

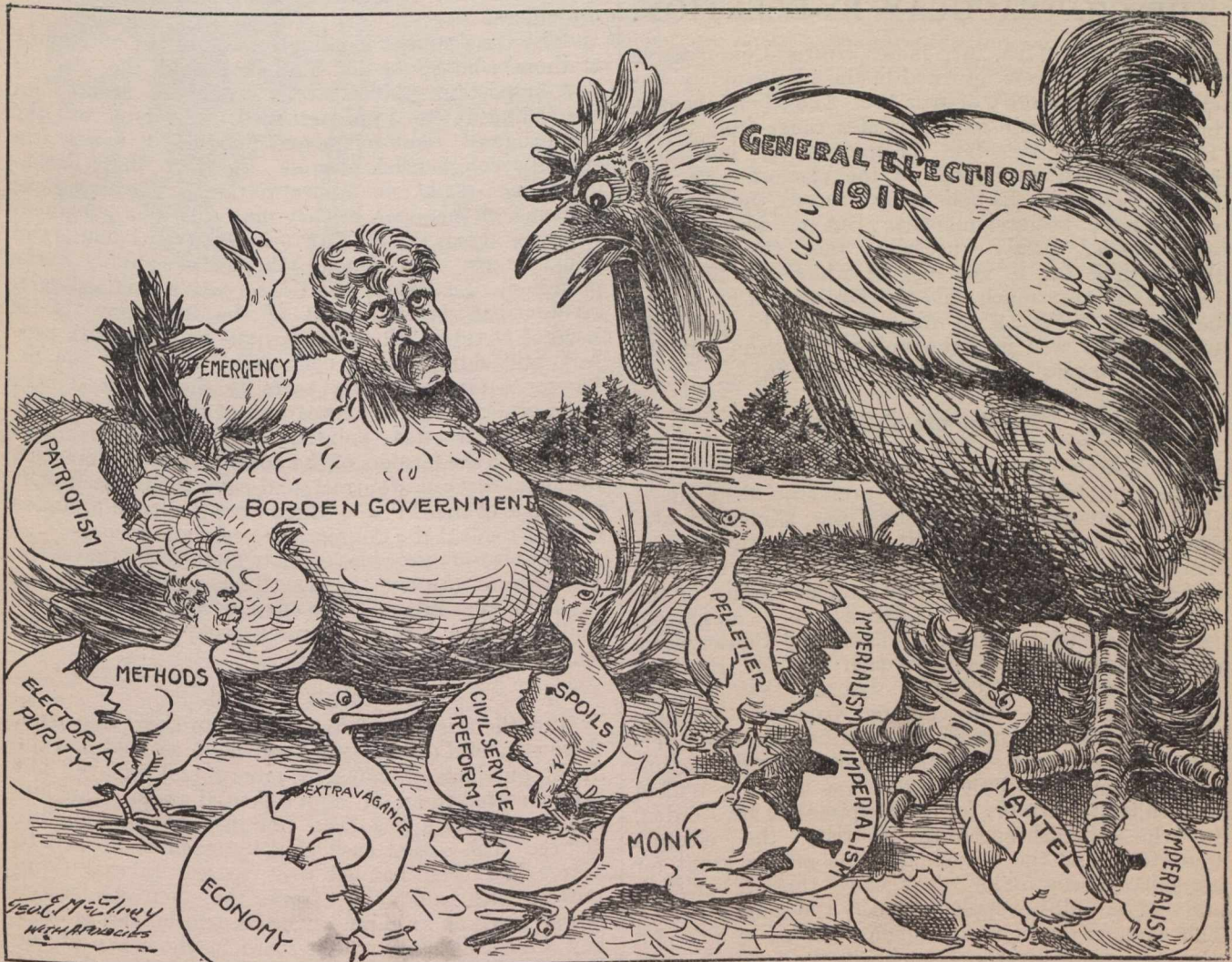
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"MADAM YOU HAVE DECEIVED ME!"



In the elections of 1911 the "loyalty" cry and the cry of "British connection" constituted a large part of the stock in trade of Mr. Borden and his followers. This was accompanied by promises of Electoral Purity, Honesty and Economy in Administration, Civil Service Reform, etc. etc.

To-day the electorate is undeceived. Instead of a Conservative Administration, a Nationalist-Conservative Coalition has been formed with the entire French-Canadian representation in the Cabinet of Nationalist persuasion. In the first session nothing was heard of Naval Defence. During the second session, an abortive "emergency" was brought upon the stage as a means of escape from a permanent policy of effective co-operation.

Machine methods and corruption have characterized by-elections where the public had been promised electoral reform. Instead of Civil Service Reform the Spoils System has been worked on an unprecedented scale; and for Economy and Honesty in Administration, the country witnessed at the last session appropriations amounting to over \$250,000,000, in contrast to a total expenditure in the last fiscal year of the Laurier Administration of \$122,861,250—an increase of over 100 per cent.

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THE CHATEAUGUAY BY-ELECTION.

ON October 11th, Mr. James Morris, Conservative Candidate, was returned in the Chateauguay, by-election by a majority of over 100. The official recount has not been made and estimates range from 100 to 144. Had the election been won by honorable means and on an appeal to the electorate by the Government upon its policies and record, the outcome might have been significant. But no such appeal was made, partly because the Government's record thus far is not one of which its followers care to say very much, and the Ministry is careful to be equally silent as to its policies. The result in Chateauguay was not the voice of Canada but the voice of Rogers and the party machine.

The Tribute of Blood.

Instead of the Prime Minister or any of his Cabinet making a clearcut pronouncement upon the Government's Naval policy, the Ministers carefully avoided going into the riding until the last hours of the contest. Meanwhile party followers and workers were sent and the familiar tactics of the Nationalist-Conservative alliance were employed. In speaking to French-Canadians, the Conservative candidate and his supporters said that Mr. Borden's proposed gift of \$35,000,000 was all that was intended, that his policy differed from Sir Wilfrid's in that it did not invoke any sacrifice of men or permanent assistance to Britain. In other words, the impression sought to be conveyed was that Sir Wilfrid was willing to do more for the Empire than Mr. Borden. In the English-speaking districts the electors were told that the \$35,000,000 was only a grant for immediate needs, for an "emergency" that still existed, and that it would be supplemented by a permanent policy. This game of duplicity was further worked by a careful distribution among the French, on the last two days of the contest, of a campaign sheet in the guise of a paper styled *L'Opinion*; and which under the heading: "The Two Naval Policies" set forth "Mr. Laurier's policy not only to give \$35,000,000 but two costly fleets, and men besides." **The Tribute of Blood** was the designation given to this last alleged feature of the Laurier policy, and extracts from speeches of Sir Wilfrid and Liberals in Parliament denouncing the sending of empty ships to Britain were quoted to convey the impression that this distinguished Sir Wilfrid's policy from Mr. Borden's.

Bribery and Corruption.

As for the rest, the campaign as waged by the Conservative party was mainly an appeal to local prejudices and jealousies, and an undisguised attempt to influence the constituency by promises of large public expenditures and other favors at the hands of the Administration. Secretly an effort was made on an unprecedented scale to corrupt the constituency by the use of money and whiskey.

Every device to handicap the Liberal candidate, the Honorable Sydney Fisher, was adopted. By heavy payments the exclusive use of all livery horses and conveyances by the Conservative party for the entire campaign, was obtained. Halls were bought up that Liberal meetings could not be held, and the specious cry of "outsider" was raised to foster local prejudices.

The Government candidate, Mr. Morris, and many of those who spoke on his behalf told the electors that important public works would be secured for the riding if he were returned. A dam on the Chateauguay river to prevent flooding in spring was actually commenced, despite the fact that Parliament has made no appropriation. The insidious influence of this open bribery may easily be imagined. A bridge across the St. Lawrence between Lachine and Caughnauga was among the other public works promised. *La Patrie*, the Conservative French organ in Montreal, devoted most of the front page of its issue of October 8th to an account of this costly project, publishing in this connection a plan of the St. Lawrence and adjoining parts of the County likely to be benefited, and a photograph of the style of bridge proposed. It was pointed out that this bridge would give the farmers of the county immediate access to the markets in Montreal, and save them the freight exactions of the C.P.R. There were the usual promises of good roads if the Conservative candidate won.

The electors were also given to understand that if Mr. Morris were returned the constituency of Chateauguay would be kept intact at the ensuing redistribution, but that it would lose its representation if the Government's candidate were defeated.

A Protest Entered.

But there is abundant evidence to show that even these shameful efforts would not have availed had the direct purchase of votes by money and whiskey not been resorted to on an unprecedented scale. Tangible evidence of this has been obtained to an appalling degree. The actual cash paid by machine workers to voters has been handed over to the Liberal Committee with affidavits from the men to whom it was given as an intended bribe, and bottles of whiskey were collected by the score in the wake of the Government machine workers. But this is a phase of the situation which may be well be left to the Courts, where it will be dealt with forthwith. The local Liberals have demanded a recount and will potest the election.

If Mr. Fisher's defeat serves to disclose to the people of Canada, the baneful influences and curse cast upon this Dominion by the introduction into Federal politics of the machine methods which have so blighted public morality in Manitoba, it will be worth a hundred victories to Liberalism and the cause of good Government in Canada.

THE BORDEN CABINET—I. THE PRIME MINISTER

by H. F. Gadsby.



Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden.

WHEN Canada kicked Sir Charles Tupper downstairs with great heartiness in 1900 that stout old hero picked himself up, scraped the mud out of his hair and promptly handed over the leadership of the Conservative party to Robert Laird Borden. All the other possible leaders had too much past. For eleven years Leader Borden fought the clock waiting for Sir Wilfrid Laurier to die or quit. During that long time the Conservative party in the House had a chance to tire of their leader whom they had spoken of at the outset as a thorough gentleman and a great constitutional lawyer. In eleven years his reputation on both counts had started to fray at the ends. His own side said they would prefer less decorum and more action. They spoke privately of his frequent expository visits to the British North America Act as "stodgy" and began to yammer for constructive leadership—which was something Mr. Borden didn't have. Rufus Pope was one of those who wanted to start something. He was the big ballyhooper in a numerous movement to substitute a Head of Hair at Victoria, B. C. a Head of Hair at Ottawa yecept R. L. Borden. Since then Rufus has been choked with butter—he is now a Senator. The other

conspirators have also been killed with kindness, but that their heart's desire not more than three years ago was Borden's downfall they cannot deny. Meanwhile on March 29th 1909, Leader Borden solemnly opened his mouth and solemnly put his foot in it by delivering a speech in which he gave thirty-four reasons why Canada should have a navy of her own on the Laurier model. Incidentally he foreswore contribution and all such unpatriotic works. Three years later Premier Borden swallowed this speech, bones and all, turning himself inside out to do so. It was a great feat in contortion.

On September 25th, 1911, Leader Borden became premier through the defeat of Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the reciprocity issue. Sir Wilfrid, good sportsman that he is, scorned to play safe. No plebiscites for him. He considered that a bedrock Liberal policy, such as freer trade, was good enough for a general election. On Leader Borden's side were money and the old flag. On Sir Wilfrid's side were a good cause, argument and statistics. As George M. Cohen aptly remarks, the old flag has saved many a bum show—Borden won out. In Ontario Leader Borden joined hands with the food monopolists and yelled "more navy". He also said that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was not British enough. What couldn't be said on the platform about Sir Wilfrid Laurier's race and religion was whispered on the side lines. In Quebec Leader Borden lined up with the Nationalists. Henri Bourassa was an instrument ready to his hand. Also he hated the navy because it was the Laurier navy. To Henri, Borden said "Come, we will slay Laurier". To the Nationalists who believed in Bourassa and hated the navy on its own account he said "No more navy until you have voted on it". The Nationalists took him at his word. Thus did Robert Laird Borden, looking two ways for Sunday, chase the devil around the stump in dear old Quebec.

To Henri Bourassa fell the choosing of the Cabinet Ministers from Quebec. The two samples he wished on Premier Borden were Pelletier, whose policy is to change the name of the post office wherever he can't fire a Grit postmaster,

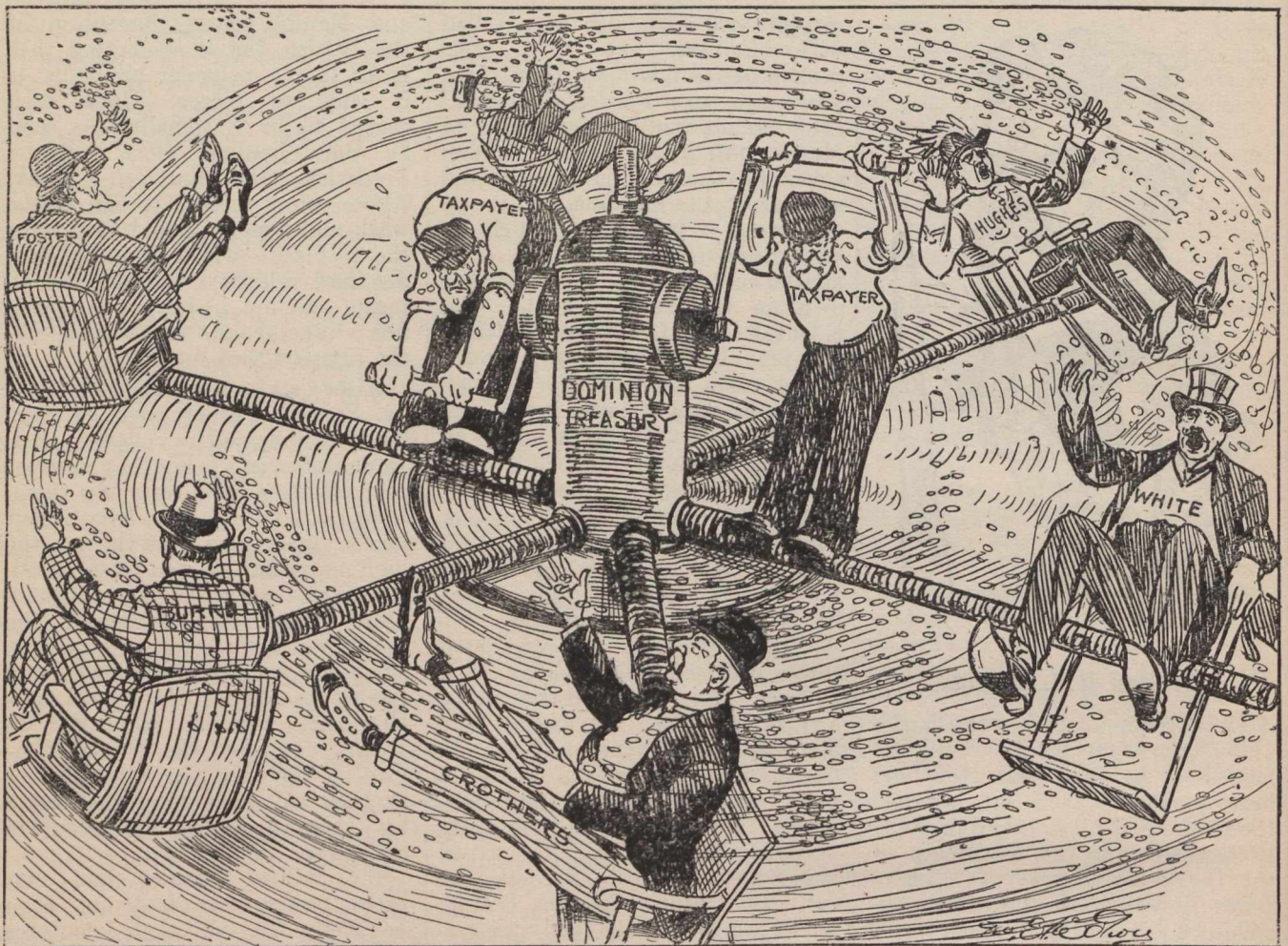
and Nantel whose conception of the British flag is something that looks like a colander so badly is it shot to pieces. These men ceased to be Nationalists as soon as they became office holders. Frederick De Bartzseh Monk, whose colors refused to run in the wash and who clamored loudly for the plebiscite which Premier Borden had promised was allowed to resign and not a drum was heard, not a funeral note as his corpse to the rampart they hurried.

After a stand-pat session in 1911-12, Premier Borden went to England accompanied by Pelletier and J. Douglas Hazen. While they were yet afar off the Centralizers saw them, went out to meet them, fell on their necks, kissed them, took them to the high places and showed them the all-red map of the world, soaped them, dined them, wined them. The Centralizers are great entertainers. They are mostly Tory lords and landed aristocrats who would fight Germany, stir up bloodshed in Ireland, and set the British Empire by the ears generally, so long as they can hold what they have by keeping democracy occupied elsewhere.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier had met them before, but had not been beguiled. To all their ventures he had said "I believe in the perpetuity of the British Empire and home rule for Canada". But Premier Borden was another story. He was quite carried off his feet. By the time dinner was over they were giving three cheers for Dreadnought Bob and Dreadnought Bob was giving three cheers for three Dreadnoughts and three cheers more for thirty-five million dollars. J. L. Garvin who furnishes what few ideas the English Tories have, said in print, in his artless Irish way that R. L. Borden was Canada's "stern, strong, silent son".

When Premier Borden came back to Canada he lived up to Garvin's benediction—he was stern, strong, silent. Often and often in the long running fight on the navy the Premier's stern was the only thing the Opposition could see. Also he was strong, in fact irresistible until he met an immovable body called the Senate. Silent! Well, I should say! Not only himself and his followers, but he wanted everybody else to be. The Closure Bill is the measure of his silence.

"THE MERRY-GO-ROUND."



THE MINISTERIAL JOY-RIDERS.

THE Borden Government has found many ways of spending the accumulations of the Dominion Treasury. With the Ministry no method has been more popular than that of luxurious travel at the public expense. For months at a time, many of the Departments have been without their departmental heads because of long absences of Ministers from the Capital. Among those who enjoyed trips to Europe during the past summer were: the Minister of Militia, Colonel the Honorable Sam. Hughes, with his staff of twenty-one officers, and members of their families; the Minister of Labor, Hon. Thomas Crothers, who took an ocean voyage and spent a couple of months in the British Isles to be away from the labor difficulties on Vancouver Island; the Minister of Agriculture, Hon. Martin Burrell, who went abroad to attend an Exhibition; the Minister of Finance, Hon. W. T. White, who went to England to secure a Government loan, which may incidentally help towards an "emergency" contribution to England should the "emergency" be resurrected; and the Secretary of State, Hon. W. J. Roche, who through ill health was justified in taking some time abroad.

The chief joy-rider, however, has been the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Hon. George E. Foster, who during the past six months has been half way round the world and back, and who announces that he will leave again shortly for England. As yet there have been no tangible results from Mr. Foster's world-girdling tours, save bills for travelling expenses and Canadian Club addresses on "Impressions" of Korea, Japan, China, etc.

The travelling of the other Ministers during the past summer has been confined to the North American continent. There have been six transcontinental trips in government cars, exclusive of the special 10,000 mile tour of the \$40,000—special—train, chartered by Colonel Hughes. When all the bills are in, the Auditor-General's report may be expected to reveal a pretty successful raid on the Dominion Treasury. Meanwhile the Canadian taxpayer has the pleasure of knowing that he is keeping the Merry-Go-Round in motion and helping the Ministers to enjoy themselves.

IRRESPONSIBLE POWER.

An Executive Independent of the Control of Parliament—The Aim of the Borden Administration.

THE Borden Government has sought to wrest from Parliament rights and privileges which constitute the real safeguards of a people's liberties. Its aim has been to grasp an independent control in expenditure of public moneys, and to so fashion legislation that Parliament may be ignored, instead of consulted, in the administration of public affairs. Where it has been possible to gain independent control by withholding legislation this has been done; to assist in retaining independent control, the closure has been provided as an instrument to silence criticism and prevent exposure. The design has been so deliberate and comprehensive as to constitute a conspiracy against the people on the part of those who for the time being have been entrusted with the duty of Government. The aim is to transform the Executive into a political machine, and to possess it indefinitely of irresponsible power.

In all important measures introduced by the Government there has been this distinguishing feature that they have sought to secure from Parliament the appropriation of enormous sums of money and to make the expenditure of these sums subject only to the power of order-in-council, which is but another name for the Cabinet itself.

The Highways' Aid Bill.

The Highways' Aid Bill, introduced at the first and second sessions of Parliament, involved the appropriation of \$10,000,000 in aid of the highways of the Dominion. Parliament was willing to vote the money for the purpose desired, provided the money was distributed among the several Provinces in proportion to their population, and administered by the proper Departments of the several provincial Administrations.

The Borden Government professed to be willing to have the money distributed among the Provinces in proportion to their population, but stubbornly refused to allow one cent to be voted unless the whole expenditure were placed under its absolute and exclusive control, and this notwithstanding the fact that the exercise of such authority would have involved a disregard of the evident intention of the British North America Act, in accordance with which the control of the highways is exclusively a Provincial matter.

By twice refusing to accept the amendment made by the Senate to the effect that the money when voted should be allotted to the Provinces to be spent by them, and in refusing to accept the proposal of the Liberals made at the close of last session, to vote for the current year the amounts set forth in the Estimates to be assigned to the several Provinces, the Government made it perfectly plain that the desire in the proposed legislation was not to further the end professed, so much as to obtain from Parliament ten millions of dollars which might be expended, without further parliamentary control, when, how and where, the Government pleased.

The introduction of the Bill at the time of the by-election in South Renfrew and the promises of government supporters made plain that one purpose

at least was that of unduly influencing constituencies at election times.

The Government Railway Branch Lines Bill.

The same motive is disclosed in the action of the Government with respect to a Bill introduced at the last session empowering the ministry to "construct, purchase, lease or otherwise acquire, in whole or in part, any line or lines of railway, branch line, railway bridge, railway station, railway terminal, railway ferry or other railway work in the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island," without first obtaining any authorization from Parliament.

The Liberal Opposition, both in the House of Commons and in the Senate, were wholly agreeable to granting to the Government power to construct, lease, or purchase branch lines of railway, but it was pointed out that to give the Government this power without requiring, in the first instance, ratification by Parliament was to render the Executive independent of Parliamentary control.

In the Senate the Bill was amended by the insertion of the words, "provided however that every such lease or contract of purchase shall be laid before Parliament for ratification." This amendment, it will be seen, in no way deprived the government of the right either to lease or to purchase under this Act. The condition was a most salutary one, and involved no limiting of the powers asked for other than a recognition by the Government of their responsibility to Parliament. But notwithstanding this, an effort was made at the instance of the Government in the Senate to have the amendment ruled out on the pretence that the Bill was a money bill and that the Senate, therefore, had no power to amend it. This fictitious objection having been over-ruled by the Liberal majority in the Senate, and the Bill amended in the words quoted, the Government then refused to accept the amendment, and refused, as suggested by the Liberal Opposition, to even agree to a conference with the Senate concerning it. Rather than be subjected to the control of Parliament in any particular, the Administration abandoned the Bill altogether, disclosing, thereby, in the clearest manner possible, that the design of the Government in this measure was not so much the welfare of the public as the gaining of irresponsible power.

The Aid to Agriculture Act.

During the last session of Parliament, the Government obtained as an aid to agriculture an appropriation of \$10,000,000 to be expended over a period of ten years. By securing the appropriation in this form, the Government has succeeded in rendering the executive independent of Parliament so far as possessing itself of this enormous sum and avoiding the necessity of going to Parliament for annual appropriations for the succeeding nine years is concerned. It is in voting the supplies annually that Parliament gets its real control over the Executive. In the power to withhold supplies lies the measure of its control. This power as respects

the \$10,000,000 for agriculture has been wrested from Parliament by the Government through the sheer force of its majority. The money having been voted in the form it has, future expenditures under the Act come under what are termed "Statutory expenditures." The money is forthcoming without the necessity of the Government making its needs known from year to year through an item in the estimates, and having these needs supplied by a vote of Parliament.

Clause 7 of the Act provides that without any reference to Parliament whatever, by arrangement with the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council of any Province, the Government may "expend in any Province, in any year, the whole or part of the grant provided for such Province." Thus, by wresting from Parliament this appropriation for a period of ten years, the Executive has gained, as respects the \$10,000,000 appropriated, control of this amount freed from the necessity, for a period of nine years, of consulting Parliament, and is at liberty by arrangement with the Executive of any Provincial Government, but without the necessity of obtaining the approval of either the Dominion Parliament or the members of the Legislature, to spend the allotted sum as it pleases, in whole or in part. A Provincial Executive that is friendly to the Administration at Ottawa may by "arrangement" have its own political ends furthered, or further the political ends of the Federal Executive to the extent of the amount over which the Federal authorities have gained an independent control.

The Liberal Opposition sought to prevent all this and secure parliamentary control by moving amendments to the effect that any payments made to the Provinces be made "upon appropriations in that behalf from year to year by Parliament," and by moving to strike out the section that gave the Executive rather than Parliament the powers referred to, but all these amendments were strenuously opposed by the Government, and defeated by its following in the House.

The Gift of Millions to Mackenzie and Mann.

At its last session the Government, subject to a minor provision, made a straight gift from the Treasury of Canada to Mackenzie and Mann of the Canadian Northern Railway of between fifteen and sixteen million dollars. As a means of securing some measure of control by Parliament, the Liberal Opposition proposed that, instead of giving the money outright, it should be loaned to the corporation at the rate of 4% for a period of ten years, but of this the Government would not hear, and a Liberal amendment to this effect was defeated.

Three other amendments calculated to compel some recognition on the part of the railway of an obligation to the public, in return for the sum presented, were moved by the Liberals, opposed by the Government, and defeated by its majority. The Government was unwilling to admit any amendment which involved a further control by Parliament, and insisted on the money being voted in a form which would permit of its transfer to the corporation by order-in-council. So far as Parliament or the people's representatives in Parliament are concerned, the money has now passed to the Executive for transfer to the Corporation and is wholly beyond their control.

The Naval Aid Bill.

Precisely the same design was apparent in the case of the Naval Aid Bill, or, in other words, the alleged "emergency" tribute of \$35,000,000. Parliament was perfectly willing that the money should be granted, provided the Government, according to its professed intention, was prepared to submit the measure to the people for their endorsement in the first instance. The fact that the Government was prepared to sacrifice the measure rather than take that step is evidence that it believed no emergency existed, or that an unconditional appropriation of \$35,000,000 was desired that other purposes than patriotic ones might be served.

That what the Government really desired was the unconditional control of \$35,000,000 and the freedom of the Executive from Parliamentary control in the expenditure of this vast sum was made abundantly apparent by the manner in which the Premier insisted on his followers voting down an amendment proposed by the Liberal Opposition to the effect that the word "Parliament" should be substituted for "Order-in-Council" in the following clause, which was clause 3 of the Naval Aid Bill—"The said sum shall be used and applied under the direction of the Governor-in-Council in the construction and equipment of battle-ships or armoured cruisers of the most modern and powerful type," and the substitution of the words "a class to be approved by Parliament," for the words "the most modern and powerful type" in this section. Also by the rejection of an amendment substituting for the single vote of \$35,000,000, a clause providing for "appropriations from time to time made by Parliament." The Executive wished the \$35,000,000 and a free hand, or nothing.

For the same reason the Government was unwilling to ask for the proposed grant under the provisions of the Naval Service Act. This would have meant a measure of control by Parliament. But irresponsible power, and freedom from Parliamentary control was to be the distinguishing feature of this as of other Government measures, or the Government notwithstanding its pretensions of "urgency" and "emergency" would have none of it.

Other Measures.

To all of these measures involving the expenditure of enormous sums should be added the millions voted for the purposes of administration and in the expenditure of which the Government has a free hand.

The enactment of the Closure, and the withholding of Redistribution have had a like end in view. The one enables the Executive to stifle free discussion in the Commons and control the course of debate, the other affords a means of influencing constituencies where by-elections have taken or are about to take place. Both add to the measure of irresponsible power which the Government has gained, by helping to free the Government from parliamentary control. The government has succeeded somewhat in accomplishing its purpose. That it has not succeeded in larger measure but has been vigorously checked and thwarted at many points is due to the tenacious refusal of the Liberals in the Commons and the Senate to surrender rights of Parliament which it has taken centuries of struggle to obtain.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CORPORATIONS.



HIRED MAN BORDEN.—"Hurry up, now, boys; help yourselves and beat it before the Boss catches on."

IN the dying days of the last session of Parliament the Government made what was virtually a gift of \$15,640,000 to the Canadian Northern Railway Company owned by Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann. This subsidy was to aid the construction of the Company's transcontinental line and the line from Toronto to Ottawa—both lines being already nearly completed.

The voting of this huge sum—equal to over eight dollars per head for every elector in Canada—came as the climax to the quarter-billion-dollar session.

Four amendments were offered by the Liberal Opposition and each in turn was refused by the Government. These amendments provided for—

(1) instead of a gift, a loan of \$15,000,000 for ten years at four per cent, secured by the debentures of the Canadian Northern system and also by the transfer of common stock to the par value of \$15,000,000;

(2) the equalization of eastern and western freight rates on the C.N.R. system, except in so far as the Company could establish higher cost of operation on lines west of Fort William;

(3) control by the Railway Commission of rates charged on the British Columbia section of the C.N.R., the Company being now exempt from such provision;

(4) empowering the Railway Commission to compel the C.N.R. to give as low freight rates from East to West in Canada over its lines as obtain on American roads from the East to Winnipeg and western points via Chicago and Minneapolis.

Each one of these four Liberal amendments was in the interests of the people.

The Government turned down every effort to impose conditions on the gift and secure to the people who paid the money, a return of favor for favor.

To the two multi-millionaires the outcome must be eminently satisfactory. True Mackenzie and Mann have done much for Canada. But what has Canada done for them? Here are the main facts.

The total cash subsidies paid the C.N.R. system by federal and provincial governments and by municipalities, exclusive of last session's munificence amount to \$11,239,722. In land grants they have received some six million acres (two million from Ontario) and at a moderate estimate of \$6 per acre, the cash value would be \$36,000,000. Add to this the last cash subsidy of \$15,640,000 and the total in land and cash comes to \$62,899,722. Federal Government bond guarantees total \$58,043,250: provincial government bond guarantees bring this total up to \$120,120,151. The total public assistance to the Canadian Northern System in cash, land and bond guarantees may therefore be fairly estimated at \$183,010,183—a staggering total. Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann practically own the \$70,000,000 of the capital stock; they have made millions in their separate capacity as contractors for the system; they stand to make many millions more.

The questions for the people of Canada are "where do we come in?" and "what is the political return to the Borden Government?"

THE GOVERNMENT'S FINANCIAL RECORD.

Expenditure Doubled—Taxation Grows—The Cost of Living Mounts.

PUBLIC expenditure and taxation are synonymous terms. To spend money a government must first take it from the people. And since what the government spends is in the main obtained from customs taxation which directly or indirectly levies toll on every citizen of the Dominion, each and every one has a personal interest in insisting on strict honesty and economy in the public expenditures. The cost of living must mount with the cost of government. That is the essential point to keep in mind in reviewing the financial administration of the present government.

What does the record show? Here are the main facts. They are significant enough in themselves; but the real portent lies in the still more reckless extravagance they foreshadow.

For the fiscal year closing with March, 1911—the last complete fiscal year of the Laurier administration—the total expenditure was \$122,861,250. Of this amount \$87,774,198, was on consolidated fund account, or chargeable to the ordinary expenses of administration.

Total Expenditure:—

Liberal (last complete fiscal year)	\$122,861,250
Conservative (first complete fiscal year)	144,200,705
Appropriations for present year	250,000,000

For the first complete fiscal year of the Borden Government ending with March last the total expenditure was \$144,200,705—a jump of \$22,690,740, despite a reduction of several millions on the outlay for the National Transcontinental. The most astonishing part of this increase is that it was all due to expenditure on consolidated fund account.

But the increased expenditure last year—amounting to nearly \$3 per head of population, or \$15 per average family—apparently merely whetted the appetite of the ministerial spenders this year. The amounts voted at the last session of Parliament totalled the staggering sum of a little over a quarter of a billion of dollars—exclusive of the \$35,000,000 for the naval contribution which the Government wanted to add. It is true that the whole of this quarter billion will not be expended this year, but it is quite within the mark to say that the total expenditure will be well over \$200,000,000.

Ordinary Expenses of Administration—

Liberal (last year)	\$87,774,198
Conservative (first year)	112,059,537
Appropriations (present year)	143,179,147

The vote on consolidated fund account was \$143,179,147 and on capital account \$59,772,161, a total of \$202,951,308. In addition there were voted in subsidies to Mackenzie and Mann \$15,640,000, and to the Ontario Government railway \$2,000,000. To the Grand Trunk Pacific a loan of \$15,000,000 was made. For the encouragement of agriculture the sum of \$10,000,000 was set aside, to be expended during the next ten years. Under separate statutory enactments the expenditure for bounties and for railway subsidies will total respectively, at a moderate estimate, \$1,000,000 and \$5,000,000.

Taking both the votes for the ordinary expenses of

administration and on capital account we find an increase of \$55,404,949 or over 63 per cent in the vote on revenue account over the expenditure under the same head during the last year of the Laurier administration, and an increase of \$29,919,299 or nearly 100 per cent in the vote on capital account.

Per capita expenditure under Laurier	\$18
Per capita expenditure under Borden (at least)	26

In 1911, during the election campaign Mr. Borden repeatedly declared from the public platform that the Liberal expenditures for the ordinary expenses of administration included about ten millions of waste money. In two years of office he and his colleagues have jumped the cost of ordinary administration by over fifty millions. There is no valid reason for any such increase and there is not apparent any corresponding return to the people for the equivalent of \$40 additional per family spent for them—but not on them. The agricultural classes are not getting it, for the total vote for agriculture, exclusive of the ten millions ten-year grant, was increased last session by only \$73,000. The increase doesn't go to the cause of labor for the government has not introduced a labor measure of any kind. It certainly doesn't go towards the naval service for the *Rainbow* and the *Niobe* have been dismantled, and the total appropriation for the naval service has been cut down by \$570,500.

Increase under Borden in ordinary expenditure 63 p.c

Increase under Borden in capital expenditure 100 p.c

What is the explanation? Hon. Robert Rogers and the Hon. Col. Sam Hughes can explain a large part of the increase. In Mr. Rogers' Department the total vote for public works last session was \$47,680,751 as compared with a total expenditure for the department in 1910-11 of \$12,364,045. Nearly a four-fold increase in three years. The taxpayer is paying his money into Mr. Rogers' hands and the latter is scattering it around in constituencies where it will be politically beneficial to Mr. Rogers and the political machine he represents. And Mr. Rogers is still distributing lavish promises of still vaster expenditures. Hon. Col. Sam Hughes has also made a successful raid on the treasury. He has succeeded in practically doubling the expenditure for militia purposes in his two years of office. In 1911 the total expenditure for militia and defence was \$6,868,657, exclusive of an expenditure of \$222,700 on armouries, drill halls, etc. This year the vote calls for a grand total of \$14,057,435.

Instead of keeping the brakes on expenditures they have been taken off entirely. Instead of relieving the burden of customs taxation and thus reducing the cost of living there has been a mad scramble to squander the fifty five million surplus of last year and to spend not only all increase of revenue, but also to borrow more in order to continue the orgy. In the mind of the Government it may be that an increase in national debt and a deficit between total revenue and total expenditure will provide the desired excuse for revising the tariff upwards instead of downwards.

THE COST OF LIVING AND THE TARIFF.

THE Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking at Ormstown Que. on October 9th, set forth the views of Liberalism in respect to the Tariff and the cost of living in the words that follow. Similar declarations of policy have been made by the Liberal Leader in all his recent addresses.

"The Empire is not in danger. It requires no assistance from anybody. **Mr. Borden says that we must save the Empire, and I say to Mr. Borden, 'Leave the Empire to Mr. Asquith. He is fully capable of looking after it. Attend to affairs at home.'** That is not an Imperial question, but it is the question of greatest importance to the Canadian people at the present time. It is the economic condition of this country that needs attending to.

"**The problem is a double one.** At the bottom is the cost of living which is higher than it has ever been in the history of Canada. It has increased in England by seven per cent; in Canada it has increased fifty-one per cent. I do not pretend that the circumstances causing this rise are entirely under our control, but I do say that there are causes ever which we have control.

"**At the top is a surplus of fifty millions for the past fiscal year in the treasury of the Canadian Government. At the bottom is the high cost of living.**

"There is a method of reducing the cost of living. Spend the fifty million dollars in the treasury in the interests of the people in cheapening the necessaries of life.

"**This condition of affairs must not last.** We must revise the tariff. We are told that the tariff is our own, that it was the work of Mr. Fielding, and that it was passed in 1897. That is quite true but fur tariff is not for all eternity. It is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. The tariff is our instrument which must be used to supply the Government with revenues—and after that to provide for the comfort and prosperity of the people.

"I am very well aware that the revision of the tariff is a very delicate operation. It is possible, however, to revise it without hurting any of the industries of the country. It was done in 1897. **But the Government have not yet done anything. We say to them, 'If you do not care to do it, or think you are not able to do it, make way for better men. We have done it once and, we can do it again.'**"

THE REAL PURPOSE OF THE CLOSURE.

AN Executive with an independent control of vast sums of public money is bad enough, but the Borden Government has gone even farther in its efforts to destroy the liberties which have been hitherto guaranteed to the people through a free parliament. It is difficult to believe that the curtailment of parliamentary debate by an offensive form of closure was not of set design, and intended to serve as a means of freeing the Government from criticism and responsibility to Parliament. The Closure, as introduced and arbitrarily forced through the House of Commons by

the Borden Government, is not an ordinary measure for restricting debate. It has been so framed as to perfect the machinery to be used for rendering the Executive independent of Parliament. As yet the Government has hesitated to use this arbitrary power except with respect to the \$35,000,000 contribution, but the instrument is there for use whenever it may be required. That it was not needed for the Naval Aid Bill, or to provide for a phantom emergency, was amply proven by the circumstance that when the Bill was so amended by the Senate as to delay its enactment, nothing further was done with the measure. Is it unreasonable under these circumstances to assume that the Naval Aid Bill was used as a means of placing the Government, under the guise of a patriotic purpose, in possession of the power of arbitrarily destroying freedom of debate and liberty of speech on the part of the people's representatives in parliament? When it is remembered that this instrument of tyranny can be applied at a moment's notice to any or every measure which the Ministry wishes to force through the Commons for any purpose whatever, and that it is applicable not less to the voting of supplies than to other measures, the extent of the possible usurpation of power aimed at by the Borden Government will be more fully understood.

WHY REDISTRIBUTION HAS BEEN WITHELD.

THAT the failure of the Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill at either of the last two sessions of Parliament was of deliberate design has been made abundantly apparent in the by-election just concluded in Chateauguay. There the electors were told that if a supporter of the Government were returned, the constituency would be kept intact under the Redistribution measure which is to be introduced. Incidentally, the electorate was given to understand that if a Government supporter were not returned the present constituency would disappear. No doubt, the same threat will be used with effect in other pending by-elections. It is the Government's constitutional duty to readjust the representation every ten years according to the population as shown by the decennial census. This redistribution should take place immediately upon the completion of the census in order that if at any moment it should be necessary or desirable to consult the people, as representative an expression of the popular will as possible may be obtained. The Census of 1911 afforded the data necessary for a redistribution at the last session of Parliament as well as at the session preceding. Why no redistribution was introduced at either of these sessions is now apparent. With the necessary legislation withheld, the Executive became possessed of so much more irresponsible power, and was independent of parliament in the use to which it could put this power in constituencies which might be opened. It is true that the exercise of this power involved an open defiance of constitutional obligation, and a disregard of public morals, but these are considerations of which the political machine takes no account, and it is with the perfecting of the political machinery that the Borden government has been mainly concerned since attaining office.



THE VOICE OF LABOR.

THE labors of the Minister of Labor in the cause of Labor since Hon. T. W. Crothers assumed the portfolio are chiefly represented in the public accounts under the head of "travelling expenses."

During July, Mr. Crothers with his law partner Mr. Samuel Price of St. Thomas and party, had a pleasant trip across Canada in a Government car, the law partner having been made a Royal Commissioner by Mr. Crothers before leaving, so that they might travel together at the public expense. They visited the scene of industrial strife on Vancouver Island. The Minister made a personal and fruitless investigation. He came back to Ottawa and left his law partner behind to continue the investigation. A few days after Mr. Crothers' return to Ottawa the riots occurred and the Militia were called out. While things were in this condition Mr. Crothers hurriedly re-packed his grip and started for England. He spent six weeks there and returned to the Capital at the end of September to find the strike still unsettled. He reported that there was also considerable labor unrest in Great Britain, but held out no hope of any new legislation in the interests of labor as a result of his "investigations".

Comment is almost unnecessary. Nero fiddled when Rome burned. Mr. Crothers goes away on a holiday jaunt, at the country's expense, while the most disastrous industrial dispute of years, involving millions of dollars in industrial loss is in progress, and when his whole energies should be bent on bringing about a settlement and fulfilling his responsibility for applying the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act.

Meanwhile the Minister's law partner spent two months in slowly writing a report at a substantial fee per day, telling the Minister what the latter already knows or should know from personal investigation.

Meanwhile the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress met at Montreal and voiced the protest of organized labor in Canada at the continued neglect of labor's interests by the Minister of Labor and at the

lack of sympathy shown generally by the present administration with the workingman as compared with the solicitude shown for the interests of wealth and privilege. Indignation went so far as to take the unprecedented course of a demand for the minister's resignation. Mr. Crothers' cool reply on his return was that the criticism of the congress "might be answered in a few words". But he did not condescend to add the "few words".

Meanwhile also the report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education and Industrial Training, appointed under the Laurier Government at the instance of Hon. Mackenzie King, is blandly pigeon-holed by Mr. Crothers. The report of the Commission gives the groundwork for the most important piece of constructive legislation in the interests alike of Labor and Capital that any statesman

of vision and courage holding the portfolio of Labor could desire. Mr. Crothers and the Government are willing to send thirty-five millions to London for Naval defence but unwilling to spend an equal amount for a far more practical and enduring form of National defence, which rests on the development of industrial efficiency and which meets "the German peril" at its very basis.

Labor and opportunity beckon. The Minister of Labor turns his back and seeks his own enjoyment.

WHO WAS RIGHT?

PREMIER BORDEN.

"To-day, while the clouds are heavy and we hear the booming of distant thunder, and see the lightning flashes above the horizon, we will not wait until another impending storm shall have burst upon us in fury and disaster."—House of Commons, Dec. 5th, 1912.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

"The Admiralty memorandum shows that there is no emergency, that England is in no danger, whether imminent or prospective."—House of Commons, Dec. 12th, 1912.

SOME INSIDE HISTORY.

"On the 13th of August (1911) I had met at St. Hyacinthe a number of the most important Conservatives and Nationalists from Northern Ontario. They had come especially for the purpose of inviting me to deliver two or three speeches in their districts. If I remember well, they had a letter from Mr. Cochrane, the present Minister of Railways and Canals. At any rate the invitation was conveyed on his behalf. . . Mr. Cochrane, usually very shy of his compliments, has since done me the honor of telling me that my arguments had made a deep impression, deeper still among English-speaking than among French-speaking people".

"A few days later there came to our office (LeDevoir) one of the most prominent members of the Conservative party, carrying under his arm the Voters' lists of all the Eastern Township ridings. He paid into our hands subscriptions to Le Devoir for thousands and thousands of electors. We asked nothing but the regular subscription price, deducting therefrom the ordinary commission paid to agents. We thus enjoyed the satisfaction of using Tory money to circulate the good Nationalist gospel everywhere".—Henri Bourassa in LeDevoir, June 2nd, 1913.

TORYISM AND MILITARISM.

Militia Expenditures Doubled and the Arts of Peace Neglected.

"GENTLEMEN we are no more than half-civilized to-day and war is closer than you dream."

The words quoted are those of the Minister of Militia and Defence, Col. the Hon. Sam Hughes, in addressing the Conservative Club of Vancouver a year ago. The militant minister's ideas of the "half-civilization" of the Canadian people and his "dream" of imminent war have resulted in his doubling of the expenditures for militia purposes, with a promise of still greater expenditures for the ensuing years. He has repeatedly declared his desire to make practically every citizen of Canada a soldier.

"As far as I can induce my hard-hearted colleagues to go" he said in the Commons last May, "in the expenditure of public money for militia purposes, I am not going to make any apology." And how far he intends to go may be gauged by his declaration directly afterwards. "I am far from the estimate of one-tenth of the revenue of the Dominion of Canada in my expenditure. That was the understanding with the Imperial Government at the time of Confederation. I intend to catch up fast and I intend to help the people of Canada who are demanding the right to train themselves to defend their homes and their firesides."

If Canada were a half-civilized people and if war really threatened their homes and firesides there would be no ground for cavil at the Colonel's ardent militarism. But Canadians are fortunately considerably more than half-civilized. They are in the van of Christian civilization. Their trust is more in ploughshares than in swords—in pruning-hooks than in spears. A hundred years of peace have blessed their homes and firesides and the fear of the invader was never more remote. Col. Hughes may dream of war but the common sense of the Canadian people tells them that no enemy threatens or is likely to threaten a land invasion. War with the United States is unthinkable. None else can threaten save by the sea—and for that, naval defence, not land defence, comes first. Even the German peril, of which Col. Hughes is the chief exponent, no longer

causes a flutter of passing excitement either in Canada or in the Motherland.

These are the real conditions. Yet Col. Hughes and the Government responsible for his actions are spending for militia purposes this year over \$7 per head for every elector.

In 1910-11, the last complete year of the Laurier administration the total expenditure of the department was \$6,686,657. It took the forty-four years, since Confederation, to bring the expenditures on militia up to this figure, and a very large part of this increase was

PREPARING FOR WAR.

"To safeguard peace we must prepare for war"—I know that maxim; it was forged in hell. This wealth of ships and guns inflames the vulgar and makes the very war it guards against. The god of war is now a man of business, with vested interests. So much sunk capital, such countless callings, the army, navy, medicine, the church—to bless and bury—music, engineering, red tape departments, commissariats, stores, transports, ammunition, coaling stations, fortifications, cannon foundries, shipyards, arsenals, rangers, drill halls, floating docks, war loan promoters, military tailors, camp followers, canteens, war correspondents, horse breeders, armorers, torpedo builders, pipe clay and medal vendors, big drum makers, gold lace embroiderers, opticians, buglers, tent makers, banner weavers, powder mixers, crutches and cork limb manufacturers, balloonists, mapists, heliographers, flying men and diving demons, Beelzebub and all his hosts, who, whether in water, earth or land, among them pocket when trade is brisk a million pounds a week."—Israel Zangwill.

due to relieving the Imperial authorities of the defence of Halifax and Esquimaux. During the first complete fiscal year of the Borden regime the total expenditure of the militia department, exclusive of drill halls and military buildings, was \$8,896,397. This year the Government obtained from Parliament a vote of \$10,938,895—another two million jump. And in addition to this there are scattered through the public works estimates, appropriations for new drill halls, armories etc., aggregating \$3,118,540. Altogether for militia purposes the appropriations total \$14,057,435. Original estimates of cost are

notoriously low in the case of public buildings. It is well within the mark to say that the projected new military buildings—there are over seventy in all, probably the number is much nearer one hundred—which Col. Hughes is trying to start at once will cost when completed over ten million dollars.

Col. Hughes has been busy all summer planning new outlays. A special train covered some 10,000 miles to and fro across Canada bearing General Sir Ian Hamilton, Inspector General of the Overseas Forces, and Col. Hughes with their respective staffs on a spectacular inspection tour. The initial cost was upwards of \$40,000. The ultimate cost no one can foretell. General Hamilton's recommendations if all carried out will mean tens of millions of additional expenditure. Following that came the European tour of Col. Hughes and 21 militia officers and party. The inspection of German and French armies, fortifications, etc., may be expected to inspire increased expenditures so that Canada and Col. Hughes may "catch up" with the mad race of European militarism.

Col. Hughes boasts that in two years he has increased the number of the trained militia by over one-third. And he told Parliament last May that 70,000 more men would have to be provided for at once.

Jingo Imperialism and Centralized Militarism—Plutocracy and Bayonets are natural allies of Toryism. Col. Hughes is proceeding along historic Tory lines. And the Government shares with him full responsibility for the costly and insensate development of militarism in Canada.

There is no real need in Canada for an expenditure on militia amounting to five times the federal expenditure on agriculture. Instead of adding six or ten millions to the annual expenditures on military defence, Canadian Liberalism and Canadian commonsense stand for spending these millions on the productive arts of peace rather than on the destructive arts of war. Canadian agriculture and industrial development are Canada's surest and sanest first line of defence.

AN IMPERIAL COCKTAIL.

THE Conservative Press of October 6th, has the following reference to cablegrams exchanged between the Premiers of Canada and Australia on the occasion of the official reception in Australia of battleships for the Australian Naval Service.

"Cordial greetings have just passed between Premier Borden and the first minister of the Australian Commonwealth, Hon. Joseph Cook, on the completion of the battleship Australia and the cruiser Sydney.

"The Canadian premier cabled as follows: 'The Government, on behalf of the people of Canada, tender their congratulations on the occasion of the official reception of the battleship Australia and the cruiser Sydney. Be assured that Canada stands shoulder to shoulder with Australia and the other overseas dominions in the firm resolve to safeguard our common heritage.

"Premier Cook's reply contains the same strong note of imperial unity.

"'Cordial thanks', it ran, 'for kind congratulations. Heartily reciprocate their brotherly spirit. We are celebrating today the completion of an Australian unit of the Empire's peace-compelling navy, gladly sharing the obligations for the defence of the whole King's Dominions. In this spirit we greet our Canadian brothers. May the cement of Empire set ever more firmly as our navies grow'."

These cables will stand a second reading. When it is remembered that Canada, through Mr. Borden, has broken faith with Australia in failing to carry out the agreement reached at the Admiralty Conference in the summer of 1909, whereby Canada and Australia were each to organize Naval Services under the control of their own Parliaments, the assurance of the Canadian Premier sounds a little gratuitous.

It will be observed that Premier Cook's thanks were of necessity confined to the "congratulations" extended, and that it was the "spirit" alone which Australians felt it in their power to reciprocate. The care with which Premier Cook points out that Australia is celebrating the completion of the Australian unit must have made Premier Borden feel that there was something wanting in substance in the assurances he sent Australia.

These cablegrams remind one of the story of the man who was

famished for want of food, and whose friends told him that what he required was a cocktail. Having partaken of this drink, and asked how he felt, the hungry man, thinking that the cherry was the only nourishment provided, replied: "I can't say I think very much of its substance, but I like the spirit in which it is given."

No doubt the Australians feel that they would like on the part of the Borden Government a little more evidence of accomplishment and a little less in the way of assurances. In the meanwhile their courtesy compels them to reply to what Mr. Borden sends in the way of greeting—they like the spirit in which it is given.

HON. W. S. FIELDING, EDITOR.

HON. W. S. Fielding will actively assume in December the chief-editorship of The Montreal Telegraph. His return to the sphere of journalism as head of a great Liberal daily is a gain to the whole public life of Canada and to Liberalism as well as to the newspaper which has been fortunate enough to secure his services. It ensures for The Telegraph, which recently absorbed the late Daily Witness, an editor-in-chief of long experience in public affairs, alert mind, and sound judgment. It means to the cause of Liberalism the active re-entry of Mr. Fielding into the fight for progressive, honest and efficient government in Canada, as a leader and moulder of public opinion. The whole public life of Canada gains the continued service of a man of broad-visioned statesmanship, of high sense of honor and of splendid ability.

Mr. Fielding first entered journalism on the Halifax Morning Chronicle, in 1864, at the age of sixteen. By rapid and well-merited promotions he reached the post of managing-editor. He left that position in 1884 to accept the Premiership of Nova Scotia which office he held continuously until 1896, when he became Minister of Finance in the Laurier Ministry. His Federal record of sixteen years as a consummate Parliamentarian, and as an honest and successful administrator of the Dominion's finances, is written in the progress

and prosperity of Canada during his term of office and in the esteem and honor, which all Canadians, irrespective of party, now accord him.

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As told by

HENRI BOURASSA,

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Copies of this pamphlet may be had on application to the Central Liberal Information Office, Ottawa, Canada.

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