate" was criticizing James Murdock, whom he termed "an eight-thousand-dollar hero." It would have been more fitting, Mr. King declared, had Senator Robertson faced the people in an open campaign by contesting a riding for the Commons, rather than "from a sheltered life job in the Senate."

**Build Up; Not Destroy.**

"We want to build up, not to destroy, the industries of the country, and no industry doing a legitimate business need have fear." The Liberal party stood for a reasonable tariff, but one which would bear as lightly as possible on the basic industries, such as agriculture and the necessaries of life. The tariff was needed for revenue and there was no sane man in Canada who would favor abolition of the tariff with the huge war debt to be paid off.

Mr. King's challenge to anyone to name any two of his speeches which differed in policy, went unanswered.

The tariff was not the real issue, however, he affirmed. It was the usurpation of power by the Meighen Government. Not only had the Government acquired the Canadian National Railways and the Grand Trunk without the sanction of the people, but it had filled the Senate and Bench with its friends, thus influencing the trend of legislation for years to come.

"What chance will Labor and the Farmers have for progressive legislation, in view of this condition?" he asked.

**Hiding the Issue.**

It was to conceal this fundamental issue that the Government had raised the tariff question.

Referring to what he characterized as "Meighen's star-chamber method of government," he cited the concealment of the affairs of the Canadian National Railways, and the Government's alleged interference when the Board of Commerce indiscreetly investigated the profits of the Government's friends. It was an invisible government by autocrats and industrial plutocrats.

Turning to the misrepresentation of the Liberal party's stand on the tariff and the personal attacks made on himself by Premier Meighen, Mr. King stated that the Government had been driven to falsehood to get into office and that the Premier's resorting to calling names was more like the methods of a Police Court lawyer than those of a statesman. He ridiculed the slogan "Canada needs Meighen," and stated that the Liberal Government would not be a one-man Government.

It was the aim of the Liberal party to secure social, industrial and political freedom; to institute economy and retrenchment in Governme expenditures, and to usher in an era of democracy and good-will among all classes, races and nations.

**Burnham's Volte-face.**

Mr. Gordon, the local candidate, dealt at length with the volte-face of his Conservative opponent, J. H. Burnham, ex-M.P. He read excerpts from Mr. Burnham's statements on public platforms and through the Press after Mr. Burnham's resignation in July, 1920, in protest against the usurpation of power by the Meighen Government. During the by-election campaign last January, when Mr. Burnham opposed the Government as an Independent Conservative candidate, he had stated, "I will not accept the Government nomination," but now he was endorsed as the candidate of the Government he had rejected.

Declaring tha was a protectionist, Mr. Gord went a step further and stated at he stood for protection of labor as well as of industry.

**Buying Abroad.**

Instancing the Government's keeping of its promise of protection by protecting its profiteering supporters, he declared that, while it was advocating buying made-in-Canada goods, it had purchased the rugs for the House of Commons abroad, and the locks from the Yale-Towne Company in the United States, when the Brinton Carpet Company and the Peterboro' Lock Company here could have supplied the needs.

He cited the cases of local men who had been fined for failing to make income tax returns, while the Riordon Company, owned by the same interests as the Government organ, The Toronto Mail and Empire, had been allowed to give promissory notes for business profits taxes.

Mr. Gordon claimed credit for raising $4,000,000 tax burden off the Canadian breakfast table by securing the withdrawal of a proposed tax on package foods, and concluded by declaring that the Government was dead, and all that was left for the electors to do was to back the hearse up to the door on December 6.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Evening Examiner Nov 28th 1921

D 5824

# PREMIER TALKS LIKE A LITTLE BOY, SAYS KING

## OVER 5,000 HEAR LIBERAL LEADER ARRAIGN GOVERNMENT AND DEFINE POLICY ON TARIFF.

## LATE ARRIVING HERE

Declaring that the Prime Minister in his recent speeches, during which references had been made to "quacks and mountebanks as applied to the gentlemen opposing himself," had expressed himself "as might a little boy, but not a Prime Minister,' Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in his address here Saturday night, to an audience of over five thousand people in the Arena Rink, made several references to recent speeches of Right. Hon. Arthur Meighen, as well as other members of the Cabinet. "The Prime Minister,' Mr. King asserted, "when he comes down to using such terms as 'infamous perfidy' and the like, shows the country that he is fighting on the losing side, and he hopes to distract attention from his own losing fight by resorting to 'calling names.'"

The Liberal leader also criticized Senator G. D. Robertson, who "from a safe seat in the Senate," was criticizing James Murdock, whom he termed "an eight thousand dollar hero." It would have been more fitting, Mr. King declared, had Senator Robertson faced the people in an open campaign, by contesting a riding for the Commons, rather than "from a sheltered life job in the Senate.'"

Hon. Mr. King's train was about half an hour late in arriving at Peterboro, but the audience stayed in the rink, though the temperature was low, until nearly nine o'clock before the chief speaker of the evening was able to put in an appearance.

Hon. Mr. King in his speech dealt with tariff matters, the railways, and charged the government with having followed "star chamber and order in council" methods in handling the business of the country. He criticized the Government, declaring that it had refused information to Parliament and the public, which was of vital importance, and again asserted that there was an "invisible power behind the Meighen government which had kept it in power for 16 months against the wishes of the people."

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said that the best tariff policy in the interests of the country was that of the Liberals which, he explained, was a policy of downward revision; a tariff designed primarily for revenue, which would lighten the burden of taxation on implements of production in the four basic industries, and on foodstuffs.

He regarded the tariff platform adopted by the Liberal convention of 1910 as a chart, and said that in following this, conditions must be taken into consideration.

"We want to build up, not to destroy, the industries of the country, and no industry doing a legitimate business need have fear," he stated.

The Prime Minister talked of the need of tariff revision, said Mr. King but nobody had yet been told how he proposed to revise the tariff if his Government were returned to power. He would not dare revise it upwards, and then face the people, and to revise it downward would be to bring down the wrath of the "invisible power" behind the Government. A huge sum had been spent in getting information as to tariff revision but nothing further had been done, and the men who has gathered that information were keeping silent as to what was needed.

The Liberal leader again made an appeal for unity among all classes and creeds of Canadians to undo the harm wrought by the war and urged his hearers to support the Liberal candidate and return to power a strong, united party, which would carry on without any thought of coalitions, "of which the country was heartily sick.'

On Monday night Mr. King speaks at Pembroke, in the first meeting of his final Ontario series, which will end in North York on December 5th.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

28 Nov. 1921 Pembroke D 5825

THE FARMER GROUPS AND MEIGHEN RULE

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 10

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ottawa Citizen Nov 29th 1921

D 5826

# SECRET POLICIES OF GOVERNMENT SCORED

## Invisible Force and Acceptance of Promissory Notes Evidences, Says Mr. King.

(Can. Press Staff Correspondent.)

PEMBROKE, Ont., Nov. 28.—"In this election the people must choose between continued autocracy by a government which is absolutely indifferent to the will of the people; government by a class, and government of the people, for the people and by the people," declared Hon. Mackenzie King, in addressing a capacity audience at the Drill Hall tonight. Dealing with the Progressive movement, Hon. Mr. King declared this had fallen from the plane of a movement for the upholding of principles to a movement which sought domination by a group which represented only the farmer class. Through this change, Mr. King declared, the Progressive movement had lost many good friends.

The Liberal leader dealt with the candidatures in Regina and Calgary respectively of Hon. W. R. Motherwell and Hon. Duncan Marshall. These men, outstanding agriculturists, were opposed by a doctor and a retired preacher running as Progressives, said Mr. King. By opposing the election of such men as Motherwell and Marshall, the farmers were going against their own interest, Mr. King declared. When the "farmer movement" became an attempt to dominate, said Mr. King, it became "really a Tory movement, for Toryism was essentially control by a small group, of the affairs of any country."

**Autocracy and Usurpation.**

The Liberal leader declared that the record of the Meighen government had been one of autocracy and usurpation. The people's right to govern themselves had been stolen, Mr. King asserted. The people had been given no voice in choosing Mr. Meighen or his policy. The filling of senate vacancies "by the tens and fifteens would mean that for years to come it would be impossible to pass any legislation of a truly progressive or liberal type," Mr. King declared. For this reason it was unwise for Canadians who were in favor of progressive Liberal policies to divide their forces and divide parliament into groups.

"Autocratic government is the last thing that we in this country should seek to foster," Mr. King declared, warning his audience that this would be the result of returning Mr. Meighen. The influence behind the Meighen government "was an influence that had been making multi-millionaires of a people," Mr. King charged. As an instance of this he said there had been "protection of the sugar interests, when prices were being kept up in Canada while American people were able to buy sugar more cheaply.

**Invisible Government.**

"There was an invisible government behind Mr. Meighen," said the Liberal leader. "Acceptance of promissory notes for taxation showed this."

Dealing with railway matters Mr. King declared that if the people endorsed the present method of administration "they should be prepared to foot the bill." The present secret policy was a big factor in the tax bill.

The real issue in the present campaign was that of getting back to proper control of public affairs and back to responsible government, Mr. King asserted. To attempt to narrow down the discussion to tariff alone was in itself autocratic. "The issue of free trade versus protection exists only in Mr. Meighen's imagination," he said.

The bearing of taxation on the cost of living was dealt with by Hon. Mr. King, who declared that before the cost of living could be brought down to any great extent there must be a cut in national expenditures. Many huge sums had been spent needlessly since the war ended. In this category Mr. King included the purchase of "election ammunition." Such purchases as this, he said, could not be endorsed at this time.

What Canada needed today was to get back to economy and retrenchment. Only in that way could taxation be reduced.

**Platform as a Guide.**

Dealing with the tariff and Right Hon. Mr. Meighen's question regarding the 1919 Liberal tariff platform, Mr. King again declared that he would take that platform as a chart to guide him.

"If we get a Liberal government into power it won't be a one-man government," Mr. King stated. "It will be a government guided by the ablest Liberals in Canada and I should look to these men for wise counsel." He would hold to the spirit of that document rather than hold slavishly to the letter. Conditions as they arose must finally decide the course.

The Liberal revenue tariff policy was unchanged, Mr. King said. He believed in the necessity of downward revision, with reduced taxes on necessities of life and on the implements of production used in the basic industries. The tariff could not be abolished. It should be wisely adjusted, and in a manner which would build up the industries. Mr. King again declared that nobody had been told how the present government would revise the tariff if re-elected.

**With Senator Robertson.**

Referring to a visit which Hon. G. D. Robertson is to make here soon, Mr. King dealt with recent speeches of the minister of labor. "I'll tell the workingmen of this country that when the Liberal party is returned to power we will put a real man at the head of labor matters," he declared, "and he won't be sheltered in the senate either."

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Dr. M. McKay, the Liberal candidate in the present three-cornered fight here, also spoke briefly.

Tomorrow night Hon. Mr. King speaks at Oshawa.

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Toronto Globe Nov 29th 1921

D 5827

# KING SUMS UP CASE AGAINST MEIGHEN RULE

## Liberal Leader Reviews Maladministration of Tory Government

## CHEERED BY PEMBROKE

## Tells Facts About Riordons Not Mentioned by the Premier

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Pembroke**, Nov. 28.—"If we get power it will not be a one-man Administration at Ottawa," declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King to a tremendous audience that taxed the Pembroke Drill Hall to capacity tonight.

"It will be a Government of the best men we can get together in this country."

He was cheered to the echo for this and for other statements in reply to a challenge made by Premier Meighen in the same hall last week for the Liberal Leader to state his position on the tariff.

Hon. Mr. King answered this by defying any person in the country to show that he had made a single statement with regard to the tariff in any of his speeches in East or West that conflicted with his address at the convention in 1919 in any essential particular. At that time he had stated that he would be guided by the platform laid down as a chart for his guidance, and he had stated on many a platform during the campaign that he would get the ablest Liberals in the country to help in the administration of the country, and to help him decide the manner in which the wishes of that convention and the interests of the country could best be conserved.

**Sums Up Case.**

In many respects the speech of the Liberal Leader tonight was a summing up of his case against the present Administration as a body that has clung to power for 18 months in defiance of the fact that the 1917 vote did not elect a Government led by the Hon. Arthur Meighen or a party calling itself the National Liberal and Conservative party. He told of the Government denying information with respect to purchases for the Canadian National Railways, although Parliament was asked to grant more than $167,000,000 for railways and canals, and of how the reason became apparent as soon as it was observed that four-fifths of the Board of Directors appointed by the Government were directors of other companies; that one of these companies got the contract for insuring the railway properties for $140,000,000, less $30,000,000 in a Canadian Northern fund for that purpose.

One firm, he said, had received a contract for $14,000,000 worth of materials, and another firm for $9,000,000, and each firm had a director who was also on the Canadian National Railways directorate.

Turning from this evidence in support of his contention that the country was in the hands "of political autocrats on the one hand and industrial autocrats on the other," Mr. King spoke of the action of the Government in accepting a promissory note from the Riordon Company for its taxes, while the money was spent in United States speculations and in unwarranted extensions at home.

**Tory Stockholders.**

This story was followed with intense interest, because a number of citizens, mainly Conservatives, have been investors in this company's stock, and some of them are heavy creditors as well.

It was a different story from that given them by the Premier last week, for the Premier somehow failed to mention the investments at Ticonderoga and the payment of United States taxes in cash, while Canadian taxes remained unpaid, and also the fact that the Riordons control The Mail and Empire, the chief Conservative paper in Toronto.

He reviewed the secrecy of the Government with regard to shells coming from overseas, while asking Parliament for money to manufacture such munitions in Canada.

The Liberal Leader took off his gloves to handle Senator Robertson on account of his reference to James Murdock as "that eight-thousand-dollar hero," pointing out that that jibe came with little grace from the mouth of a man speaking from the security of the Senate at $4,000 a year and $10,000 more as Minister. James Murdock had been man enough to get out rather than be a party to a plan to make the Board of Commerce a mask for the profiteering schemes of the friends of the Government, said Mr. King.

"I tell my friends, the workingmen, that we will put a real man in as Minister of Labor, and he will not be sitting in the Senate. He will be in the House of Commons."

There was a tremendous demonstration at this plain intimation that Mr. Murdock likely would be the next Minister of Labor, and it grew in volume when the speaker said that all indications pointed to the return of enough Liberals to form an Administration independent of any other group.

"The Government gave forth all the signs of defeat. There was no [illegible] when public issues were dropped and the speakers [illegible] personalities. The people would not vote again for the honeycombing of privilege and the interlocking of directorates which had featured the present Government.

The Liberal platform, though not in all respects like that of the Farmers', Labor, the Soldiers' and women, was like it in the following particulars:

First, the desire to reduce the cost of living.

Second, the reduction of duties on the necessaries of life and the implements of production.

Third, retrenchment and economy in administration, and

Fourth, representative, rather than autocratic, government.

Co-operation of all these forces was needed to make the victory complete against the Government and the more powerful but invisible government standing behind it, and in view of the fact that the electoral machinery was all in the hands of the Government.

The candidate, Dr. MacKay, was given a tremendous reception, and there was in the air every sign of victory for the Liberals. The meeting was larger than that which greeted Premier Meighen last week, and much more enthusiastic. Conservatives admit defeat, and there remain only to be considered the chances of the Liberal and Progressive candidates.

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Montreal Gazette Nov 29th 1921 D 5828

# FARMER MOVEMENT REALLY TORY, SAYS MACKENZIE KING

## Has Developed Into Attempt to Dominate, He Tells Pembroke Electors

## ASSAILS PRIME MINISTER

### Liberal Leader Reiterates That Government is One of Autocracy and Usurpation

(By Canadian Press.)

Pembroke, November 28.—"In this election the people must choose between continued autocracy by a Government which is absolutely indifferent to the will of the people; Government by a class, and Government of the people for the people and by the people," declared Hon. Mackenzie King, in addressing a big audience at the Drill Hall tonight. Dealing with the Progressive movement, Hon. Mr. King declared this had fallen from the plane of a movement for the upholding of principles to a movement which sought domination by a group which represented only the farmer class. Through this change, Mr. King declared, the Progressive movement had lost many good friends.

The Liberal leader dealt with the candidature in Regina and Calgary respectively of Hon. W. R. Motherwell and Hon. Duncan Marshall. These men, outstanding agriculturists, were opposed by a doctor and retired preacher running as Progressives, said Mr. King. By opposing the election of such men as Motherwell and Marshall, the farmers were going against their own interests, Mr. King declared. When the farmer movement became an attempt to dominate, said Mr. King, it became "really a Tory movement, for Toryism was essentially control by a small group of the affairs of any country."

The Liberal leader declared that the record of the Meighen Government had been one of autocracy and usurpation. The people's right to govern themselves had been stolen, Mr. King asserted. The people had been given no voice in choosing Mr. Meighen or his pol[icy]. The filling of Senate vacancies [in] the tens and fifteens would m[ean] be that for years to come it would [be] impossible to pass any legisl[ation] of a truly progressive or Li[beral] type" Mr. King declared. For [this] reason it was unwise for Cana[dians] who were in favor of Progr[essive] Liberal policies to divide their [forces] and divide Parliament into [groups].

"Autocratic government [is the] last thing that we in this [country] should seek to foster," Mr. [Meighen] declared, [in] closing his [address] this wo[rd of] Meighe[n's] re[turning] influence being M[ade] the Meignen Government [by] kind an influence that had been making multi-millionaires of a few people," Mr. King charged. As an instance of this he said there had been "protection of the sugar interests when prices were being kept up in Canada, while American people were able to buy sugar more cheaply."

"There was an invisible government behind Mr. Meighen," said the Liberal leader. "Acceptance of promissory notes for taxation showed this."

RAILWAY MATTERS.

Dealing with railway matters, Mr. King declared that if the people endorsed the present method of administration, "they must be prepared to foot the bill." The present secret policy was a big factor in the tax bill.

The real issue in the present campaign was that of getting back to proper control of public affairs and back to responsible government, Mr. King asserted. To attempt to narrow down the discussion to tariff alone was in itself autocratic. "The issue of free trade versus protection exists only in Mr. Meighen's imagination," he said.

The bearing of taxation on the cost of living was dealt with by Mr. King, who declared that before the cost of living could be brought down to any great extent there must be a cut in national expenditures. Many huge sums had been spent needlessly since the war ended. In this category Mr. King included the purchase of "election ammunition." Such purchases as this, he said, could not be endorsed at this time.

What Canada needed today was to get back to economy and retrenchment. Only in that way could taxation be reduced.

Dealing with the tariff and Right Hon. Mr. Meighen's question regarding the 1919 Liberal tariff platform, Mr. King again declared that he would take that platform as a chart to guide him. "If we get a Liberal government into power it won't be a one-man government," Mr. King stated. "It will be a government guided by the ablest Liberals in Canada, and I look to these men for wise counsel." He would hold to the spirit of that document rather than hold slavishly to the letter. Conditions as they arose must finally decide the course.

WOULD LOWER TARIFF.

The Liberal revenue tariff policy was unchanged, Mr. King said. He believed in the necessity of downward revision, with reduced taxes on necessities of life and on the implements of production used in the basic industries. The tariff could not be abolished. It should be wisely adjusted and in a manner which would build up the industries. Mr. King again declared that nobody had been told how the present Government would revise the tariff if re-elected.

Referring to a visit which Hon. G. D. Robertson is to make here soon, Mr. King dealt with recent speeches of the Minister of Labor. "I'll tell the workingmen of this country that when the Liberal party is returned to power we will put a real man at the head of labor matters," he declared, "and he won't be sheltered in the Senate, either." Again Mr. King said that the country was "sick of coalitions." After December 6, he said, the Liberal party would have a majority over both other groups. Therefore, if labor and farmers really sought to make their principles prevail they could do so better by working in harmony with the Liberals than by seeking to act separately. There were dangers of weakening the "forces of progress" by dividing them before "the common enemy."

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

(1) Toronto Globe Nov 30th 1921 D 5830

# CANADA TURNS TO LIBERALISM FOR PROGRESS

## Hon. Mackenzie King Gives Stirring Message to Great Meeting

## MEIGHEN LETS CONTRACTS

## Exposes Last Effort of Ministry to Buy New Lease of Office

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Oshawa, Nov. 29.**—If the spirit of tonight's meeting is any indication of the way public opinion is working, there is little doubt regarding the outcome of the election on December 6. The meeting, addressed by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Leader, in the interests of the Liberal candidate in South Ontario here tonight, was admittedly one of the most successful that has been held in the Province during the campaign. The Armories, with seating for more than 3,000, was packed to capacity, and the Liberal Leader's speech was one of the best that he has delivered during his Ontario tour.

**Issues That Meighen Sidetracks.**

The defiance by the Meighen Administration of all principles and practices of responsible government; refusal to let Parliament, let alone the people, pronounce upon great matters of public policy; abuse of patronage in the management of the Canadian National Railways; the obvious attempt to prevent disclosures, and its failure to meet the charges brought forward by James Murdock, were issues in the campaign about which the people of Canada were more concerned than about the tariff.

The Prime Minister's object in bringing the tariff into the campaign was a deliberate attempt to divert public opinion from the Government record. Under British political practice the Government invariably went to the country on its record. Not so in this case. That was the last thing the Meighen Government wanted. Knowing that protection had been the settled fiscal policy of Canada for 40 years, the old bogy of continental free trade had been trumped up.

**Bogy of "Free Trade."**

"The Liberal party does not stand for free trade," declared Mr. King. "Free trade is not an issue. Free trade means the absence of all tariffs. It means, instead of raising the revenue of the country by indirect methods of taxation, we would have to resort to direct taxation. Last year Parliament voted $560,000,000. To raise that amount of money by direct taxation from a population of eight or nine millions of people would mean a direct tax of $61 per head of the population, or $310 for a family of five."

The thing that affected every man, woman and child in the Dominion of Canada, said Mr. King, was the high cost of living. The high cost of living was influenced by the high cost of government, and he believed that the expenditures of Government could be reduced by at least one-third and still permit Canada to discharge her legitimate obligations.

**Opportunity of People.**

"The affairs of Canada are in the hands of a little group of political autocrats, on the one hand, who have usurped the power and right to govern, and a group of industrial plutocrats on the other. These two are working together to serve their own ends at the expense of the great body of the people of Canada. That is a combination as bad as any nation can be faced with. It is a menace to freedom and to government. It is one of the worst combinations that could be formed in any country. That combination cannot be broken in Parliament. It must be broken by the people themselves. Their chance is now. It has come. They can break it on the 6th of December—and break it I believe they will." (Applause and cheers.)

There was a historical parallel, said the Liberal Leader, for the present situation in Canada. A century ago, after England had defeated the Imperialistic designs of Napoleon, the Government of the day was vested with wide and autocratic power. The use of that power had taught the Government to be autocratic and arbitrary. It forgot all about representative institutions. It was only after that Government was defeated and a Liberal regime installed that the great electoral, social and economic reforms that gave Britain her world leadership were brought about.

**Need for Responsible Government.**

Similarly there was need for a change in Canada. The Administration had violated every principle of responsible government. The attitude of the Prime Minister on great and fundamental questions of public policy had been to withhold information from the elected representatives of the people in Parliament. When Sir John Macdonald was negotiating the Canadian Pacific Railway contract and Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposed the building of the National Transcontinental Railway, both agreements were tabled in Parliament and discussed before they were executed. Not so with Mr. Meighen.

At the last session of Parliament he (Mr. King) had demanded that the agreement for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, which obligated the taxpayers of the Dominion to pay interest on the bonds of the railway for years to come, should be submited to Parliament. This was refused. But the same agreement, drafted in secret conclave, was sent to England for approval of the bondholders and shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway, and, when they found it was a good bargain, they accepted it. It was only by the return cable despatches that Parliament or the people of this country were able to get any knowledge of its provisions.

**The Combination Solid.**

Continuing, Mr. King asked Conservatives in the audience what part or voice they had in the formation of the new National Liberal and Conservative party. He could well understand why old-time Conservatives refused to be linked up with it. It was a combination of Nationalists, one-time Liberals and Conservatives. He firmly believed that the best interests of the country would be served by only two parties, divided on fundamental policies.

"The day may come when the Conservative point of view may have a future, but that future is not tomorrow," he said. He argued against extremes either way. On the one hand the Meighen party represented reactionary autocracy; on the other hand the Progressive party proposed to go to extremes that even its leaders and adherents did not contemplate. The wise course—the course dictated by the future development of the country—was to adopt the Liberal platform, which was designed to meet the needs of all classes and restore to Canada the era of prosperity it enjoyed under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

**Filling Senate With Reactionaries.**

The issue before the country today was the right usurped by Mr. Meighen for the past 16 months to carry on the business of the country. In the usurpation of that right he had

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(1) Toronto Globe Nov 30th 1921 D 5830

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(2) Toronto Globe Nov 30th 1921 D 5831

taken from the electorate their most sacred privileges. The pledge given at the time when men and women forgot their party and united for one purpose had been set aside, and the Government has taken over unto itself the sole authority for the expenditure of vast sums of money without the authorization of Parliament, and has persisted in its refusal to permit Parliament to investigate these expenditures. Following out this policy, the Government was filling the Senate with men of the type calculated to support these methods, and he feared it would be many years before the Liberals or Progressives could enact into legislation much-needed reforms.

Returning to the railway question, Mr. King pointed out that on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways, which controlled the railways, the mercantile marine and all the ramifications of the national transportation system, four or five men were also directors of companies having large dealings with the Government and with the railways. Out of $140,000,000 of railway insurance placed, $110,000,000 had been placed with a company on which two members of the Canadian National Board were directors. Recently the Prime Minister had stated that $11,000,000 of contracts had been placed in Montreal with a company which did not have a member of its board on the Canadian National directorate, but he failed to add that Hon. C. C. Ballantyne was a director of that company, and mighty close to the railway management.

**Buying Way to Power.**

Mr. King expressed the fear that within the last two days other large contracts had been awarded by Order-in-Council at Ottawa. It was said that a contract for a large dry dock at Vancouver had been let in the hope, he supposed, of getting one supporter for the Government from Vancouver. His belief was that Vancouver would return three Liberals on the 6th of December. He had also been told that another large contract had been awarded to the city of Montreal, and a late member of the Government had been given a retainer of $10,000 to investigate conditions in Labrador and Newfoundland.

"Such methods cannot be justified on any score," said Mr. King. "It is an effort on the part of the Meighen Administration to buy its way into power again. I call on the people of Canada to resent that sort of thing in the interest of good government."

**Shielding Profiteers.**

Dealing with the disclosures by James Murdock, Liberal candidate in South Toronto, Mr. King pointed out that in the same way that information had been refused in Parliament, the Government had endeavored to shield profiteers who were taking 100, 200, 300, 400 and 500 per cent. profit out of the clothes supplied to the people of Canada.

"In Parliament," said Mr. King, "I asked the Prime Minister what the Government was going to do in the matter of these charges made by Mr. Murdock. I demanded there should be an investigation, and asserted that, unless the Government undertook to investigate these charges, on it would rest the responsibility and the indictment of knowing these charges to be true. Those charges were never investigated, and now Mr. Murdock is carrying his case from the secret councils of the Government to the great jury of public opinion. It will be for you to pronounce on Tuesday next whether you believe your interests will be best served by a Government which is prepared to shield the profiteer, or whether you want protection, not for the profiteer, but for the consumer and the people in the home.

**Some "Farmer" Candidates.**

"In this present contest we have unmistakable evidence that the Progressive movement has ceased to be a movement primarily for the sake of principle. It has become a movement primarily for the sake of getting control for a particular class," said Mr. King. "In Regina the Progressives are opposing Hon. W. R. Motherwell, the Liberal candidate and for 13 years Minister of Agriculture in Saskatchewan, not by a farmer, but by a doctor. In Calgary they are opposing Hon. Duncan Marshall, Liberal candidate and former Minister of Agriculture in Alberta, by a retired preacher. In this very constituency of South Ontario the Progressive party has found it necessary to go to Toronto to find a candidate to oppose the Liberal candidate, himself a representative farmer."

**Scores Drury Regime.**

W. E. N. Sinclair, M.P.P., commented on the choice of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir William Mulock in bringing Mr. King into public life. Speaking of the nondescript name of the Meighen followers, he referred also to the National Progressive party, which was known in Ontario as the U.F.C. The financial record of the Drury Government in Ontario was sufficient to make people pause and reflect whether it would be well to trust the destinies of Canada to such a group. In the first year of U.F.O administration in Toronto there had been a deficit of $300,000, and last year the expenditures had increased very largely over those under the old Government.

Mr. Sinclair approved of the choice of Farmer candidates by the Liberal and Conservative parties, but thought it strange that the Progressives had to go to Toronto for a candidate when farmers were urged to come out locally and take hold of the management of public affairs.

Lawson Clifford, the Liberal candidate in South Ontario, spoke briefly, and the chair was occupied by Sam Jeffrey of Port Perry, in the absence of W. A. Dryden.

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# LIBERAL VICTORY WOULD VIRTUALLY MEAN MILLENIUM

## King Promises Cabinet of Best Men Representing All Classes

## FEARFUL ALTERNATIVES

### Meighen's Return Would Endorse Autocracy, and Crerarism Would be Leap in Dark

(By Canadian Press.)

Oshawa, Ont., Nov. 29.—"The return of Mr. Meighen's Government means an endorsation of autocracy for another five years. The return of Mr. Crerar and the Progressives means a leap in the dark, to no one knows what. But the return of a Liberal administration on Tuesday next will mean the formation of a Cabinet composed of the best men from every province in Canada, representing agriculture, labor, returned soldiers and the business, professional and commercial classes." This was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in concluding his address to some three thousand persons from Oshawa and its district at the Armories tonight.

"The Cabinet should be a mirror of the constituent elements of the nation, not represented there as groups, but each co-operating and working together for the good of the whole Dominion," Mr. King declared. "If I am chosen at the head of the next Government, as I expect I shall be, my aim will be to gather about me the best men from every class and province, and with them seek to bring Canada back to prosperity and harmony such as she greatly needs."

The fight in the constituency of South Ontario is three-cornered, with a farm owner representing each of the parties Hon. William Smith is making his ninth campaign as a supporter of Conservative tariff policies, while his two opponents are both new in federal politics. The riding is divided as to the class of voters on a basis of about two to one in favor of urban voters, and in his eight previous campaigns, from 1882 to 1917, Hon. Mr. Smith has been four times elected.

When Hon. Mr. King rose to speak, a man at one side of the hall shouted, "Where were you in the war?" and quickly from another man came the retort, "The same place as Arthur Meighen."

PREDICTS CLEAR MAJORITY.

Mr. King predicted that his party would have a majority in the next House over both opposing parties. The voice of Liberalism was continually rising, and December sixth would see certain victory at the polls. Hon. Mr. King read a message from Amherst, N.S., signed 'Old-Time Conservative," predicting a solid Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Liberal leader spoke strongly in favor of the two party system in Canada, "as opposed to group movements and coalitions which inevitably cause no end of log-rolling." He outlined what he considered 'the fundamental differences between Toryism and Liberalism." The former, said Mr. King, was against any change even for improvement, while the latter shared its benefits with all the people in its country. In the Progressive movement there was a tendency to seek change simply for the sake of change.

The present National Liberal and Conservative party was discredited even among Conservatives, Mr. King declared. Neither its name, policy nor leader had been chosen by the people. "That party does not stand for anything in this country except those few men who were anxious to carry on in the interests of small groups and to the detriment of the people as a whole," asserted Mr. King.

Hon. Mr. King criticized the Government for "burdening future generations with debt, making appointments and filling up the Senate with men of the mind and type of the Prime Minister to prevent the passage of any reform legislation." The fact that such an issue as usurpation was before the people should in itself have brought about unity among those of Progressive and Liberal thought in their present fight. "The Meighen Government was in no way justified in dealing with post-war problems," Mr. King argued.

The Government had refused an investigation of James Murdock's charges, said Mr. King and thus stood condemned of having shielded profiteers at the expense of the people. The Liberal leader referred also to the Riordon tax payments and sugar price restrictions as showing what influences were behind the Government.

The loans to Greece and Rumania were also dealt with, it being charged that these loans were expended in buying manufactured goods from the Government's friends.

BIG CONTRACTS GIVEN.

"In the last few days this country has been committed to millions of dollars for which no appropriation has been made," Mr. King declared. "A drydock had been given to Vancouver at the cost of millions of dollars in an attempt to buy a seat for a Minister." A contract had also been given to Montreal, if Mr. King's information was correct, and a former Minister of the Crown had been appointed a commissioner to investigate certain matters between Canada and Labrador. "If the people knew what is being done behind the door of the Council Chamber in Ottawa the last few days, they would see that Mr. Meighen's Government was trying to buy its way back into power by one means and another," said Mr. King.

Dealing with the tariff, he declared again that the Liberal party did not stand for free trade, which would mean absolute abolition of the tariff. With Canada's present national debt and heavy expenditures, there must be a tariff, but this should be revised to reduce the cost of living. The cost of government could be and must be reduced to reduce taxation.

No legitimate business would suffer from a Liberal tariff revision, he asserted. Hon. Mr. King repeated his warning against "the danger of the isolation" of the farming group from other groups in the country. The Progressive movement had become an attempt of a single class to control government instead of a movement for principles, he said.

L. O. Clifford, Liberal candidate in South Ontario, and W. E. N. Sinclair, Liberal M. L. A., also spoke at the meeting.

Tomorrow afternoon Hon. Mr. King speaks at Gananoque and in the evening at Kingston.

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(1) Gazette and Chronicle Dec 1st 1921 D 5833

# Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Speaks at Oshawa

LIBERAL LEADER ADDRESSES LARGE CROWD.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, was greeted by a crowd that packed the Armories to capacity at Oshawa on Tuesday night, when he spoke in the interests of the Liberal party and of the candidate in this riding, Mr. L. O. Clifford. Mr. King was given an enthusiastic reception, and a most attentive hearing during the hour and forty-five minutes which he devoted to a discussion of the election issues. Not once was he heckled, and on only one occasion was a question directed to him.

**Protests Against Autocracy**

In commencing his address, Mr. King reminded his audience that it has almost always been inevitable that a government, which has become accustomed to autocratic methods and the spending of huge sums of money during the stress of war, should continue that autocracy during peace times. And the result is also inevitable that the people rise up and refuse to submit. At the present time, said Mr. King, the government of Canada is usurping power in defiance of all pledges made in the last election. The people of Canada have been generous in giving the government a free hand during the war, but now when the people see that their confidences have been violated, there will be a return to the rule of government of the people, for the people, by the people, by the decision of the voters on December 6th.

Mr. King said he has observed that the tide of Liberalism is rising stronger and fuller to victory. He read a telegram from Amherst, N.S., signed by old-time Conservative, giving the view that opinion in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is going strong in the Liberals' favor.

"The Government of a country is best carried on by two great political parties, rather than by any methods of compromise, or log-rolling," said Mr. King. "The history of British institutions shows this, and I venture to say that the National Liberal and Conservative party, if it has a future ahead of it, will not have that future to-morrow. There must be a return to true party Government."

The Progressive party is actuated by the desire for change for the sake of change, was Mr. King's opinion. It is possible to progress too fast, and Mr. King thought the Progressive party was putting men in the field without really knowing what principals they stand for.

"What Canada needs to-day is the avoidance of extremes—a Conservative extreme on the one hand, which would keep things as they are for specially privileged groups,and that is what Mr. Meighen and those associated with him are standing for; the Progressive movement at the other extreme, heading in an opposite direction, change merely for the sake of change. What the Liberal Party stands for is the middle course of a sane and orderly progress, prepared to look to the past and retain what is best in past traditions, but with its eyes mainly to the future, and seeking the development of the country along true Liberal lines."

Mr. King spoke in terms of indignation with reference to the Liberal and Conservative party's "usurpation of power". "Not a single man or woman here," he said, "has given the Meighen administration even an indirect mandate to carry on government during the past sixteen months. The real issue regarding the party is that it does not stand for anything except for the interests of a few men who have had a hand in putting it in power." He cited numerous instances of what he termed "autocracy." The Senate of Canada filled with representatives of the Meighen administration and the big business interests; the placing of the government railways under the control of a few government appointees without allowing the people of Canada or Parliament to know the terms of the agreement; the autocratic management of these same railways, by placing them under the administration of a board whose members are also directors of the companies with whom large contracts were made; the refusal of information to Parliament in this connection; these were further points dealt with at some length by Mr. King, who pointed out that Mr. Meighen had refused to put the railways on a basis that would necessitate an account to the public of all moneys received and expended in their administration.

(Continued on page 2)

"The affairs of Canada are in the hands of a little group of political autocrats and industrial plutocrats," said Mr. King, who cited many instances of the awarding of huge contracts to the Government's friends.

Mr. King declared that the failure of the Government to investigate the charges of Mr. Murdoch that the Cabinet had interfered with his attempts to stop profiteering, was an admission that the charges were true.

Mr. King charged that within the past two days huge contracts and orders had been let by the Government in its endeavor to buy its way back into power.

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King declared that Mr. Meighen was trying to make "the issue" in order that the people may be drawn away from giving attention to his political sins. "I want to say to you that the Liberal party does **not** stand for free trade. Free trade means the absence of tariff. Canada cannot exist, cannot finance her way without a tariff."

"We propose to revise the tariff in a way that will help the home and the family—that is the viewpoint from which the Liberal party looks at the matter. On the other hand, the Government goes to the country and says that protection is the issue and gives the people absolutely no idea as to exactly what they propose to do in making the tariff a protective tariff. It is a shocking thing that the Minister of Finance has said absolutely nothing in the present campaign about what he proposes to do if he is called on to revise the tariff. We are getting absolutely no information from the Government Minister on their proposal in regard to the tariff."

"No manufacturer, earning a legitimate profit in this or any other community, need have any fear of a revision of the tariff by the Liberals. What we aim at is a revision that will serve the interests of producer and consumer alike, and not promote and build up fortunes for a few monopolies, combines, or mergers," said Mr. King.

"Agriculture is the basic industry of our country and unless agriculture prospers our cities and towns cannot prosper. Behind the Progressives

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Gazette and Chronicle

D 5834

was this principle, I believe, but I also believe that the Progressive movement has now come to be that of a particular class to gain power for the benefit of that class alone. The danger of the Progressive movement is that it represents that part of the farming community which believes in raising one class against another, which will even destroy agriculture and lose thousands of friends for itself. Any party must be large enough to unite all classes together to make a common cause prevail, not the interests of one class alone."

"The issue is this," said Mr. King, in conclusion, "are we to have an autocratic government; government by a class, or government of the people, for the people by the people. The latter is what the Liberals represent and the Liberal party will give if returned to power."

Mr. Clifford, the candidate, spoke quite briefly. He extolled Mr. King, as leader of the Liberal party in Canada, and predicted that next Tuesday night he would be Premier of Canada. Mr. Clifford appealed to his supporters to work faithfully and diligently during the remaining days of the campaign, and he was sure success would be the outcome.

Mr. W. E. N. Sinclair, M.P.P., said he had been a class-mate of Mr. King at Toronto University thirty years ago. He reviewed Mr. King's career and paid a high tribute to his integrity and ability. Mr. Sinclair recalled the fact that the most prosperous era in the history of Canada was during the regime of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He appealed to his audience to use their votes to effect a return to the same policies by which Canada was governed then, with Hon. Mr. King as premier and Hon. W. S. Fielding as Finance Minister.

Mr. Sinclair referred to the Progressive candidate as not being a farmer in the real sense, and he would have thought that the Progressives would have chosen a man who was a real farmer. Mr. Clifford, said Mr. Sinclair, being a thorough farmer, is the logical choice for member. The speaker devoted some attention to a refutation of a newspaper report that he had been making mis-statements.

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D 5835

30 Nov. 1921

Gananoque, Ont.

TARIFF ISSUES

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CANADA

Toronto Globe Dec 1st 1921

D 5836

# MEIGHEN FALLS BETWIXT PUBLIC AND INTERESTS

## "Bosses" Forbid His Lowering Tariff and He Dare Not Raise It

## THEREFORE, NO REVISION

## Mackenzie King Unveils Influences Behind Tory Election Billboards

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

**Gananoque**, Nov. 30.—To an enthusiastic audience of 1,500 people who thronged the local theatre here at noon to-day, the Liberal Leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, pressed the argument that the tariff was not an issue in the campaign. He referred to the pledge given in the Speech from the Throne at the last session of Parliament that proposals for a revision of the tariff would be submitted "in due course."

"The Government paid no attention to that pledge," said Mr. King. "The explanation is simple. The Government either had to revise the tariff one way or the other—up or down. Suppose they had revised it upward—they would not have got much support from the great body of consumers. Suppose they had started revising it downward—there would have been certain special groups that had been protected who would have told Mr. Meighen in five minutes: 'You revise the tariff downward and you will get no further help from us.' So he did nothing, and for the same reason he is not telling us now how he proposes to revise the tariff.

**Billboard Bills.**

"It must not be supposed there are no influences back of Mr. Meighen paying for the bill-posting and advertising throughout the country, and it is not the kind of influence which shows itself in public. Such an influence was disclosed last year when sugar went to 23 cents a pound. That was one of the influences keeping Mr. Meighen where he is."

Referring to the charges made by Mr. James Murdock regarding the apathy of the Government toward profiteering, Mr. King asked:

"Where is Mr. Murdock at the present time? He is standing by my side on the Liberal platform, going through the country helping to fight the battle of the people; the battle of the women and children, and the homes of this country, against the kind of profiteering that has been going on in the past and which we have reason to believe is going on at the present time under the Meighen Administration."

**Unity the Need.**

What was most needed was the co-operation of all groups in the country, the farmers, the business and professional men, the returned soldiers, to get back of a party representing all groups, which would stand for the rights of all.

Other sinister influences mentioned by Mr. King which were behind the Government were those who had given I.O.U.'s in settlement of their income taxes. The Riordon Company was able to pay its dividends and its taxes in the United States, but when it came to Canada it offered the Government promissory notes, and now the company was bankrupt.

He had been told that there were other companies in the same position. "Let us get their names and we will know something of the other influences that are keeping Mr. Meighen where he is.

**Tariff Revision.**

"We purpose having a tariff revision in a way that will help to bring in the revenue that is needed; that will also further assist in the growth of the industrial life of this nation. Our way is to bring down the cost of living by increasing production."

The basic industries of Canada, said Mr. King, were agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing. If you help to develop these basic industries you are helping every strata in the industrial life of the country. If you tax capital you make the cost of production so much higher. If we wish to lessen the cost of production in these basic industries we should make the taxes bear as lightly as possible upon the implements and tools of production necessary to develop these industries.

"As regards the necessaries of life, the taxes should bear as lightly as possible on all necessaries of life," asserted Mr. King.

"So far as the tariff is concerned, the policy of the Liberal party is that any revision will have its beginning and end in its relation to the home and the needs of the home.

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Ottawa Citizen Dec 1st 1921

D 5837

# LIBERAL LEADER IN COUNTY OF LEEDS

## "Camouflaged Issue," Mr. King Declares of the Meighen Assertion as to the Tariff.

(Can. Press Staff Correspondent.)

GANANOQUE, Ont., Nov. 30.—Addressing a capacity audience at the opera house this afternoon in the interests of A. W. Mallory, Liberal candidate in Leeds constituency, Hon. W. L. Mckenzie King, attacked the statement that the issue in the present fight was between free trade and taxation.

"There is nobody in this country today standing for free trade," Mr. King declared. "It is nonsense for the prime minister to try and frighten the people by putting forward a camouflaged issue. What Mr. Meighen sought was to have the people entirely overlook the record of his government during the past sixteen months."

**The Only Difference.**

Mr. King asserted that in this election the real issue was whether the people or a small group were to govern. Mr. Meighen had only differed from Lenine and Trotzky in that the latter has resorted to physical violence to gain power, while Mr. Meighen violated constitutional rights in seizing and holding power as he had done. Dealing with the railway problem, Mr. King said that both Sir John A. MacDonald and Sir Wilfred Laurier had consulted parliament on their railway commitments, while Mr. Meighen refused to consult parliament. The Grand Trunk shareholders were given a chance to consider their agreement, while Canadian people were refused sight of the agreement, Mr. King declared. Mr. Meighen, he said, had forgotten that the cabinet was simply a committee of parliament.

"We must get back to parliamentary government and responsibility," Mr. King stated. The Liberal leader declared that **all questions of re**establishment of returned men should be re-opened before a committee of a thoroughly representative parliament.

**Sacred Rights Destroyed.**

He charged Hon. Mr. Meighen with "destroying the most sacred rights of the house of commons by forcing estimates through under closure." The building and operation of Canadian Government Merchant Marine was also objected to as was the passing of Marine estimates under closure which meant "the shutting off of discussion." The cost of living was the great problem in Canada today. With it was bound up the question of high taxation and cost of government. There must be "a thorough house cleaning" in order to find where the cost of government could be reduced, Mr. King said and for this alone there should be a change of government.

**"Powerful Influences."**

Dealing with tariff matters, Mr. King declared that "nobody knew what sort of revision Mr. Meighen intended making if he were returned to power." The prime minister had to consider the feelings of the "powerful influences" which had kept him in power, said Mr. King.

The abuses of the protective tariff system, said Mr. King, made multimillionares of a few people at the expense of the majority of the people. The Liberal revenue tariff policy would help bring the needed revenue and also increase production in the great industries. Machinery and tools used in the four basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing, and also necessaries of life must, be freed from irksome taxations. As far as possible a Liberal tariff revision, said Mr. King, would be based on the home and its needs, since the measures of any nation was to be found in its home.

Mr. King again dealt with the Progressive movement and with his appeals during the past year for co-operation between Progressives and Liberals. He believed the Progressive movement had become really a class movement and as such was against the best interest of the country at large. The great body of Canadian farmers believed in seeking their reforms with the aid of all other groups, Mr. King declared, and the Progressive movement drew only those who sought separate political action. Members elected as Progressives would have difficulty in securing the co-operation of those whom previously they had opposed.

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London Advertiser
Dec 2nd
1921

D 5838

# KING COMPARES MEIGHEN WITH SOVIET LEADER

## Declares Premier Violated Voters' Constitutional Rights by Seizing Power.

## URGES UNITY AS VITAL

## Denies Anybody in Country Today Stands For Free Trade.

GANANOQUE, Ont., Nov. 30.—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)—Addressing a capacity audience at the Opera House this afternoon in the interest of A. W. Mallory, Liberal candidate in Leeds constituency, Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King attacked the statement that the issue in the present fight was between free trade and protection.

"There is nobody in this country today standing for free trade," Mr. King declared. "It is nonsense for the prime minister to try and frighten the people by putting forward a camouflaged issue. What Mr. Meighen sought was to have the people entirely overlook the record of his government during the last sixteen months."

Mr. King asserted that in this election the real issue was whether the people, or a small group, were to govern. Mr. Meighen had only differed from Lenine and Trotzky in that they resorted to physical violence to gain power, while Mr. Meighen violated constitutional rights in seizing and holding power as he had done.

Dealing with the railway problem Mr. King said that both Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier had consulted Parliament on their railway commitments, while Mr. Meighen refused to consult Parliament.

The Grand Trunk shareholders were given a chance to consider their agreement, while Canadian people were refused sight of the agreement, Mr. King declared.

Mr. Meighen, he said, had forgotten that the cabinet was simply a committee of Parliament. "We must get back to parliamentary government and responsibility," Mr. King stated. The Liberal leader declared that all questions of re-establishment of returned men should be reopened before a committee of a thoroughly representative parliament. He charged Mr. Meighen with "destroying the most sacred rights of the House of Commons by forcing estimates through under closure."

The building and operation of Canadian government merchant marine was also objected to, as was the passage of marine closure estimates under closure, which meant "the shutting off of discussion."

The abuses of the protective tariff system, said Mr. King, made multi-millionaires of a few persons at the expense of the majority of the people. The Liberal revenue tariff policy would help bring the needed revenue, and increase production in the great industries. Machinery and tools used in the four basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing, and also necessaries of life must be freed from irksome taxation.

Mr. King again dwelt with the Progressive movement, and with his appeals during the last year for co-operation between Progressives and Liberals. He believed the Progressive movement had become really a class movement, and as such was against the best interests of the country at large. The great body of Canadian farmers believed in seeking their reforms with the aid of all other groups, Mr. King declared, and the Progressive movement drew only those who sought separate political action. Members elected as Progressives would have difficulty in securing the co-operation of those whom previously they had opposed.

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D 5839

30 Nov. 1921 Kingston

THE WOMEN'S VOTE; SENATE
APPOINTMENTS; RAILWAYS

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CANADA

Ottawa Citizen Dec 1st 1921 D 5840

# TAKES UP MEIGHEN APPEAL TO WOMEN

## Mr. King Also Discusses Senate Appointments, the Railways and Re-establishment.

(Canadian Press.)

KINGSTON, Ont., Nov. 30.—Had it not been for an open-air meeting held outside of the Griffin Theater here, a thousand or so of Kingston's citizens who were anxious to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie Kink, leader of the Liberal party, would have been disappointed tonight. Two theatres, holding together some 2,200 people, were filled to capacity.

Hon. Mr. King dealt with the prime minister's appeal to the women of Canada. The prime minister, said Mr. King, claimed to be responsible for having given women the franchise. Previous to 1917 the law had been that the federal franchise was based on the laws of the various provinces, Mr. King stated. The provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario had already given women the right to vote, and under the federal law as it stood previous to 1917, these women had the right to a federal vote when they fulfilled provincial requirements. The Union government, said Mr. King, had simply restricted voting to those women from whom they expected votes.

Dealing with recent senate appointments, the Liberal leader declared that the country had a right to expect both a senate and house of commons, which was representative of public money. But by filling the upper chamber with his papointees, Mr. Meighen had taken steps to defeat any reforms which public opinion might demand in the next few years.

In regard to railway management Hon. Mr. King said the National railways had not been given a fair opportunity. The Liberal policy, said Mr. King, was the direct opposite of that followed by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen's government.

Hon. Mr. King dealt again with the re-establishment problem, saying that the whole matter should be re-opened by the next parliament, which would be truly representative and which should be guided by the report of a special committee, which would take up the whole matter "without any strings attached" to its report.

Dealing with the tariff, Mr. King said the Liberal party "does not stand for free trade. Such a tariff issue cry is only camouflage." The Liberals did feel, however, that the tariff needed revision to remove many of its abuses. The Liberal tariff policy, said Mr. King, would be brought to bear in the same way as the Laurier tariff policy of 1896. Application of that policy then had brought about prosperity.

Addressing the labor men in the audience, Mr. King declared that labor, capital, management and the community must all be given representation in great industrial problems. All of these forces, he said, should have representation on the Canadian National Board. Mr. King stated that the bill protecting the people against combines had been abolished by the Borden government.

**For "Live" Labor Minister.**

"The minister of labor," said Mr. King, "should not be a gentleman sheltered in the Senate, but rather a real live man, who understands labor and its problems and who is slated in the House of Commons, where he can be questioned. The alternatives in Canada were three. The people, said Mr. King, must choose between autocracy, class government and government for all the people.

If chosen premier, Mr. King said he would surround himself with the best counsel he could secure. The Meighen government was a "one man government," said Mr. King. The ablest men from all provinces would be secured for a Liberal cabinet.

The country was sick of coalition, labor, farmers, business and professional men and the returned men should be given representation in the government of their country. These would work together to formulate policies which would best serve Canada's needs and seek to perpetuate the things for which so many Canadians had given their lives or their health.

Colonel Andrew Thompson, K.C., of Ottawa, and John M. Campbell, who is the Liberal candidate here, also addressed both meetings.

Tomorrow night Mr. King speaks at North Bay, in the riding of Nipissing.

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Manitoba Free Press
Dec 1st 1921

D 5841

# KING SAYS GOVERNMENT LIMITED WOMEN'S VOTE

## States Federal Law Based On Provincial Laws Before 1917

Kingston, Ont., Nov. 30—(Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).— Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed three large meetings here tonight, following a largely attended meeting in the afternoon at Gananoque.

Mr. King dealt with the prime minister's appeal to the women of Canada. The prime minister, said Mr. King, claimed to be responsible for having given women the franchise. Previous to 1917 the law had been that the federal franchise was based on the laws of the various provinces, Mr. King stated. The provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario had already given women the right to vote and under the federal law, as it stood previous to 1917, these women had the right to a federal vote when they fulfilled provincial requirements. The Union government, said Mr. King, had simply restricted voting to those women from whom they expected votes.

At Gananoque Mr. King made a reference to the progressive movement. He said he believed the Progressive movement had become really a class movement and as such was against the best interests of the country at large.

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D 5842

1 Dec. 1921 North Bay

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe Dec 2nd 1921

D 5843

# WARM TO KING WHERE MEIGHEN FINDS IT COOL

## Liberal Leader Welcomed to North Bay by Cheering Throngs

## IS EXPECTING A CALL

## Predicts Liberal Majority Over All Others on Tuesday

(Staff and C. P. Despatches.)

North Bay, Dec. 1.—Speaking in a town which has been represented by a Conservative ever since 1911, and which gave Harrison, Conservative-Unionist, a majority over Lapierre, Liberal, in 1917 of 676 votes, Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King received a reception at the hands of North Bay this evening that Premier Meighen on his recent visit here failed to draw. Half an hour before the meeting was called to order the Royal Theatre was packed to the utmost with 1,200 persons, who greeted the remarks of the various speakers time and again with generous rounds of applause. A large proportion of the audience was composed of ladies.

**That Secret Agreement.**

Speaking as he was in a town whose prosperity is wrapped up in the railroads of the land, the Liberal Leader spent the major portion of his time dealing with the Government's policy in connection with the railways. He flayed the Meighen Administration, particularly on the secrecy which surrounded the agreement drawn up at the time of the formation of the Canadian National Railways, an agreement which was submitted to neither the Canadian public nor to Parliament before it was closed.

A telling point was scored when Mr. King was touching on the action taken by the present Administration with regard to his amendment in the House calling for a fair deal for the men involved in the Grand Trunk strike of 1910, and which has not been satisfactorily settled. The Government voted this amendment down, and Mr. King told his audience that Charles Harrison, member for Nipissing, although in the House early in the evening, was not present at the time of the division, if he remembered correctly.

**The "Interests" and the C.N.R.**

He scored the Government on the fact that four-fifths of the National Railways Board is composed of men who are directors of other companies with which the board does business, and in reply to the statement that a contract for over $10,000,000 had been awarded to a Montreal firm without any connection with the board, he pointed out that Hon. C. C. Ballantyne is a director of that Montreal company—a remark which drew loud applause.

"The Meighen Government," he asserted, "is based on autocracy and is only the visible Government of the land, the invisible Government being made up of the big interests which keep Mr. Meighen and his followers in power. Mr. Meighen has stated that protection versus free trade is the issue simply to cover up these things that I am pointing out."

**Those Promissory Notes.**

Touching on the Riordon question, the speaker asked if a Government would accept promissory notes from a company which had no influence over it?

Dealing with Mr. Meighen's statements that he had given the women the vote, the speaker showed how, under legislation introduced by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, women were given the right to vote in Federal elections if they had the right to vote in their Province. And while many women thus had the vote in 1917, nevertheless the Government had taken the vote from all these women and given it only to those who it thought would vote for the Government. To an interrupter, who asked if this was not because those denied the vote were enemies of the country, the large audience cheered as the Leader countered: "Surely you do not suggest that every women who had not a relative in uniform was an enemy of her country?"

**Meighen Shies on Tariff.**

Touching on the tariff for only a short while, Mr. King pointed out how the Government has not given the public during this campaign any of the information gathered by the Tariff Commission. This was because the Government had found that the tariff had to be revised, and if it were lowered the big interests behind the Meighen Government would object.

He referred to the Progressive party as a "class movement." With the exception of two or three persons besides Hon. Mr. Crerar, he could not see available Cabinet material if the Progressives were elected.

Hon. Mr. King opened with a criticism of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen's Government as "a one-man ministration." What Canada needed, said Mr. King, was not any one man, but rather the collective wisdom of the best minds available in Canada.

**Confidence, Eh, What?**

While Hon. Mr. King was referring to the calling of Mr. Meighen to form a Government, a man in the gallery asked: "Why didn't he (the Governor-General) call on you?"

"He will do so in a few days now," said Mr. King, "and I hope my friend will send me a wire of congratulations when he does so."

The need of economy, retrenchment and reform was stressed by the Liberal Leader. The cost of living, he said, was being kept at its present height by the high cost of government. There could be no reduction hoped for in this cost while the country continued in office "men who had grown so accustomed to thinking in billions of dollars that they refused to attune their minds to anything like thousands and hundreds of dollars."

"We need a thorough national housecleaning," said Mr. King, "and we need a proper audit by men who are not chiefly concerned with hiding from the public those things which the public ought to be told." There were expenditures which could be reduced or done away with, and the Liberal Leader was in favor of cutting down these needless outlays before telling the returned soldiers that the Government could do nothing more for them because there was no more money available.

The acquisition and operation of the Canadian National Railways system and the matter of public ownership were also gone into by Hon. Mr. King. In his opinion, he said, public ownership and operation had not been given a proper chance to prove itself. There had been entirely too much secrecy and refusal of vital information by the Meighen Government. There was no charge made against the honesty and integrity of the directors, but the manner in which contracts had been let, and the Government's manner in regard to these contracts, had been in itself sufficient to justify questions which the Government refused to answer.

Hon. Mr. King will devote the rest of his campaign to his own riding of North York.

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Montreal Gazette
Dec 2nd 1921

D 5844

# KING'S CAMPAIGN ENDED EXCEPT FOR HIS OWN RIDING

## Liberal Leader Has Eight More Meetings Within Three Days

## SPEECH AT NORTH BAY

### Canada Needs Proper Audit by Men Not Chiefly Concerned in Hiding Things

(By Canadian Press.)

North Bay, Ont., Dec. 1.—Winding up his campaign, with the exception of several meetings in his own riding of North York which will be held on Friday, Saturday and Monday, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King spoke tonight to a capacity audience in North Bay after having covered eight of the nine provinces of the Dominion, and after having been continuously active on the platform since early in September. Mr. King in his speech here tonight reviewed the arguments which he had been presenting for the past two and a half months, and which, he declared, showed full promise of resulting in the return of a Liberal administration to office on Tuesday next. He dealt with the financial and economic conditions facing the country, the railway situation, and the charges of usurpation which he has been making against Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, and also with the probabilities of what next Tuesday would bring forth.

The people, said Mr. King, were heartily determined to end the power of the Meighen Government. There had been "altogether too much usurpation of public rights and protection of the Government's friends at the expense of the taxpayers." The most certain thing about the coming election was that Mr. Meighen and his friends would be defeated.

Again the Liberal leader told his audience that there would be no coalition after December 6. "The country is sick to death of coalitions, with their log-rolling and expensive attempts to satisfy this and that party to them. What this country needs today is a strong, stable government, composed of the best minds that can be secured, which will not be afraid to lay down a policy and follow it out. And afterwards it must not be afraid to face the people on its record as a Government."

ORDERLY INTERJECTIONS.

There were a few questions and interjections as the Liberal leader was speaking, but they were of an orderly nature. Some 1,500 people attended the meeting, which was held in the Royal Theatre.

Hon. Mr King opened with a criticism of Right Hon. Arthur Meighen's Government, as "a one man administration." What Canada needed, said Mr. King, was not any one man, but rather the collective wisdom of the best minds available in Canada. The need of economy, retrenchment and reform was stressed by the Liberal leader. The cost of living, he said, was being kept at its present height by the high cost of government. There could be no reduction hoped for in this cost while the country continued in office "men who had grown so accustomed to thinking in billions of dollars that they refused to attune their minds to anything like thousands and hundreds of dollars."

"We need a thorough national house-cleaning," said Mr. King, "and we need a proper audit by men who are not chiefly concerned with hiding from the public those things which the public ought to be told." There were expenditures which could be reduced or done away with, and the Liberal leader was in favor of cutting down these needless outlays before telling the returned soldiers that the Government could do nothing more for them because there was no more money available.

Dealing with the question of women's votes, Mr. King declared that in 1917 the Government had restricted the vote to those women from whom it expected votes.

"Did they not take the vote from only those women who were enemies of the country?" asked a man's voice.

"Surely you don't suggest that every woman who hadn't a relative in uniform was an enemy of our country?" replied Mr. King.

PROPER WAR DEBTS.

When war expenditures were mentioned, several questions were fired at the speaker. "The just and proper war debts will not be objected to by anyone," Mr. King declared.

Someone asked where Mr. King was in the war. "Standard Oil knows all about that," came a voice from the gallery. "And my friend does not appear to know very much of what he is talking about," Hon. Mr. King retorted.

Referring again to the matter of re-establishment of the returned men, Hon. Mr. King reiterated his belief that the care of the veterans and their dependents should be the first charge on Canada.

The acquisition and operation of the Canadian National Railway System and the matter of public ownership were also gone into by Hon. Mr. King. In his opinion, public ownership and operation had not been given a proper chance to prove itself. There had been entirely too much secrecy and refusal of vital information by the Meighen Government. There were no charges made against the honesty and integrity of the directors, but the manner in which contracts had been let and the Government's manner in regard to these contracts had been in itself sufficient to justify questions which the Government refused to answer. Mr. King favored giving the system a fair trial under public ownership and operation.

E. A. Lapierre, the Liberal candidate for Nipissing riding, also spoke briefly, as did A. T. Young, of North Bay.

THREE-CORNERED FIGHT.

This was Hon. Mr. King's second visit to the riding of Nipissing during the campaign, he having addressed a meeting at Sudbury on his way through to the Prairie provinces. The fight here is three-cornered, with C. R. Harrison, ex-M.P., carrying the Government standard; E. A. Lapierre, Liberal, and J. B. Levert, Progressive. Mr. Lapierre contested the riding in 1917, and had a majority of something over 1,300 of the civil votes, which, however, was wiped out by the soldier vote. In the present campaign all three parties express confidence as to the outcome.

The programme of Hon. Mackenzie King's final meetings in North York, given out by the Liberal leader before his departure from here tonight, includes nine meetings in his own riding within the next three days. He will address meetings at Holland Landing, Glenville and Kettleby on Friday evening; Mount Albert and Pine Orchard on Monday afternoon, and wind up the campaign with meetings at Aurora and New Market on Monday evening. Immediately after the last meeting on Monday night, Hon. Mr. King will leave for Toronto to entrain for Ottawa, where he is expected to arrive on Tuesday morning to cast his vote and also to receive the election returns there.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ottawa Journal Dec 2nd 1921

D 5845

# SEES FULL PROMISE OF LIBERAL VICTORY

## Mr. King Now Turns To North York Battle.

NORTH BAY, Dec. 1—(By Canadian Press Staff Correspondent) — Winding up his campaign, with the exception of several meetings in his own riding of North York, which will be held on Friday, Saturday and Monday, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King spoke tonight in North Bay. Mr. King reviewed the situation and said it showed full promise of the return of a Liberal administration. The people, said Mr. King, were heartily determined to end the power of the Meighen Government. There had been "altogether too much usurpation of public rights and protection of the Government's friends at the expense of the taxpayers." The most certain thing about the coming election was that Mr. Meighen and his friends would be defeated.

Again the Liberal leader told his audience that there would be no coalition after December 6. "The country is sick to death of coalitions, with their log-rolling and expensive attempts to satisfy this and that party to them. What this country needs today is a strong, stable government, composed of the best minds that can be secured, which will not be afraid to lay down a policy and follow it out. And afterwards it must not be afraid to face the people on its record as a government," he said.

There were a few questions and interjections as the Liberal leader was speaking, but they were of an orderly nature. Some 1,500 people attended the meeting, which was held in the Royal Theatre.

Dealing with the question of women's votes, Mr. King declared that in 1917 the Government had restricted the vote to those women from whom they expected votes.

"Did they not take the vote from only those women who were enemies of the country?" asked a man's voice.

"Surely you don't suggest that every woman who hadn't a relative in uniform was an enemy of our country?" asked Mr. King.

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"Standard Oil knows all about that," came a voice from the gallery.

"And my friend does not appear to know very much of what he is talking about," Mr. King retorted.

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2 Dec. 1921 D 5846 Holland Landing

TORY AUTOCRACY; KING'S WAR RECORD

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Montreal Gazette Dec 3rd 1921

D 5847

# MEIGHEN IN POWER WITHOUT MANDATE FROM ELECTORATE

## Enthroned Autocracy Swallowed Up Usages of Responsible Government

## MACKENZIE KING'S VIEWS

### Liberal Leader Describes Aims and Ideals of Rockefeller Foundation and War Record

(By Canadian Press.)

Holland Landing, Ont., Dec. 2.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed two meetings today in his own constituency of North York and was greeted with big crowds at each point.

"The question of responsible government is a question which our fathers fought for in this constituency, and in this very village in which I am speaking tonight," declared the Liberal chieftain. "You have had the right of government taken out of your hands and placed in the hands of a small group of men who pay not the slightest heed to the rights of the people."

Mr. King traced evidences that went, he said, to show how enthroned autocracy had swallowed up the usages of responsible government. He said for sixteen months the Premier and his colleagues had carried on without a mandate, arrogating to themselves the rights of the people as represented in the duties and responsibilities of their elected representatives.

Going into the matter of his wartime affiliations, Hon. Mr. King described briefly the aims and ideals of the Rockefeller Foundation, with which he had been connected. It resembled, he said, the Carnegie Foundation and its purpose was to help to serve mankind in one way or another. On the outbreak of war, he went on, it had been the first organization to engage in relief work among stricken European peoples, sending food and medical supplies to and even maintaining hospitals in France and Belgium.

It had done more work during the war for the cause of the Allies than any other organization in the United States.

TARIFF POLICY.

Touching upon the tariff, Mr. King denied that the Liberal party stood for free trade. It stood, he said, for a revenue tariff that would work no ill to a single legitimate industry, but would bear with least possible weight upon the makers of homes and their families. The chief factor in causing discontent today, he said, was the cost of living, and the main cause of the high cost of living was the high cost of government.

"As long," he said, "as you have in power a Government that has become accustomed to spending in billions, you will never get the cost of government down. We would frame a tariff for revenue, but in framing it we would take into account the needs of our national industries as well as those of all other elements going to build up our national life."

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CANADA

Ottawa Citizen Dec 3rd 1921

D 5848

# MR. KING'S WORK FOR ROCKEFELLER FAMILY

## Liberal Leader Tells of the Similarity to the Carnegie Foundation.

HOLLAND LANDING, Ont., Dec. 2.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed two meetings today in his own constituency of North York and was greeted with big crowds at each point.

"The question of responsible government is a question which our fathers fought for in this constituency and in this very village in which I am speaking tonight," declared the Liberal chieftain. "You have had the right of government taken out of your hands and placed in the hands of a small group of men who pay not the slightest heed to the rights of the people."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Globe
December 3/21

D 5849

# KING AT HOME, MUCH AT HOME, IN NORTH YORK

## Demand for Restoration of Constitutional Rights Cheered

## FLAYS TORY AUTOCRACY

## Unrestrained Applause Greets His Reply to "War Record" Whisperings

Before hundreds of men and women whose forefathers, in a bygone crisis, rose at the summons of his sturdy grandsire, Hon. Mackenzie King last night raised anew the challenge to autocracy. Packed into lamp-lit rural halls that failed to hold them, at Kettleby and Holland Landing, the electors of North York recognized in the utterances of the Liberal Leader the accents of freedom, and they cheered to the echo his ringing demand that there be restored to the Canadian people those constitutional rights of which their leaders have deprived them.

"The question of responsible government is a question which our fathers fought for in this constituency, and in this very village in which I am speaking tonight," declared the Liberal Chieftain amid warm applause. "You have had the right of government taken out of your hands and placed in the hands of a small group of men who pay not the slightest heed to the rights of the people."

**Answers His Traducers.**

Answering in plain terms the whisperings and scandal-mongerings of those who go behind his back to speak of his services during the period of war, Mr. King turned the white light of fact upon his traducers, and among the people who had chosen him as their standard-bearer he won ovations that bespoke their respect and admiration. Modestly, but with perfect candor, he explained the position in which he had been placed, and his quiet statement of fact drew unrestrained applause.

"You know me; you have known me for a long time," he said, concluding his address at Holland Landing. "I am appealing to you for support because I believe that, if elected, I can do something for the common people of Canada, whose lot I know the better for some of the experience I have undergone. I ask you to remember this: That whether I serve you as a private member, or whether I have the honor to be the Prime Minister of this Dominion, I shall strive ever to give that service to the fullest limits of my ability." (Cheers and applause.)

**"Enthroned Autocracy."**

Mr. King, in speaking at the first meeting at Holland Landing, traced for his hearers the sinister trail of evidences that went, he said, to show how enthroned autocracy had swallowed up the usages of responsible government. He pointed out that for 16 months the Premier and his colleagues had carried on without a mandate, arrogating to themselves the rights of the people as represented in the duties and responsibilities of their elected representatives. This autocracy he showed to present itself in a score of ways; in the management of the Canadian National Railways and in the settlement of the Grand Trunk purchase deal; in the enriching by contract of friends of those in high places; in the stifling of the efforts of the Board of Commerce, and in the general disregard exhibited for the real welfare of the common people. The time had come, said the speaker, for a testing, and the result of that testing already was apparent to those who had eyes to read for themselves the signs of the time in politics.

**Falsehood and Vilification.**

With apparent reluctance at the outset the Liberal Leader turned to a purely personal matter: that regarding the nature and scope of his activities during the period of war. He touched upon this, he said, only because he had been asked to do so and in consequence of rumors that had been set afloat by men who had engaged in broadcasting falsehood and vilification. He had been asked, too, he said, regarding his "residence" in the United States, and he felt that his own constituents were entitled to the fullest explanation, knowing that they would receive his personal remarks in the spirit in which they were uttered.

"I never had residence anywhere except in Canada," warmly declared the speaker. "If you have heard that I have, you have been entirely misinformed and you have been told, for political reasons, a lot of stories which are absolutely untrue. I was in the United States for a few years as a student, and again a part of the time during the war on work that was in the nature of war service of a most important character." (Applause.)

Going into the matter of his wartime affiliations, Hon. Mr. King described briefly the aims and ideals of the Rockefeller Foundation, with which he had been connected. It resembled, he said, the Carnegie Foundation, and its purpose was to help to serve mankind in one way or another. On the outbreak of war, he went on, it had been the first organization to engage in relief work among stricken European peoples, sending food and medical supplies to, and even maintaining hospitals in, France and Belgium.

It had done more work during the war for the cause of the allies than any other organization in the United States, and at all times had attempted to live up to its highest ideals as a humanitarian institution.

Stating that his work on behalf of the Foundation had antedated the war by a considerable period, the Liberal Leader explained that it was responsible for the appearance of his book, "Industry and Humanity," every line of which had been written in Canada. On the outbreak of war, Mr. King said, certain great corporations in the United States engaged in the making of munitions for the allies, and it was not long before serious labor troubles threatened to end their output.

Notable among these concerns were the Bethlehem Steel Company and the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, the latter of which was making fully 60 per cent. of the ships being built and accoutred to deal with the submarine menace.

**His Services Invited.**

"One of these firms was the largest producer of munitions for the allies of any country," Mr. King declared. On meeting with indications of internal labor troubles, he went on, the company, knowing that he had made a study of Labor legislation, asked that he give his services with a view to avoiding differences that might jeopardize their services for the allies. His work in that connection had affected the services of 120,000 employees, and later, in the Colorado riots, he had, at request, helped to formulate agreements by which more than 120,000 workmen were led to continue their production of coal for war-time purposes.

Mr. King proceeded to give those personal details regarding his family that were given by him to the House of Commons. He referred with reluctance, he said, to matters sacred to his family circle, but he did so because he had been asked to and in answer to the vilifications of slanderers.

Touching upon the tariff, Mr. King denied that the Liberal party stood for free trade. It stood, he said, for a revenue tariff that would work no ill to a single legitimate industry, but would bear with least possible weight upon the makers of homes and their families. The chief factor in causing discontent today, he said, was the cost of living, and the main cause of the high cost of living was the high cost of government.

**Think Only in Billions.**

"As long," he said, "as you have in power a Government that has become accustomed to spending in billions, you will never get the cost of government down. (Cheers.) We would frame a tariff for revenue, but in framing it we would take into account the needs of our national industries as well as those of all other elements going to build up our national life."

The Liberal Chief closed with a reference to the Progressives, upon whom he had always looked, he said, as "advanced Liberals." Mr. Burnaby, he went on, had come into the fight in North York after he was in the field, and no overtures on his (Mr. King's) part had served to heal the breach then made.

"For the sake of the country," declared Mr. King, "and for the sake of the farmers themselves, I hope they will not help to place the Farmers in a position of isolation, because that is what is going to happen if we have in Parliament a group of Farmers by themselves. Already it has been seen and recognized by men like Dr. Michael Clark James Murdock that for a group to get off on its ow is to lose rather than w

The meetings at Ho and Kettleby were by Joseph Atkinson, worth opening the

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CAMPAIGN SPEECH

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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(1) Toronto Globe Dec 5th 1921

D 5851

# LEADER RALLIES YORK FARMERS TO HIS SUPPORT

## Scores of Sober-minded Tillers of Soil Wring His Hand

**Confident of Result.**

"And, remember, the Liberal party is going to be in control of Canada's Parliament after December 6, as sure as we are gathered in this room; it is not only going to lead all others, but have so much lead that it will be independent of them, one way or another. Mr. Burnaby says he has no use for the old parties; he declares open war upon the whole Liberal party, while I have for two years been doing my best to lead the Liberal and Progressive parties together." (Cheers.)

Declaring bluntly that the "whole future of the farming interests in Canada depends very much upon who is the leader of the Liberal party in this country," the speaker then uttered these words of friendly warning:

**"That is why I want our Progressive friends to think very carefully over the effect of their vote next Tuesday, not only in North York, but on the whole relations of Liberals and Progressives during the next five years. (Cheers.)**

"Remember this: Human nature is human nature, and you can't expect the followers of the Liberal party in Parliament to support measures that are in the interests of the Progressives if the whole idea of the Progressives is to prevent the election of their Leader in this county. Your decision will help to decide the fate of the rural elements of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific." (Loud cheers, and a voice: "You needn't worry, sir.")

**Significant Expressions.**

That North York—traditional home of a Liberalism wide beyond the bounds of local interests—recognizes the significance of the facts now presented by Mr. King was made evident at the meetings held by him on Saturday. Scores of men—most of them middle-aged, sober-minded farmers—crowded round the Liberal Leader at the close of his addresses, eager to shake his hand and assure him of their support; many of them voluntarily stated opinions such as those summed up in the words of one individual at Queensville:

"I admit I have been thinking 'U. F. O.' and intending to vote that way," he said to Mr. King. "But today I have seen the big side of this business, and from now till election day I'm going to work for you."

The meetings on Saturday were the largest and most enthusiastic of all the rural gatherings yet held by the Liberal Leader in his own riding. In the opinion of many locally well informed, they indicated definitely the last-minute decisive "swing" of sentiment toward Liberalism, and they drew added interest because of the "liquor scandal," the facts of which came out just in time to spread broadcast before the evening meetings.

At both meetings the Liberal Leader offered damaging evidence in respect of the Parliamentary capacities of J. A. M. Armstrong, Conservative candidate, showing that in at least two of the last five sessions that gentleman had not once spoken in the House. In each of the other sessions, he stated, Mr. Armstrong had spoken once, and at 51 divisions on important public questions had only taken the trouble to vote 18 times, in one session failing to vote on any single instance, so far as the official records went to show. Mr. Burnaby, on the other hand, had no experience in municipal, Provincial or Federal politics and could enter the House with no idea of how Government was conducted.

**Has Earned Confidence.**

Stating that, by his actions, he had shown that he could be true to confidence where confidence was placed in him, Hon. Mr. King outlined his attitude toward the Progressive movement from the date when he refused nomination in Glengarry because he had heard that the Farmers might enter that field. His first act as Leader, though then he had no seat, had been to decide against declaration of war on the Farmers. To have so done, he declared, would have been to put the Farmers into the same class as the Tories, whereas he always had regarded the latter as the traditional enemies of agriculturists. In direct contrast with this attitude, he said, was that of Mr. Burnaby, who scorned any hope of reconciling the interests that represented the elements of free-thought in North York.

"What may in the future be possible in the way of forming a Government in Canada will depend largely upon what happens in this constituency," declared Hon. Mr. King, amid cheers and applause. "Mr. Burnaby says he has no use for the old political parties. Who is going to help the Progressives if there isn't assistance from one or other of the old parties? (Applause.) It is not enough to have high ideals to be in the right. In a great fight you have got to be able to make right prevail. Where will a small Farmer group be in the Commons without support from elsewhere? Where would their measures reach before a Senate that has been filled with men ready to do the bidding of Mr. Meighen? There are going to be in the next House of Commons 100 Liberals—I think, 125 Liberals—and that is why I want

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(2) Toronto Globe Dec 5-th/1921 D 5852

you to consider the results of the vote that will be cast in North York.

"The Liberal party today," he went on, "is united as it has not been in Canada for years. These men are going to be at my back when the House opens, but what I, as Leader, may be able to do for others—for myself, I carry no malice, win or lose in North York; I am not of that kind—is going to depend a very great deal on the result in this constituency on Tuesday next." (Cheers.)

**Where Are U.F.O. Leaders?**

Not he alone, Mr. King continued, saw the result that might come from a fight to the finish between Mr. Burnaby and himself. The possible outcome was clearly apparent to the saner minds in the Progressive ranks; it was recognized by the men who really had at heart the welfare of the elements for which the new party declared to stand. "Mr. Drury, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Morrison and Mr. Doherty," he said, "are outstanding men in the Farmers' movement. Has it occurred to you that not one of these men has ever spoken in this riding on behalf of Mr. Burnaby? Not one of these men has ever come into this riding and said one word against me or one word for Mr. Burnaby. Why? Because they know that the whole future of the farming interests of this country depends very much upon who is Leader of the Liberal party in this country." (Continued applause.)

The speaker dealt briefly with the election sheet distributed that day by Mr. Burnaby's supporters, in which it was stated by officers of the local U.F.O. organization that they knew that "Mr. Burnaby was approached and offered inducement by a representative of the Liberal party—not at the instance of Mr. Burnaby, but at the instance of that party themselves—to withdraw from the contest.

"I want to say that no one in the Liberal party has made any overtures whatever to Mr. Burnaby," declared the Liberal chieftain, amid wild applause. He went on to state that, to his certain knowledge, a gentleman had come from Toronto to treat with Mr. Burnaby regarding his withdrawal, but at the instance of some of the more influential leaders of the Farmers' movement, rather than at the instigation of the Liberal party.

"If, as they say, they were approached by a representative of the Liberal party," Mr. King challenged, "let them tell us who he is. Who is he? I know to whom they refer, and let me tell you that he is a gentleman very much allied to the Progressives; much more so than anyone in this room at the present time." (Applause.) Any overtures to Mr. Burnaby, he declared, had come from men outside the riding; men who had at heart the real welfare of the Progressives and who saw clearly that the worst possible thing that could happen would be for their President to engage in a finish encounter with the Leader of a friendly party.

As he has been doing since opening his personal campaign in North York, Mr. King at both meetings dealt with the scandal-mongerings of his opponents in respect of his "alliance with Standard Oil," and his alleged residence in the United States. He scarcely needed to have touched upon the matter, for his plain statement of fact was punctuated from beginning to end by the sympathetic applause of people who knew better than to heed the whisperings of their enemies. Mr. King's references to the humanitarian aspects of his work with the Rockefeller Institute, his successful efforts at preserving industrial peace in United States concerns upon which the allies were largely dependent for ships, munitions and aeroplanes, and his part in helping to make successful the work of the Canadian Red Cross Society, elicited applause that showed clearly the attitude of mind of his hearers. His brief reference to private family matters was received with a concrete avowal of sympathy that must have meant a great deal to the speaker.

As to his candidature in North York, Mr. King explained his personal desire to be its representative. It was, he said, the county of his father and mother, and of his grandparents. Politically, as well, it was his birthplace. He had been taken into the Civil Service by Sir William Mulock, and the mover of his nomination as Leader of the party had been Sir Allen Aylesworth. It was [illegible], that he should elect to represent on the floor of the House a community in which were rooted his personal, family and political associations.

Just at the opening of the Queensville meeting Mr. King had an amusing tilt with a young man who interrupted to ask the speaker:

"Where does your money come from?"

"What money, my friend?"

"Your funds. Who pays for all your posters?"

"What posters?"

"The ones with your picture on; you've seen them," elucidated the inquisitor.

"That's a good question," replied the Liberal Leader. "I am glad to be able to tell you that I put my hand in my own pocket for $500 to help to print those posters. (Loud applause.) A few friends gave me their help and, if they need more, I am prepared to go a little more into my own funds to pay for my expenses in this riding. (Cheers.) Does that answer your question?"

"Yes; that's what I wanted to know," returned the youthful heckler.

Music featured both meetings on Saturday, the audience joining in campaign songs under the leadership of Mr. Murdison of Newmarket.

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TRIBUTE TO MARSHALL FOCH

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Speech on the occasion of the visit to ottawa

of

Marshall Foch.

Loew's Theatre, December 11, 1921.

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The societies under whose auspices this reception is being held have requested me to supplement the remarks of the previous speakers by a few words on behalf of the citizens of Canada, in further appreciation of the honour conferred upon our country by your visit to our Dominion.

May I say at once that it is not possible to express in words the feelings and sentiments which your presence in our midst evokes.

Never before has it been given to the men and women of any generation to look upon one man to whose single judgment the fate of so many nations has been entrusted, and whose single command has so largely served to determine, for the good of all, the destinies of mankind.

We recognize in you the central figure of modern times, the man of whom History will say that here was momentary pause in the whole record of mankind, that here the past and future met, that here peril, terror and suffering at their worst gave way to new-found strength and freedom newly-born, that here the power of world despotism was overthrown and a new brotherhood established among the children of men.

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Your visit has made us the participators and inheritors of that great privilege and your your courtesy in adding this illumined page to our country's history we thank you with feelings of profoundest gratitude and pride.

But it is not alone because in the hour of supreme conflict millions of warriors in the world's greatest of wars were ready to acclaim you Leader, and because a war-swept world h ils you today as a Deliverer that we most honour you. Rather is it that in your singleness of vision and humility of spirit we discover the secret of all guiding genius worthy of the name.

"Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
---It is the generous Spirit.....
Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain...
He labours good on good to fix, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows."

It is in Foch, the man, that we discern the character of the Happy Warrior, he who altho in the house of Adversity and Triumph, loves Mercy, seeks to do justly and walks humbly with his God. To have had among us one who is truly great, a hero with a hereo's soul, is to inspire more of reverence for the Source of all true greatness, which is the highest of all the inspirations of a people. For this gift, which we shall ever hold in remembrance of this visit, we thank you too with all our hearts.

As Canadians, we honour your illustrious name: we shall ever cherish your immortal fame. May Time and Care deal gently with you and the Light that never faileth ever lead you on.

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Sunday,
December 11, 1921.
Loew's Theatre, Ottawa.

Speech by the ~~Right~~ Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, ~~Prime Minister~~, on the occasion of the visit to Ottawa of Marshal Foch.

The Societies under whose auspices this reception is being held have requested me to supplement the remarks of the previous speakers by a few words on behalf of the citizens of Canada, in further appreciation of the honour conferred upon our country by your visit to our Dominion.

May I say, at once, that it is not possible to express in words the feelings and sentiments which your presence in our midst evokes.

Never before has it been given to the men and women of any generation to look upon one man to whose single judgment the fate of so many nations has been entrusted, and whose single command has so largely served to determine, for the good of all, the destinies of mankind.

We recognize in you the central figure of modern times, the man of whom History will say that here was momentary pause in the whole record of mankind, that here the past and future met, that here peril, terror and suffering at their worst gave way to new-found strength and freedom newly-born,

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that here the power of world despotism was overthrown and a new brotherhood established among the children of men.

Your visit has made us the participators and inheritors of that great privilege, and for your courtesy in adding this illumined page to our country's history we thank you with feelings of profoundest gratitude and pride.

But it is not alone because, in the hour of supreme conflict, millions of warriors in the world's greatest of wars were ready to acclaim you Leader, and because a war-swept world hails you to-day as a Deliverer, that we most honour you. Rather is it that in your singleness of vision and humility of spirit we discover the secret of all guiding genius worthy of the name.

"Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
---- It is the generous Spirit,.....
Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain.....
He labours good on good to fix, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows."

It is in Foch, the man, that we discern the character of the Happy Warrior, he who alike in the hour of Adversity and Triumph loves mercy, seeks to do justly, and walks humbly with his God. To have had among us one who is

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truly great, a hero with a hero's soul, is to inspire more of reverence for the Source of all true greatness, which is the highest of all the inspirations of a people. For this gift, which we shall ever hold in remembrance of this visit, we thank you too with all our hearts.

As Canadians, we honour your illustrious name; we shall ever cherish your immortal fame. May Time and Care deal gently with you, and the Light that never faileth ever lead you on.

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Observations du très honorable W. L. Mackenzie King
à l'occasion de la visite de maréchal Foch à Ottawa,
le 11 décembre 1921.

M. le Maréchal:

Les Associations, qui ont en ce moment la joie de vous offrir cette réception sous leurs auspices, m'ont invité à ajouter aux paroles des premiers orateurs quelques mots au nom des citoyens du Canada, en témoignage aussi de l'insigne honneur que votre visite confère à notre Dominion.

Ne dois-je pas dire aussitôt que le langage humain se refuse à rendre les pensées, les sentiments et les souvenirs que fait naître et ravive votre présence parmi nous.

Jamais encore dans le cycle des âges, il n'avait été donné à une génération de jeter les yeux sur un homme au seul jugement de qui avait été confié le sort de tant de nations, et dont le pouvoir unique dans le commandement suprême avait contribué, si puissamment et pour le bien commun, à définir les destinées du monde.

Nous vous considérons comme la figure centrale des temps modernes, comme l'homme dont l'Histoire dira: voici qu'à un certain moment il se fit une pause dans les annales de l'humanité; le passé et l'avenir se

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touchèrent;du sein même des périls, de la terreur
et des extrêmes souffrances sortirent une puissance
et une liberté nouvelles; le rêve de despotisme
universel s'évanouit, et une nouvelle fraternité
s'établit chez les enfants des hommes.

Votre visite nous fait participer à ces
grands bienfaits, et nous en constitue comme les héritiers.
Pour la courtoisie que vous avez mise à ajouter cette
page lumineuse au livre de notre histoire, nous
vous remercions avec des sentiments de joie vive
et de profonde reconnaissance.

Mais nous ne vous honorons pas seulement
parce que, à l'heure du conflit suprême, des millions
de guerriers dans la plus grande des guerres vous
acclamèrent comme leur Chef, et parce qu'un monde,
aujourd'hui
ravagé par la guerre, vous salue/comme un sauveur.
C'est plutôt parce que dans la direction donnée à votre
rêve de vie et dans votre humilité d'esprit nous découvrons
le secret de tout génie bienfaisant digne de ce nom.

Who is the Happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
--It is the generous Spirit.....
Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, miserable train!
Turns his necessity to glorious gain...
He labours good on good to fix, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows.

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C'est en Foch, homme, que nous retrouvons les traits du Guerrier heureux, lui qui, dans l'adversité et le triomphe, sait rester clément, cherche la justice et marche humblement avec son Dieu. D'avoir eu parmi nous un homme vraiment grand, un héros à l'âme héroique, inspire une vénération plus grande encore pour la source de toute véritable grandeur, et c'est la plus haute des inspirations d'un peuple. C'est un présent divin, que nous garderons à jamais en souvenir de cette visite, et dont nous vous remercions de tout coeur.

Comme canadiens, nous honorons votre nom illustre, et votre gloire immortelle nous restera chère à jamais. Que le Temps et la Vie soient doux envers vous, et que cette Lumière d'en haut qui ne faiblit point soit éternellement votre guide.

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(1) Ottawa Citizen Dec 12th 1921 D 5862

# MARSHAL FOCH'S CROWDED THREE HOURS IN CITY

## The Generalissimo, Greeted by Throngs, Attends Church, Joint Reception, Veterans' Clubhouse, and Visits Rideau Hall.

## IS MADE AN LL.D OF OTTAWA UNIVERSITY

## Leading Officials at the Station, While Premier-Elect Voices Welcome at Reception.

Ferdinand Foch, marshal of France, and commander-in-chief of the Allied armies in the great war—the man to whose strategic genius the defeat of Germany is mainly due, made a triumphal entry to Ottawa yesterday. In his all too brief stay of three hours, he was the object of a continuous oration from crowds of people who thronged every point of vantage along the route of his procession. From the moment that he stepped off his special train at the Union station at nine o'clock, till noon, when, with a tremendous send-off, he left for Montreal, the marshal's morning was crowded with successive events in his distinguished honor. He expressed and showed appreciation of the warmth of his welcome, which was in the nature of a spontaneous tribute from all classes.

The holiday of Sunday facilitated a huge outpouring of the populace of all classes. Participating in the welcome were the Governor General and his staff, Premier Meighen and members of the government, Hon. Mackenzie King, premier-elect, senators and members of parliament, church dignitaries, officers of the militia headquarters staff and of local regiments, hundreds of fighting men who served under Foch in France, the Canadian Club, Alliance Francaise, the Knights of Columbus of which the marshal recently became the millionth member, the University of Ottawa, and thousands of others. They were all eager to honor and acclaim him as the great deliverer who brought peace and security to a war exhausted world.

**Church, Receptions, etc.**

The marshal, as a devout son of his church, began the day by attending mass at the Basilica, then followed in turn a joint reception by the Canadian Club and Alliance Francaise at Loew's, a visit to the Veterans' Club house, a pause at the University of Ottawa, when he was saluted by a band and handed an address, a call at Rideau Hall, and finally, sharp on time, departure for Montreal.

**Greeting at Station.**

At the station to greet him was a distinguished assemblage. Down the train shed and elsewhere, flags hung in profusion and crowds pressed eagerly to the gates. A guard of honor was in the concourse, and another outside the station, while lined up on the platform were several veterans of the French army. It was exactly nine o'clock when the marshal's special pulled in over the New York Central line. He had been met at the border by Senator Blondin, representing the government, and Col. E. J. Chambers, in charge of the arrangements. The first to greet the distinguished warrior was His Excellency the Governor General, old comrade in army. Then, in turn, he was presented to the premier and other notables, who included Sir Henry Drayton. Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Burstall, Hon. C. J. Doherty, Hon. J. B. M. Baxter, Hon. Rodolphe Monty, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. Charles Murphy, Hon. Charles Marcil, Justice Audette, Hon. Martin Burrill, Senator Bel urt, General Elmslie, General Sir Willoughby Gwatkin, Speaker Bolduc, Senator Pope, Senator Turriff, H. B. McGiverin, M.P.-elect, Mayor Frank Plant, Con. John Cameron, Con. Napoleon Champagne, Con. J. P. Balharrie, Edgar P. E. Chevrier, M.P.-elect, Col. Taschereau, Col. Edwards, Col. Parkinson, Col. Verrett, and a great number of officers of local regiments.

**The Marshal of France.**

The marshal wore the distinctive light blue uniform of the French army with the decoration of his exalted rank. He is a medium-sized man, rather thick set, and has just passed his seventieth year. He appeared rather tired as, saluting each veteran in turn, he walked down the platform. To a few who wore the service caps of the French army he chatted briefly. The lines of his face are drawn and the expression is that of the becoming seriousness of one upon whom has been and is placed still the gravest of responsibility for the sustained peace of the world. His eye is keen, but kindly, and his distinctive moustache is grey, but not so much of the snow of life's winter is in his hair. He

(Continued on Page Eight).

has all the bearing of the soldier, stands fairly erect, but, as he walked down the station, appeared physically small beside the towering stature of His Excellency the Governor General. The band played La Marseillaise as he emerged, and the crowd pressing forward eagerly, cheered with enthusiasm. He inspected the guard in front of the station and then entering a motor car with Senator Blondin, drove to the Basilica, the streets lined all the way with big crowds.

**At The Basilica.**

On his way to the Bascilica to partake of a special low mass served in his honor, Marshal Foch passed through dense crowds of residents of Lower Town, which lined Sussex street, and cries of "Vive la France," "Vive Foch," greeted the distinguished soldier as he proceeded on his way. Classes from the different separate schools of the city lined the street at intervals, and outside the church itself, a path was kept clear by the ranks of the members of the various lodges of the Knights of Columbus. A company of La Salle Cadets, in command of Battalion Commander J. A. N. Labelle, was drawn up in front of the Bascilica, as a guard of honor, and upon the arrival of Marshal Foch, presented arms, and the drum and bugle band sounded the general salute, as he entered the church accompanied by his entourage. The members of the Garde Champlain, commanded by Lieut. Col. Lafleche and Major J. O. Deslaurjers, lined the steps of the church, and in company with the executive officers of the Knights of Columbus, in ceremonial dress and with drawn swords, formed a guard down the main aisle of the edifice, as the marshal proceeded to take his place in the sanctuary, amid the strains of a triumphant march which pealed from the organ.

**Throngs Outside.**

There were fully five thousand persons outside the church, when the official party arrived, including in addition to the ordinary citizens, representatives of the G.W.V.A., French Canadian section, French Canadian Institute, St. Jean Baptiste society, Fedcration of French Canadian women, Union St. Joseph, French Canadian Artisans and others. Long before the hour set for the beginning of the service, the sacred edifice was packed to the doors, the aisles, except for that kept open in the center by the Garde Champlain, being so crowded that movement was impossible. When the fanfare of trumpets in the sounding of the general salute announced to the waiting thousands the arrival of the distinguished soldier, the congregation forgot the usual decorum incident to church service and stood upon the seats of the pews in order to catch a glimpse of the soldierly figure in sky blue, as he walked slowly to the sanctuary accompanied by his attaches, where he was received by His Grace Archbishop Gauthier.

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The service did not differ from the usual low mass, which is served every Sunday, in its ritual, but it was noted for the huge gathering, a special choral service sung by the Basilica choir, under the direction of Mr. C. Champagne, and the presence of a very large number of the local clergy, the refrain being taken up by the congregation, as Marshal Foch, accompanied by his staff left the church, and amid the cheers of those who had gathered in such large numbers to see him, proceeded to Loew's theater, where he received official addresses of welcome.

At the conclusion of the church service, Marshal Foch accompanied by his staff, proceeded to the Sacristy where they were received by His Grace Archbishop Gauthier, and were introduced to the members of the clergy, and high officers of the Knights of Columbus.

**K. of C. Officers Present.**

As a tribute to the distinguished visitor, who is a Knight of Columbus, while the service was in progress, Marshal Foch was attended in the sanctuary by a guard of honor which was composed of eight Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus, and eight members of the Garde Champlain.

The Knights of Columbus who honored Marshal Foch were, State Secretary Fourth Degree Master W. J. McCaffrey, Ottawa; Faithful Navigator of the Fourth Degree Assembly M. J. O'Callaghan, Ottawa; State Deputy of the K. of C. of Ontario, George Hanrahan, Windsor; State Treasurer of the K. of C. of Ontario R. A. Jeffrey, Arnprior, and Grand Knights P. Phelan, Ottawa Council, J. B. Bedard, Hull Council, J. Wilfred Gauvreau, Champlain Council, and T. E. Brown, Bayswater Council.

The mass was celebrated by His Grace Archbishop Gauthier and His Excellency Mgr. Pietro Di Maria, the Apostolic Delegate, who were attended by Mgr. Routhier, vicar-general of the Diocese of Ottawa, Rev. Canon Campeau, parish priest of Notre Dame, Rev. Canons Bouillon and Plantin.

Amongst the clergy in the sanctuary were Mgr. Grivette, secretary to the Apotolic Delegate, Mgr. Lebeau, chancellor of the Ottawa diocese, Rev. Abbes Dacier, Constantineau, Myrand, and Barette, and Rev. Fathers J. J. Desjardins, F. X. Barette, A. Larocque. There were also a number of representatives from the Oblate Order, Dominicans, Capuchins and the Servites.

**"O Canada" Sung.**

The first fifteen rows in the center of the church were set aside to accommodate those to whom invitations had been extended, and they were filled by members of the Senate, House of Commons, Separate School Board, civic dignitaries and a large number of French-Canadian organizations. Perhaps for the first time in the history of the Basilica, at the conclusion of the service proper, the great national song "O Canada", was sung by the choir.

**AT LOEW'S THEATER.**

Marshal Foch was welcomed outside Loew's theater by a choir of 150 La Salle Academy cadets, who sang the National Anthem and "O Canada" and La Marseillaise as he was arriving. The cadets were in charge of Battalion Commander J. A. W. Labelle and Brother Reginald led the singing.

The theater was crowded to the doors and hundreds, unable to gain admission, gathered outside and cheered the marshal as he drove up. The party entered by the stage door and were seated on the stage when the curtain rolled up. There was a loud burst of cheers from the great audience as the marshal was discovered sitting next the joint chairmen of the gathering, Mr. G. J. Desbarats, president of the Ottawa Canadian Club, and Col. M. J. Larochelle, of the Alliance Francaise. The stage was decorated with Union Jacks and French tricolors, and the theater orchestra was present and played national airs at appropriate occasions.

Among those seated on the stage were Hon. Mackenzie King, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. Dr. Monty, Hon. Chas. Murphy, Mr. Justice Brodeur, Senator Blondin, Hon. C. J. Doherty, Hon. Dr. Beland, Hon. Chas. Marcil, Col. C. M. Edwards, Mayor Plant, Controller Champagne, and representatives of a number of societies. It was the first public appearance of Hon. Mackenzie King, the premier-elect, since the election, and he was given a splendid reception.

As the curtain rolled up the orchestra played La Marseillaise and the crowd rising, sang the French battle hymn with fervor.

**Canadian Club's Welcome.**

Mr. Desbarats, speaking in English, was the first to extend welcome to the leader of the allied armies. It was a great pleasure, he said, for the Canadian Club to unite with the Alliance Francaise in honoring such a distinguished guest. While English was the official language of the Canadian Club and French of the Alliance Francaise, members of both races belonged to the Canadian Club. Marshal Foch was the bearer of a great name, a name made famous by himself. Foch's name stood out brilliantly in a great war in which many reputations had been foundered. He was the man who in the dark days of 1918 assumed the tremendous responsibility of the supreme command of the allied armies, and made the Germans sue for peace. It was difficult in a few moments to express appreciation of the great debt the world owed Marshal Foch, and the tact and moderation he had shown since the end of the war. He had just completed a triumphant tour of the United States where he had been welcomed by vast multitudes. But nowhere had he been received with more sincere admiration, acclaim and heartfelt enthusias than in Ottawa. In the name of the Canadian Club and the great meeting he gave the marshal a most cordial and enthusiastic welcome to the Canadian Capital.

The marshal rose and shook hands with the speaker and repeated this at the conclusion of each address.

There were loud cries of "Vive le marechal!" and a woman's voice was heard crying repeatedly "Vive la France!"

**From Alliance Francaise.**

Col. Larochelle followed, speaking in French. He welcomed the marshal in the name of the Alliance Francaise, and expressed his regret that the distinguished visitor was not staying longer in the city. He referred to the fact that Canada had once been "New France" and said that the people of this country were striving for the same ideals of liberty and justice for which France had fought and which made her famous in the world.

**Marshal Foch.**

As Marshal Foch rose to speak, he was greeted with loud and long cheering. He speaks no English, and gave his address in his native tongue, which was understood by a large percentage of those present. Soldiers are not usually noted for ability as orators, and while the marshal attempts no eloquence, he is a clear and forceful speaker and there are many in public life in Canada with less platform ability.

Marshal Foch expressed his regret that he was unable to spend more time with the Canadians, and said he was charmed with the splendid welcome he had received here. He was here to express the appreciation and gratitude of France to Canada for her great part in the war. He said he was generally welcomed as the generalissimo of the allied armies but they must not forget that the war was not won by one man, but by all the united efforts of all the combatants.

"I am here," he said, "to tell Canada how proud I am of her soldiers and her chiefs and the magnificent part she played in the war." He mentioned the second battle of Ypres, the Somme, Vimy Ridge and other engagements in which the Canadian forces won fame.

"I have known the Canadians on the battle field," he said, "and after the trying days through which we passed, the soldiers of the allies will be brothers always. That is destiny."

**The Result of Unity.**

It was not only unity of command on the battle field which made victory possible, but the unity of purpose and sentiment that backed up

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the allied armies, and the efforts of the munition makers, and producers and other noncombatants. All had contributed towards the final victory.

**Government's Welcome.**

Hon. Dr. Monty, representing the Dominion government, read his speech in French. On behalf of the government he welcomed the marshal to the Canadian capital, and expressed his pleasure that they were able to welcome the guest in his native language. He said that the marshal was making a grand review of the "amitie francaise" on this continent. He said that the marshal could do much now to see that justice was done to all and that there should be no more great wars. In the United States Marshal Foch had the pleasure of meeting General Pershing, and in Canada he would meet Baron Byng of Vimy, and other leaders who had served under him in France, and had also made a great name in the war.

**The Premier Elect.**

Hon Mackenzie King addressed the marshal in English. He said:

"The societies under whose auspices this reception is being held have requested me to supplement the remarks of the previous speakers by a few words on behalf of the citizens of Canada, in further appreciation of the honor conferred upon our country by your visit to our Dominion.

"May I say, at once, that it is not possible to express in words the feelings and sentiments which your presence in our midst evokes.

"Never before has it been given to the men and women of any generation to look upon one man to whose single judgment the fate of so many nations has been entrusted, and whose single command has so largely served to determine, for the good of all, the destinies of mankind.

"We recognize in you the central figure of modern times, the man of whom history will say that here was momentary pause in the whole record of mankind, that here the past and future met, that here peril, terror, and suffering at their worst gave way to new-found strength and freedom newly-born, that here the power of world despotism was overthrown and a new brotherhood established among the children of men.

"Your visit has made us the participators and inheritors of that great privilege, and for your courtesy in adding this illumined page to our country's history we thank you with feelings of profoundest gratitude and pride.

"But it is not alone because, in the hour of supreme conflict, millions of warriors in the world's greatest of wars were ready to acclaim you leader, and because a war-swept world hails you today as a Deliverer, that we most honor you. Rather is it that, in your singleness of purpose and humility of spirit, we discover the secret of all guiding genius worthy of the name.

"'Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
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He labors good on good to fix, and owes
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"It is in Foch, the man, that we discern the character of the Happy Warrior, he who, alike in the hours of adversity and triumph, loves mercy, seeks to do justly, and walks humbly with his God. To have had among us one who is truly great, a hero with a hero's soul, is to inspire more of reverence for the source of all true greatness, which is the highest of all the inspirations of a people. For this gift, which we shall ever hold in remembrance of this visit, we thank you too with all our hearts.

"As Canadians, we honor your illustrious name; we shall ever cherish your immortal fame. May time and care deal gently with you, and the Light that never faileth ever lead you on."

The meeting concluded with the singing of "O Canada" and the National Anthem.

**AT VETERANS' CLUBHOUSE.**

In addition to a huge crowd outside to greet the famous French marshal, the annex of the G.W.V.A. clubhouse was filled to capacity with the largest audience that has probably ever assembled therein.

In a position of honor were ten or a dozen French poilus. There were nursing sisters and V.A.D.'s, together with members of the Veterans' Women's Association, Madame de Salaberry, the president of the last-named, also occupying a seat of honor.

The G.W.V.VA. orchestra under Sergeant H. Gossage discoursed sweet music to while away the period of waiting and some of the old favorite war songs were indulged in, together with others. At the call of the French members, "Madelon" was played, followed by "Mademoiselle from Armentieres" and other choruses.

Marshal Foch, on arrival at the clubhouse, was greeted at the entrance by Lieut.-Col. Rene de Salaberry, acting president of the G. W. V. A., who was in his uniform as an officer of the famous "Iron Second" Battalion. He was accompanied by Lieut.-Col. LaFleche, president of the Iberville Branch G.W.V.A., E. G. McFeat, D.C.M., president of the Ottawa Command; President R. B. Maxwell and Secretary-treasurer C. Grant MacNeil, Dominion Command G.W.V.A.; Captain W. P. Grant, past president Ottawa Command; Gerald H. Brown, second vice-president, and others.

After being conducted through the club premises Marshal Foch was taken to the annex and his appearance at the door accompanied by his staff of French, American and Canadian militia headquarters officers, together with Hon. Rodolphe Monty, secretary of state in the Meighen cabinet, was a signal for the whole company to rise to its feet and indulge in vigorous handclapping.

When the members of the company had taken their places on the platform Col. de Salaberry called for a moment's silence "for the sake of those who fell for humanity and civilization," and there was perfect stillness while the whole audience stood with bowed heads.

**Col. de Salaberry's Greeting.**

Addressing the Marshal in French Col. de Salaberry said that he wished to be permitted to express the pleasure and fine spirit with which the veterans of Ottawa received Marshal Foch in their midst. It was also a double pleasure, he said, to be able on behalf of all French Canadian soldiers throughout the Dominion to extend a welcome to him in his own tongue. France had left them a fine and immortal heritage, said the colonel. They had with spirit defended it against all comers and it had been well preserved. It gave them great pleasure to do honor to Marshal Foch, the most glorious, the greatest soldier and son of France.

Col. de Salaberry said he also wished to extend a welcome to all those who accompanied the marshal and to say how deeply they cherished the memory of the glorious deeds they had shared in the war.

Speaking in English and with evident feeling, Col. de Salaberry said that there was hardly any need for him to introduce Marshal Foch to those whom he led to victory and the final triumph of justice and civilization over the German hordes.

Col. de Salaberry added that soldiers were usually brief in their expressions of feeling. He would, therefore, ask the company to express them in three of the loudest cheers for France and her greatest son, Marshal Foch. The cheers which followed were given with tremendous vigor and obvious pleasure.

**From Dominion Command.**

"Ferdinand Foch, Marshal of France.

"Sir,—It has been the privilege of the Great War Veterans' Asso-

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ciation of Canada to honor illustrious soldiers and sailors of the British Empire and the Allied Nations. We have had the exceptional honor of including in our honorary membership roll the names of wonderful men; yet I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of my comrades when I say that in asking you, Sir, to become a member of our association, we not only ask a great favor, but we believe we are conferring our humble badge, which stands for much, on one of the most illustrious figures of the Great War.

"Were I to endeavor to recount the outstanding events in your career, I feel that my feeble efforts would be but a poor attempt to portray our thoughts. We are gratified that you have honored us with your presence and acceptance of Life Membership in the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada and our sincere wish is that you may be long spared to be of as great service to the world in peace as you were at war."

President Maxwell then fastened the gold badge, indicative of life membership, on the tunic of Marshal Foch.

Lt.-Col. La Fleche, who was also in uniform, then stepped forward and greeted the famous and distinguished visitor in his own language and in similar terms to President Maxwell.

Some bars of the Marseillaise were then played by the orchestra, the whole company standing at attention.

**A "Superior Fraternity."**

Marshal Foch, speaking in French, rapidly, and with frequent gesture, and with evident feeling, said:

"My Colonel, Dear Comrades. There is no fraternity superior to the comradeship of arms. When we shed our blood on the same battlefields, when we experience the same anguishes, have been through the same dangers, when we have felt the same anxieties, we are allies, and unto death." Marshal Foch expressed the opinion they would always be intimately associated together in the future as they had been in the past. He said that his visit to Canada recalled to him the deeds of the valiant Canadian corps. At the second battle of Ypres, when the Germans made their first gas attack, the Canadians were surprised, said the Marshal, they were disarmed and without power to resist this new mode of attack.

Disorganization resulted, but the Canadians, who were on the right of the French at St. Julien, gave them generous and warm-hearted support. From that day, said the marshal, he had had the most profound gratitude for the Canadians. He also had a strong feeling of gratitude for what the Canadians did at Vimy, the Somme, and other places in France and Flanders. They were always ready to go everywhere and they won immortal glory. They would never lose sight of the Canadian corps. They would be always brothers, closely bound together for the greatness of their countries in peace as well as in war.

Marshal Foch then signed the roll of life membership, and the National Anthem was sung in concluding the proceedings.

As the famous marshal was about to leave the platform, Charles de Salaberry, son of the colonel, and who was attired in the uniform of a La Salle Cadet, was introduced to Marshal Foch, who shook hands with the lad, and then to the obvious delight of the audience, the great soldier stooped and kissed him on the cheek. It was a fine human touch that obviously moved the large audience. The scene would have made a fit subject for an artist.

Madame de Salaberry was also greeted by the distinguished visitor.

The crowd outside the clubhouse had been considerably augmented in the meantime, so that when Marshal Foch and his attendants emerged from the main entrance tremendous cheers were raised for him, and there was a deafening chorus of sirens and motor klaxons.

Many vetcrans and others made their way to Central station to get a final glimpse of the great French soldier. A dense crowd filled the concourse, and many Poilus and others had the privilege of a final handshake ere the train moved slowly out. Marshal Foch stood at the salute on the rear platform of the train, acknowledging the cheers of the crowd.

Mr. Mackenzie King, the premier elect, Mr. Rodolphe Monty, secretary of state, and many staff officers were among those who attended at the station to bid a final farewell to the distinguished visitor.

**THE MARSHAL'S CAREER.**

The name of Marshal Foch stands out above all others in the great war for the part he played in the last eight months of the world struggle, when he had supreme command of all the allied armies, numbering no fewer than six million men. Born at Tarbes, France, in 1851, Marshal Foch is now 70 years of age. Trained in the army from his early youth, he advanced step by step until in 1907 he was appointed general commanding the 13th division of infantry in the French army. In September, 1914, he was commanding the Ninth French Army in the battle of the Marne, and hurled back a greatly superior German force. He served with great distinction throughout the suceeding years and in March, 1918, when the allied powers sought a man to place in supreme command of all their armies the choice fell upon Foch. How he justified the confidence placed in him the world knows. Early in the summer of 1918 he launched the great drive which never stopped until Nov. 11th when the Germans sued for peace and signed the armistice, the terms of which he dictated. He played a prominent part in the peace negotiations which followed, and has taken a leading part in international affairs in Europe since. His present visit to America is for the purpose of attending the disarmament conference now in session in Washington.

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ciation of Canada to honor illustrious soldiers and sailors of the British Empire and the Allied Nations. We have had the exceptional honor of including in our honorary membership roll the names of wonderful men; yet I am sure I am voicing the sentiments of my comrades when I say that in asking you, Sir, to become a member of our association, we not only ask a great favor, but we believe we are conferring our humble badge, which stands for much, on one of the most illustrious figures of the Great War.

"Were I to endeavor to recount the outstanding events in your career, I feel that my feeble efforts would be but a poor attempt to portray our thoughts. We are gratified that you have honored us with your presence and acceptance of Life Membership in the Great War Veterans' Association of Canada and our sincere wish is that you may be long spared to be of as great service to the world in peace as you were at war."

President Maxwell then fastened the gold badge, indicative of life membership, on the tunic of Marshal Foch.

Lt.-Col. La Fleche, who was also in uniform, then stepped forward and greeted the famous and distinguished visitor in his own language and in similar terms to President Maxwell.

Some bars of the Marseillaise were then played by the orchestra, the whole company standing at attention.

**A "Superior Fraternity."**

Marshal Foch, speaking in French, rapidly, and with frequent gesture, and with evident feeling, said:

"My Colonel, Dear Comrades. There is no fraternity superior to the comradeship of arms. When we shed our blood on the same battlefields, when we experience the same anguishes, have been through the same dangers, when we have felt the same anxieties, we are allies, and unto death." Marshal Foch expressed the opinion they would always be intimately associated together in the future as they had been in the past. He said that his visit to Canada recalled to him the deeds of the valiant Canadian corps. At the second battle of Ypres, when the Germans made their first gas attack, the Canadians were surprised, said the Marshal, they were disarmed and without power to resist this new mode of attack.

Disorganization resulted, but the Canadians, who were on the right of the French at St. Julien, gave them generous and warm-hearted support. From that day, said the marshal, he had had the most profound gratitude for the Canadians. He also had a strong feeling of gratitude for what the Canadians did at Vimy, the Somme, and other places in France and Flanders. They were always ready to go everywhere and they won immortal glory. They would never lose sight of the Canadian corps. They would be always brothers, closely bound together for the greatness of their countries in peace as well as in war.

Marshal Foch then signed the roll of life membership, and the National Anthem was sung in concluding the proceedings.

As the famous marshal was about to leave the platform, Charles de Salaberry, son of the colonel, and who was attired in the uniform of a La Salle Cadet, was introduced to Marshal Foch, who shook hands with the lad, and then to the obvious delight of the audience, the great soldier stooped and kissed him on the cheek. It was a fine human touch that obviously moved the large audience. The scene would have made a fit subject for an artist.

Madame de Salaberry was also greeted by the distinguished visitor.

The crowd outside the clubhouse had been considerably augmented in the meantime, so that when Marshal Foch and his attendants emerged from the main entrance tremendous cheers were raised for him, and there was a deafening chorus of sirens and motor klaxons.

Many vetcrans and others made their way to Central station to get a final glimpse of the great French soldier. A dense crowd filled the concourse, and many Poilus and others had the privilege of a final handshake ere the train moved slowly out. Marshal Foch stood at the salute on the rear platform of the train, acknowledging the cheers of the crowd.

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The Ottawa Journal - Dec. 14. 1921

Mr. King's speech on Sunday to Marshal Foch was his first since his election. It was a creditable and pleasing effort, neither too long nor too short, and, in harmony with an inspirational occasion, thrilled the large audience in the theatre.

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13 Dec. 1921 Aurora, Ont.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO
SUPPORTERS IN NORTH YORK

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(1) Toronto Globe Dec 15-th 1921

D 5868

# Liberal Leader in North York Is Overwhelmed With Enthusiastic Demonstrations—Is Happy, and Says So, and Remembers His Pledges

## LOOKS TO ELECTORS TO AID GOVERNMENT

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Aurora, Dec. 14.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Premier-elect, yesterday was accorded a welcome of unusual warmth and sincerity in North York, the riding that elected him. It was a hurried visit, permitting brief stops at only Newmarket and Aurora, and its main object was principally to express his thanks in person to some of the many loyal workers who, while Mr. King himself was touring the country in the Liberal interest, worked so indefatigably to secure his election. The proceedings at both towns were entirely informal, and although Mr. King made short speeches at both places, he made no reference to political issues, confining himself chiefly to thanking his supporters for enabling him to secure such a splendid victory at the polls.

**His Happiest Moment.**

At Newmarket, and again at Aurora, he described the occasion as the happiest moment of his life, adding that if his father or mother, or his good old grandfather, could have been spared to see the day, they, too, would have pronounced it as the happiest moment of their lives.

Hon. Mr. King travelled by a private car over the Metropolitan Railway at 1 o'clock yesterday afternoon for Newmarket, and spent an hour there meeting and shaking hands with a big crowd of friends and supporters. He was almost overwhelmed by the warmth of his reception. On approaching the town his car was boarded by Mayor Eayes, Andrew Davis, W. C. Widdifield and Elder Prosser, who warmly greeted the Premier-elect, and, alighting a little later at Lot street, he was given a greeting by a big crowd of enthusiastic Liberals which fairly carried him off his feet.

**Surrounded by Admirers.**

He was at once surrounded by admirers anxious to grasp his hand, and was literally carried into the Oddfellows' Hall, where the informal reception had been arranged. The hall was soon crowded to overflowing, and people seized every point of vantage where they could get a glimpse of the man who had carried the Liberal standard to victory, not only in North York, but in the Dominion.

The reception at Aurora was no less warm and sincere. The Premier-elect was greeted with ringing cheers as his car arrived from Newmarket, and the Oddfellows' Hall was already filled with friends who had assembled to welcome him. At Aurora the Premier-elect said:

**Not My Victory, But Yours.**

"Certainly, in all truth, this is the happiest moment of my life. Had my dear father and mother both been spared they, too, would have said with equal truth that it was the happiest moment in their lives, and had my good old grandfather, who represented this riding on many occassions, been spared, he, too, would have said in his heart that it was the happiest moment of his life. (Applause.) So you can understand what this particular occasion means to me, to be member for North York, the central constituency of Ontario, and the most historic riding of the Dominion, in many respects, is the greatest honor that can befall any man. I cannot tell you how grateful I am to one and all for the great victory you have achieved here. It has been your victory, because I had very little opportunity, during the campaign, more than to address a few meetings. I had to rely on my friends that all the work of organization, which is the foundation of success, was carried on."

Hon. Mr. King remarked that he thought it might be said in no other riding in the Dominion had anyone so many loyal and devoted friends as he had in North York, and he could not begin to thank them enough. A feature which had been distinctly satisfactory was that if they analyzed the figures he received they would find that he received a majority of the votes in the rural municipalities as well as in the town, which showed that their farmer friends were equally sympathetic towards the principles of the Liberal party, as were the Liberals in the towns and cities.

**In a Happy Dilemma.**

The speaker said he did not know exactly what his position was at the present time. "I know," he said, "that I am member for North York; I know I am to be Prime Minister very shortly, but I am not Prime Minister yet. I know I was Leader of the Opposition, but I certainly am not Leader of an Opposition now. (Applause.) Just exactly where one is between these two positions makes the situation rather unique. I recognize that, should I be called upon to form a Government, we (the Ministers) shall all lose our seats immediately and have to come back for re-election. So I want to ask you not to break up your organization, so that, if by any chance we should be challenged instead of beating them by 1,100 votes we shall beat them by 11,000. (Laughter and applause.) I do not, however, think there will be much chance of an encounter after the big fight we have had."

Hon. Mr. King said the recent campaign had been a splendid one and everything about it had been open and above-board. There was nothing done that any of them could feel other than proud of.

**Remembers His Pledges.**

"I hope this is only the beginning of a long association with North York," Hon. Mr. King proceeded. "I do trust that as the succeeding years go by I may come to know all of you very well. And let me repeat what I said during the campaign. I said should I be returned as member for North York I would be the representative of all the electors in the riding, irrespective of what their past or present political affiliations might be. I want every person in the riding, whether of the U.F.O.. or of the Tory party, or whether you belong to the 'thoroughbreds'—the Liberals—I want you all to feel that I am the servant of one and all and will do my best to serve the interests of every man and woman in the riding to the best of my ability.

"I think when a member is once returned to Parliament he should represent all the people. We must have political differences, and there are times when those differences should be asserted and times when they should be forgotten. So far as I am concerned, they are all forgotten now.' I hope I may have the privilege of serving you in a manner which will do honor to the riding as well as to my own name."

**Wants Help of the People.**

In his address at Newmarket, Hon. Mr. King alluded to the excellent manner in which the Liberals in

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(2) Toronto Globe Decb-th 1921 D 5869

that town kept him in touch at Ottawa on election night with the way the election was going, not only in North York, but throughout the Dominion. He said he got better results that night from Newmarket than he did over the special wire. "I knew I was elected in North York," he said, "before I knew the result in the city of Ottawa." He also told the electors of North York that he looked to them to help him in the government of the country.

Mr. Howard Cane presided at the Newmarket gathering, and among those present were: Messrs. Ken Robertson, Wilmott Lundy, Sterling Coady, A. D. Bruce, Jos. Coady, Edward Bogart, Chas. Widdifield, W. C. Widdifield, T. C. Watson, Mrs. Watson, Miss Starr, Miss Driffell, Mrs. Millard, P. W. Pearson, Aubrey Davis and Hon. E. J. Davis.

At Aurora Mr. J. P. Naughton, Secretary of the North York Liberal Association, presided over the brief meeting, and among others present were: Messrs. Thomas Legg (President of the Aurora Liberal Association), W. H. Legg, Capt. J. G. Gillanders, F. Underhill, Charles Graham, James Brothers, Isaac Hartman, W. D. Watson, John McCabe, Arthur Ashton, W. H. Fleury, W. Hulme, A. Love, A. Murray, F. Davis, J. Ferguson, Mrs. James Whimster, Mrs. A. H. Green, Mrs. Charles Webster, Mrs. Frank Legg, Mrs. Fred Legg, Mrs. William Willis, Mrs. E. Dawson, Miss E. Johnstone, Miss F. Willmott, Mrs. C. Dunham, Mrs. F. Davis, Miss Forsythe, Mrs. Whitmore.

Hon. Mr. King expressed his thanks to the parents of the two children born on the day of the election, for naming their offspring after him.

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14 Dec. 1921 Newmarket

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Toronto Daily Star Dec 15-1921 D 5871

# PREMIER KING'S AIM TO SERVE ALL, HE SAYS

## Will Strive to Be a Representative of All the People.

## A GREAT RECEPTION

### Celebrates Victory With His Supporters at Newmarket and Aurora.

**Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.**

Newmarket, Dec. 15.—Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King introduced his real self to North York for the first time yesterday. During the hard fought campaign that was waged in this historic riding, the electorate saw him as a brilliant orator and an able party leader. But yesterday he revealed himself as the representative of all residents of the constituency, regardless of their political affiliations.

"My chief aim in wanting to represent North York in the House of Commons, was that I might be able to do something of service for this historic riding, where my old grandfather was so befriended in '37 and '43," declared the premier-elect. "The election is over, and you have chosen me as your representative. Whether anybody voted for me or against me, it will make no difference so far as I am concerned in my efforts to serve you all."

**Got Farmer oVtes.**

"The returns show that the farmers were at my back as well as the regular Liberals, and so it would be hard to distinguish between them if we were going to have special privileges for our friends now that the election is over. But, I want to say that Dan Roche's tribe, or any other tribe, that opposed us during the campaign, will be the same to me now as if they had been Liberals or farmers. I will remember nothing that has been said against me by political opponents. There are times when differences should assert themselves, and there are times when these differences should be forgotten. As far as I am concerned, all differences are forgotten, and I am the servant of all the people of this riding now."

So crowded was the hall here where Mr. King was speaking, that the door could not be closed, and the continued cheering that greeted this announcement could be heard for blocks.

It was the first visit of the premier-elect to the riding since his election, and he was literally swept off his feet on arriving here from Toronto. When he alighted from a private radial car at Lot street, he was borne by an enthusiastic crowd to the Oddfellows' Hall, where an informal reception was arranged.

It was like the triumphant return of a great hero from a victorious campaign. The crowd surged into the building behind the Liberal chieftain, filling all the seats in short time, and clambering up on the window sills and other portions of the wall where a toe-hold could be obtained.

**His Happiest Moment.**

"I am sure you will believe me when I say this is the happiest moment of my life," he said.

Both here and at Aurora the premier-elect made only short and informal remarks, prior to greeting the large numbers who besieged him to shake his hand.

North York seems anxious to have its representative enter into the matrimonial state. Both here and at Aurora, party stalwarts broached the subject, in no mere whisper, while shaking hands with the premier-elect. It appeared to precede in importance any political topic.

Dave Clark, of Lemonville, couldn't refrain from expressing his curiosity at a moment of deep silence when Mr. King had just finished speaking. Mr. Clark is father of Elmer Clark, and both father and son were among the hardest workers in the Liberal cause during the recent political battles.

**Don't All Speak At Once.**

"I hope you will get a wife now," said Mr. Clark, Sr.

"You don't hope that any more than I do," replied Mr. King, amidst cheers.

Mr. King thanked the fathers and mothers who had named babies after him. "There are a large number of young Mackenzie King's all over the country now," he remarked, "and I really don't see that there is any necessity of my getting married." (Laughter.)

Mr. King was visibly affected when any person referred to the historic part played by William Lyon Mackenzie, the grandfather of the premier-elect, in North York in '37 and '43.

"I am inseparably bound up with this riding. All my ties and affections are here, and that is why I wanted to represent it at Ottawa," was his earnest remark to all who mentioned the illustrious grandsire.

"I look forward to associations with this constituency that I hope will continue for years and years in the distant future," he said to others.

**Remember "the Little Rebel."**

Amos Lloyd, bowed with the weight of ninety years, but still active, was one of the first to welcome Mr. King at Aurora. Mr. Lloyd said he remembered the rebellion of '37 well, although he was at that time only a boy.

Mr. King promised to visit the old gentleman at his home in the near future. "We've got many interesting things to talk over," he said.

Referring at Aurora to the wide support given him through the rural sections of the riding, Mr. King remarked: "I think the decision of the farmers in not favoring independent political action now, is going to have a far reaching effect for good on all classes throughout the dominion."

There were large numbers of women both here and at Aurora, everyone of whom was warmly thanked for the effective part they played to ensure a Liberal victory.

On the radial car which brought the premier-elect from Toronto, were Mr. Aubrey Davis and Mr. Howard Cane, of Newmarket; W. H. Johnson, of Pefferlaw, and Messrs. J. G. and H. D. Ramsden. Both the motorman and the conductor on the car, Tim Kean and James Dalziel, respectively, were life-long Liberals.

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# END OF REEL

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