

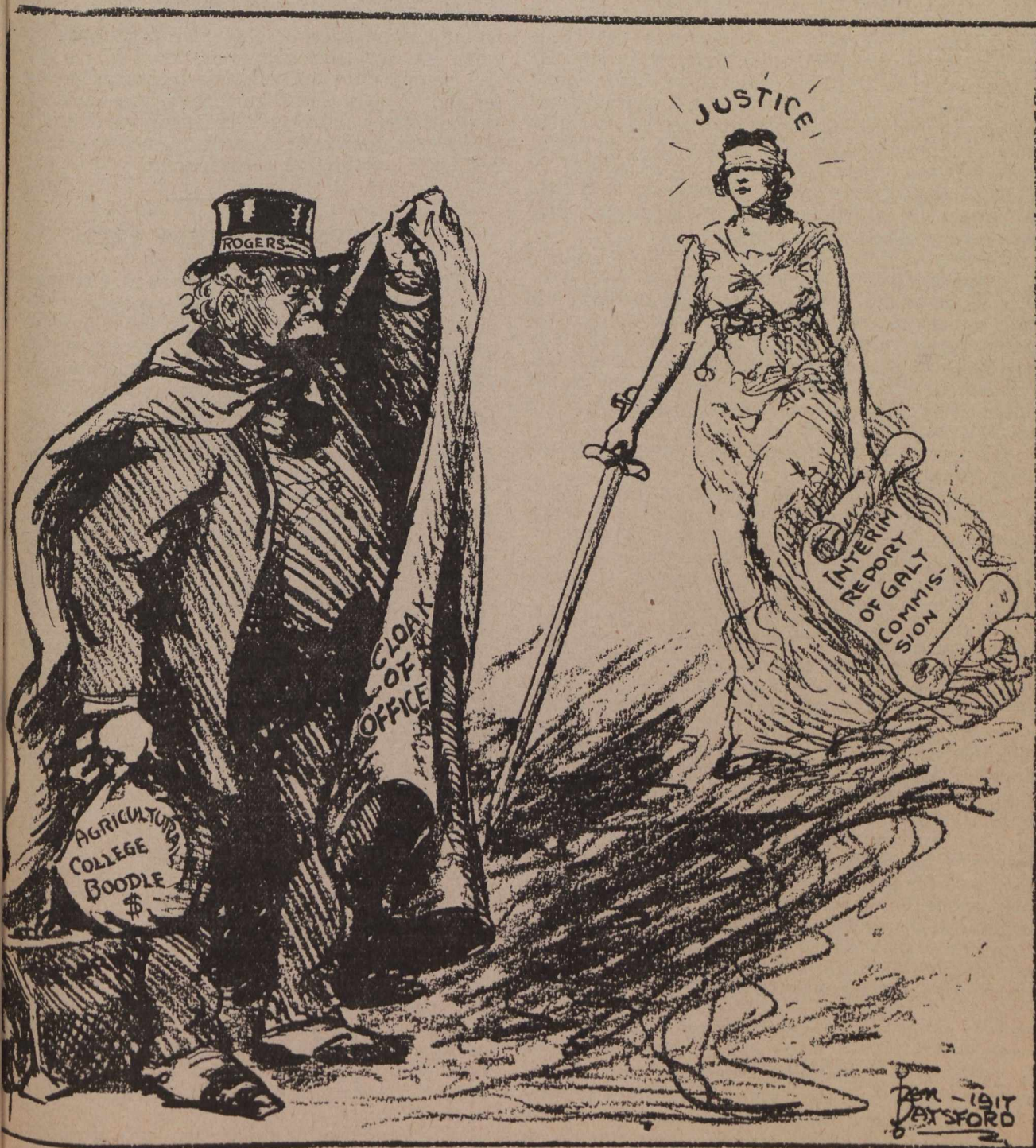
THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

VOL. IV. No. 7.

OTTAWA, MARCH, 1917.

TWO CENTS

"HIDING"



THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY
is issued from the Central Information Office of the
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THE LIBERAL VICTORY IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

IN 1915 the electorate of Manitoba repudiated graft, corruption and malfesance, and sent into oblivion the government which had been guilty of these crimes. In 1916 a similar fate befell the corrupt and wasteful administration in British Columbia. In 1917 corruption and graft equally as glaring as that which had characterized the governments of Manitoba and British Columbia have been repudiated by the electors of New Brunswick, and the government turned out of office. In all three cases Conservative governments had been in power. In all three cases these governments had been strongly entrenched.

By way of contrast it may be noted that during 1916 the electors of Quebec and Nova Scotia returned to power with increased majorities, and with a mandate to "carry on" two Liberal governments against which, during long periods of office, no charge of scandal has ever been substantiated. Premier Gouin of Quebec has been in the saddle since 1905. The Liberal government of Nova Scotia is thirty five years old.

The moral to be drawn from these contrasts is plain for all to read.

The Liberal victory in New Brunswick, where a government holding a majority of 45 in a House of 48, was decisively defeated by an opposition, which was practically leaderless in the Legislature when the writs were issued, is one of the most remarkable political exploits in history.

Walter E. Foster, a young and able Liberal leader was chairman of the Liberal leadership committee when the Legislature dissolved. When the writs for election were issued he stepped forward and undertook the Leadership of the Liberal Party, whose representation in the House was only three members, to wage what must seem to have been a hopeless battle against the strongly entrenched Conservative administration. Mr. Foster pledged himself, if placed in power, to carry on the affairs of the Province in a business-like manner, and fearlessly attacked and denounced the cynical disregard for public morals which had characterized his opponents, as indicted by the findings of royal commissions against them. The electors of the Province responded to the appeal and the Conservative Government was defeated decisively. This record speaks volumes for this young Liberal Leader.

FARMERS AGREE.

THE resolution of the United Farmers of Ontario, in convention during the week of February 25th, in Toronto, calling on the government to put the question of reciprocity in trade with the United

States to a referendum, and endorsing the Liberal measure of 1911, will scarcely be heeded by the entrenched interests. The farmer, in the eyes of the present administration, is pretty much of a crank. The Tory press in Ontario refers to Western farmers as faddists, if not disloyal. They are free traders, and according to Tory philosophy a free trader is a dangerous individual and rather sane on all topics. Now that the Ontario farmers have followed the lead of their Western brethren it will be interesting to note the effect on the home tariff party. It is significant that the Tory press in Ontario has made no serious comment on the Toronto resolutions. Silence is regarded as the better part of valor in this critical situation. When election time comes around the Tory press and campaigners will display the usual solicitude for the "honest Canadian farmer, the backbone of the country." They will promise him almost anything except cheaper farm implements and boots and shoes, clothing or such articles.

THE "PAP" FED TORY PRESS.

The Conservative headquarters at Ottawa continue sending out weekly, and sometimes often prepared articles and editorials for Conservative papers throughout Canada. In a recent statement issued from their office they enumerate twelve things that Canada has achieved under Sir Robert Borden. We quote two of these items:—

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

"Supplied Great Britain's armies with \$60,000,000 of hay, oats and flour."

We would ask why is it that Conservative Headquarters can get this information from government offices when it is being continually refused to the Liberal members in the House of Commons.

The obvious answer is for "boosting the party" all information is available, but for "open criticism" nothing can be supplied the Liberal members.

We would also like to ask how it is that war orders totalling \$150,000,000 have been sent to Australia, New Zealand and Allied Governments. An answer is demanded.

OUR VOLUNTEER ARMY.

A MOST interesting booklet has just been published by "La Presse" of Montreal giving valuable information regarding recruiting in the Province of Quebec.

Certain politicians and newspapers in Ontario and elsewhere have for some time been hurrying debasing remarks against the Province of Quebec and the part it has taken in the present war. This booklet answers these charges and gives "facts and figures" to show just what Quebec has done and is in a position to do.

We commend it to our readers. It is printed in the English language.

FRANK B. CARVELL, M.P.

THE recent general election in New Brunswick resulting in the election of 27 Liberals and 21 Conservatives indicates that after all, dishonesty, extravagance and maladministration in public affairs cannot endure. With 45 supporters to 3 opponents in the Legislature, the Conservative Premier, Mr. Murray appealed to the electorate, but the tide was too strong. The record of the Conservative Government in New Brunswick could not be endorsed. The banishment of ex-Premier Fleming from the Provincial Government, the exposure of the worse forms of corruption and extravagance and the revelation of the squandering of the resources of the Province with a wantonness indicative of political insanity, could have but one result, viz, the overthrow of the Government.

Out of this long drawn contest against the bitterest opposition, both from Provincial and Federal governments, and in spite of the vilest calumny and vilification, there emerges one man to whom no small credit is due for the New Brunswick triumph, and that man is **Frank B. Carvell**.

THE LOOSENING PLANKS.

ONE by one the planks of the Halifax platform as laid down by R. L. Borden at Halifax, August 25th, 1907, and adopted by his party in the campaign of 1911 are being pried off by the schemers and cast adrift.

Civil Service Reform was to fill a large place in the improvement of the nation through the efforts of the Conservative party. According to Mr. Borden, "Plank 4", "A thorough and complete reformation of the laws relating to the Civil Service so that future appointments shall be made by an independent commission acting upon the Report of Examiners after competitive examination."

Up to the present not one step has been taken by the present Government to implement the promise of Civil Service Reform. On the contrary there never was such a complete disregard of the recognized rules and conventions applicable to the service. And now we see reason. On Thursday evening of the 22nd of February Hon. Mr. Crothers speaking at the Conservative Club, Ottawa, declared his devotion to the old time patronage system and stated that appointments through and by the party had given as much satisfaction and more so than by the Commission.

We may look for a complete overthrow of the Civil Service Act and the return to the good old Tory days of lots of jobs when you have the "Pull."

WILL THE PUBLIC BE DECEIVED? NO.

ONE of the most palpable attempts to deceive the public is contained in the assertion from Tory headquarters that the administration is responsible for the establishment of the munitions

industry in Canada. As a matter of fact the government denied all responsibility for the munitions business on numerous occasions, particularly when Honorary Lieutenant Colonel Wesley Allison was on trial. Then it was none of the Government's business, but solely the affair of the Imperial Government. What has changed it since? The truth is that the government is going on the theory that the public has a short memory. But it is scarcely short enough for that.

CANADIAN NICKEL.

From the Conservative headquarters at Ottawa the following statement is issued to the Tory newspapers to show what Sir Robert Borden has achieved for Canada:

"Took effective steps to prevent Canadian nickel reaching the enemy, at the same time seeing that a plentiful supply reached Great Britain and her Allies."

Are Sir Robert Borden and his Leaders undertaking to deceive the public or are they ignorant of the true facts? We can tell them that Canadian nickel has reached Germany within the last six months.

It was mined in Sudbury in 1915, shipped in matte to the International Nickel Company, New Jersey, who refined it and sold some 800 odd tons to a smelting Company in New Jersey. This smelting Company have already sent to Germany, via the submarine Deutschland 200 tons of this Canadian nickel. Another 100 tons is lying in New London today awaiting the Deutschland which for some reason "is detained." This smelting Company now have in their warehouse in New Jersey another 500 tons which will be sent to Germany at the very first opportunity.

These are facts which cannot be contradicted if the truth is told and yet Conservative headquarters at Ottawa are saying that Canadian nickel is not reaching Germany.

AUSTRALIAN PATRONAGE SYSTEM.

"The essentials of the Australian Government system are:—

The War Minister is a political administrator and does not attempt to be an active military officer.

Political patronage is avoided, and politics are shut out of the army.

Australians are not afraid to give individuals considerable powers in administrative work, such as purchasing supplies. Good men are picked for their posts, are made responsible and are judged by what they do. The knife falls quickly on the incompetent or unreliable.

Unlike the patronage system in Australia, in Canada it prevails in respect of appointments, preferences and even promotions in the Militia. Even soldiers cannot be billeted anywhere in Canada without the patronage man stepping in and saying from whom the tea, sugar, meat, and everything else shall be purchased. The same applies with reference to clothing, drugs, bandages and medical examination.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

A Government of Omission

THE Government which unfortunately rules this country has been undoubtedly guilty of many errors of commission, but none equals their great and grave error of omission in regard to the cost of living. The inertia of the Minister of Labour and the Government while the prices of the necessities of life have daily increased to almost unbelievable figures for many months, amounts to criminal negligence, and is utterly inexcusable. When a whole nation is at war, as is our own case, the people should stand together, and no section of them should be permitted to extract undue profits by reason of war conditions. Especially should this be the case in respect of the wherewithal to maintain life itself. The grave responsibility was cast upon the Government of controlling prices so that the rich, the selfish and the greedy, would not benefit at the expense of the rest of the community, but up to date that responsibility, if recognized, has not been assumed by the Government, and the result is that the masses of the people are suffering, not only in their pockets, but in their bodies. The prices of such common and necessary articles as butter, eggs, meat and potatoes have soared to such an extent as to be beyond the purchasing power of the poorer classes, at all events in the quantities which their actual necessities demand.

All Talk and No Action

It would be idle to argue that the Government have not the power to act. THE WAR MEASURES ACT gives them the fullest possible power, even to the extent of being tyrannical. They can do almost as they will. Why then don't they act instead of chattering like magpies about what they are going to do. The people are heartily tired of the jaw, jaw, jawing of the Hon. Mr. Crothers and the preaching of Sir George Foster and Sir Thomas White. They want something done quickly to check the profiteers who are fattening and battenning at their expense. Figuratively they ask for bread and they refuse to be put off with a stone, in the form of cheap talk about investigations and threats of action if such and such is found to be the case. It is too late in the day for Mr. Crothers to try and put us off with excuses that he has found that manufacturers and wholesalers work in combinations. If that be true, he should have found it out two years ago, and taken the necessary action then to remedy the situation. We do not want any excuses at all; we want action, drumhead action if necessary, to cope with the serious situation.

Afraid of Newspapers

The truth would appear to be that the Government has to be bludgeoned into taking action. This was well illustrated in the case of paper. A strong demand was made by the newspaper manufacturers to save them, as they alleged, from ruin by compelling the paper manufacturers of the country to reduce their prices, and the Government, with wonderful promptitude, issued an

order under which manufacturers have to sell the newspapers at a very much lower price than the market value. Why is it that while they quickly controlled the price of newspaper print the Government refuse, or at all events have neglected to control the prices of the essentials of life. The answer is obvious. Their political interests were at stake. They felt that they could not risk the condemnation of the press, and they acted to save their political fortunes. No other conclusion can be drawn. They knew the power of the press, and, fearing it, expected it. To some extent they were between the devil and the deep sea. They wanted to keep friendly terms with their friends the paper manufacturers, but realizing that that would get them the enmity of the press, they sacrificed the manufacturer to the publisher, because of fear. It is interesting to note, though, that they confirmed their order to newspaper print. The prices of newspaper, that used by the book binder and the stationer and for wrapping purposes has advanced proportionately to the advance in newspaper print and the users of such paper have been as badly handicapped as the newspaper publisher, but they get no relief. A blind man could see the reason. The newspapers were able to put the fear of the Lord into the Government, and the other fellows could not.

War profiteering a Crime

Apart from the matter of food stuffs the action of the Government regarding the price of paper raises the important question as to why at the commencement of War they did not take steps to control the price of steel and other raw materials produced in the country which enter into the manufacture of war munitions. If that had been done—and it could easily have been done—one of the greatest crimes of the war would not have been enacted. We assert deliberately that the high prices that have been paid by both the British and the Canadian Governments for war munitions in Canada are due in large part to the negligence of the Government in not controlling prices, were nothing short of robbery. The great crime of the war committed in Canada lies in the fact that munition contractors and suppliers of raw materials to these contractors have grown enormously rich, out of the agony of the people, with the sanction and full approval of the Conservative Government. When the War was over and the minds of the people are relieved from the strain and stress of daily suffering over casualties and catastrophes, some facts will stand out prominently in letters of shame, and none will be more prominent than those relating to war profiteering. We doubt not that the returning soldier will be among the first to grasp the significance of the sordid situation. He will be quick to realize that while he gave up his home, left his dear ones and sacrificed his worldly prospects to serve his Country, by laying down his life if so decreed, the rich who stayed at home became richer and more strongly entrenched in their privileges as the rich, with the connivance of a cold and interest loving Government.

"OVERMANNED AND UNDERPAID."

A STRIKING commentary upon the methods of so-called "retrenchment" being practiced by the present government during war times is supplied by the Civil Government estimates for the fiscal year, 1917-18, brought down with the other estimates in the House during the present adjourned session. While Great Britain is straining every muscle, and making every sacrifice in order to meet the critical events of the coming year; while Canadians are being advised by members of the government to "save, save, save, the parliament of Canada is asked to vote nearly sixty per cent more to maintain the extravagant establishment of the government than it was asked for the same purpose in 1910-1911.

Expenditure under Civil Government includes "contingencies," and "salaries." These salaries are practically confined to the pay of permanent employees of the civil service. They do not include temporary, or outside employees. Nor do they include the pay of the hosts of additional employees engaged in Ottawa in connection with the administration of the war, by the various departments. Such salaries are paid exclusively out of war appropriation. Every cent of Civil Government expenditure is defrayed from Consolidated Revenue Fund, and comes under the head of domestic expenditure. For any increase the war cannot be held responsible.

Business Curtailed.

Many of the Departments such as Interior, Immigration, Indians Affairs and others are simply marking time until the war shall cease. Indeed there are departments from which employees could very well be transferred to war work.

In other words, expenditures under civil government should under the circumstances be lower than they were before the war. In addition it would seem to be the duty of the government at war time to cut out every unnecessary cent of expenditure under this head. Instead of that they ask parliament to sanction the expenditure of \$7,224,561 under this vote for the coming fiscal year, as against the estimates of 1910-11, totalling only \$4,583,637. The increase is 58 per cent.

No Increase in Salaries, Except Statutory, has been made.

What is the justification for this increase? No increases except the statutory increases in the salaries of the Inside Service have been sanctioned since 1910-11. There can be only one reason, and that is an inordinate increase in the number of employees in the various departments.

The Public Service" said the "Civilian" (the official organ of the Civil Service,) some time ago, "is overmanned to a remarkable degree, and on account of this overmanning of inefficient organization, or duplications or other kinds of waste, there is a loss, conservatively estimated, of over \$5,000,000 a year."

Dismissals and Appointments.

The proof of this overmanning under the present

administration is to be found in a return brought down in the House during the session of 1912-13. This return showed that since Oct. 10 1911, 5,099 civil servants had been dismissed by the government, 7,994 had "resigned", and 373 had deserted, making a total of those who left the service for various reasons, of 13,466. These were replaced by an army of 25,613. In other words for every employee who left the service two employees were appointed in his place. This included both the inside and the outside services, but the figures provide a very obvious reason why parliament today is called upon to vote 58 percent more for civil government than was asked for in 1910-11.

A few departmental instances may throw further light upon the situation. During the first two years of the government's administration of affairs, there were 476 departures from the Customs Dept. and 1,649 new appointments; from the Public Works Dept. there were 1,236 departures, and 2,006 new appointments; from the Post Office Department, under the ruthless hand of Hon. L. P. Pelletier, 5,357 employees left, and 10,903, exclusive of temporary appointments, were put in their places.

Percentage of Increase.

In order to appreciate fully the tremendous increase in the salary list under Civil Government due to this system of overmanning under the present government, and to show that the patronage evil is as strong today as it was before the war the following comparative figures of estimates of salaries under Civil Government are submitted, with percentages of increase as between 1917-18 and 1910-11:

DEPT.	1910-11	1917-18	Percentage of Inc.
Gov. Gen.'s Sec. Office.....	\$ 20,050	\$ 26,250	35
Privy Council Office.....	35,137	49,412	40
Adm. of Justice.....	104,498	154,437	47
Militia and Defence.....	128,950	187,700	45
Secretary of State.....	58,562	76,737	31
Interior.....	878,886	1,191,255	35
Indian Affairs.....	115,400	126,862	9
Mounted Police.....	18,450	21,712	19
Auditor General.....	105,200	143,850	55
Dept. of Finance.....	113,950	151,512	32
Dept. of Customs.....	244,975	328,100	34
Inland Revenue.....	104,212	180,412	73
Agriculture.....	369,900	490,675	32
Rys. and Canals.....	138,925	182,987	21
Public Works.....	372,837	590,250	58
Dept. of Mines.....	185,889	381,985	105
Trade and Commerce.....	52,312	133,700	155
Labor.....	33,900	54,137	63
High Commissioners Office..	12,400	21,650	75
Supt. of Insurance.....	18,750	30,737	66
External Affairs.....	15,787	31,512	100
Conservation Com.....	16,350	37,050	130
Civil Service Com.....	18,675	33,075	77
Depts generally, Contingencies, cleaning depts. and firing noon day gun....	54,000	275,000	409
Total Civil Govt.....	\$4,583,637	\$7,224,561	

Heavy Increases.

Salary increases, it will be seen vary from 9 per cent to 155 per cent. Patronage flourishes at Ottawa in spite of the war.

A WAR TIME ELECTION.

WHEN we say that the Borden Government in the autumn of 1914, less than four weeks after war was declared, were preparing for a war time election we make a most serious statement and one which will be subject to contradiction unless we can prove that the statement is absolutely correct. We supply the proof herewith and challenge contradiction.

We assert that at the very time the war session of Parliament of August 18th to August 25th, 1914 was being held the political leaders of the Borden Government were preparing and distributing campaign literature the wording of which clearly proves that their intention was to have a general election.

With one hand, these political leaders were asking for a \$50,000,000 war appropriation, pleading loyalty to the King and Empire and telling how "Borden backs Britain," while

With the other hand, they were prosecuting the war for party advantage, and preparing and printing pamphlets for a general election.

With one hand, they were assembling at Valcartier 32,000 Canadian soldiers to aid Great Britain in the greatest struggle the Empire has ever experienced while

With the other hand, these same political leaders and members of the Conservative party were distributing these pamphlets throughout the Dominion.

To prove this assertion we reproduce herewith face simile of the front pages of some of the pamphlets which were issued at this time. We ask our readers to carefully look these over, particularly the dates on which the pamphlets were published, namely, August 14th, 1914, another, August 14th, 1914, another September 12th, 1914 and etc. Does the wording of these front pages indicate recruiting or do they indicate partisanship and a general election. We regret that we are unable to reproduce herewith more than the front pages. We will say, however, that we have originals in our possession and for the benefit of our readers we will give them herewith a short synopsis of what each pamphlet contains.

The one entitled "Give Credit to Whom Credit is Due," a four page leaflet giving quotations from speeches of Sir Robert Borden and also on the back page containing a vicious cartoon of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This publication bears the words—Published by . . . "Central Publication and Distribution Office of the Conservative Party of Canada." August 14th, 1914.

"Relief for the Western Settler," another four page leaflet showing what the Borden Government has done for the people of the West and bears the words—Published by . . . Central Publication and Distribution Office for the Conservative Party of Canada. August 14th, 1914.

GIVE CREDIT
TO WHOM
CREDIT IS DUE



Sir Robert Borden thrice
predicted with Startling
Truth the Coming of
a Naval Emergency



NOTE DATE: AUG 14TH 1914

"A Vigorous and Progressive Western Policy," a 16-page pamphlet which gives portraits of Sir Robert Borden and Hon. Robert Rogers and gives a little more in detail of what the Borden Government has done for the Western people. September 12th, 1914.

"Laurier and Quebec," a 2-page leaflet.

"The Farce and Cost of the Laurier Naval Policy," an eight page leaflet.

"The Splendid Record of the Borden Government," a small handbook of thirty-two pages.

NOTE DATE: AUG 14TH 1914

RELIEF FOR THE
WESTERN SETTLER



The Government Takes Prompt
Action to Aid Farmers Whose
Crops Have Been a Failure

How the Relief Work
will be carried out

NOTE DATE: SEPT 12 1914

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THE
VIGOROUS AND PROGRESSIVE
Western Policy

OF THE
Borden Government

(Revised edition)

National Development being supplemented in far-seeing and statesmanlike manner.

Western Canada receives Consideration, so long withheld by the Laurier Administration

What has been Accomplished

"All this is wise and useful expenditure without which Canada cannot attain or hold its rightful place among the nations."

Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, at Halifax, Sept. 16, 1913.

Pamphlet No. 6—9-12-14

Why were these pamphlets printed in August and September 1914 if the Borden Government were not preparing for a General Election?

LAURIER AND QUEBEC

Sir Wilfrid Laurier once declared that if the Empire was ever in peril he would be "the first to stomp Quebec."

Well, the Empire was in peril—the greatest peril it has ever faced.

Did he stomp Quebec?

Did he Call for French Canadian Recruits!

NOT A BIT OF IT.

His lips were sealed in so far as any appeal to his fellow-countrymen was concerned.

WHY?

Because Laurier, now as ever, cares not a whit for the Empire.

Vote Conservative

for

BORDEN BACKS BRITAIN

Published by the Federal Press Agency 47 Slater Street, Ottawa, Can. Central Publication and Distribution office of the Conservative Party of Canada.

The FARCE and the COST
OF
Liberal Naval Policy
COMPARED WITH THE
Practical, Economical and Effective
POLICY OF THE
Borden Government

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to His Royal Highness the Governor-General.

Downing Street, 25th October, 1912.

Sir:—

1 I have the honour to transmit to Your Royal Highness the accompanying copy of a memorandum relating to the requirements of the Naval Defence of the Empire.

2 This document has been prepared by the Admiralty on the instructions of His Majesty's Government in compliance with the request of Mr. Borden with a view to presentation to the Dominion Parliament if, and when, the Dominion Ministers deem it necessary.

I have, etc.,

L. HARCOURT

Section 10 of this document reads as follows:—

"10. The Prime Minister of the Dominion having enquired in what form any immediate aid that Canada might give would be most effective, we have no hesitation in answering after a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances that it is desirable that such aid should include the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply."

Preparing printing and distributing political pamphlets for a General Election at the very time the 1914 War Session of Parliament was being held.

We Challenge Contradiction of these facts.

SPLENDID RECORD
OF THE
Borden Government

Remarkable achievements of the Conservative Administration during the past two years.

Statesmanlike speech of the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, at Halifax, Sept. 16, 1913.

Naval Policy Clearly Defined

AS ONE OF

Co-operation, not of Contribution

"Through men not directly responsible to the electorate of Canada our proposals have been defeated for the moment and an increased burden has, for the present, been imposed and accepted beyond the seas. We have every confidence that this defeat is but temporary, and that the duty of Canada will yet be honorably discharged."—From Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden's Halifax Speech

COALITION VERSUS PARTY GOVERNMENT.

THE question of a national government has been debated in the public press for some time and the question has reached a phase where it seems advisable to consider it in its relation to the political conditions prevailing in this country, and never so accentuated as during the present war.

Closely bound up with the matter of a coalition government is the status of political parties and the functions of an opposition. Despite the lapse of years and the varying changes which have been brought about in even our most conservative legislative methods, and despite the introduction of much of what is often erroneously called reform legislation, but which too often means merely an evading of the responsibilities of government, the definition of party evolved by Burke still obtains. "Party," said the famous orator, "is a body of men united for promoting by their joint efforts the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are agreed. Every honorable connection will avow it is their first purpose to pursue every just method to put the men who hold their opinions into such a condition as may enable them to carry their common plans into execution with all the power and authority of the state."

Coalition in Great Britain Necessary.

It is pointed out however that in the case of Britain, the home of parliamentary procedure, a coalition government has been formed and maintained. Evidently such a government was considered by the British People to be the only workable one in the present critical period in the history of the empire. But let us consider ante bellum conditions in Britain as well as those which obtained during the first period of the war and which, to large degree, still exist. The Liberal government of Britain, true to the historical teachings of Liberalism, was essentially democratic in its legislation. During the long period of office which it enjoyed previous to 1914 it had devoted its energies and best thought to legislation designed to ameliorate social conditions. Old age pensions, insurance, better housing and domestic problems occupied its attention. In the larger sphere were home rule, the taxation of land values and the fixing of an income tax. But such legislation was necessarily distasteful to the great landed and privileged interests throughout the country; antagonism to the administration was of a bitterness seldom manifested in recent years, certainly not since the time of Gladstone and his conversion to home rule for Ireland. The last elections in Britain previous to the war displayed the intense feeling generated by the radical legislation of Lloyd George, Asquith and the more progressive wing of the Liberal party. The country was divided to an extent comparable to that which ushered in the famous Reform Bill, although the surface manifestations were not as apparent.

With the outbreak of war, a war so serious in its possible consequences that the most vindictive partisan realized the common danger, the apparent demand for an administration which would rally to the cause of empire all the political groups engaged in the pursuit of their particular ideals and

which would conciliate the powerful offended interests of the country, was irresistible. Indeed the British People seemed to think the course open was to form a coalition government once it became apparent that the political animosities of ante bellum times were to be carried in the conduct of the war, clogging and hampering administration at every turn.

In Canada Conditions Different.

But the ante bellum conditions of Britain were not those of Canada. There was no "class consciousness" in this country, no aligning of the party on a basis other than that of administrative competence and ability, of economy and prudence. The Borden government had been in power for nearly three years and its record, colorless constructive had been marred by mistakes in policy, in administration and in management to such degree that few thinking people in the Dominion could anticipate a renewal of confidence for the government in the event of an appeal to the country. To propose a coalition government with this record seemed obviously impossible even had administration shown the slightest disposition to accept such a solution of its increasing difficulties. The outbreak of the war furnished a diversion which was eagerly seized upon by the administration, with results which Canada knows only too well at writing.

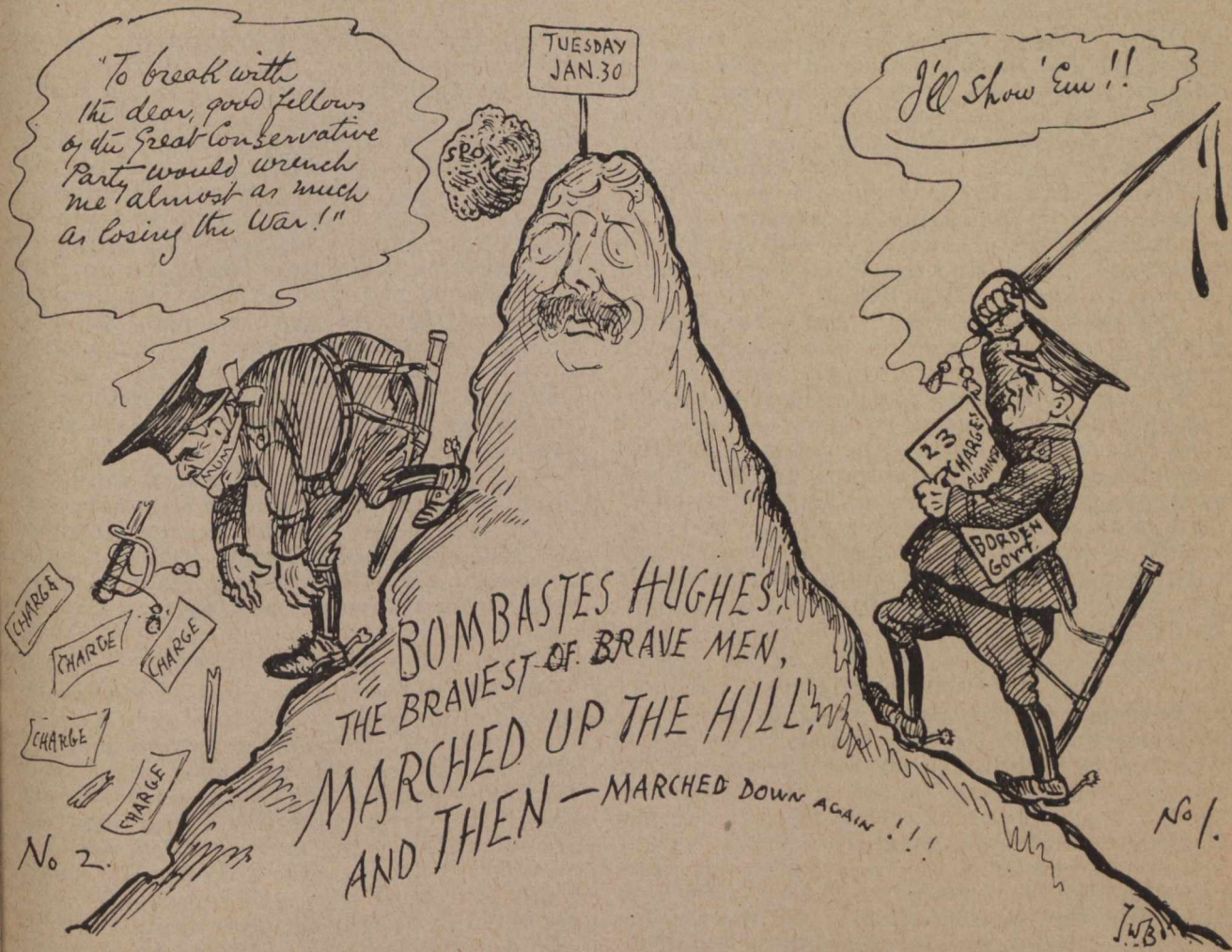
But, it is suggested, in the circumstances would it not be the part of patriotism for the Liberal party to proffer cooperation with the administration in the prosecution of the war. It did not seek to mobilize its political capital out of the difficulties of the government, past and to come? The Liberal Party however must be true to itself; it must look to the future of the Dominion. It has cheerfully given its cooperation to the administration, as an opposition, in parliament, but the great problem yet to come and the Liberal party must keep itself free to deal with that problem. When the battle flags are furled and the troops come marching home—what then? When the nation struggles to its feet after the storm of war has passed, which party must it look for guidance, for reconstruction, for that sound policy upon which alone victory must depend to make good not only the ravages of war but the lamentable blunders of the administration during the greatest period of stress a young nation will ever undergo?

CANADA'S PUBLIC DEBT.

Total Net Debt, September, 1911	\$323,938,760
" " " September, 1915	484,841,600
" " " October, 1915	492,528,400
" " " November, 1915	501,668,100
" " " January, 1916	527,488,900
" " " January, 1917	745,938,800

Bound Volumes of the Canadian Liberal Monthly (Sept. 1913 to date) are always available. Each Volume has a special Index. Price 50 cents a volume. APPLY, CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY, OTTAWA

IN MEMORY OF SIR SAM HUGHES.



RESPONSIBILITY IGNORED.

BEYOND doubt the most astounding and flagrant defiance of public opinion ever witnessed in this country, and the most demoralizing example of contempt for the judiciary of the Dominion is comprised in the departure for Britain of the Premier company with a Minister of the Crown who has already been virtually pilloried before the people for offences which, in ordinary cases, would merit prison terms. Smarting under the castigation given him by Judge Galt in his report on the scandals connected with the Manitoba Agricultural College building contracts, Hon. Robert Rogers, in an attempt to divert public attention from his part in the unsavory proceedings arose in his place in the House of Commons and attempted to besmirch the character of the owners of the Ottawa Citizen, a journal which had fearlessly demanded the resignation or dismissal of the Minister or a full and complete explanation on his part of the damning circumstances related by Judge Galt. This attempt the citizen at once exposed, and challenged Mr. Rogers to repeat his statements outside the house where he could not claim privilege. The minister refused, although openly branded a liar by the newspaper question. Under these conditions the House was adjourned.

The Reward.

But the shock was to come. The announcement that Premier Borden had selected Hon. Mr. Rogers, the discredited and dishonored confederate of dishonest contractors and party bosses in Manitoba to accompany him to Britain, whither he was going as the representative of the Dominion, was not published, for obvious reasons, until the Premier's party was already on the ocean. Here we have the prime minister endorsing the defiant attitude of the minister whose word Judge Galt says he cannot believe on oath. With this minister as his Fidus Achates the Premier of the Dominion appears in London as the guest of the Empire. With this discredited colleague the Premier is seen in the British Parliament, is reported to have held receptions for Canadians in the metropolis, has appeared before royalty!

If there is any incident in our political history more calculated to bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of patriotic Canadians it is this callous indifference to the good name of this country exhibited by Premier Borden, whose action cannot be taken otherwise than as a deliberate flouting of the opinions of all citizens who have at heart the honor and reputation of the Dominion.

THE ROSS RIFLE.

"That having regard to the fact that the failure of the Ross Rifle as an active service weapon was known to the government in the early stages of the war, and that notwithstanding such knowledge the government has continued to equip Canadian soldiers with the said rifle, this house is of the opinion that the government is deserving of censure for its conduct in the premises, as well as for its prolonged delay in providing an efficient substitute for the Ross Rifle."

The above resolution by Hon. Charles Murphy stands on the order paper for consideration when Parliament reassembles after the adjournment. It is based on the records as contained in the correspondence, and documents connected with the Ross Rifle brought down by the government before the adjournment. These records are still somewhat incomplete, inasmuch as certain important parts of the correspondence has to date been suppressed by the government. When these portions have been supplied however the justification for Mr. Murphy's motion of censure may be even greater than it is to-day.

Labored Defence.

In spite of a long and labored defence of the government's action (or lack of action) in connection with the Ross Rifle since the war commenced, delivered by the Premier before adjournment; in spite of the fact that after his effort had failed to convince the House, Hon. Arthur Meighen, Solicitor General, and special pleader of the Government was called upon for a further defence, the history of the Ross Rifle since the commencement of the war remains a **story of negligence, indecision, vacillation, and procrastination** on the part of the administration in power, whose duty it was to see that Canada's troops were equipped with a rifle in which they could have complete confidence.

Outstanding Facts.

It is now known to the public that **3,000 Canadians at the Battle of St. Julien threw away Ross Rifles for Lee Enfields** taken from British casualties on the battlefield. It is known that as a consequence Sir John French, following a report made by a committee of experts in June of 1915, **rearmed the Canadians with Lee Enfields before they again went into action.** It is known that **without having ordered a complete test of the rifle under war conditions,** the Canadian Government enlarged the chamber of the Ross and that the Second and Third contingents were later armed with it. It is known that despite this change the government was advised on May 12, 1916 that **"a serious situation had arisen with regard to the Ross Rifle."** It is known that on May 28 of the same year Sir Douglas Haig reported that **the Ross Rifle was less trustworthy than the Lee Enfield,** and advised that **the Canadian troops be rearmed with the latter weapon.** It is known that on June 8, Sir Robert Borden was advised that **the British War Office would like**

to see the Canadian Government undertake the manufacture of the new British weapon. It is known that on June 21, after the Battle of Zillebeke, Sir Douglas Haig reported that the Ross Rifle with enlarged chamber had failed to stand the test of battle, and again advised the rearming of the Canadian troops, which was later done. It is known that on July 5th Sir George Perceval informed the Premier that the War Office would be glad if no more Ross Rifles should be seen to England, and that on July 11th Bonar Law requested that no more be sent, and advised that the government undertake the manufacture of the new rifle. It is known further that in the summer of 1916 Sir Charles Ross offered, to adapt his factory in seven months, to make the new weapon.

And yet despite all these undisputed facts when parliament reassembled in February 1917 it was asked to approve an appropriation of \$2,666,000 for 80,000 more Ross Rifles. A year ago no specific order has yet been given to the Rifle Company for the new pattern Enfield.

Chronological History.

To fully appreciate the situation a chronological account of the history of the Ross Rifle is necessary. On May 17, 1902 a contract was entered into with Sir Charles Ross for the manufacture of Canadian national rifle. The company was to supply the entire needs of the Canadian military and to turn out a minimum of 10,000 rifles a year for which it was to receive \$25 per rifle. This price which is claimed by Conservatives to have been exorbitant is exactly the price which Great Britain has given to the U. S. factories for the Enfield. In the event of war breaking out, however, the government was in a position to look elsewhere for rifles needed over and above the number the company was in a position to supply, the company being required to give notice within thirty days in any such emergency demand, of the number it was in a position to turn out. The type of rifle required was to be specified and approved by the minister but in the event of any change being ordered in the event of a new pattern being decided upon the government was required to give at least two months notice in writing to the company. In the case a standard sample rifle was to be supplied to contractor. The government could specify order a new type of rifle at any time.

Since the making of the above contract different rifles were adopted, the Mark I, Mark II double star, and Mark III. The first pattern was authorized by the late government, the first order for it was placed by the present administration in November of 1911. During the period of nearly three years intervening between that date and the outbreak of war in 1914, no change worth mentioning was made in the weapon. The question of sights was left until just before the war. Consequently there was no proper test of the rifles placed in the hands of the troops.

Contract Justified.

At the outbreak of war the decision of the late government to establish a National arm for the Dominion, and to encourage the erection of the Ross plant at Quebec was amply justified by the fact that at a time when rifles were worth their weight in gold to the Allies, the Canadian troops were alarmed and the first contingent despatched overseas eight weeks after war broke out. But for the existence of the plant long delay might have been experienced in the despatch of the Canadian troops.

Before the war the capacity of the factory was 20,000 a year. It was speeded up from that to 40,000 a day, and according to the testimony of Sir Robert Borden, succeeded in increasing its capacity to a greater extent than any other factory in North America. There has been evidence that the contractor has insisted, since the war broke out, upon the letter of the contract, insofar as the question of requiring a year's notice in case of changes being decided upon is concerned. In reply to a declaration by Hon. Arthur Meighen, made in Montreal in November, 1916 to the effect that "we were bound by the contract made by the late administration," and inferring that on this account the government could do nothing toward changing the arm, Sir Charles Ross made the following statement: "I have always endeavored to assist the government to turn out a rifle satisfactory in every respect, not standing upon the letter of the contract, but acting in the spirit of it." As an evidence of this no less than thirteen changes were made in the rifle since the war commenced, without the required twelve month's notice being insisted upon. In addition to this it may be noted that the government's obligation to notify the company of the number of rifles required after war broke out was not observed and the company had to go ahead in the dark.

The First Canadian Division crossed to France early in 1915, armed with the Ross Rifle. Despite the fact that the chamber of the Ross measured .460, and that of the Lee Enfield .462, Canadian British ammunition was pooled, and there were separate ordnances.

In May the Canadians armed with Ross rifles "saved the day" at St. Julien.

St. Omer Test.

On June 5, 1915, a War Office Committee assembled at St. Omer to test the Ross Rifle. The committee was "unanimous in advising that unless Canadian ammunition were used) the Ross rifle should be employed on lines of communication (not in the trenches), and that if possible Canadian troops should be armed with the British rifle." The committee also stated that "the figuring on the sight was small and more difficult to read than on the Lee Enfield"; that "the magazine case was flat, and that any dent therein would seriously affect the spring"; and that "the loading of the Lee Enfield could be carried out in half the time of the Ross." The

committee, however, admitted that it had not tested certain other points, and in answer to the following suggestion for its consideration, namely "that dirt assembles easily in the bolt head, and owing to the difficulty of cleaning jams are caused" made the following significant reply: "This may be so but the rifles were not tried under dirty conditions."

French Rejects Rifle.

On June 19, 1915 Sir John French, commander in chief of the British Armies wrote to the War Office on the eve of the Canadians going into another action and said: "I have heard rumors that there was a growing want of confidence in the Ross Rifle as evidenced by the fact that the infantry of the Canadian division were taking every opportunity of exchanging their rifles for those of the Lee Enfield pattern from casualties on the battlefield." He then referred to the appointment of the St. Omer Committee and continued: "Looking:

"First—to the unanimous report of my committee that the Ross rifle could not be relied upon to do work smoothly, and efficiently in rapid fire with any ammunition other than that of Canadian manufacture.

"Second—to the fact that no ammunition of this sort is available in this country, and that sufficient supplies couldnt be got from England.

Rifles Thrown Away.

"Third—and to the want of confidence in the rifle which a large number of the infantry evidently felt, as evidenced by the fact that over 3,000 had, without authority, exchanged their rifles for those used by their British comrades, and taken from casualties on the battlefield, "I did not feel justified in sending the division into battle with the Ross rifle, and ordered rearming with the Lee Enfield, which was carried out before they went into action on June 15."

General French suggested that a test by experts should be made, and that Canadian ammunition should be brought out for the purpose. "In conclusion" he said, "I would observe that in my report I have never condemned the Ross rifle, nor have I any sufficient data to justify me in doing so." He suggested a slight alteration in the chamber to fit the British ammunition.

No Test Made.

In July, 1915, the Canadian government, without insisting upon the test advised by Sir John, and taking a suggestion admitted by him to have been based on "insufficient data," proceeded to have the chambers enlarged in Great Britain (not at the factory) from .460 to .462, the same as the Lee Enfield. In August on the recommendation of Sir Sam Hughes this was ordered increased to .464. It will be noted that the St.

Omer Committee admitted that the jamming might have been caused by the fact that "dirt easily accumulated in the bolt head", but declared that they had made no test "under dirty conditions", or in other words, under war conditions. It would seem to have been the duty of the government before grasping at the suggestion of Sir John French, to have had such a test made. It was proven later, after the chamber was enlarged, that this was not the solution. The test above referred to, had it been made, would undoubtedly have saved the bitter experience gained later by the Canadians at St. Eloi, and Zillebeke.

Lack of Foresight.

In justifying the failure of the government to adopt a new rifle following General French's report, the Prime Minister on February 2nd last said: "We must bear in mind that in June and July of 1915, people in this country were not so thoroughly impressed with the duration of the war as they are today. We were looking forward then to the conclusion of the war before June 1916."

And yet Lord Kitchener had predicted a three years' war.

On September 13, 1915 the Second Canadian Division started for France. In January and February 1916 the Third Division crossed over. Both Divisions were later armed with the enlarged chamber Ross.

In February 1916 the Master General of Ordnance made a requisition for 200,000 more rifles. An order was given for half that number, with the enlarged chambers.

In March, 1916, Sir Robert Borden cabled Sir George Perley asking if Great Britain could supply the surplus of rifles over and above the hundred thousand if the war lasted another year.

On April 26 after very considerable delay Sir George Perley replied regretting that the war office was not in a position to allocate from British orders any rifles to the Canadian government. In the meantime the Second and Third Divisions had been armed with the Ross.

In the interval between this and May 12, the mine crater actions of St. Eloi took place, where the Canadians lost heavily, but held their ground.

A Serious Situation.

On May 12, 1916, Sir Max Aitken cabled Sir George Perley in Canada saying that "a serious situation has arisen regarding the Ross rifle" and bidding Sir George show "this telegram to the Prime Minister."

No doubt Sir Max informed Sir George Perley what that "serious situation" was, but so far the government has declined to make that part of the telegram public. The reason given is that the British authorities have objected to its being made public. Sir Max Aitken, it may be noted, however, was an official of the Canadian government, and not of the British government at the time. The record must obviously be in-

complete without the link supplied by the suppressed portion of the telegram in question. The fact, however, that the Canadians had been engaged about that time in severe fighting may indicate the nature of the intelligence conveyed, but not made public.

Turned Over to Haig.

On May 15, Sir Robert Borden cabled Sir Max Aitken as follows: "Have consulted with General Hughes, and decided to leave the matter to the Commander in Chief, after he has made all necessary tests of both rifles under such conditions as are experienced at the front. It is only arm we are equipped to produce in Canada at present and we believe it effective if properly used."

Thus the government after shirking a thorough test of the rifle from June 1915 until May 1916 finally turned the responsibility over to the Imperial authorities.

Haig's Report.

On May 28, 1916, Sir Douglas Haig, commander in chief of the British armies wrote the War Office as follows: "I have the honor to inform you that I have satisfied myself after extensive enquiries, carried out throughout the Canadian corps, that as a service rifle the Ross is less trustworthy than the Lee-Enfield, and that the majority of the men armed with the Ross rifle have not the confidence in it that it is so essential they should possess. The enquiry on which these conclusions is based was the outcome of an urgent application from a battalion of the Third Canadian Division, for rearmament with the short Lee Enfield rifle in consequence of a large percentage of jamming experienced with the Ross during a hot attack on May 1, 1916. I am accordingly of opinion that the Second and Third Divisions should be armed with the short Lee Enfield."

This apparently was the first real battle of the rifle since the chambers were enlarged. The test, made apparently at the cost of heavy Canadian losses, obviously proved what an efficient and thorough test by experts in June or July of 1915 would have proven, namely that there were other features of the rifle than the size of the chambers and the quality of the ammunition which caused jamming. Either that or the enlarging of the chambers ordered by the government was badly carried out.

Alderson's Report.

It may be noted here that a report emanating from General Alderson, head of the Canadian forces, in which severe criticism of the Ross rifle was contained, was made public in Ottawa at the middle of May. Speaking of the publication of that report, in the Commons the next day Sir Robert Rogers declared that those who published it should be confined in the Tower, and the Prime Minister declared that it was not

riotic to discredit the only rifle which it was possible to produce in the Dominion.

On June 5 Sir Robert Borden cabled Sir William Robertson, chief of the general staff, asking if the British government had in view the manufacture of a new type of rifle, and suggesting that if so the present Ross rifle order might be cancelled. On the same date he cabled Sir George Perley with the same enquiry. He estimated the cost of machines, gauges, jigs etc., in order to adapt the Ross Rifle factory to the manufacture of a new pattern, at half a million dollars, the cost to be borne equally by both governments.

Britain Suggests Manufacture of New Rifle.

On June 8, 1916, Sir George Perley cabled Sir Robert Borden as follows: "Master General of Ordnance considers rifle now being made for them in the United States an exceedingly good weapon, and would be glad to see you use the same pattern. The question of money arrangements would have to be taken up officially, but personally I should consider that of minor importance."

It will thus be seen that long before this (in fact it was before the war) the British government had devised and given orders for a new rifle satisfactory to them, and that such rifles on June 1916 were "being made" for them. But for the procrastination of the government after the abandonment of the rifle by the first contingent in July of 1915, the Ross Rifle factory, up-to-date, and highly equipped as it was, could have been turning out the new rifle at a very early date after Sir Robert finally began to consider the question of a new rifle. The new rifle in question was the 1914 model Enfield adapted to .303 ammunition.

But there was to be still further procrastination as the records will show.

Battle of Zillebeke.

From June 27 to June 12, the Canadians were engaged in the Battle of Zillebeke, where the Third Canadian Division, armed with the Ross rifle lost 700 yards of trenches, and suffered heavy losses. These trenches were later retaken by the First Canadian Division armed with the Lee Enfield. The Canadian losses in this battle totalled 13,000 casualties.

On June 21, 1916, Sir Douglas Haig again reported to the War Office as follows: "I have again consulted the G.O.C. of the Second Army, in case any fresh points had come to light during the recent heavy fighting of the Canadians near Ypres. He tells me that his experience of the working of the Ross rifle, during the last fight has only confirmed him in his opinion that the Canadians in the Third Division, at all events, have lost faith in their rifles, and he recommended that the rifles in this Division be exchanged. I am of the opinion that the Lee Enfield should be issued to all three Divisions of the Canadian corps. I must therefore adhere to my re-

commendation of May 28, and urge that the necessary steps be taken without delay."

"Consult Aitken."

On June 24 Sir Robert Borden cabled Sir George Perley referring to the fact that as the question of ordering a further 100,000 Ross rifles was under consideration "it was important that we should have a definite, reliable, and thorough report on the merits of the rifle." He asked Sir George to "consult Aitken, and advise me whether any such report as mentioned above exists."

The somewhat astounding feature about the above cable is the fact that although Sir Robert Borden left the matter to the commander in chief on May 15, that Sir Douglas Haig had on May 28 advised the rearming of the Canadian troops with Lee Enfields, that the Canadians had passed through a terrible battle from June 2 to June 12, and that Sir Douglas Haig had again reported that the results of that battle had only strengthened him in his former convictions, Sir Robert Borden only awakened to the necessity of securing the information desired, on June 24, over a month after the date when he had turned the matter over to General Haig. Even then he told his High Commissioner to consult Aitken about it.

The Final Rejection.

On July 5, after a further delay of eleven days, Sir George Perley cabled informing the Premier of Haig's reports, and saying: "Army Council would be glad if steps could be taken to stop any more Ross rifles being brought to England, it being understood they thereby make themselves responsible for supplying necessary rifles to Canadian troops on arrival here, and they see no reason to doubt being able to do so. Army Council add should Canadian Government be desirous undertaking manufacture of rifle of different pattern, suitable for use during the present war, in their opinion rifle made same pattern now produced in United States for British army, which is on lines Lee Enfield Mark III, embodying improvements probably best one to adopt."

On July 11, Bonar Law, the Colonial Secretary, cabled the Governor General in Council referring to Haig's findings, and asking that "no more Ross rifles be sent to England." He concluded: "If your government desires to manufacture a different rifle suitable for use during the war, the Army Council think the rifle now being produced in America for the British army would be the best."

End of the Ross on Service.

Since that date the British government has been supplying all the rifles used by the Canadian troops, with the exception of 26 Ross rifles supplied to each battalion for sniping purposes. Yet it was

after this date that the **Fourth Division crossed to France armed, with the Ross, which was replaced by the Lee Enfield.**

On July 21, after more delay, the government cabled the British government, requesting them to furnish the Ross Company with specifications.

On August 28 a reply was received to the effect that the new rifle was being made in America. The telegram further said that it was not considered possible by the minister of munitions to obtain delivery from the Ross factory of the new pattern rifle in quantities under two years. The Minister of Munitions is not himself on record on having said this.

Could Make New Arm in Seven Months.

It is to be noted here that **Sir Charles Ross has claimed that during the summer of 1916 he urged the government and Sir Robert Borden to permit him to manufacture the new Enfield rifle.** Hon. Arthur Meighen, solicitor general, speaking in the House on February 5, 1917 said: **"Sir Charles Ross often said he could do it (adapt his plant to manufacture the new arm) in less than a year. . . . My recollection is that he stated seven or eight months."** His opinion, however, was disregarded, though he was the manufacturer, and in spite of the fact that he had succeeded after war broke out in increasing the capacity of his factory from 20,000 rifles per year to 1,000 per day.

On September 5, 1916 a cable was received from England which said: **"Minister of Munitions suggests that if it is desired to change over factory to new pattern for manufacture for Canadian government, it will be very desirable from company's point of view, both as regards financing and shop arrangements, to carry out contract with His Majesty's government (for Ross rifles) while plant is being changed over. On learning that it has been decided that company should take up manufacture of new pattern, Minister of Munitions will render every assistance in his power; he will give instructions that specifications and drawings be prepared in the United States, and will place representative of Ross Company in communication with British experts who are watching manufacture in the United States. Further there is a certain amount of equipment (jigs, and tools) accumulated rifle plant here, and not now required; if this can be adapted to Ross company's plant, Minister of Munitions will be glad to supply it to Canada."**

That the government had not made up its mind what to do even at this late date is indicated by a cable from the Prime Minister to Bonar Law dated also September 5. In this cable the Premier declared that his advisers were impressed with the view that a standard rifle to be called the Imperial Service Rifle, should be adopted by the Mother Country, and the Dominions of the Empire. **If the British government had not decided what rifle would "ultimately" (after**

the war!) be adopted, the government here desired to limit expenditure as much as possible.

A Curt Reply.

To this unique suggestion Bonar Law curtly replied on Sept. 19 as follows: **"It is regretted by the Army Council that it is impossible for them at present to give definite assurance as to the pattern of army rifle to be adopted after the war.** Further experience may modify views now held while the large stock of rifles accumulated at the end of the war may render the adoption of any new pattern unlikely for several years to come. **As regards the present manufacture of rifles suitable for use during the war the Army Council adhere to their opinion conveyed to you on July 11."** That was that Canada should make the new Enfield.

Delayed Action.

Finally after more correspondence about the specifications etc., the Premier recommended to council on November 15, 1916 (four months after the Ross rifle had been definitely discarded) that the company be notified to prepare to turn out the new pattern, on and after December 1, 1917. An order in council was passed to this effect on the same date. In January the standard rifle was secured, and the order in council was amended, postponing the date on which the new rifle was to be turned out to February 1, 1918.

But this hasn't ended the procrastination of the government. It is obvious that in these times, when materials are difficult to secure, and machinery high in price, the company should know how many rifles the government desires before undertaking the entire change of the plant. Astonishing to relate **the company is still engaged in making Ross rifles for the Canadian government, and during the short session, an appropriation of two and a half millions was passed to defray the cost of these!**

Still Considering.

And so far no order for the new pattern has been given to the Ross Rifle factory! "The question" said Sir Robert Borden on February 2nd last, "is therefore under the consideration of the government at the present time, and we shall give our best attention to it." Meanwhile the Ross Rifle Company is not in a position to know whether, at the conclusion of the existing useless order it will be worth while retaining its present expensive, and highly trained staff. **With the United States on the brink of war the necessity of Canada's national plant being utilized for rifle manufacture cannot be overestimated.**

Six million dollars have already been spent on Ross rifles. At the present time there is not a platoon at the front armed with the weapon. And yet the government recently asked parliament for two and a half millions more for 80,000 additional. And no order has been given for the new pattern arm.

Story of Procrastinations.

The responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of the government for the retention of the Ross rifle Mark III in the hands of the troops for two years after the war. If it was not a good rifle the government could have ordered a different type at any time during five years from 1911 till 1916. It must be held responsible for not holding a thorough investigation immediately on receipt of the rumors received in the spring of 1915 that the rifle was not satisfactory. The government was not "bound" by the contract since Sir Charles Ross had repeatedly

declared and shown by his actions that he was prepared to make as quickly as possible all changes suggested. The government must be held responsible for still procrastinating with the vital question of supplying rifles both for the Canadian troops and for the Allies, since the only rifle factory in Canada, the only one on the continent which has lived up to contract stipulations with regard to deliveries is now left with a prospect of having to close its doors in June next because the government after 2½ years of war and of war's experience has not had the pre-vision to determine upon the needs of the situation and to act accordingly.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM.

THE close of the first part of the session of 1917 finds the Liberal record of constructive criticism of the ineptitude of the Rogers-Borden administration unimpaired and impervious to the partisan clamor that the Opposition has endeavored to obstruct needlessly or in any carping spirit the efforts of the government, such as these are, to prosecute the war intelligently and in such manner as to employ to the best advantage the human and other resources of the nation in behalf of the cause of empire.

The attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the party leaders in facilitating the war budget and ensuring the presence of Sir Robert Borden at the overseas conference was the final demonstration, if such were required, of the determination of the Opposition to put no obstacles in the way of the government in the pursuit of the policy it has adopted in relation to the cooperation of the Dominion with the different overseas dominions and the Mother Country in the vital matter of a common purpose. Yet the very attitude of the Liberal party has told heavily against the administration, which is compelled to face the country with its sins of omission and commission unobscured by any partisan allegation of dissention within the Dominion.

Perhaps the most outstanding of the many grave faults in an outstanding record of mismanagement and uncertainty relates to the matter of recruiting and its consequences, as revealed under the direction of the responsible ministers of the crown. Premier Borden without that serious consideration of the contingencies involved in an undertaking of such magnitude; with, in addition, a lamentable lack of knowledge of conditions in this country voluntarily guaranteed to the Mother Country an army of 500,000 men. While such an offer implied commendable and well founded faith in the patriotism and spirit of Canadians, it nevertheless was one which required for its fulfilment executive ability and a sureness and definitiveness of purpose and administration which events have since abundantly demonstrated were not, and never had been, at the command of Premier Borden.

Resourcefulness Lacking.

The result of this policy or lack of policy are today noticeable on every side. Prices have gone up at an astounding rate, labor is almost impossible

to obtain and the agricultural interests of the Dominion, upon which we must depend if we are to recover our former prosperity after the war, have been almost paralyzed in many sections of the country. In this crisis the resourcefulness of the administration was put to the test. How was it met? By the appointment of a commission whose chief function to date has been the collection of statistics from every quarter of the country, the objects of which, the heads of this commission admit, are merely informative, and the urging by speakers and in the press of more or less unintelligible plans to remedy the industrial and agricultural hiatus which is becoming more and more pronounced between the military and productive elements in the Dominion.

Let us note how the conditions in the Dominion appealed to a distinguished American, who has become naturalized because of his sympathy with the cause of the Allies. Speaking in Toronto on Feb. 22 before the Empire Club Mr. Benjamin A. Gould said:—

"The one great endeavor in which it seems to me the Borden Government has failed lamentably has been in the matter of creating and organizing National Service, and if the nature of such service be analyzed it appears inevitable that there should have been a failure here."

The lamentable failure of the Borden government in this department, however inevitable it may appear to Mr. Gould, is not any more pronounced than the failures, and worse, in all departments of the administration in the real test of statemanship which the war has imposed.

The flabby incompetency of the administration, when not complicated with scandals, has been the heaviest burden the Canadian people have had to bear in the most trying time in our history. How much longer are the vital affairs of the Dominion to be permitted to languish? How much longer are the people to tolerate palpable mediocrity in the guise of sedate and dignified statemanship?

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THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE.

Once again it is the Opposition, its criticism, its constructive policies and its achievements which are dominating the Ontario legislature as they did last year and for several years previous to that. Woman Suffrage, one of the principal Liberal policies is becoming law this session, as Prohibition, another Liberal policy, became law in 1916. Newton Rowell, the Liberal Leader, with the co-operation of his able and vigorous colleagues and with the added strength this year of two new members, Hartley Dewart of South West Toronto and Wellington Hay, North Perth is ruling the house as he has done in the past. Agricultural re-organization, upholding of the rights of the Hydro, extravagance in government house, and a growing lack of confidence in the integrity of the Ontario government, mark the session which is now in progress.

Ontario Women Get the Vote.

Ontario is going to experience the same revolutionary changes in the electorate at the next general elections as the Western Provinces, owing to Woman Suffrage. It will be a matter of the very greatest interest to see what percentage of the women exercise the franchise and to what extent their votes differ from those of the men.

There is no doubt as to who has blazed the trail for Woman Suffrage in the Province of Ontario. It has been one of the leading policies of the Liberal Party ever since Newton Rowell became Leader. In this as in a number of important social reforms the Liberals have had the valuable co-operation of Mr. Alan Studholme, the only Labor member in the House. The attitude of the government is also well defined. It has been unalterably opposed to Woman Suffrage every year until now and its acceptance of the Liberal policy of Woman Suffrage, like its acceptance last year of the Liberal policy of Prohibition mark the Conservative government of Ontario, as Wm. McDonald, M.P.P., for North Bruce, said, "a government of trailers."

In the other provinces of Canada, as well as in nearly every other place under the British system, it is the government which rules a country, but Ontario has the unique distinction of possessing such a vigorous and capable Opposition that it is the real governing factor in the province. Time after time in the last few years the government, after unbending and reactionary scorn, has turned round and adopted fundamentally important measures which the Opposition has been advancing in able and active campaigns. One of the leading factors in Ontario public affairs today is this;—if the Opposition, while out of power, can accomplish such great constructive reforms, what will happen when they get into power? It is not difficult to foresee the public answering that they desire to give the Opposition a chance for a fuller exercise of their abilities. And when this Opposition becomes the government it is safe to predict that the greatest era of reform and advancement which the province has ever seen will be ushered in.

It is interesting to show the actual record of Woman Suffrage in the Ontario legislature from 1912 to the present, to illustrate how fully the Opposition, has been the leading factor.

We give, therefore, a brief resume of the efforts of Liberals and Labor to secure Woman Suffrage, from 1912 to the present time:

1912.—Mr. Alan Studholme, Labor member for East Hamilton introduced a bill to grant franchise to women. Mr. Wm. McDonald, Liberal member for North Bruce— to give the legislative franchise to women having the municipal franchise.

1913.—Mr. Alan Studholme re-introduced his bill. Mr. McDonald re-introduced his. Mr. J. C. Elliott, M.P.P., Liberal member for West Middlesex also introduced a bill to grant municipal franchise to married women.

Resolution moved by Mr. Thos. Marshall, Liberal member for Monk and Mr. C. M. Bowman, Liberal Whip, to grant municipal votes for married women.

1914.—Mr. Elliott re-introduced his bill.

1915.—Mr. Elliott re-introduced his bill. Mr. McDonald—a bill to grant the legislative franchise to women qualified to vote at municipal elections.

1916.—Mr. Elliott re-introduced his bill. Mr. McDonald—bill to give the general franchise to women.

From 1912 to 1916 not only did the government reject all these motions, but they also shelved the bills of one of their own private members, Mr. J. W. Johnson of West Hastings, advocating similar reform.

In 1917, the bills of all three members, Messrs. McDonald, Elliott and Johnson were accepted by the government, and have passed their second reading unanimously.

On the second reading of the Suffrage Bills both Sir William Hearst and Newton Rowell made noteworthy speeches.

"Can we justly deny to our women a share in the government of the country and the right to have a say in the making of the laws which they have been so heroically trying to defend?" asked the Premier. And Mr. Rowell emphasized the great democratic basis of the reform. "The women of Ontario", he said, "could exercise great influence for good social legislation and in the difficult problems which will face this country at the close of the war."

Disclosures re Nickel.

Long has it been the boast of the Ontario government that it is a particularly honest aggregation. The efforts, however, of Messrs. McGarry and Ferguson while private members of the House, to block the investigations year after year in the Public Accounts Committee and in special investigating committees, aroused suspicion in the public mind and since these two gentlemen have been admitted to the Cabinet that suspicion has not decreased. Already during this session there have been several disclosures, with the result, as one newspaper said, that the members of the government "looked like men who felt the shadow of Manitoba, British Columbia and New Brunswick was fast gathering about them." One of these disclosures came in connection with the nickel question. It is strange how this issue which the government every little while declares to be dead and buried, revives in a most vital and life-like manner. Samuel Carter, M.P.P., for South Wellington, has battered away at this issue since 1915 and now the Liberals have the co-operation of Hartley Dewart, who has made nickel one of his specialities.

As late as January 4, 1917, the Hon. Howard Ferguson Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines declared, "not one acre of nickel-bearing land has been granted by this government." A statement he had also made the month previous. In his first speech in the House Mr. Dewart showed that nickel-bearing land had been sold last year. The Minister's explanation was that it had been granted to a private prospector. In his budget speech Mr. Dewart showed from searches that he had made in Sudbury, that this private prospector was an employee of the International Nickel Company and that another employee also had been given nickel-bearing lands at the same time. These lands were granted at the rate of \$3.00 an acre. Not only does this situation show the Minister of Lands, Forests and Mines in a most unfortunate and unenviable light, but it makes the public still more suspicious of a government which by an illegal agreement has been allowing the International Nickel Company, a corporation making millions and millions of profit each year, to escape its fair share of taxation although the common people have to pay every cent they owe and are glad to do so to help the war. The latest development show that this same mineral bearing lands in the heart of the nickel country, to employees of the International Nickel Company at the very time they were declaring to the public that not an acre of nickel-bearing land had been granted.

In the course of the debate on nickel Hon. I. B. Lucas, the Attorney-General, made the amazing statement that "immediately after the declaration of war the

International Nickel Company, through their president, offered to turn over to the Dominion government the sole control of the nickel output of their concern.

Good Roads Scandal.

Apart from the nickel question another disclosure which is tending to shake public confidence in the integrity of the Ontario government and to class it with the other provincial Conservative governments which have been driven out of office through corruption, were the charges of Mr. Z. Mageau, Liberal member for Sturgeon Falls, who gave instances of where the people's money had been mis-spent by the government in the north, for political purposes. He said, for example, that instead of spending grants for the benefit of settlers \$1,200 had been spent on the construction of a road to allow his opponent in the last election to have easy access to the latter's ranch and that the other settlers in the district were not benefited by the road. "A large proportion of the money voted for Northern Ontario," said Mr. Mageau, "is being used for political purposes in order to keep up the spirit of Conservative politicians so that at the next election they may vote right." Mr. Mageau claimed that pay sheets were padded and that the province was not getting 50% of the benefits of the money spent. The whole affair he characterized as a disgrace to the Department of Public Works.

Race Track Gambling.

Revelations also in regard to race track gambling and the granting of licenses to race tracks are likely to be an important feature of the session. Questions and notices of motions on this subject put in by Liberal members are standing on the order paper.

Titles.

A short speech by Newton Rowell in regard to hereditary titles has brought a flood of congratulations from the press in all parts of the country—Conservative and Liberal alike. While congratulating Sir William Hearst on the honor conferred on him in knighthood, Mr. Rowell went on to comment upon the recent conferring of the title of "baron" upon a Canadian and pointed out that a statement in the press said that this was the first native Canadian resident in Canada on whom such a title had been conferred. "In the free democracy of Canada," said Mr. Rowell, "we are not improving conditions by importing hereditary titles passing from father to son. If this is the first I hope it may also be the last."

Government House.

Ontario has the most extensive and palatial government house of any province in Canada and indeed has set the pace also for the states of the union. Instead of this being a matter of pride to the citizens of Ontario, however, criticism of what is considered an unjustified expenditure, is constant. The estimate given for the cost of government house at first was \$400,000. The actual cost was well over a million and for the last fiscal year the charges for maintenance and repairs according to the Public Accounts was \$57,000 which represents another million dollars capital. Member after member on the Liberal side has criticized the expenditure. This year not only are they criticizing the total amounts, but they are getting down to details and ferreting out individual items of extravagance which in its total bears heavily upon the people of the province.

For example, 706 tons of coal were bought for government house during the last year. Ordinarily this item perhaps would not command quite so much attention. But with coal such a vital and scarce commodity as it has been in Ontario during the past few months, anything relating to this valuable product commands wide-spread attention. Other interesting items in the accounts for repairs and maintenance at government house are:—

Garment rods and coat hangers.....	\$137.77
Relish jars, dishes, etc.....	259.85
Carpet sweepers, paper and soap.....	59.12
Kitchen utensils.....	560.55
Fire guards, grate blowers, poker, etc.....	337.50
Repairs to and supplies for billiard table....	175.65
Cut flowers.....	684.00

John Grieve, Liberal member for North Middlesex also objected to an item of \$562.00 for stationery, making the comment that each servant at Government House would almost need a stenographer to use up that amount of paper.

Department of Agriculture.

Farmers in Ontario have been openly dissatisfied with the Department of Agriculture in Ontario for a number of years. Re-organization has been forecasted but now that the plans for this re-arrangement are before the House, the farmers seem more dissatisfied than ever.

What at first was thought to be merely a temporary arrangement following the death of the Hon. Jas. Duff is going to remain permanent if the government follows its own will and does not listen to the objections of the Opposition.

The permanent re-organization provides for a Minister of Agriculture with the Prime Minister, Sir William Hearst, as Minister; two deputy ministers instead of the one at present; a Commissioner of Agriculture, Dr. Creelman, Principal of the O.A.C., Guelph, and an assistant to the Commissioner.

The Opposition claim that this is a most complicated and inefficient system. They say that there should be simply a Minister of Agriculture, not the Prime Minister, already overburdened with duties; not a lawyer, as he is, but the most outstanding agriculturist who could be secured, and with him a deputy minister also of outstanding rank such as the late Dr. C. C. James, for example.

The Opposition say that the proposed arrangement amounts simply to this, that the Prime Minister in his spare moments will give some attention to the Department; that Dr. Creelman who remains in Guelph as Principal of the school, will give his spare time to the Department of Agriculture and that this part time arrangement is utterly inadequate. As for the two deputy ministers, the Opposition says that the trouble lies in the fact that the present deputy minister is not a farmer at all nor he has any first-hand knowledge of farming.

This whole question of the Department of Agriculture promises to be an important factor of the session.

Legislative Notes.

All soldiers from Ontario who have enlisted with the Canadian, British or allied naval or military forces, will be given a vote whether they have attained the age of twenty-one years or not.

C. M. Bowman, Chief Liberal Whip, made a statement in regard to the attacks made upon him in the West Simcoe election by Colonel J. A. Currie, M.P. He said that he would not have bothered about what Colonel Currie had said, but Premier Hearst and Hon. I. B. Lucas, Attorney-General, had appeared on the same platform and apparently countenanced Colonel Currie's statements. Mr. Bowman said he did not feel it necessary to waste any time as far as defending himself, or his loyalty was concerned. He had been more than amply repaid, in connection with the attacks, by the many expressions of resentment against such tactics which he had received from the Conservatives of the country of Bruce who had known him for so many years. "When the real history and full record of the war comes to be written," he said, "I know that my record will not suffer by way of comparison with that of Colonel Currie."

THE DR. BRUCE ARMY MEDICAL SERVICE REPORT.

FOR some [time] past considerable has been said and written in regard to the Dr. Bruce report made last Fall on the Army Medical Service Corps in England.

When this (Dr. Bruce) report was made public a Board known as the Baptie Commission was appointed in England to report upon the charges made by Dr. Bruce.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 29th, Mr. G. W. Kyte, M.P. for Richmond, N.S., read a summary of the Dr. Bruce report which was in the form of the twenty-three charges. In this summary Mr. Kyte also gave the findings of the Baptie Board on these twenty-three charges.

For the benefit of our readers we reproduce this summary of the Bruce charges and immediately after each charge we reproduce the summary of the findings of the Baptie Board.

(Note. Summary of the Bruce charges in light face type, the summary of the findings of the Baptie Board immediately after in dark face type.)

1. Soldiers arriving in England medically unfit. **Criticism largely justified.**

2 and 3. Segregation of Canadian wounded and centralization of Canadian hospitals. **Board admits this to be a fair question for argument, but thinks Dr. Bruce's suggestions impracticable and inadvisable.**

4. Unnecessary detention in hospitals. **Board professes to disagree with Dr. Bruce, but admits the justice of much of his criticism.**

5. V. A. D.'s inefficient. **Board thinks criticism unjustified and regrettable.**

6. Shorncliffe V. A. D. hospitals. **Board admits justice of some of the criticism.**

7. Relations with Red Cross. **Board admits justice of some of the criticism. "Glaring departures from service methods passed unnoticed."**

8. Detailling of C. A. M. C. personnel for Imperial service. **Board's opinion disagrees with that of Col. Bruce.**

9. Colonel Rennie in dual role at Shorncliffe. **Board thinks it's all right.**

10. Surgical operations not tending to increase military efficiency. **Criticism partially concurred in.**

11 and 12. Special hospitals Ramsgate and Buxton. **Col. Bruce's criticisms partially concurred in.**

13. Venereal situation. **Criticism partially concurred in.**

14. Infectious diseases. **Board thinks present arrangements all right.**

15. Medical Board situation. **Board thinks Dr. Bruce's words too strong, but "reformation" (a significant word) is essential.**

16. Records. **Criticisms generally concurred in.**

17. Pensions. **Criticisms too strong.**

18. Co-ordination. **Criticisms partially concurred in.**

19. C. A. M. C. personnel not used to advantage. **Board disagrees.**

20. Consulting specialists. **Criticisms partially concurred in.**

21. Discontent as to promotion. **Board thinks this is not abnormal, but a change is recommended.**

22. C. A. M. C. Training School. **Board agrees this has not been properly organized.**

23. Economy in management. **Board thinks there has been economy.**

Thus it will be seen that out of the twenty-three charges contained in Dr. Bruce's report eighteen are concurred in by the Baptie Board.

THE PATRONAGE SYSTEM DEFENDED.

THE amazing defence of patronage put up by the minister of labor at a meeting of the Conservative Association of Ottawa has caused serious thought among the independent thinkers of the Capital and elsewhere throughout the country. The minister, who spoke at the conclusion of an address to the members by Mr. H. P. Hill, a prominent leader of the Association and a protege of the minister's in the settlement of labor matters, went out of his way to drag in the question of reward to party followers over the head of the Civil Service Commission. The minister defended the spoils system quite openly and unrebuked by any of the faithful followers who listened to him in smug satisfaction, rejoicing openly in the stand that to the victors belonged the spoils. The minister made it plain that the party and the government were committed to the policy of putting party workers into soft berths as a reward for services at election time and whenever required. Mr. Crothers flattered the members by alleging that appointees under the spoils system had proved themselves as capable and efficient as those who earned positions by conforming to the Civil Service regulations. All this is pathetic when it is recalled that the much forgotten Halifax platform of the premier contained a strong plank in favor of Civil Service reform. Yet the last few months two of the members of the Rogers-Borden cabinet have come out flat-footed for party spoils. On the floor of the House of Commons the minister of public works in a typically savage assault on the head of the Civil Service Commission announced his determination to disregard the commission whenever it pleased him. Now the minister of labor follows suit. What a wobbly bunch of reformers the administration now consists of!

MR. SEVIGNY THE NATIONALIST.

What the "Orange Sentinel" Toronto stated in its issue of January 25th 1917 in regard to the election of Hon. Albert Sevigny, the new Minister of Inland Revenue.

"The by-election in Dorchester, Quebec, supplies an informing spectacle for the electors of Canada. The candidates are Albert Sevigny, the new Minister of Inland Revenue, and Lucien Cannon, who sat for that constituency in the Quebec Legislature. Mr. Sevigny won his seat in Dorchester in 1911 by playing the Nationalist game. His appeal to the electors of that county was upon lines dictated by Mr. Bourassa. On the present occasion he finds it impossible to talk Nationalism because he is a member of the Borden Government, and must defend the policy of that administration. In 1911, he was the candidate of a party which was not in power, and played the Nationalist to get votes. The situation is different today. He must be more circumspect in his utterances. No doubt that is why he places a greater restraint upon himself than is found necessary by his opponent, Mr. Cannon."

Is a Returned Soldier Obligated to Join a Conservative Association Before He Can be Appointed to a Government Position?

WE HAVE read with astonishment a recent report appearing in a Toronto newspaper to the effect that before a returned soldier can secure a government position it is necessary for him to join a Conservative Ward Association and be passed upon by the patronage committee.

The report states that a returned soldier by the name of Sergt. Joshua Soloman called at the Mayor's office of the city of Toronto on December 26th 1916 and applied for a position. His answer was "Go and join Ward Two Conservative Association and get in line for a Government position." This was told to Sergt. Soloman by the Mayor's Military Secretary, Sergt. Major Creighton who by the way is President of Ward one Conservative Association for the city of Toronto.

Mayor Church has denied that his office is a Tory stronghold and Sergt. Major Creighton has issued a statement explaining why he told Sergt. Soloman to join a Conservative Association. This statement says in part:—

"I told him (Sergt. Soloman) that he had better see some of the Ward Two men and put in his application through the Patronage

Committee. It is no secret that the Government jobs are handled largely by the Patronage Committee."

Another case as to how Returned soldiers are being sidetracked for politicians. A position as Waterworks Inspector was vacant in Toronto. A returned soldier by the name of Private Fred Miller applied. Along comes the President of Ward two Conservative Association, Mr. John Winnett who is also an applicant for the same position and states:

"Its allright to talk about returned soldiers, but we and the government are to look after them. I was born and brought up in the city and I think I should get some consideration particularly as I cannot go to the front."

Again when speaking in the House of Commons, January 30th the Hon. Wm. Pugsley referred to an item which appeared in the St. Johns Daily Telegraph on January 4th 1917 to the effect that certain resolutions had been passed at the recruiting meeting which was held in the city of St. John on the day previous. This recruiting meeting was presided over by the Chairman of the Recruiting League for that Province, a gentleman of the highest standing, prominent and Conservative and a Director of a Company which is building the St. Johns Railway, Mr. Richard O'Leary by name.

After a certain resolution had been passed Mr. O'Leary stated:—

"In spite of the resolution it still is necessary for even a returned soldier to secure the recommendation of the Patronage Committee before he can secure a Government appointment."

The members of the Government and their followers tell us there is no politics in the administration of affairs. What can they say in answer to the above? Has it reached the stage where a returned soldier must be thus humiliated before being compensated even to a small degree for his services to Canada and the Empire?

ACHIEVEMENTS.

"WHAT Has Borden Done?" is the standing interrogation for twenty answers supplied by the Tory propoganda headquarters in Ottawa. Well, one thing the premier has done that should cause his party more regret than all its blunders of omission and commission is the insulting of the respectable element in the Dominion by the presence in London, with the Premier of the Minister of Public Works. That is one thing the electors will not forget at the proper time.

LEGAL, AND BUSINESS CARDS.

See our announcement on Page 127. You should have "your" Card included.

IN LONDON.



SIR ROBERT BORDEN—(introducing Hon. Robert Rogers)— Mr. Premier, allow me to introduce my "Friend, Counsellor and Guide."

PROVINCIAL GENERAL ELECTIONS SINCE 1911.

PROPHETS, whether rightly or wrongly, venture the assertion that the results of the Provincial General elections throughout the Dominion since 1911, strongly indicate what will happen when the Federal General elections are held. We agree that the changes which have taken place in the various Provinces throughout Canada are significant and cannot be passed by without comment.

When Sir Robert Borden took office in 1911, out of the nine Provincial Governments in Canada, five, (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Saskatchewan and Alberta) were Liberal, and four, (New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia) were Conservative. The Province of Prince Edward Island went strongly Conservative immediately after the Federal General election.

The standing therefore was five provinces with Conservative Administrations and four with Liberal Administrations.

We have compiled and give herewith a short history of the general Provincial elections in each Province of the Dominion for the last five years.

Prince Edward Island.

The Prince Edward Island Legislature consists of 30 members, 15 elected as councillors and 15 as assemblymen. In the autumn of 1911 several changes took place in the personnel of the Prince Edward Island Government which was then Liberal. The results of two by-elections defeated the Government and gave the Conservatives, led by Hon. John A. Matheson, K.C., a majority of one seat in the House, thus the standing of the parties were Liberals 14, Conservatives 15 and Independent Conservatives 1.

A general re-organization of both political parties took place. Hon. Mr. Matheson remained as leader of the Conservative party. Mr. John Richards was selected leader of the Liberal party. A Provincial General election was held on January 3rd, 1912 which resulted in the election of, Conservatives 28, Liberals 2. A Conservative majority of 26.

On September 16th, 1915, another Provincial election was held in this Province which resulted in the election of Conservatives 17 and Liberals 13. Thus the Conservative majority of 26 in 1912, was reduced to 4 in 1915.

Nova Scotia.

In the Province of Nova Scotia the Liberal Government has been continuously in office since 1882. The Provincial elections were held in 1911, the writs being issued on May 15th with nominations to take place on June 7th and polling on June 14th. The result of this election was, Liberals elected 27 and Conservatives elected 11. A Liberal majority of 16.

Several by-elections were held, before the dissolution of this Parliament in the Summer of 1916, the standing of the two political parties was, Liberals 24, Conservatives 14. A Liberal majority

of 10. A new redistribution bill was passed which increased the number of constituencies in this Province from 38 to 43.

The Provincial elections took place on June 20th, 1916, the result being the election of Liberals 32, and Conservatives 11, a Liberal majority of 21.

New Brunswick.

The standing of the two political parties in this Province in October 1911, was, Conservatives 34 and Liberals 12. A redistribution bill was passed which increased the number of constituencies in this Province to 48. A dissolution of this Parliament was announced on May 29th, 1912, nominations to take place on June 13th and polling on June 20th. The result of this election was Conservatives elected 44, Liberals elected 2 and Independent Conservatives elected 2. A straight Conservative majority of 46.

Another General Provincial election which resulted in the defeat of the Conservative Government has just taken place. Nominations were held on February 17th, 1917, polling on February 24th, with the result that the Liberal Government has been elected. The standing of the two parties is, Liberals 27 and Conservatives 21. A Liberal majority of 6.

Quebec.

The standing of the political parties in this Province in October 1911 was Liberals 61 and Conservatives and Nationalists 13. A Liberal majority of 47.

A new redistribution bill was passed increasing the number of seats in this Province from 74 to 81. Parliament was dissolved on April 15th, 1912, nominations to take place on May 8th and polling on May 15th. The result of this election was Liberals elected 61, Independent 2 and Conservatives 18. A Liberal majority of 45.

Another Provincial General election was held on May 22nd, 1916, with polling one week earlier. The result of this election was Liberals 75, Conservatives 6. A Liberal majority of 69.

Ontario.

The standing of the political parties in this Province in October, 1911, was Conservatives 78, Liberals 16 and Labor 1, making the Conservative majority 63.

On October 11th, 1911, the Premier, Sir James Whitney announced that the Provincial elections would be held in the very near future. A definite announcement was made by him on October 31st, when the House was dissolved, nominations to take place December 5th and polling on December 11th.

On the same date, namely, October 31st, 1911, at a meeting of the Ontario Reform Association, it was announced that the Liberal leader, Mr. A. G. Mackay had retired. It was also announced at this meeting that the Ontario Parliamentary Committee had unanimously requested Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., of Toronto to be the Liberal leader in this Province.

The result of this Provincial election which was held, as stated above, on December 11th, was the election of, Conservatives 83, Liberals 22 and Independents 1. A Conservative majority of 62.

A redistribution bill was passed which increased the number of constituencies in this Province from 86 to 111. On May 29th, 1914, the Premier, Sir James Whitney dissolved the House and announced that the Provincial elections would take place, nominations on June 15th and polling on June 22nd. The result was the election of 83 Conservatives, 26 Liberals and 1 Independent. A Conservative majority of 57. This election will longer be known as the Rowell "Abolish the Bar" campaign.

Manitoba.

Prior to the Provincial General elections on July 10th, 1914, the standing of the two political parties in this Province was Conservatives 28, Liberals 13. A Conservative majority of 15.

A redistribution bill was passed increasing the number of constituencies from 41 to 49. The Provincial elections of 1914 were announced on June 16th, nominations to take place on July 3rd and polling on July 10th. The result of this election was the election of Conservatives 27 and Liberals 22. A Conservative majority of 5.

During the Session of Parliament which followed, a strong Liberal Opposition made serious charges against the Conservative administration, led by Sir Robert Roblin. Charge after charge of mismanagement was made, with the result that the Government of Manitoba resigned on May 6th, 1915. The Liberal leader Mr. T. C. Norris was immediately sworn in and was called upon by the Lieut-Governor of that Province to form a Government. The personnel of this Liberal Government was announced on May 13th, and gazetted on May 15th, 1915. The Premier, Mr. Norris, immediately took steps for a general provincial election. Parliament was dissolved, nominations were held on July 3rd and polling on July 10th, 1914 which resulted in the election of Liberals 42, Conservatives 5 and Independents 2. A Liberal majority of 39.

Prior to this election which took place on July 10th, 1914, Sir James Aitkin, M.P. for Brandon, Manitoba, resigned his seat as member in the Federal House to accept the leadership of the Provincial party in Manitoba. Sir James Aitkin was defeated in this Provincial general election, as was also Mr. W. H. Sharp, Ex-M.P., who also resigned his seat in the House of Commons to take part in this Provincial election. 15 Conservative candidates lost their deposit.

Saskatchewan.

The standing of the two political parties in this Province in October 1911 was Liberals 27 and Conservatives 15. A Liberal majority of 12.

A new redistribution bill was passed which provided that the number of constituencies in this Province be increased from 41 to 54. A dissolution of Parliament was announced on the 15th day of June 1912, nominations to take place on July 4th,

and polling on July 11th. The result of this Provincial General election was Liberals 43 and Conservatives 8. A Liberal majority of 35.

Alberta.

In October 1911, the standing of the two political parties in this Province was Liberals 34 and Conservatives 7. A Liberal majority of 24. Here also a new redistribution bill was passed which increased the number of constituencies in this Province from 41 to 56.

A dissolution of the Parliament of Alberta was announced on March 26th 1913, nominations to take place on April 10th and polling on April 17th, 1913. The result was the election of 38 Liberals and 18 Conservatives. A Liberal majority of 20.

British Columbia.

In October of 1911, the standing of the political parties in this Province was Conservatives 39, Liberals 1 and Socialists 2.

The Legislature of this Province was dissolved on February 28th, 1912 with nominations to take place on March 12th and polling on March 28th. The result of this Provincial General election was that not a Liberal was elected, and the only Opposition members against the straight Conservative ticket were two socialists. Thus the standing of the parties there was Conservatives 40, Liberals 0, and Socialists 2. A Conservative majority of 38.

A redistribution bill was passed increasing the number of seats to 47.

At the General Provincial elections which were held on September 14th, 1916, the Conservative Government suffered an overwhelming defeat. Liberals elected 37, Conservatives elected 10. A Liberal majority of 27.

Summary.

Thus we find that so far as Provincial politics are concerned when Sir Robert Borden became Prime Minister of Canada he had at his back five Provinces with Conservative administrations; the result to-day is that these have dwindled until only two remain, namely, the Province of Prince Edward Island and the Province of Ontario.

A summary of the figures, given above may be interesting.

Thus we find that in the Autumn and Winter of 1911-1912 out of the 467 Provincial seats throughout the Dominion the Conservatives held 280 and the Liberals 187.

Redistributions added several constituencies in nearly all the Provinces with the result that to-day there are in the Dominion 516 Provincial seats, the standing of which is, 336 Liberal and 180 Conservative. In other words in 1911-1912 the Conservatives held 60% of the Provincial constituencies throughout the Dominion and the Liberals 40%, while to-day the Liberals hold 65% and the Conservatives 35%.

With these changes in the Provincial political arena can the prophets be blamed for coming to the conclusion that there is a wave of Liberalism passing over Canada at the present time? The day has arrived when only honest and efficient Governments will be tolerated.

THE STOCK IN TRADE OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

THE absence of argument on behalf of the Conservative party touching the many questions affecting the public life of Canada at the present time, indicates that at the next Dominion Election they will hesitate to take up their defence of the Government in so far as general matters are concerned, and that resort will be had to the ancient and yet ever familiar topic "**Loyalty**", the mention of which has a tendency to obscure the main issues.

It is extremely unlikely that the Government will dilate upon the once famous Halifax Platform of reduced expenditures, Civil Service Reform, Government Ownership of Public Utilities, Restoration to the Prairie Provinces of the lands they claimed, Repeal of the Naval Bill of 1910, Honest and practical administration, etc., and etc. These items of the Tory programme will be relegated to the back ground.

Their neglect since October, 1911 to deal with the public questions in a masterly manner, will render attention by the Government at the present time somewhat inopportune. Neither do we anticipate that there will be an outburst of enthusiasm over the tongue-tied attitude of the Government supporters when the \$35,000,000 grant was under consideration in 1913, or to the gagging pressure of the dumb Tory majority when the Closure was adopted at the bidding of the Borden-Rogers-Pelletier &c combination, and when the usually accepted doctrine of free speech in the Parliament of Canada received its death blow. We shall look in vain for special reference to the several commissions appointed by this Government (somewhere between eighty-five and one hundred) under the shelter of which escape from responsibility was sought.

We shall hear but little of the Morine Commission that was to turn on the searchlight into every department and reveal a most unwholesome state of affairs, but which had scarcely pressed the button before the generator failed, and the commission with all its boastings came to an inglorious end.

The Transcontinental Railway Commission noted surely for its huge expenditure and empty report has passed almost out of memory, only to be revised momentarily by the appointment of the commissioners to Government positions, one at \$20,000 per year as General Manager of the Intercolonial Railway, and the other more recently to a seat in the Senate, as if the enormous fees paid for this report were not a sufficient load for the country to carry.

The Meredith-Duff Commission having established the charges made by the Liberals in Parliament will meet with slight recognition from the Tory party unless perchance a passing reference to "my guide, counsellor and friend," John Wesley Allison, the promoter of fuse contracts and sharer by way of commission with Benjamin Franklin Yoakum et al in the million dollar rake-off of the money which the people of Canada will eventually have to pay and who are now engaged in a death struggle both financially and otherwise to save themselves and this fair Canada of ours.

The passing of Garland and Foster from the House of Commons on account of drug supply deals and horse deals respectively, will engage but little of the time of Tory orators in their endeavor to make out a case for the Government, and the fact that one of the above named ex-members of Parliament was entrusted with the expenditure of about \$72,000.00, for the purchase of horses, the details of which expenditure have never yet been satisfactorily accounted for, will appear so monstrous a breach of all well-recognized rules of administration that even the most hardened subscriber to the Borden-Nationalist Creed will scarcely venture to make defence.

The failure of the Government to make good its promise of 500,000 men for overseas service will not be defended on the merits of the case, and the charges of gross negligence in supplying our soldiers with the inefficient Ross rifle will be disposed of by specious evasion of the main points at issue. The six year record of incompetency, indecision and maladministration while furnishing a splendid bill of fare for Government supporters to wax eloquent over, we can rest assured that little or nothing will be heard of this, but resort will be had by them to some other method of saving the Administration from overwhelming disaster.

The stock trade of the Conservatives is and has been for some time a deliberate attempt to shout loyalty and raise the cry of Quebec against the Dominion, to whisper up and down the country that we are in danger of French domination, that Quebec has not done its share in recruiting for the War, and that British connection would be sadly in danger should the Liberal party be called upon to govern Canada. The professional Tory politician will strike out boldly and defiantly along these lines, and will not hesitate to consign to oblivion all the mistakes, short-comings and scandals of the Government so long as he can raise his voice and shout in blantant tones "A vote for Laurier is a vote for Bourassa."

He will smother, if possible, the fact that the present Administration is held in the clutch of the Nationalist party, and that from the lowest appointments in the Civil Service to the very highest, a seat in the Cabinet, the hand of Bourassa and his lieutenants is seen and felt. He will say little if anything about the Ne Temere Decree in view of the failure of the present Minister of Justice, Hon. C. H. Doherty to relieve the minds of the member for West Peterborough upon the query "Are we or are we not married" or to assuage the feelings of the member for Frontenac over the much heralded power of Rome.

But he will remain anti-French for the purposes of the election, and seek by every known device to blind the public to the real question at issue.

The people of Canada are wise, however, to these forms of strategy, and will deal with the Government as is right. They will not be turned aside from the path of duty by the subterfuges of the supporters of a discredited Tory government.

LEGAL AND BUSINESS CARDS

WE start in this issue of the Canadian Liberal Monthly what will be known as a Legal and Business page. It often happens that a person residing in one part of the Dominion wishes to communicate with a competent Legal or Business firm in some other city, town, or village in another Province.

This page, we hope will be sufficiently patronized to afford of this opportunity. We can recommend to our readers all persons or firms whose cards

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GOVERNMENT FINANCE.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF CONSOLIDATED FUND.	Month of Jan., 1916.	Total to 31st Jan., 1916.	Month of Jan., 1917.	Total to 31st Jan., 1917.
REVENUE:	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Customs.....	9,780,760 48	78,996,901 31	11,536,092 02	108,868,302 45
Excise.....	1,739,578 48	18,203,670 26	2,109,348 87	20,561,709 96
Post Office.....	1,375,000 00	14,171,339 91	1,731,627 71	15,881,627 71
Public Works, including Railways and Canals.....	3,381,877 74	19,399,097 82	1,907,819 80	21,701,730 86
Miscellaneous.....	1,244,874 70	8,778,903 98	3,762,328 32	20,890,194 89
Total.....	17,522,091 40	139,549,913 28	21,047,216 72	187,903,565 87
EXPENDITURE.....	15,750,217 33	90,219,672 89	18,882,897 99	100,579,403 09
EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT, ETC.				
War.....	12,237,788 24	97,986,686 66	24,074,932 88	194,304,681 80
Public Works, including Railways and Canals.....	1,983,068 54	28,134,950 59	2,031,921 81	20,642,079 16
Railway Subsidies.....		1,217,910 71	211,674 82	275,153 43
Total.....	14,220,856 78	127,339,547 96	26,318,529 51	215,521,914 39

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CANADA'S HIGH COMMISSIONERSHIP.

WORD comes from London that the position of High Commissioner for Canada is to be filled by the appointment of Hon. Robert Rogers.

This must not be. This Honourable gentleman stands to-day with the verdict of "no credence" pronounced upon him for making statements under oath which a judge of the Supreme Court of Manitoba refuses to accept. His debaucheries brought disgrace upon one Provincial Government; surely the Dominion is sufficiently humiliated having him as a Minister of the Crown without seeing him appointed to this high and honourable position. The High Commissionership for Canada, in London, with the right of entree into all the inner official circles of the Empire must not be entrusted to his care.

SOLDIERS VOTE.

When the Soldiers Voting Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons in 1915 not a few of the electors of Canada will remember the attacks made upon the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other members of the Liberal party when they stated that it seemed impracticable for the soldiers' vote to be taken in the trenches.

Vindication of the opinions thus expressed came on January 22nd, 1917, when Sir Robert Borden speaking in the House of Commons stated:—

"I know something of the conditions at the front, and I venture to put this thought before the House and the country: the men at the front will be not only practically, but actually, disfranchised if an election does take place in this country while they are in the trenches. That is my conviction. I say they would be actually disfranchised because, although I render every tribute to my hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) and the committee which had in hand the preparation of the Soldiers Voting Act of 1915, I am not disposed to think that the arrangements made in that Act or in any other act that could be devised are such as to enable those men to vote, or at least any considerable number of them. You cannot predict what conditions may exist. Supposing an election came on in this country when the fiercest drive of the war was taking place. Do you imagine that the paymasters of those regiments and their commanding officers could busy themselves with handing out ballots to men whose souls were engrossed and whose lives were at stake in the enterprise in which they were engaged?"

Sir Robert has evidently seen the "handwriting on the wall" or in other words the result of the soldiers' vote in the recent British Columbia elections.

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But after all why did the Borden Government ever pass a Soldiers' Voting Bill for if there was to be no election until after the war?

IMPERIAL WAR COUNCIL.

In the House of Commons on January 22nd, 1917, when speaking in regard to the Imperial War Council, the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated:—

"We (the Liberal party), therefore, are prepared to say at once to the Government that if they will postpone all other measures of public consideration, we are ready immediately to vote the necessary war credits that may be demanded, and also to grant a vote on account of the ordinary expenditures of the country for the time during which my right hon. friend will be absent from Canada, and to adjourn the House whenever it is convenient over any time that may be necessary to give him ample latitude for his business. I conclude by saying that, though we may differ on many things, upon this thing at all events we shall endeavor to meet the views of our friends on the other side, and to offer every possible facility for the carrying on of the Government of His Majesty the King."



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