

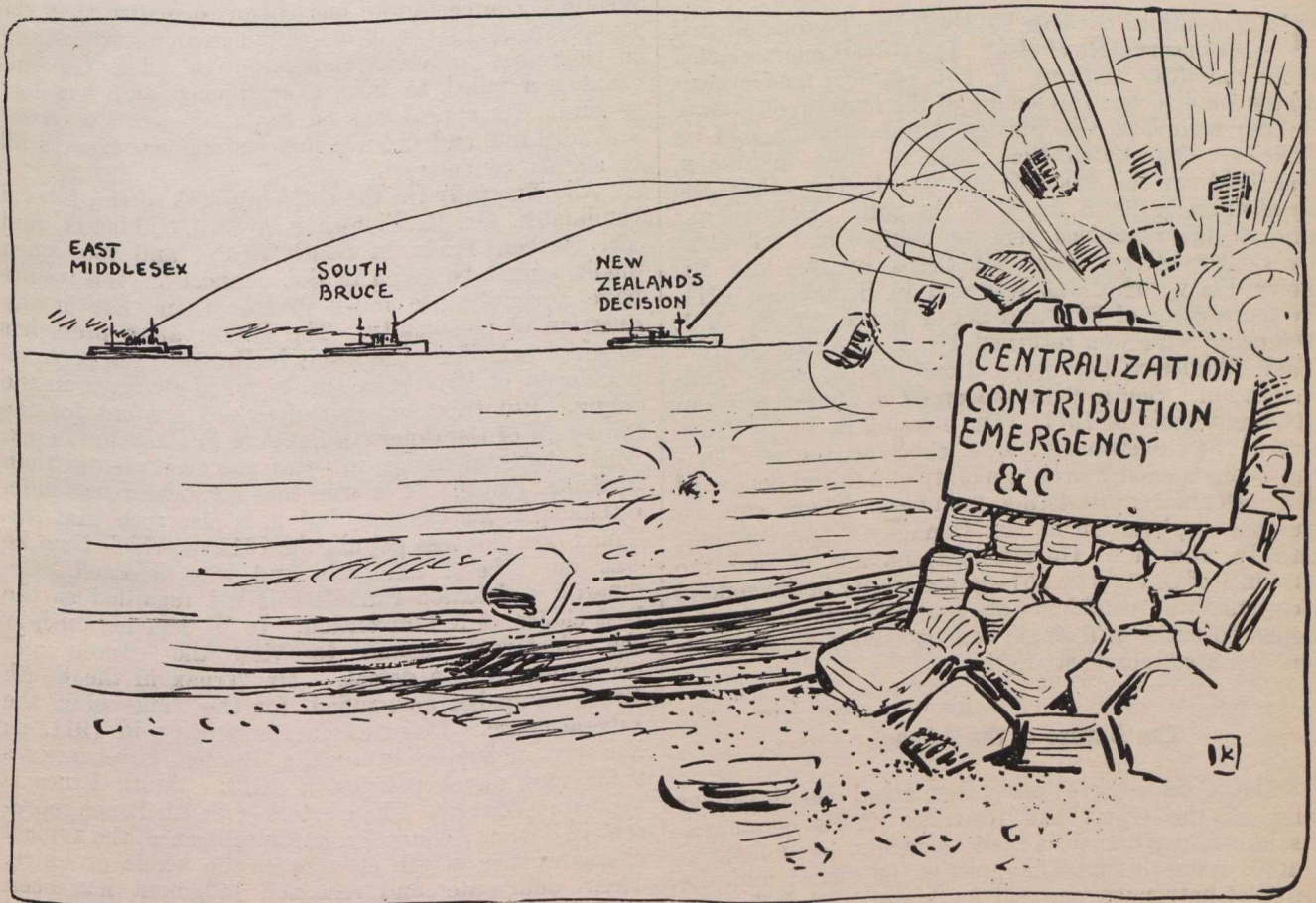
# ***THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY***

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Ten Cents

## **EVENTS OF THE MONTH IN NAVAL CIRCLES.**



- Oct. 21 **EAST MIDDLESEX BY-ELECTION**—Government majority reduced by 293 in campaign in which Conservative Ministers asked for a majority of 1000 as an endorsement of Borden Contribution policy.
- Oct. 28 **NEW ZEALAND ABANDONS CONTRIBUTION POLICY**—And decides on policy of a New Zealand Naval Service, similar to the Australian Naval Service and the Canadian Naval Service as agreed upon at the Admiralty Conference of 1909.
- Oct. 30 **SOUTH BRUCE BY-ELECTION**—Government candidate defeated in a Conservative constituency opened by the Government to test the feeling of Ontario on the Borden policies of Centralization and Contribution.

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## THE ONTARIO BY-ELECTIONS.

THE month of October 1913 will long be remembered in Conservative circles. The Government selected it as the time to bring on two pending by-elections which were to test the feeling of the Ontario electorate on the record of the Borden Administration and its policies. One by-election, that of East Middlesex, was held on the 21st of the month; the other, the by-election in South Bruce on the 30th. Both ridings prior to the vacancies were represented in Parliament by Conservatives; East Middlesex by the late Mr. Peter Elson, who was returned in September 1911, by a majority of 661, and South Bruce by Mr. J. J. Donnelly who was returned by a majority of 103. East Middlesex has been Conservative since Confederation. South Bruce returned a Conservative in 1908 and again in 1911. The election in South Bruce was of the Government's own choosing, the seat having been opened by the appointment to the Senate of Mr. Donnelly, the sitting member. There can be but one explanation of Mr. Donnelly's appointment, namely, that the Government, having carried the Province of Ontario by so large a majority in the general elections, was confident of continued support, and hoped to make in a single constituency a demonstration of its supposed strength.

## The Nature of the Appeal.

The Conservative party contested these ridings with all the talent and resources at its command. Its forces, provincial as well as federal, were concentrated upon them. The prestige of power and the value of patronage were set forth, and such influences as were possible from these sources were exerted to the full. Seven Cabinet Ministers supplemented the efforts of a dozen or more Conservative Members of Parliament who busied themselves on the stump and in personal canvass. Yet with the control of the electoral machinery and an elaborate and generously financed campaign, these many agencies were unable to stem a tide running so strongly against the Government.

In Middlesex, Conservative Cabinet Ministers asked that the constituency should return the Government candidate with a majority of 1,000, as a vindication of the Borden policy of contribution to an Imperial Navy. In South Bruce, the electors were told that the Government had earned their goodwill by its

record and policies, and by the double representation in Parliament, which with Mr. Donnelly in the Senate would result from the return of a Government supporter to the Commons. East Middlesex answered the appeal by reducing the Conservative majority of 661 in 1911 to 368. South Bruce answered by defeating the Government candidate and returning a member to the Opposition. Had it been a general election, where the Government's energies would necessarily have been scattered, and the complexion of the new parliament uncertain, the Liberal figures would have been increased by hundreds.

## Significance of the Results.

There is no mistaking the significance of these results. The electorate has begun to realize that the campaign of 1911 was one of misrepresentation and is beginning to resent the deception. The Government has failed to inspire confidence and has lost ground. Its appeal was on its administrative record and its tariff and defence policies and as respects all it stands condemned.

Allowing fully for the splendid work of the Liberal candidates, Mr. R. E. Fisher in East Middlesex, and Mr. Reuben Truax in South Bruce, and too much credit cannot be given in this connection, the results have a significance much greater than that of any question of personality. The Conservative press has sought to attribute the result in Bruce to the personal popularity of Mr. Truax and to racial elements in the riding. But this obviously does not account for the falling off of the Conservative vote in East Middlesex, where the total change in votes was even greater than in South Bruce. It is true that Mr. Truax was indefatigable in his canvass, but it is also true that Mr. Truax was not less popular in 1911 at which time he was the Liberal candidate and was defeated. Ordinarily a defeated candidate is not regarded as the best choice of a Convention. It all depends on how the electorate comes to view the causes and consequences of a defeat. Mr. Truax in the South Bruce campaign personified for the time-being the Liberal cause. Defeated on Reciprocity in 1911, he has won in opposition to the Borden government's trade and naval policies in 1913. South Bruce is typical of Ontario. The electors of South Bruce represent in descent, education and intelligence, the typical characteristics of the electors of the whole province. Their deliberate and reasoned judgment has been against the Government and in favour of the Liberal policies and record in Parliament. In the returns of East Middlesex and South Bruce is discernable the hand-writing upon the wall which speaks of the future. Were the same test applied with similar results to the rest of the Province and an equal turn-over of votes obtained in each instance the following seats now held by Conservatives would be won by Liberal candidates: East Algoma, Brant, Brockville, North Bruce, North Essex, South Grey, East Huron, South Huron, West Huron, North Lanark, North Middlesex, Northumberland, South Oxford, South Perth, West Peterborough, North Simcoe, Stormont, North Wellington, and North York—a total with South Bruce of 20 seats. That is enough in the province of Ontario alone to drive the Government out of power.

## THE BORDEN CABINET—II. THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

by H. F. Gadsby.



Hon. Robert Rogers.

THE irony of fate has ticketed Premier Borden as Dreadnaught Bob. The name belongs by rights to the other Robert, by rights to the other Robert, to wit Bob Rogers, Minister of Public Works and the real Master of the Administration.

Dreadnaught Bob has never done anything to deserve his swash-bucking title. He dreads building a Canadian Navy; he dreads letting a Canada have too much Home Rule; he dreads the Nationalists and plays up to them; he dreads the people and will not give them a plebiscite, a general election or a redistribution bill; he dreads laying hands on the tariff to reduce the cost of living. In fact wherever there is anything to dread he dreads it. On the other hand Bob Rogers has the courage of his lack of convictions.

The genial Bob for a while kept a general store in a little Manitoba village but the store keeping wasn't a success. The profits were small and the returns were not quick so he shifted to a business where he could spread his soap with better results. He moved to Winnipeg and set up as a statesman.

In a very short time, Bob graduated from Winnipeg ward politics into the Cabinet of Sir Rodmond Roblin whose right hand he became. Within the recollection of men not more than forty years

old today, Manitoba has had three governments. The pioneer government of Norquay, the farmers' government of Thomas Greenway and the real estate government of Rodmond P. Roblin. Bob was very lucky in being a member of the real estate government right up to his ears. He shared the era of expansion. Shared is a poor word to express what he did with it. He was there and helped to keep it blown up by his personal and official influence. He soared with the town lots. In fact when a great many other people were sore from having landed on their backs, Bob was soaring as gayly as ever.

Playing both ends for the middle on a sure thing bet, is the one best way of making money and Bob came out of the game with a silver lining ample enough to double-quilt the firmament.

It would be beneath his merits to say that Bob's good fortune was wholly due to luck. As a cabinet minister he was in a position to know what was going to happen next and as he was a foresighted, forehanded man he was generally there on the spot when a shower of blessing in Winnipeg or on the outskirts showed signs of bursting. In this way he provided bountifully for his old age. What's more he earned his blessings by his valiant services in elections. As Sir Rodmond's opinion of himself swelled he became a sort of practical idealist. He would call Bob in and say: "Do this but don't let me know the details". Some premiers are like that, pure, aloofish, not wishing to know how their success is manured.

At all events, whatever it was, Bob went out and did it to Sir Rodmond's taste, and all went merry as marriage bells. His enemies called him the boss with the little black bag, and his friends spoke of him as a master of inside politics. It was probably six of one and a half dozen of the other. When the reciprocity election came on in 1911, Bob had just the kind of reputation the Borden movement was looking for: He was made responsible from Winnipeg to the Rockies and he delivered the goods. This entitled him to rewards which he was not slow to accept because Sir Rodmond P.

Roblin was growing irritable. It did a lot to straighten matters out when Bob became Premier Borden's Minister of the Interior and Mr. Roblin was made a knight in place of getting the big job at Ottawa.

Bob has made a great hit at Ottawa with the rank and file. The back-benchers idolize him.

It is only fair to Bob to say that he did not win all this appreciation by his oratory in the House. Indeed he talks very much like a scrambled egg, and his elocution recalls nothing so much as the wind moaning through the telegraph wires. But behind closed doors he is said to be a most direct conversationalist and no suitor leaves without a promise or something better. He is a good spender and wears his hair in a rapidly whitening plume which is the outward and visible sign that he wants to be Premier of Canada. His resemblance to Laurier and to the career that great man has had goes no further, however, than his back hair.

Premier Borden has sanctioned and approved the Bob Rogers methods by promoting him from Minister of the Interior to Minister of Public Works, the idea being that a Minister of Public Works can work a constituency better. Bob has given several proofs of his mettle as a buy-electioneer since he was called to Ottawa. On results he has about broken even. In Macdonald where enough Grit voters were imprisoned on false charges over polling day, he won. In the Alberta general election, where he endeavoured to give the province absent treatment, he increased the majority of the Sifton Government.

In Chateauguay, where he was the man on the spot and employed two hundred men in rubber boots to build a dam and wash the river, he elected his candidate by a rubber-boot majority of one hundred and forty-five. Incidentally, he elected a tombstone maker no doubt anticipating a brisk mortality in the Grit Senate. In East Middlesex where the Conservative majority was cut in two and in South Bruce where a Conservative constituency turned Liberal, Bob was not present, and his amateur imitators who were present are just now passing the blame around.

MR. BORDEN IN NEW YORK.

HEREWITH is a facsimile reprint of an article which appears in the New York Herald of Monday, November 3rd in reference to a theatrical dinner given in New York city on Sunday night, November 2nd, to Mr. Cyril Maude, an English actor who played in Ottawa the night before.

It will be a surprise to many Canadians and doubtless of special interest to members of the Lord's Day Alliance to learn that next to the guest of the evening the most distinguished personage present at this Sunday night gathering of actors and millionaires in New York, was Canada's Prime Minister, who had left the Capital on the day previous, owing, it was said, to ill health.

That the gathering was not regarded by Mr. Borden as purely social, but was intended to have an international significance would appear from the nature of the questions discussed by him. Opponents of Reciprocity will learn with interest that the Canadian Premier chose this convivial Sunday night gathering as the means of conveying to the American public his present views on the subject of Reciprocity. Mr. Borden appears to have given to his American entertainers the assurance that Canadians have no objection to a Reciprocity treaty, and to have expressed regret that it had not come to pass.

So astounding in view of his previous attitude are these latest pronouncements of Canada's Prime Minister on the important question of Reciprocity, that many may be inclined to doubt their accuracy. This doubt, however is swept aside by the Montreal Daily Mail, the latest Conservative organ of the

MR. MAUDE DINES AT LOTOS CLUB AFTER MISHAPS

English Actor's Automobile Broke Down and He Was Nearly Arrested.

NEXT GETS FAST RIDE ON AMERICAN TRAIN

Eventually, Half Starved, He Sits at Meat with His Host, Mr. Dodson, and Canada's Premier.

After a fast run in a special train over the New York Central Railroad, Cyril Maude, English actor, who is to appear here to-night at Wallack's Theatre, arrived at the Grand Central Station at nineteen minutes past ten o'clock. In less than ten minutes he was whisked in a taxicab to the Lotos Club, where a dinner was being given in his honor.

At the Lotos Club it was learned from J. E. Dodson, actor, who was the host at the dinner, that Mr. Maude had better wait until Robert Laird Borden, Premier of Canada, had ended his speech. Mr. Borden was not half way through, and after waiting ten minutes Mr. Maude requested that somebody get him a glass of champagne and a chicken sandwich. He got it and ate the sandwich in a few mouthfuls.

Once inside the room he received a fine greeting. He was introduced by Mr. Dodson, who spoke of having met Mr. Maude in England many years ago.

"You have the advantage of me," said Mr. Maude in beginning his talk. "I have still a fairly empty stomach, but my heart is full, and the heart must do the work."

Melville E. Stone, general manager of the Associated Press, was toastmaster at the dinner. He introduced Mr. Borden, Canada's Premier, who remarked facetiously that naturally every statesman liked to get the opportunity to speak, although he had come unprepared. He hinted that the record speech in the Dominion Parliament was three and one-half hours. He thought Mr. Maude might have something to say about Canadian highways.

In regard to reciprocity between this country and Canada, Mr. Borden said that the Canadians had no objection to such a treaty, and that Canada felt that she had done her fair share toward it. He said that he regretted that it had not come to pass, but, he added, "Canada will conduct affairs so as to be the bond between the United States and the British Empire."

Among others at the dinner were Charles Burnham, W. H. Crane, Charles Cherry, Walter T. Damrosch, Daniel Frohman, Charles M. Schwab, W. M. K. Olcott, Mortimer L. Schiff, Bartow S. Weeks, Colonel Percy Holland,

Prime Minister in the Dominion, which prints in its issue of Monday, November 3rd, a despatch from New York, which confirms the account as given in the New York Herald of the same date. The despatch, as it appears in the Montreal Daily Mail is as follows:

MR. BORDEN AT THE LOTOS CLUB.

(Special to the Montreal Daily Mail.)

"New York, Nov. 2.—Mr. Borden, Premier of Canada, and Cyril Maude were the guests of honor at a dinner given by the Lotos Club this evening.

"Mr. Maude left the Russell Theatre in Ottawa last night at 11.15 in a touring car in an attempt to be present at the beginning of the dinner this evening. The car, however, broke down, and after much delay Mr. Maude turned up at the Lotos Club about 11 p. m.

"Mr. Borden in a brief speech said Canadians did not object to Reciprocity as such, but what they objected to was the means employed in the attempt to achieve it."

Another despatch in the Daily Mail of the same date, is as follows:—

PREMIER INDISPOSED IS ORDERED TO REST Leaves for New York on way to Virginia Hot Springs

(Special Staff Correspondence)

"Ottawa, Nov. 2.—The health of the Right Honorable Mr. Borden is causing his friends serious misgivings. For some time past the Premier has manifestly been far from well, and, acting on medical advice, he has gone away to recuperate from exhaustion brought about through overwork. He has been ordered to take a rest of a month or six weeks. . . ."

ON ST

## THE U. S. TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY.

### The Government's Attitude on the Trade Question.—An Exposure.

THE Conservative party has issued from its distribution office at Ottawa, a pamphlet relating to the Tariff. "**Canadian markets, Canadian autonomy and Canadian Fiscal Independence saved by the Conservative Party**" appears in large type upon the cover, and in smaller type "**Repudiation of Trade agreement with Washington further justified by the letters of Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, by reductions in United States Tariff and by comparative Canadian and United States prices.**" One would naturally expect to find within the pages of this document some justification of these assertions; oddly enough, the contents, upon careful reading, disclose the very opposite of what it purports to prove.

The question of trade between Canada and the United States, whether it arises from a change of existing duties under reciprocal agreement or from independent alterations of its tariff by either country, necessitates a consideration of consequences from three main points of view: 1. the political effect; 2. the effect upon producers; 3. the effect upon consumers. This pamphlet purports to make a comparison of conditions as they might have been under Reciprocity, and conditions as they have come to be in consequence of the Wilson-Underwood Tariff. What does it show?

#### I

#### Political Considerations.

Take, first, the questionable "adjunct" letter of President Taft, which is quoted: "Meantime the amount of Canadian products we would take would produce a *current of business between Western Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States.* It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York." Logically this quotation should be followed by statements and arguments to show how this "current of business" from the north to the south had been prevented. Instead the pamphlet is mainly devoted to showing that a very material increase in the "current of business" from north to south is the great benefit to be derived by Canada from the lowering of duties under the Wilson-Underwood Tariff; and this result is hailed as a triumph due to Conservative astuteness. The pamphlet thus proclaims the party victory through the defeat of Reciprocity in 1911.

"The Liberal-Conservative Party in 1911 predicted that if Canada simply maintained her position and her policy she would get for nothing what the Liberals wanted her to buy, and they held that the United States was sure to lower its very high tariff anyway."

The statements quoted are followed by tables containing lists of articles made free of duty on entry into the United States under the new Tariff.

But what of the Conservative position in 1911? It was the danger to be apprehended from an increase of trade from north to south which was dwelt upon to the exclusion of all else; it was this very "current of business" between Canada and the United States which Mr. Taft said would make Canada "only an adjunct of the United States" and which Conserva-

tive politicians said would "lead to annexation." The channels of trade, they said, should be East and West, not North and South, and in this, for very obvious reason, the politicians were supported by the railways.

But if increase of trade between Canada and the United States from north to south was politically injurious to Canada under the terms of the Reciprocity agreement, how much more injurious politically should prove the results of the Wilson-Underwood Tariff? Now the change is all one way, all the letting down has been on the one side only without corresponding or other reductions to help maintain the balance. Reciprocity, with its reductions in the Canadian Tariff, would at least have afforded some offset to the tide which may now flow too precipitously the one way, and so have helped to postpone the evil hour of annexation, and the break in British connection, which according to Tory prophecy is to follow the outpouring of Canadian trade into the United States. The Conservative party, if it is to be consistent in its loyalty, and really believes what its leaders said in 1911, should immediately place export duties on all articles affected by the reductions in the American Tariff. The only alternative policy to save the situation is to so lower Canadian duties that at the worst the balance of trade may be kept at least where it is. But a change of this kind would be *Reciprocity* and Reciprocity is professedly abhorrent to the Tory mind!

The truth is that this one-sided reduction of the Tariff by the United States with regard solely to its own interests and without thought of the possible consequences to Canada, has rendered imperative a consideration of the Canadian Tariff with a view of effecting economic re-adjustments which had been carefully considered under the proposed Reciprocity Agreement in the making of which Canada had a voice. In the shaping of the Wilson-Underwood Tariff, Canadian interests, save in so far as they further the material ends of the United States, have been wholly ignored.

But to return to the Conservative pamphlet, and, as it suggests, look at its tables: They are three in number headed as follows:

(1) Articles free by reciprocity agreement which are free by the new United States Tariff.

(2) Articles not mentioned in reciprocity agreement which are to be made free by the new United States Tariff.

(3) Articles taxed by the Reciprocity agreement and made free by the new United States Tariff.

These three tables, it will be noted, have one feature in common, they all relate to articles which are *made free by the United States Tariff.* That means, of course, free of entry into the United States. One can understand tables of the kind finding a place in a trade pamphlet of the Liberal party, because the Liberals have consistently advocated *wider markets* as an outstanding feature in Liberal policy, but it is difficult to see just how they can find a place in a pamphlet designed to show that the defeat of Reciprocity was a national blessing.

## II.

### The Position of the Producer.

Aside from its glaring inconsistencies, what is the real purpose of this pamphlet? Its aim, clearly, is to make it appear to Canadian producers that they have done better by the reductions of duty under the Wilson-Underwood Tariff than they would have done under the Reciprocity agreement, and it seeks to create this impression by conveying through its three tables the idea that more Canadian articles are to be free of duty upon entry into the United States under the Wilson Tariff than would have been the case under Reciprocity. But is the inference which it seeks to convey true?

As respects the articles in Table 1 the producer's position so far as entrance into the American market is concerned is the same as it would have been. Here are the articles as set forth:

**Cattle, swine, sheep and lambs, rye, buckwheat, corn, fresh milk, fresh cream, eggs, grass seeds, oysters, lobsters, shrimps and other shell fish, salt, asbestos, crude, barbed wire, extract of hemlock bark, cream separators, typesetting machines, cooke, timber, hewn, squared or sided, sawed boards, planks, deals and other lumber, pickets and palings, wooden staves, fish.**

If it is an advantage to the Canadian producer, that all these articles should go free of duty into the United States, may it not, in all fairness be asked, what about the other articles that were to have been free under Reciprocity and of which no mention is made in this list? What, first of all, about wheat, which is the staple product of the Canadian West and which was to have free entry under Reciprocity? What about, barley, oats and other varieties of grain not mentioned? What about hay? and straw? What about horses? what about potatoes, turnips, onions, cabbage and all other vegetables in their natural state? What about apples, pears, peaches, grapes, berries of all classes, and all other edible fruits in their natural state? What about poultry butter, cheese and honey? These are all staple products of which Canada has a surplus for export. We are searching the world over for markets for these products today. Here is a great market of ninety millions of people right at our doors along a frontier boundary of nearly 4,000 miles. Under Reciprocity, Canada would have had, not merely free entry but an exclusive entry, in other words, a *preference* over all other countries in the markets of the United States for all these products. To approvingly quote some articles, and to omit all reference to other products is equivalent to admitting that, as respects the latter the Wilson Tariff has not been as beneficial to producers as was the opportunity secured under the Reciprocity agreement—which, of course, is true.

But this Conservative pamphlet, under this same heading goes on to say:

**"Wheat will be free if Canada removes duty on wheat, wheat flour and other wheat products; otherwise duty will be 10 per cent instead of 25 cents per bushel."**

**"Potatoes will be free if Canada removes duty; otherwise 10 per cent instead of 25 cents per bushel."**

What is the implication here? That as respects wheat, flour and potatoes, Canada had better remove her duties. But that is straight Reciprocity, nothing more, nothing less, with every objection to it that could possibly have been urged against the Agreement of 1911. The only difference is that whereas condi-

tions of reciprocal trade as they would have existed under the Agreement of 1911 were the result of joint conference and joint agreement, the conditions imposed under present circumstances are at the sole dictation of the United States.

The second table contains hardly a single article of which Canada has any surplus for export. It, therefore, stands for little or nothing, so far as indicating any real advantage gained by the change in the American tariff. But that the free entry into the United States of articles, *in addition to those contained in the Reciprocity Agreement*, no matter what they are, should be set forth as a gain to Canada in a pamphlet of a party, which fought Reciprocity on the ground that it was making Canada the back yard of the United States is amazing beyond words!

The third table is even more surprising. It quotes approvingly a list of articles now free of duty which it alleges were "taxed by the Reciprocity Agreement." These, like the articles in table 2, are not of a kind that Canada has a surplus for export, so they really indicate little or no gain. But apart from this, under the Reciprocity Agreement, no new taxation was imposed either by Canada or the United States. Every change that was made, was in the nature of the complete abolition, or a reduction of taxation.

## III.

### The Position of the Consumer.

As to the consumer's position this pamphlet is ominously silent. The reason is only too apparent. In the practical working out of the new conditions of trade between Canada and the United States, the Canadian consumer is going to be hit harder than ever, his food taxes especially will be increased. Under the Reciprocity agreement, there was the removal of a certain amount of taxation by both the United States and Canada, for the *mutual benefit* of consumers in the two countries. Now the American consumer alone benefits, and he does so *at the expense* of the Canadian consumer. Not only does the Canadian consumer not get the benefit of going into the American market and thereby securing in his purchases such advantages as a reduction in the duties on these articles coming from the United States into Canada under Reciprocity would have afforded, but he is now obliged to look on while the ninety million consumers in the United States are free to purchase at will any of these and many other articles in the Canadian market in competition with himself. In one thing, and one alone is the Tory party consistent in its attitude towards the trade question in 1911 and at the present time. It was prepared in 1911 to ignore the benefits which Reciprocity would have brought the Consumer in the remission of taxation on the food which the people eat, the implements they have to use, and other articles they need to buy. It is prepared to ignore the consumer still. Indeed, it would seem from this pamphlet a source of satisfaction to the conservative party, that the food monopolists and other special interests in Canada have had their position of privilege enhanced, by the break in the tariff wall of the United States which allows American consumers all the benefits of the Canadian market, whilst Canadian consumers are excluded from every advantage in theirs.

BITTER MEDICINE.



PREMIER BORDEN (Contemplating golf in Virginia):—"Out of sight, out of mind."

SIR WILFRID LAURIER AT TEESWATER, OCTOBER 28.

"We are growing as a national people, and as a national people we are prepared to undertake all the duties and responsibilities which appertain to a people. Speaking for myself and the others who are about me, we are prepared to take our share to relieve Britain of the necessity of defending us. This is a duty which every Canadian whether of French, British or German origin should be prepared to undertake—to defend the trade of Canada and to relieve the British taxpayer of the necessity of defending Canadian interests."

"I wish no better evidence of progress than the prosperity which we gave to Canada during those fifteen years of our administration."

"For great principles the Opposition in the House of Commons fought day and night. When the Government found they could not break down the solid front of the Liberals they put on the 'gag'."

"The present Administration at Ottawa is the most retrograde and most reactionary which ever sat in Canada from the days of the Family Compact of evil repute."

"We have seen the transformation of Britain from an aristocratic country to a democratic country under the government of Liberals."

"Have we come to it in this year of 1913 that the principles of responsible Government for which our fathers fought, and which they gained at great cost are so far forgotten, that when the Senate of Canada appeals to the Government to submit its action to the sanction of Parliament, it is to be allowed to ignore the appeal?"

"I have placed before you at some length, the issues which are to be determined in this contest between my friend Mr. Truax, the champion of one policy, and Mr. Cargill, the champion of the other. More than that I have no right to do, and more than that I would not do. . . . It is for you to draw your own conclusions. But, let me remind you, the franchise is the most sacred of all the trusts. I know what it is to be a party man. I do not pretend to be anything else. But there is a limit to which party allegiance is due, and when you see a line of conduct which you cannot, in your own conscience, reconcile with yours, then, sirs, follow the steps of those who have set their principles before party."

"The Borden Naval proposals were conceived in iniquity and mendacity and have ended in discomfort."

"The emergency was simply the difficulty of the Borden Government with its Imperialistic supporters on the one hand, and the reactionary tendency of the Nationalist supporters on the other."

## THE U. S. TARIFF AND THE CANADIAN CONSUMER.

ON October 3rd, the Wilson-Underwood tariff became operative in the United States. It is too soon to gauge the effect of the new tariff on Canada, but there can be no doubt that it can only be in the direction of increasing the cost of living to the people of the Dominion. The United States has lowered its tariff avowedly for the purpose of helping to reduce the cost of living in that country. That the lowering of the American tariff will benefit some Canadian producers is true. But that it will do so at the expense of Canadian consumers is equally certain.

### Lost Opportunities.

The Conservative party in striving to accomplish the defeat of Reciprocity contended that the Americans would lower their tariff anyway. Liberals admitted the probability of the American tariff being lowered but urged this rather as a reason for securing Reciprocity than as a ground for defeating it. Under Reciprocity, they claimed, Canada would gain admission into the American market for products which she has a natural advantage in producing, and gain as well in that market a preference over all other nations. To let the opportunity pass was, they held, not only to lose this preference, but to leave to the sole caprice of the United States the selection of such products as would be admitted free or upon reduced rates. To permit selection in this way, when it might be avoided through the known terms of a reciprocal arrangement was not only to be indifferent to what was best for Canadian production, but also to wholly ignore the possible serious effects of this kind of indiscriminate selection upon Canadian consumers.

How true all this has proven to be, is now wholly evident. Canada has lost the preference she would have had. She has lost the opportunity of exporting free of all duty, commodities such as wheat, hay, barley, horses and the like which might have been exported under Reciprocal agreement at great profit to producers without affecting Canadian consumers at all; and the Americans have made selections less beneficial to producers, and of a nature to seriously affect the interests of all consumers. Take the single item of cattle. The announcement of free entry of cattle to the United States served to immediately enhance the price of beef to Canadian consumers.

But this is the smallest part of the evil so far as Canadian consumers are concerned. The framers of the Reciprocity agreement saw that producers would benefit materially by the wider markets; but they saw, too, the danger to consumers in an arrangement which was all one-sided. Where, therefore, the American tariff was lowered the Canadian tariff was lowered also, though on account of the higher rate of duties in the then existing American tariff, the total reductions in the American tariff greatly exceeded those of the Canadian. But that was not all. Under the Reciprocity agreement the Canadian consumers' interests were specially cared for by the reduction of duties in the Canadian tariff on most of these articles of food which may be classed as among the necessaries of life. The prices of many of these articles, it was recognized were controlled in Canada by Combines and under trade agreements.

### Benefits Lost.

Here are some of the benefits which Canadian consumers would have obtained under Reciprocity, which they do not now obtain under the one-sided change that has taken place.

#### A reduction of duties on the necessaries of life as follows:

- On **Bacon and ham**, a reduction of  $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per lb.
- On **Pork**, barrelled in brine, a reduction of 18 per cent.
- On **Fresh or refrigerated meats**,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per lb.
- On **Beef, salted in barrels**, a reduction of  $\frac{3}{4}$  cents a lb.
- On **Canned meat and canned poultry**, a reduction of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.
- On **Lard**, a reduction of  $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per lb.
- On **Salt**, a reduction of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  cents per 100 lbs.
- On **Prepared cereals** a reduction of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.
- On **Oatmeal and rolled oats**, 10 cents per 100 lbs.
- On **Flour** a reduction of 10 cents a barrel.
- On **Biscuits, wafers and cakes** a reduction of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 per cent.
- On **Pickles, sauces and ketchup** a reduction of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.
- On **Canned corn, beans, tomatoes and other canned vegetables** a reduction of  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent per lb.
- On **Fruit in air tight cans** a reduction of  $\frac{1}{4}$  cent per pound.
- On **Vermicelli and macaroni**, a slight reduction.
- On **Cement** a reduction of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per 100 pounds.
- On **Bituminous coal** a reduction of 8 cents per ton.

#### The removal of all duties on Fish as follows:

- On **fresh, smoked or kippered herrings**, a reduction of 1 cent a lb.
- On **Salted herrings**, a reduction of 50 cents per 100 pounds.
- On **Halibut, Salmon and other fish**, a reduction of 1 cent a lb.
- On **Lobsters** a reduction of 25 per cent.
- On **Oysters** a reduction of 10 cents a gallon.

#### The removal of all duty on Fresh Fruits and Vegetables as follows:

- On **Apples**, a reduction of 40 cents per barrel.
- On **Pears**, a reduction of 25 cents per bushel.
- On **Peaches**, a reduction of \$1.00 per 100 pounds.
- On **Grapes**, a reduction of 2 cents a pound.
- On **Blackberries, raspberries, gooseberries, strawberries**, a reduction of 2 cents a pound.
- On **Dried apples**, a reduction of 25 per cent.
- On **Dried peaches, pears and apricots**, 25 per cent.
- On **Potatoes**, a reduction of 20 cents per bushel.
- On **All other vegetables**, a reduction of 30 cents per bushel.

But the advantage to Canadian consumers under Reciprocity did not end with the reduction of duties on natural products, food stuffs, and other necessaries. On farm implements and machinery necessary to production, farmers, as consumers, would also have gained by a reduction in duties.

In the place of all these reductions in the Canadian tariff, which would have meant a substantial gain to Canadian consumers, there has been substituted, through the Wilson-Underwood tariff, a letting down of American rates on most of these articles going from Canada into the United States, with no corresponding or any reduction in the Canadian tariff. Whatever advantage comes from purchasing in a larger and freer market is secured by the American consumer to the extent of the reductions made in the American tariff. All that the Canadian consumer gets is the disadvantage which comes through being one, not of eight millions as before, but of ninety-eight millions purchasing in a market the size of which remains unchanged. It is pretty clear that the combines and the food monopolists in Canada understood their business better than the Canadian consumer did his, when they attacked Reciprocity.



## THE PRIME MINISTER'S TROUBLES

**T**WO years of office have aged Premier Borden. The noble shock of iron-grey hair which crowned his head in 1911 has turned white. The quiet and re-posed constitutional lawyer who used to be leader of the Opposition now looks harrassed and care-worn. The worries of the Premiership, the tangles of politics, the constant anxieties of place-making, place-filling and place-holding have told on his health. To prevent a nervous breakdown, to bring again sleep by nights and cheerful energy by day, he has left the Capital for another six weeks' quiet holiday. Earlier in the summer he holidayed for six weeks at St. Andrews, N.B. This time he has fled with his golf sticks to the Southern States. He will not return for a month or so, or open Parliament before January.

In the fifteen and more years of his Premiership, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with the exception of his Imperial Conference trips, his western tour in 1910 and during election campaigns, was never away from his post at the Capital for more than a week or so at most in any one year. Twice during the present Parliamentary recess Mr. Borden has felt compelled to drop the reins for weeks at a time and "steep his senses in forgetfulness".

Why should Sir Wilfrid have stood so well the strain of fifteen years of office while Mr. Borden after only two years as Premier needs a complete respite of nearly three months in one Parliamentary recess? The reason lies clearly in the contrasted conditions of party leadership, of political outlook, of political freedom and of political bondage. Firm leadership, clear vision, loyal support, honesty and sincerity of purpose and steady achievement made for a serene mind in the case of Sir Wilfrid. The task invigorated because the fruits were good. But with Mr. Borden the inheritance of troubles has steadily multiplied. The past, the present, and the future rise continually up to plague him.

Political leadership, always a difficult and nerve-trying task has been peculiarly hard and harrassing in his case. He won office

through compromises and intrigue. On the tariff, he is pledged to the vested interests on the one hand, and confronted on the other with the consumers and the high cost of living. He is dependent for continued power upon evasion and subterfuge in maintaining the alliance of Nationalists and Conservatives; and because of that he sees no way clear for him on the issue of naval defence. He has no loyal or strong support in the Cabinet on which to lean, and no one in sight to call to his aid. The Cabinet, has been from the first a makeshift affair and he has allowed each minister to be a law unto himself; the result has been an accumulation of troubles brought back to rest on his own shoulders.

These are some of the general causes of Mr. Borden's nervous troubles. Rest and forgetfulness may temporarily alleviate, but the disease needs more drastic remedies.

Mr. Borden probably foresees what the operation will be. Perhaps none will welcome it more than he.

### NEW ZEALAND ABANDONS CONTRIBUTION.

**E**VENTS have moved swiftly to vindicate the stand taken by Liberals on the naval issue at the last Session of Parliament. Of the alleged "emergency" there is scarce an echo left. Both Great Britain and Germany have calmly dispatched parts of their fleets on pacific cruises to the Mediterranean and to South American waters. The policy of fleet centralization in the North Sea has been mutually abandoned. In England, Tory Jingoism is devoting its energy to fighting Home Rule and Lloyd George's land reform proposals. In Germany the people are aroused by the revelations of the Krupp methods for fostering war scares and militarism.

And now New Zealand has come to show Mr. Borden the better way. On October 28th, Premier Massey of New Zealand announced that the smallest and numerically the weakest of the Sister Dominions had abandoned the policy of contribution and had decided to adopt

the policy of building a navy of her own on the same lines as the Commonwealth of Australia. An immediate order is to be placed for the construction of a cruiser of the Bristol type at a cost of \$2,000,000—the same kind of vessel planned for the Canadian naval service by the Laurier Government, and condemned offhand as being useless and obsolete by the Conservative-Nationalist allies. This is to be followed by the construction of other vessels for a complete fleet unit, the establishment of local naval bases and the organization of a local naval service under Admiralty advice, just as Australia has done, and just as Canada would be doing to-day if courage and honesty ruled the mind of the Government instead of political expediency.

Even the Tory press in Great Britain, which but a year or so ago lauded Premier Borden's centralizing policy of contribution, has now changed its tune. Says the *London Times* of October 29:

"We have long maintained that the creation of local flotillas, while they cannot completely provide for naval security, must be an essential part of any adequate and lasting system of common naval defence."

The *London Morning Post* of October 29, hitherto staunchest supporter of Mr. Borden and the Centralizers says:

"New Zealand launches herself upon the blue waters of the Pacific, like a true chip off the old block, with pluck and devotion. It is, we are more and more convinced, the right policy for our antipodean Dominions. It will help teach them the realities of life and will go to give them strength and self reliance from the Naval point of view. It will at first mean a certain loss of strength and unity, but in the end may add more to our Imperial strength than anything which could be hoped for from a cash subsidy policy."

But Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party in Canada are [forsooth, disloyal for trying to do the same thing that the loyal people of New Zealand and Australia are doing!

Surely the last has been heard of the cant Tory phrases about "separatist" and "tin-pot" navies.



DIARY OF THE MONTH.

BY-ELECTION CONTRASTS.

- 1913.
- Oct. 2 F. B. CARVELL, M.P. and J. H. SINCLAIR, M.P. at CANSO, N.S., on the tariff and the fishing industry.
- Oct. 3 UNDERWOOD TARIFF goes into effect in U.S.; formally signed by PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON.
- Oct. 4 CHATEAUGUAY NOMINATIONS: HON. SYDNEY FISHER (L). JAMES S. MORRIS (C); Chateauguay campaign participated in by the following Liberal speakers:  
 Hon. Messrs. Lemieux, Graham, King, J. P. B. Casgrain, Chas. Marcl, Jacques Bureau, Jeremie Decarie, Achille Bergevin, M.L.C., Messrs. L. J. Gauthier, M.P., P. A. Seguin, M.P., D. A. Lafortune, M.P., Jos. Demers, M.P., G. Boyer, M.P., Roch Lanctot, M.P., J. A. Robb, M.P., L. J. Papineau, M.P., Honore Mercier, M.L.A., S. Letourneau, M.L.A., E. C. Smith, K.C., A. B. McMaster, K.C., Wm. Patterson, K.C., J. A. Dubeau, S. Charpentier, E. L. Calder, A. F. Leggatt, J. M. Forest, Louis Bazinet, L. J. A. Rivet, M. P. Mallette, W. Mitchell, Oscar Gladu Muir Sangster, Robert Ness.
- SIE WILFRID LAURIER at ST. JOHN'S, QUE. discusses necessity of tariff revision to meet increasing cost of living.
- ET. HON. HERBERT SAMUEL, Postmaster General of the United Kingdom at Toronto, says it is for the self governing Dominions to decide for themselves their own Naval policy.
- Oct. 8 SIE WILFRID LAURIER at ORMSTOWN, QUE., with HON. MESSRS. FISHER, LEMIEUX, GRAHAM, MARCIL, and E. L. CALDER. Liberal leader says Dominion surplus of fifty millions and increased cost of necessaries of life, call for tariff revision.
- Oct. 9 SIE WILFRID LAURIER with HON. MESSRS. GRAHAM, LEMIEUX and MARCIL at STE. MARTINE and CHATEAUGUAY BASIN.
- Oct. 11 CHATEAUGUAY BY-ELECTION consequent on the death of Mr. J. P. Brown, (L).  
 Number of Registered Electors, 3163.  
 MR. JAS. MORRIS (C).....1,412-145  
 HON. SYDNEY FISHER (L).....1,267  
 Representation changed.  
 1911 (Sept.) (3414) 1908 (Oct.) (3328)  
 J. P. Brown (L) 1281 Jas. P. Brown (L) 1397  
 Jas. Morris (C) 1241 Campbell Lane (C) 1092  
 Corruption in CHATEAUGUAY charged by Liberal Organization, who declare that the election will be protested.
- Oct. 14 EAST MIDDLESEX NOMINATIONS AT LONDON: R. G. FISHER (L). ALD. S. FRANK GLASS (C)  
 HON. W. S. FIELDING announced as President and Editor-in-Chief of the Montreal Daily Telegraph.
- Oct. 15 MESSRS. HUGH GUTHRIE, M.P., R. G. FISHER, and G. S. GIBBONS at EALING in EAST MIDDLESEX campaign.
- Oct. 18 SIE WILFRID LAURIER, HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, and MR. JACQUES BUREAU at JOLIETTE, QUE., on necessity for tariff reduction.
- Oct. 21 EAST MIDDLESEX BY-ELECTION consequent on the death of MR. PETE ELSON (C).  
 Number of Registered Electors (5862).  
 Mr. S. F. Glass (C) 2,053-368  
 Mr. R. G. Fisher (L) 1,685  
 Representation unchanged.  
 1911 (Sept.) (5862) 1908 (Oct.) (5864)  
 Mr. Peter Elson (C) 2477 Mr. Peter Elson (C) 2369  
 Dr. G. A. Routledge (L) 1816 Dr. G. A. Routledge (L) 2120
- Oct. 23 SOUTH BRUCE NOMINATIONS: R. E. TRUAX (L); W. D. CARGILL (C).  
 MR. H. GUTHRIE, M.P., and HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN at subsequent joint meeting.  
 SOUTH BRUCE CAMPAIGN participated in by the following Liberal speakers: Hon. Messrs. Graham, Murphy and King; Messrs. W. M. German, M.P., Hugh Guthrie, M.P., F. F. Pardee, M.P., D. C. Ross, M.P., A. B. McCoig, M.P., J. Angus McMillan, M.P., P. H. Mackenzie, ex-M.P., Wm. McDonald, M.L.A., C. J. Mickle, Jacob Stroh, J. B. Campbell, J. G. Murdock, Mayor Henderson of Walkerton.
- Oct. 24 GROSS MISMANAGEMENT BY GOVERNMENT AT HUDSON'S BAY TERMINALS exposed in the press.
- Oct. 25 H. E. H. the DUKE OF CONNAUGHT returns to Ottawa. CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL PREMIERS opens at Ottawa.
- Oct. 27 CANADIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE at REGINA demands revision downwards of tariff and 50 per cent British Preference as step toward free trade with Great Britain.  
 CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL PREMIERS decides against fixed representation for MARITIME PROVINCES.
- Oct. 28 NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT announces that NEW ZEALAND will drop IMPERIAL NAVAL CONTRIBUTION POLICY and start a naval service of its own.  
 CONFERENCE OF PROVINCIAL PREMIERS passes resolutions demanding increase of provincial subsidies to equal 10 per cent of customs and excise duties.  
 SIE WILFRID LAURIER at TEESWATER, S. BRUCE, with HON. MESSRS. GRAHAM and KING and Mr. R. E. TRUAX: Mr. J. G. Murdock in the chair. Liberal Leader contrasts policies and administrations of Liberal and Conservative Governments, and denounces endeavour of Borden Executive to free itself from control of Parliament.
- Oct. 30 SOUTH BRUCE BY-ELECTION consequent on appointment of J. J. DONNELLY (C) to the Senate:  
 Number of Electors (7,547):  
 R. E. TRUAX (L) 2948-115  
 W. D. CARGILL (C) 2833  
 Representation changed.  
 1911 (Sept.) (7,547) 1908 (Oct.) (7812).  
 J. J. DONNELLY (C) 2878 J. J. DONNELLY (C) 3005  
 R. E. TRUAX (L) 2775 P. MCKENZIE (L) 2812
- Oct. 31 PREMIER BORDEN leaves OTTAWA for holiday in the Southern States.

IN the first two years of the Laurier Administration from 1896 to 1898, there were 21 contested by-elections. In 8 of these the Liberals won seats held by the Conservatives. In 9 cases the Liberal majorities were largely increased. In only one case (Centre Toronto) was the Liberal majority at the general elections decreased to any extent. In only 2 cases did the Conservatives succeed in holding the seat and in each of these cases the majority obtained at the general election was very greatly decreased. In the remaining case, North Ontario, a Patron won the seat from the Conservatives.

Some of the turnovers were remarkable. In Macdonald, for instance Rutherford, Liberal was elected by 536 majority in 1897 while in 1896, Boyd, Conservative, was elected by 398. In South Brant, Hyde, Liberal, was elected by 391 majority in 1897 while in the general election of 1896, Henry, Conservative, was elected by 91. In Bagot, in 1896 the riding went Conservative by acclamation; Marcl, Liberal, was elected by 47 in 1898. In Cornwall and Stormont, Snetsinger, Liberal, was elected in 1897 by 592 majority as compared with a majority of 325 for Bergin, Conservative in 1896. In Winnipeg where Hon. Hugh John Macdonald (Cons.) won by 126 at the general election, Jameson, Liberal, won by 1,117 in the by-election of 1897.

In the first two years of the Borden administration there have been seven contested by-elections. In one case, Hochelaga, Hon. Louis Coderre, on appealing for re-election after entering the ministry, was opposed by a Labor-Nationalist candidate. In the six other contested elections the Government candidates won in Macdonald and Chateauguay and East Middlesex while the Liberal candidates won in South Renfrew, Richelieu and South Bruce. In two years of office, despite prestige of power and the unscrupulous election methods employed, the Borden Government has been able to barely retain its original majority in the Commons. In Macdonald the election will have to be fought over again. Rather than face disclosures in the courts as to the methods employed by the Conservative machine to win the by-election last autumn, Alex. Morrison, the member-elect, has, on the advice of Hon. Robert Rogers, declined to fight the protest and has admitted irregularities, voiding the seat. In South Lanark, which has now been vacant for eight months, no date has yet been set for the by-election.

Compared with the by-election record of the first two years of the Laurier administration, when eight seats were won from the Conservatives and the net gain in Liberal majorities was 3,562, the results of the Borden Government's seven appeals to the electors in by-election contests is significant indeed. In the last three by-elections, Chateauguay, East Middlesex and South Bruce, the net result has been to decrease the popular majority for the Government in the Commons by 426 votes. The inference is clear.

"The late Liberal Government gave Canada a progressive and honest administration. So far as any misconduct has been charged against the Government which lost power two years ago, I am proud to say there is no man in this audience who has reason to blush for the administration he supported."—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at Teeswater, Oct. 28.

## THE POLITICAL WEATHER CHART.

IT looks like a hard winter ahead for Premier Borden. The political weather forecast is storms, fog and heavy winds. The danger signals are flying all over the Dominion.

In British Columbia, the Oriental immigration problem is acute and Mr. Borden finds that the storm he fomented while in Opposition is now breaking on his own head.

In the prairie provinces, the agitation for wider markets and lower tariff is steadily growing. The pre-election promise to turn over to the prairie provinces their natural resources presses for fulfilment. The Macdonald by-election reappears.

In Ontario, the results in South Bruce and East Middlesex tell of the gathering storm of protest against lack of any action to relieve the steadily-mounting cost of living; against the continuance of the Nationalist alliance; against militarism and waste and extravagance and graft; against reactionary Toryism and the attempted subversion of the principles of responsible Government.

In Quebec, the ministerial representation in the Cabinet is so weak as to oppose no check to the resurging tide for Laurier and Liberalism. The Chateauguay election protest clouds threaten lightnings that will show up the dark places of Ministerial by-election methods.

In the Maritime provinces, Mr. Cochrane's administration of the Intercolonial, his attempted raising of rates, his rough-shod methods and his lack of tact have roused the wrath of thousands of Conservative voters. Mr. Hazen is in hot water in St. John and Mr. Borden in Halifax over rival local interests and neither can give way.

Over the whole of Canada lie the clouds of Rogerism; of increased taxation and doubled expenditures; of administrative scandals and inefficiency; of patronage evils; of the restriction of trade, of parliamentary free speech and of parliamentary control of expenditures; of vested-interest privilege at the expense of the masses. There is no rift in the clouds. Is it any wonder the Prime Minister has gone to Virginia for six weeks?

## The Victor of South Bruce.



Mr. R. E. Truax, M.P.

## SEVEN YEARS OF BRITISH LIBERALISM

"The present Liberal Government is now nearing the end of its eighth year of office. During that time we have been able to put the taxation of the country on a more equitable and productive basis. We have reduced the National Debt by the best part of one hundred millions. We have set on foot and put into active and beneficial operation old-age pensions and national insurance. We have settled, as we hope and believe, in South Africa, one of the most delicate and difficult questions that has ever arisen in our dominions over the seas. We have maintained—might I not say we have advanced?—the position and authority of Great Britain in the councils of Europe. And last, but by no means least, we have curbed the power of the House of Lords to obstruct and mutilate Liberal legislation. That, as you and I consider, is a pretty good record."—*Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, before East Fife Liberal Association, Oct. 27.*

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## BRITISH LIBERALISM'S NEW TASK.

BRITISH Liberalism has embarked on another great social reform. Unjust monopoly and privilege is being attacked in another great stronghold. At Bedford on October 11th the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, launched the proposals of the Asquith Government for a radical readjustment of the land-holding rights of the hereditary land barons of Great Britain. A new Magna Charta for the masses of the people is contained in the proposals he outlined as follows:

A living wage for the laborer, with decent home, garden, and prospects of an ultimate allotment.

Removal of discouragement to tenants to improve and develop land by securing the benefit of their improvements and compensation for damage by game.

The equipment of the cultivator by instruction, expert advice, improved transport, and the prohibition of undue preference given by railway companies to foreign products.

Great facilities to the State for the acquisition of land, whether for immediate or prospective use, on terms fair to the community as well as to the owner; and power taken to deal with owners who have no power, means, or disposition to spend the necessary capital in developing the land.

The powerful aid of the State, both by legislation and administration and by finance must be invoked to carry these purposes into effective operation.

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