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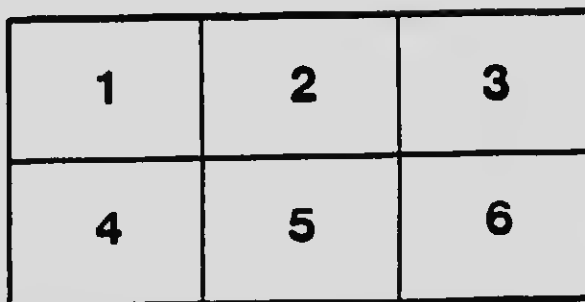
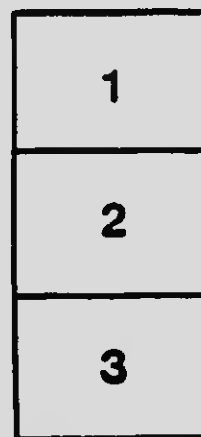
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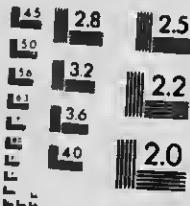
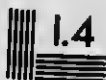
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General Attitude and Aim of Liberalism.

SOME PHASES OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION.

"The Basis of the Empire is Freedom;
It is cemented by Freedom;
It will last as long as the Freedom of its people
endures"—*Victoria Colonist*.

"Imperialism" in essence eventually means the
imposition of external government without responsi-
bility to the governed"—*Ottawa Citizen*.

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier is easily the first statesman
of Greater Britain"—*London, England Daily News*,
September 14th, 1904.

"My distinguished successor, Sir Wilfrid Laurier,
in the Prime Ministership of Canada, has during these
past few memorable days asserted with a persuasive-
ness all his own that the British Empire rests upon foun-
dations firmer than the rock and as enduring as the
ages."—*Sir Charles Tupper in the Nineteenth Century*,
May, 1907.

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier the greatest and most vener-
able figure in Dominion Statesmanship."—*Manchester
Guardian, England*, March 20th, 1917.

This Pamphlet is issued June, 1917.

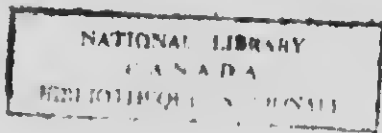


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In the first (June) issue of this pamphlet three or four small errors in printing were noticed. Although they did not involve any change in fact or figures these have been corrected in this issue. A new paragraph is added at the foot of page 32.

Ottawa, July 3rd, 1917.

The following pages contain the extended notes, references and quotations in a paper read by Alexander Smith, Barrister, Ottawa, on "Some Political Issues Since 1896."

PRINCIPLES OF LIBERALISM

Government of the People, by the People, for the People

THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERALISM is TRUST in the People Qualified by Prudence;

THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSERVATISM is MISTRUST of the People Qualified by Fear.—W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Liberalism or the Conservatism that continues to be founded on the accident and the prejudice of birth, that believes in "my party and my father's party right or wrong" is the real cause of the discouraging inertia of public opinion that often allows the self-interested few to practically control elections and governments, that prevents or retards reform and makes of a free democracy a bureaucratic tyranny. Liberalism is a positive reasoned belief and every Liberal should be able, apart from opinions as to the Government or the issues of the day, to justify his faith according to cardinal principles of good government.

What are the fundamental distinctions between Liberalism and Conservatism? The words themselves embody the respective historical attitudes of the two parties toward the main function of government.

Liberalism is in essence the problem of realizing liberty. It seeks the setting free of the mass of the people in regard to self-government, trade, religion, education, industry, in all the manifold ramifications of society. Conservatism, on the other hand, means at bottom restriction. It means the conserving of vested rights, the centralization of government in the "governing classes," setting the brakes on social progress.

Legislate For Those You Represent.

The function of government is to define the rights of the individual in terms of the common good and to think of the common good in terms of the welfare of the individual. In the case of Liberalism the emphasis has usually been on the "common good." In the case of Conservatism the emphasis is usually on the "individual". Historically the particular "individuals" have belonged to the authoritative or vested interest classes. Their motto has been "what we have we hold." Liberalism has found its main support in the masses. The natural result has been that legislation with each party, has been mainly for the classes their leaders represent.

Liberalism recognises that the teaching of history shows that progress is more continuous and secure when men are content to deal with great reforms piecemeal than when they seek to destroy root and branch in order to erect a complete new system which has captured the idealistic imagination. But its grappling with reforms is continuous. Conservatism, while believing in "the good of things as they are," has usually grappled with reforms under the stimulus of an increasingly feared and potent democracy. Liberalism has had to wrench from Conservatism responsible government by the people, manhood suffrage, equal taxation, the right of like

opportunity for all classes of the community. Conservatism has clung to precedent, the established order, the old authoritarian basis of government and has yielded but slowly and as a rule only on compulsion.

Liberalism is one of the common people and sprang from a common resistance to the oppression of arbitrary and self-centred rule. Conservatism had its birth in the doctrine of the divine right of kings. The "governing classes" were ordained of God because they themselves arranged the ordination. Liberalism has its principles embedded in the human heart. Conservatism finds its well-springs in its own pockets.

To Remove Inequalities.

The main battlements of privilege and vested authority have been won by Liberalism through centuries of struggle. The fight of democracy for freedom, for equality of opportunity and for substantial justice to all individuals of the commonwealth still goes on. There are still inequalities of taxation to be righted, the oppression of vested interests in trade and industry to be overcome, monopolies and trusts to be regulated, the rights of society as a whole to be asserted to the wealth that depends on its own collective enterprise. The increase of the well-being of the masses does not appear to be by any means proportionate to the general growth of wealth. In the sphere of economic legislation, Liberalism still has perhaps its greatest work to do. The welfare of the common man at the common task is its first consideration.

Government of the people, for the people, and by the people is the essence of Liberalism.

The application of these principles to the problems of Canadian politics in relation to national, imperial and world-wide interests is the work of the Liberal Party in Canada.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier a Liberal of the English School.

"I am a Liberal of the English School. I believe in that school which has all along claimed that it is the only one good for all subjects, whether high or low, whether rich or poor, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, to participate in the administration of public affairs, to discuss, to influence, to persuade, to convince—but which has always denied even to the highest the right to dictate even to the lowest. I am here representing not Roman Catholics alone but Protestants as well, and I must give an account of my stewardship to all classes. Here am I, a Roman Catholic of French extraction, entrusted by the confidence of the men who sit around me with great and important duties under our constitutional system of government. I am here the acknowledged leader of a great party composed of Roman Catholics and Protestants as well, in which Protestants are in the majority, as Protestants must be in the majority in every party in Canada. Am I to be told, I occupying such a position, that I am to be dictated the course I am to take in this House, by reasons that can appeal to the consciences of my fellow Catholic members, but which do not appeal as well to the consciences of my Protestant colleagues? No. So long as I have a seat in this House, so long as I occupy the position I do now, whenever it shall become my duty to take a stand upon any question whatever, that stand I will take not upon grounds of Roman Catholicism, not upon grounds of Protestantism, but upon grounds which can appeal to the consciences of all men, irrespective of their particular faith, upon grounds which can be occupied by all men who love justice, freedom and toleration."—Extract from Wilfrid Laurier's speech on the Remedial Bill. See Hansard, March 3rd, 1896, Vol. 1, page 2758.

LIBERAL ATTITUDE ON WAR MEASURES AND AFTER.

A national conference of Liberals of the Liberal League was convened and held at London for the purpose of clearing and recording the views of the members of the National Liberal Association in connection with the war, on the 14th and 15th of October 1917. At the conclusion of the conference, an important series of statements, embodying the work of the conference with the appointment of a number of sub-committees to deal with the various questions mentioned in the resolutions passed. The statement issued, was as follows:

The conference of Liberals representing all parts of the Dominion and the leaders of Liberal thought both in and out of parliament was called together on the invitation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Its aim was not to consider party organization, but rather to discuss, from the standpoint of the national interest, the problems of statesmanship now facing the country, and which are looming up more largely still in the reconstruction period following the war.

The object was not to adopt policies designed for immediate party advantage, but rather to lay down as clearly as possible the principles that should guide Liberalism in dealing with such vital questions as national finance, agricultural settlement, and development, immigration, transportation, social legislation, fiscal problems, technical education, etc.

Prosecution of War.

The first principle laid down and unanimously adopted by the conference was that, insofar as the prosecution of the war is concerned, there should be no deviation from the attitude assumed by the Liberal party at the outbreak of the war, namely, that party interests should be made subservient to the interests of the Empire, and of the cause for which the Empire is fighting.

With a view to defining more completely the Liberal policy on the more important questions of public policy, resolutions were passed embodying a few definite principles of progressive Liberalism. To further work out the implications of these principles, along general deliberative lines, sub-committees were appointed to make a detailed study of the subject, prior to their respective candidature to report later to the committee as a whole at a future meeting. The members of the conference will act as a permanent national advisory council, representative of all parts of the Dominion, co-operating with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in dealing with the problems of government as they come up from time to time.

Clearing House of Ideas.

The council just constituted is, in brief, designed to form a clearing house of the best ideas of progressive Liberal thought fitting the party either for the function of constructive criticism in parliament, or of wise, reasoned, and progressive legislation when called again to assume the responsibilities of office.

Loyal Support to all War Measures.

The resolutions passed by the conference, embodying the main principles unanimously adopted as a groundwork for concrete legislative proposals, were as follows:—

"This National Liberal Committee is of opinion that so long as the war lasts the Liberal party should continue, as it has from the first, to give its chief attention to the tremendous struggle in which the country is engaged; that to that end it should continue to give loyal support to all necessary war measures whilst exercising a vigilant supervision of the conduct of the government in military and civil matters, and that in the meantime the members of this committee should actively apply themselves to the study of the important

questions which the country will have to face after the war is over."

To 1

Subsided upon the

1 "To the finances of the country, the greatest of legal to distribute taxation in an equitable manner."

2 "To the life in Canada, legislation for the production of employment and encouraged farming."

3 "To the establishment of such a banking system and loans available on a basis of present conditions."

Welfare

4 "To the welfare of the country, giving a considerable amount of such as required to be their proper share."

5 "To the adoption of a system of taxation and industry with existing conditions."

6 "To the question of a more limited

questions and problems which the country will have to face when peace is restored."

To Study Various Phases.

Sub-committees were by resolution appointed for the following purposes:

1. "To study and report upon the finances of Canada with special reference to the greatly increased demand for out-of-pocket and various other means to distribute the necessary charges or taxation among the people in the most equitable manner.

2. "To consider problems of rural life in Canada, with a view to federal legislation by which agricultural production may be promoted and our unemployed and our immigrants may be encouraged and enabled to engage in farming.

3. "To study and report upon the establishment of a rural credit system, and such additions to the laws affecting banking as may tend to make capital and loans for agricultural operations available on terms more favorable than at present obtained.

Welfare Returned Soldiers.

4. "To inquire into and study the welfare of our returned soldiers involving a consideration of the necessity for adequate pensions, vocational training, and such other assistance as may be required to enable them to again take their proper place in our national life.

5. "To study and report upon the adoption of a scheme of technical education and industrial training in co-operation with existing provincial systems.

6. "To study and report upon the question of exercising federal control over limited liability companies so as to

prevent fraud on the public by undue capitalization and in other ways, also the question of adopting a federal policy in

7. "The Federal Government upon certain problems of provincial jurisdiction and health legislation, which shall be measures of a general character.

8. "National unemployment insurance. To study and report upon the employment of our returning soldiers and their families."

9. "To study and report upon the way in which the various states participate in the problems of the country.

Freedom of Assembly and Discussion.

On the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, for Wilfrid Laurier approval, Liberal conferences are to be held in Ontario composed of delegates from each of a group of 8 or 10 counties. At these gatherings from 10 to 50 people assemble from each county and openly and freely discuss the Liberal policy as expounded by the leaders on the floor of parliament and presented in parliament by way of resolutions. These conferences are to be held on the fine theme of "Liberalism that fills and free discussion for program to twenty takes place by the 100 or more delegates present at each of these conferences. It shows that the Liberals are aware of their responsibilities and will be prepared at the proper time to assist and carry out the larger national fabric that await them. Discussion also to take place at the annual meetings of the Liberal associations and Liberal conventions and gatherings of the Liberal clubs. Freedom of discussion prevails throughout all the various phases of Liberal political activity.

GENERAL ATTITUDE OF LIBERALISM.

The Imperial Parliament deals with many phases of civil and domestic life that in Canada are dealt with by the provincial legislatures and N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.P., Toronto, in notable addresses, has taken occasion to point out that while the social and political conditions are very different in Canada and Great Britain, there is no doubt that the Liberalism and Conservatism of Great Britain have exercised, and still exercise, a very marked influence on the character and policies of the Liberal and Conservative parties in this country.

Liberalism and Conservatism are two distinct currents of thought, representing two distinct attitudes of mind—one Liberal, the other Conservative—toward public questions, not peculiar to Canada or Great Britain, but present to a greater or less degree, under various names, in every progressive country of the world.

Cecil's Definitions.

Lord Hugh Cecil, one of the most brilliant leaders of the Conservative party in Great Britain, has written a book on "Conservatism," in which he defines the three streams of influence which, combining, make up the modern Conservative party in Great Britain.

(1) "Pure Conservatism," which gives name and character to the party. This he defines "as a disposition averse from change, and it springs partly from a distrust of the unknown and a corresponding reliance on experience, rather than on theoretic reasoning."

(2) "Toryism," the King and Church Party, which had grown up in opposition to the reforming Puritans. It believed in the divine right of Kings, in the divine right of the Church, and stood for maintaining the rights and privileges of both.

(3) An influence difficult to define, sometimes called "Imperialism" and

sometimes "Jingoism." He says: "By this way of thinking, men turn their eyes away from the domestic conflicts. . . . to the part the country, as a whole, can and ought to play in the affairs of the world."

Classes versus Masses.

It may, therefore, be fairly stated that the Conservative party stands for the maintenance of the established order; for the rights of the governing classes, and for an aggressive foreign policy. This does not mean that they are unmindful of the interests of the less favored classes; but their interests are not the immediate objective in view in shaping their policy, as they believe that the interests of the masses are best served when the established order and the rights of the ruling classes are maintained.

Position of Liberalism.

Professor Hobhouse, professor of sociology in London University, has written a book on Liberalism. His definition and description of Liberalism is equally interesting. He points out that we enter the modern period of British history, "with society constituted on a thoroughly authoritative basis, the Kingly power supreme and tending toward arbitrary despotism, and below the King the social hierarchy, extending from the great territorial lord to the day laborer"; that "the protest against that order, a protest religious, political, economic, social and ethical, is the historic beginning of Liberalism. . . .

It finds humanity oppressed, and would set it free." He tells us that Liberalism was a struggle for liberty, personal, civil, political, fiscal, social, economic, domestic, national and international; it was a struggle for the rights of the people as against privilege and privileged interests and classes; that with this struggle for liberty came the struggle for equality of opportunity for all

men. The greatest victories of Liberalism during the past century were necessarily along the lines of constitutional reform. They had to secure the right of Government "by the people" before they could securely establish government "for the people." The Liberal party was not indifferent to Imperial and international relationships, but Imperial and international aspirations were not controlling motives in determining its policy. The welfare of the masses is the ideal that animates and inspires Liberalism in Great Britain to-day.

Aim of Liberalism.

It may be fairly stated that, whatever else Liberalism in Great Britain stands for, above all it has stood and stands for enlarging the liberties of the masses of the people and increasing their opportunities for moral, social and industrial betterment. It is the urgent aim of present-day Liberalism to secure for the people social and economic "conditions under which mind and character may have free and fair opportunity of developing themselves" and "the normal man, who is not defective in mind, body or will can, by useful labor, feed, house and clothe himself and his family." The accomplishment of this great purpose under the social and industrial conditions existing in Great Britain undoubtedly means social reconstruction. The Lloyd George Budget, carrying with it reform in land taxation, old-age pensions, national insurance in case of sickness and unemployment, are a few of the measures of social reform designed to accomplish this aim.

What Canadian Liberalism Has Done.

The history of Liberalism and Conservatism in Canada has followed along somewhat similar lines.

Liberalism had to fight much the same battles in Canada as in Great Britain. The struggle for civil, political and religious liberty and equality for the masses of the people was long and bitter, but was successful.

The triumphs of Liberalism in Canada, in the past century brought us great constitutional reforms: (1) responsible government; (2) representation by population; (3) the extension of the franchise; (4) vote by ballot; (5) disendowment of what was practically a State Church, commonly called "the secularization of the clergy reserves," and putting all religious denominations upon equality before the law; (6) a system of common schools; (7) non-sectarian State universities in the provinces; (8) municipal self-government; (9) Canadian Confederation, with the right of Provincial self-government; (10) Dominion self-government, or the recognition of Canada as a nation — one of the free nations of the Empire.

These great measures were not all passed into law by Liberal Governments, but where they were not, Liberal leaders created the public sentiment which demanded the reforms, and Conservative leaders granted them rather than retire from office.

The battle for constitutional reform has been largely won. We have secured the right of "government by the people." The governing classes are no longer the few, but the many.

Influence on Legislation.

Liberal principles have also largely modified the character and policy of the Conservative party in this country. There are in the Conservative party a number of men, no doubt, who hold the Liberal view on many questions, and their presence and influence have doubtless resulted in the Conservative party sometimes adopting the Liberal view on public questions. It is equally true that there are some men in the Liberal party who hold the Conservative point of view on various questions, and yet still vote with their party, and their presence, no doubt, has on some issues made the Liberal party more Conservative in its attitude than it otherwise would have been. It is also true that long tenure in office tends to make a

Liberal Government more Conservative, while long tenure in Opposition tends to make a Conservative Opposition more Liberal. But after making all allowances, Conservative correctly describes the general attitude and policy of the one party, and Liberal the general attitude and policy of the other.

Great Task of Social Reform.

Liberalism has not accomplished its purpose or spent its force when it has won for the people the right to rule. These victories must be defended against the forces of reaction and the growing power of corporate wealth and influence. The triumphs of the past should but put us in the position to undertake the still greater tasks.

Sovereignty of the People.

If we are true to Liberal principles and traditions, we must ensure that the Government shall be not only in name, but in reality, "by the people and for the people." Liberalism believes in the sovereignty of the people. She has secured for democracy the right to rule, but the success of this rule depends upon the people accepting their full share of responsibility in the work of government. The engrossment of business, the pursuit of pleasure, or indifference to public affairs, lead many to forget that every citizen owes a duty to his country just as truly as he does to his family, his neighbors, and to his God. He may shirk it, but he cannot relieve himself of the responsibility. Every citizen in a free, democratic country who fails intelligently to discharge his political duties neglects to fulfil one of the primary obligations of his citizenship. One of our most crying needs to-day is an awakening among all classes of our citizens to a full recognition of these obligations. Liberalism must give itself to this task. We should be glad, not only to vote for the cause in which we believe, but, to the extent of our ability and opportunity, to cheerfully and enthusiastically promote that cause. Just

in so far as any considerable number of citizens fail to take an intelligent and active interest in our political affairs, they increase the opportunity for corporate and corrupt influence to determine our representation in Parliament and Legislature, and to influence the course of legislation and administration. If we are to have in reality government "by the people," we can only secure it by the people discharging their political duties.

PREMIER MARTIN FOR PROGRESS

Hon. W. M. Martin, K.C., M.P.P., Premier of Saskatchewan, in speaking at Moose Jaw in March, 1917, gave an intimation of one phase of progress dealt with by his government. He said a great deal of the legislation of his government had been suggested by the great Grain Growers' Parliament of the province and he had heard it said that the government was a farmers' government. To this Premier Martin remarked: "If by that it is meant that we have legislated for the benefit of our great farming community, then I am prepared to plead guilty to the indictment."

Premier Martin is an eastern man born in Ontario in 1877, going west in 1905, to settle in Regina. In 1908 he was elected member for the House of Commons for Regina and re-elected in 1911, resigning his seat in the House of Commons in 1916 to become prime minister of Saskatchewan.

PROGRESSIVE LIBERAL PREMIERS IN SEVEN PROVINCES.

With the exception of Prince Edward Island and Ontario all the provinces have Liberal administrations, with Premier Geo. H. Murray, in Nova Scotia; Premier W. E. Foster, in New Brunswick; Premier Sir Lomer Gouin, in Quebec; Premier T. C. Norris, in Manitoba; Premier W. M. Martin, in Saskatchewan; Premier A. L. Sifton, in Alberta, and Premier H. C. Brewster, in British Columbia.

LORD HUGH CECIL ON THE PACIFISTS.

At this point it may not be amiss to quote a letter written by Lord Hugh Cecil to the Times, London, England, on April 29th, 1916. That was the most critical period in England during the war and the then coalition government was struggling to keep public opinion steady towards the great aim of the nation, preparation for winning the war. What was done then and the few succeeding months laid the foundation for effective results but it could not have been done without the cooperation of those known in peace time as the pacifists. Just as there could have been no united action in Canada without the commanding position which Sir Wilfrid Laurier took from the moment war was declared for the Borden cabinet was in the grip of the Nationalists whose cry in 1911 was "not a man, not a dollar for defence of Britain." The reader of this may draw his own conclusions upon reading what Lord Hugh Cecil an English Tory of the Tories, wrote:—

"The claim of indispensability for the present Government is generally and justly rejected," writes Lord Hugh Cecil to The London Times, April 29th, 1916. "But there lies behind it an important truth which is perhaps overlooked, and to which therefore, I venture expressly to call attention. The present Ministry is not indispensable, but it has a quality which might rightly be called so. That quality is the possession of the confidence of the main body of Liberal opinion.

"I reckon that there are nearly 40 per cent. of our population steady Liberals. These steady Liberals by tradition and temperament dislike war. They dislike it, not only as we all do on account of its horrors and burdens, but because they conceive it to be dangerous to civil and political liberty. They distrust and dread much of what war makes necessary—large infringements

of the liberty of the subject, extensive military service, a general subordination of domestic questions to the more fundamental ones involved in war. These things create an atmosphere which is to them like that of a room with a smoky chimney, unpleasant and almost suffocating.

Patriotic Leadership.

"But thanks to the patriotic leadership of Liberal Ministers and especially of the Prime Minister, notwithstanding these prepossessions, the main body of Liberals have almost unanimously supported and approved the present war. The service thus rendered Mr. Asquith and his friends has been of capital importance. For if 40 per cent. of the population had been hostile to the war, it would have been scarcely possible to bring the national resources to bear on a scale fit for the occasion or to maintain the national effort for the long period that has been and will be necessary. And it is indispensable that this attitude of Liberalism should continue.

"If a Government were in power which did not enjoy the confidence of Liberals, such a Government for example, as might be formed by Mr. Lloyd George, with the assistance of Sir Edward Carson and Lord Milner, there would arise a tendency among Liberals to drift away from approval of the war, and more and more adopt a pacifist position. There would be, in truth, a national disaster. Our enemies would be vastly encouraged; our allies not less depressed. With a nation no longer united behind the Government, no skill in administration would suffice to bring the war to that decisive conclusion which we all desire.

An Indispensable Ministry.

"It is therefore indispensable to have in power a Ministry which possesses the confidence of Liberals.

"I doubt myself whether any Min-

istry of which Mr. Asquith was not at least a prominent member would command that confidence," adds Lord Hugh Cecil. "But I am quite sure that that confidence in the national Government is indispensable during the present war, and that any loss of it would rightly be deemed a disaster."

ASQUITH THE GREAT BRITISH FIGURE.

Whether at the head of a Liberal Government or at the head of a coalition Government, or out of office consenting to the war policy of the administration

of which Mr. Lloyd George is Premier and Sir Edward Carson and Lord Milner the controlling forces, Mr. Asquith is the great British figure of the war.

SIR WILFRID A TOWER OF STRENGTH.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position and attitude since the war began has been a tower of strength to the cause of Canada, the Empire and her Allies, as is testified to by an article from the Ottawa Citizen on the second succeeding page.

THE FAILURE OF SIR ROBERT BORDEN.

The Toronto daily Globe in an editorial in its issue of Saturday, May 26th, 1917, states as follows:—

"Bad feeling has been engendered against Quebec because of her alleged failure to respond to the call for men. What are the facts? Voluntary recruiting in Canada did not get a fair trial anywhere. The testimony of General Sir Sam Hughes goes to show that the Borden Cabinet was controlled by sinister influences that discouraged recruiting in Ontario as well as in Quebec. Sir Robert Borden's own henchman from the Nationalist ranks has had the courage to place the blame for the defection of Quebec on the shoulders of the Government. Col. Blondin puts a new complexion on the Quebec recruiting controversy which has aroused such bitter feeling in this Province. The Postmaster-General (Blondin) in the Borden Cabinet does not mince matters:

"If Quebec had been well organized from the French-Canadian point of view at the beginning of the war, and if the organization had been immediately placed under the direction of a man like Gen. Lessard, and an appeal made to all French-Canadians to enlist in French-Canadian units

and preserve their identity, Quebec would have replied en masse."

"The failure of Sir Robert Borden to organize the national sentiment of Quebec behind the war is a blunder that could not have been made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier had he been at the head of the War Cabinet in this crisis. The lack of vision and statesmanship shown by the Prime Minister in his dealings with Quebec might be forgiven, but the country cannot overlook the fact that when the opportunity came to him to fill the role of elder statesman and leader of the nation in a great war, he chose instead the crooked path of the partisan, and played politics when the grave necessities of the times called for wise leadership and unity of action. Canada the only country that is muddling through this war. Every other belligerent nation is organized to the highest point of efficiency. . . . More has been accomplished in a month in the United States in the mobilization of that country's war resources than has been attempted during the thirty-four months of war in Canada."

RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier is the most outstanding figure in Canadian public life to-day. During all his political career in the face at times of dreadful odds he has maintained and developed in Quebec and elsewhere the principles of constitutional freedom and responsible government. Space does not permit in the limits and purposes of this pamphlet to trace his record in the above regard, but a brief sketch of Sir Wilfrid's career since 1896 is here set forth.

On the defeat of the Tupper Ministry at general election, June 23rd, 1896, Wilfrid Laurier was called on by Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General, to form a Ministry, July 8th, 1896, on which date Sir Charles Tupper resigned. Sworn as President of the Privy Council, July 11th, 1896, and formed his Ministry July 13th, 1896. Was of the sub-committee of the Privy Council appointed to arrange for settlement of the Manitoba School question, an agreement being reached in November, 1896. Represented Canada on the occasion of the celebration of Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee at London, June, 1897, when created a Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. Was received in audience by the Sovereign and accorded the leading place in great Jubilee state procession of all the Colonial dignitaries. Oxford University conferred upon him degree of D.C.L. (Honourable) and Cambridge University as well. Sworn of Imperial Privy Council, July 6th, 1897. Made honorary member Cobden Club and received from it gold medal in recognition of services in the cause of international free exchange. Presented by President of France with the Star of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, at Havre, July 29th, 1897, the highest rank but one of the national order. While in England Sir Wilfrid succeeded in securing from His Majesty's Government, notice to Germany

and Belgium of denunciation of the commercial treaties with those countries which stood in the way of Canada's new tariff extending a preference to the United Kingdom. On his return to Canada was accorded public receptions at Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa. Received from University of Toronto and from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, honorary degree of LL.D. Went to Washington, November, 1897, in the interest of better relations between the two countries. A member of the Joint High Commission, which met at Quebec, August 23rd, 1898, to discuss questions affecting jointly Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Welcomed the Duke of Cornwall and York, now His Majesty King George V., to Canada, September, 1901, and accompanied the Royal Party during the progress through the Dominion. Was invited to England to witness the coronation of His Late Majesty King Edward VII., in 1902. Sailed June 14th, arrived in Liverpool June 21st, and in London, June 22nd. The coronation fixed for June 26th was postponed on June 24th, but took place on August 9th. Attended Colonial Trade Conference, which began in London June 30th. On July 26th received freedom of the City of Edinburgh, and Edinburgh University same day gave him honorary degree of LL.D. Entertained by City of Glasgow, 28th. Visited the Continent and sailed for Canada, October 7th, arriving at Quebec, October 17th, and in Ottawa, October, 18th receiving a civic welcome at the City Hall. On New Year's Day, 1904, the Prime Minister was presented by His Excellency the Governor-General with the Fenian Raid Medal. In 1907 attended the Imperial Conference at London as one of the representatives of Canada, and received the freedom of the cities of London, Bristol, Liverpool, etc. In 1911 attended at London, England, to witness the coronation of

their Majesties King George V., and Queen Mary, and during his stay attended the sittings of the Imperial Conference. Shortly after his return from England in 1911, Sir Wilfrid

issued the writs for a general election, with the result that his government was defeated and R. L. Borden (now Sir Robert) was called upon to form a ministry.

The Ottawa "Citizen", (Independant-Conservative), in its issue of Tuesday, October 3rd, 1916, had the following editorial:—

SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S POSITION

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier possibly never stood stronger in public esteem than at the present time. He would seem to tower above mere party leaders, and reflect national opinion. He is attacked by Mr. Henri Bourassa, the Quebec Nationalist leader, and by the purple-faced press of Ontario at the same time. Partisan organs in Ontario, representing mediocrity on Parliament Hill, devote more space to mis-representing Sir Wilfrid Laurier than to any serious criticism of the incompetence of their own leaders. Mr. Bourassa is reported on Sunday to have referred to Sir Wilfrid as 'the most nefarious man this province has ever had.' This, presumably, because Sir Wilfrid is too big to be provincial.

Two Brands of Nationalists.

"There are two brands of nationalism in Canada, the so-called nationalism of Quebec and the so-called national policy of Ontario. Both have constantly been played up by partisans to thwart the Canadian statesmanship of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. National is a misnomer when applied to either the cult of nationalism in Quebec or the tariff nationalism in Ontario. Both are merely phases of provincialism: the Quebec group seeking to preserve its culture and to spread it in the other provinces; the Ontario interests striving to retain their material privileges through the tariff policy, at the expense of all the provinces. Sir Wilfrid Laurier sees Ontario and Quebec as provinces of Canada; but he also sees Canada as a nation bigger than any one

province. For this breadth of vision, Sir Wilfrid is the outstanding public man in Canada and the constant object of attack from the provincials.

The Double Game.

"But, of course, the purple-faced press of Ontario does not represent the people of this province, any more than the nationalist press represents Quebec. There is a far bigger brand of Canadian citizenship in both provinces, and throughout the country. Unfortunately for national progress in Canada, people, particularly in Ontario, have been imposed upon by false loyalty cries. Thus, politicians have mis-represented Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position with regard to the British connection; and the very party to raise the loyalty cry has itself, during the present war, demonstrated lack of kinship for the Motherland by increasing the 'national policy' customs tax against British trade.

Sir Wilfrid Broad and High.

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the broader view of Canada's relation to the Motherland when he opposed the 1915 increase of the Dominion tariff against British trade. He took an equally high stand last week when he went down to Quebec, as he has done on several occasions, and championed the British and French cause in the war. Sir Wilfrid, criticized by the nationalist group in Quebec as being too British, and denounced by the tariff imperialist group in Ontario as being too Canadian, is evidently uncommonly near to the heart of the whole Canadian people."

BRITISH OPINION OF THE FIRST STATESMAN OF GREATER BRITAIN.

In 1897 Sir Wilfrid Laurier made his first visit to Great Britain to attend the Diamond Jubilee of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria. This was immediately after the adoption of the Preferential Tariff in the Canadian House of Commons. A few years later, 1902, he again visited Great Britain to be present at the ceremonies in connection with the crowning of His late Majesty King Edward VII., the Sovereign of the British Empire and British Dominions Beyond the Seas. Again in 1907, Sir Wilfrid attended with a number of Ministers upon the invitation of the Imperial Government, a Conference of all the Premiers in His Majesty's possessions. In 1911 he attended the ceremonies in connection with the crowning of King George V. Upon this, as upon other occasions he was admirably received by the Press and people wherever he went throughout Great Britain. In 1904, the "London Daily News" of September 14th, of that year, remarked that "Sir Wilfrid Laurier is easily the first statesman of Greater Britain."

The following are some of the Press comments on Sir Wilfrid during the Imperial Conference of 1907:—"The Daily News" of London in a review of "The Race Question in Canada," declared "Sir Wilfrid Laurier has won his title to be considered as a true statesman because, although always a faithful Catholic, he has declined to be dominated by the forces of Ultramontaniam. 'The hope of the fusion of the races,' Sir Wilfrid Laurier once declared, 'into a single one is Utopian.' It is an impossibility. The distinctions of nature will exist always. But he went on to say, if we remember rightly, that the two races would none the less form a great nation under the British Flag, and it is, of course, the supreme achievement of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's political

career that he has devoted himself to the attainment of this ideal."

A Man Without Rival.

"The Western Daily Press" of Bristol, England, stated: "Sir Wilfrid Laurier is in himself an excellent illustration of the success of the British plan of making various great parts of the Empire responsible for the control of their own affairs. There was a time when the race problem in Canada was one affording cause for grave anxiety; that belongs to the past; and the world is familiar with the fact that Sir Wilfrid the first French-Canadian who has been Premier of the Dominion, is a man probably without a rival in the confidence felt in him in this country."

"The London Times" of April 15th, 1907, editorially stated:—"Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom we welcome as probably the best known of all Canadian statesmen, comes of French-Canadian stock, but he has shown by his career that this is no disqualification for doing valued service to the Empire."

"The Tribune" of London, referring to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's stirring speech at the Guildhall in 1907, characterized the Canadian Premier's deliverance on that occasion as:—"A speech that will certainly find a place in future histories of the British Empire."

The Heroism of Montcalm and Wolfe.

"The Daily News" of London stated:—"The destinies of Canada were not settled by the war which made England instead of France supreme in North America. There came the second crisis, and if that second crisis had not been faced with the courage, genius, and imagination of Liberalism, there would have been no men of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's race and blood at yesterday's lunch, and the Colony which is proud

to count in its ancestry the heroism of a Montcalm as well as the heroism of a Wolfe would have sent no representative to the capital. For the distinctness of the British Empire consists not in the conquests of its arms, but in the reconciliation of its statesmanship, in the generous wisdom which has shown that the British flag can shelter and respect the traditions, the sympathies, and the consciences of races that are not British by blood or history. This is what was in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's mind when he pointed with pride to the great British act of the present Government." (The Great British Act was the Constitution granted to South Africa, or the Transvaal.)

Sir Wilfrid Laurier the Central Figure.

A few days after the coronation of their Majesties King George V. and Queen Mary, a thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. The high place which Sir Wilfrid Laurier occupies in the esteem of the British people of all classes is indicated by the manner in which he was greeted on his way to the cathedral and received there. The cable message reproduced below from the "Montreal Star" (Conservative), of June 29th, 1911, gives a brief summary of this grand cordiality:—

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as he passed through the crowded streets from the Palace to the Cathedral (St. Paul's), had, perhaps, the greatest reception of his entire visit. In his full levee uniform and cocked hat, he sat alone in the first of the State carriages, looking every inch of him a great personage.

"Premier Fisher of Australia and his wife were absent; hence Sir Wilfrid's splendid isolation.

"Upon the box of the carriage were two magnificently attired Royal servants, whose brilliant scarlet coats flashed all down the line of route, and as the prancing steeds drew the carriage along the broad centres, between strictly kept lines of police and soldiers, the

London populace, who crowded the sidewalks, cheered again and again.

"That's Laurier, they cried. 'That's Canada. Give them a cheer,' and they did it right heartily.

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier was obviously delighted. He kept his hand moving up and down to and from his cocked hat, thus giving a military salute of the Royal pattern and not raising his hat as lesser mortals might do.

"When Sir Wilfrid reached the Cathedral, another honor awaited him. The Lord Mayor of London and other dignitaries, no matter how gorgeous their attire, were sent around to the smaller north or south doors; but Sir Wilfrid's carriage was directed by the police to none other than the Royal and crimson carpeted entrance at the main west door, where the Bishop of Ripon received him on behalf of the Anglican church. As he passed up the steps into the Cathedral, his uniform, slashed with the blue band of a Knight of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, came into full view, and made him a most notable figure."

A Former Canadian Premier Endorses Sir Wilfrid's Attitude in Great Britain in 1907.

Some of the notable expressions regarding Sir Wilfrid's achievements in 1907 in Great Britain were penned by the late Sir Charles Tupper, ex-Premier of the Dominion of Canada and formerly for some years High Commissioner at London, England. Writing in the "Nineteenth Century," May, 1907, Sir Charles expressed himself as follows:— "My distinguished successor in the Prime Ministership of Canada has during these past few memorable days asserted with a persuasiveness all his own that the British Empire 'rests upon foundations firmer than the rock and as enduring as the ages.'"

THE TRUE STORY.

Every once and a while during the past fifty years or more some one comes

along with a new scheme to reconstruct the British Empire and when each architect finds his plan not workable he charges those who do not support it with disloyalty.

A charge made against Sir Wilfrid Laurier is that in the Imperial Conference of 1911 he opposed a scheme of Imperial reorganization proposed by Sir Joseph Ward, of New Zealand. The truth that is suppressed is that the proposal was rejected by the unanimous voice of the conference, the only exception being Sir Joseph Ward himself. We quote Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, and President of the Conference:

"It is a proposition which not a single representative of any of the Dominions, nor I as representing for the time being the Imperial Government, could possibly assent to. For what does Sir Joseph Ward's proposal come to? I might describe the effect of it without going into details in a couple of sentences. It would impair, if not altogether destroy, the authority of the Government of the United Kingdom in such grave matters as the conduct of foreign policy, the conclusion of treaties, the declaration of maintenance of peace or the declaration of war, and indeed all those relations with foreign powers necessarily of the most delicate character, which are now in the hands of the Imperial Government, subject to its responsibility to the Imperial Parliament."

Mr. Asquith went on to say that the scheme would be absolutely fatal to the present system of responsible government. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is therefore being attacked for defending the British constitution against a very grave danger. Another offender was Mr. Fisher, then Prime Minister of Australia, now Australian High Commissioner in London, who said that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had expressed his own view, that the scheme was not practical, that there was nothing the matter with the British Empire except as to subsidiary

causes which could easily be removed by these conferences.

Other Premiers.

Another was General Botha, whose courageous action has saved South Africa for the British Empire. General Botha said that centralized authority would be entirely antagonistic to the policy of Great Britain:

"It is the policy of decentralization which has made the Empire—the power granted to the various peoples to govern themselves. It is the liberty which these peoples have enjoyed and enjoy under the British flag which has bound them to the Mother Country. That is the strongest tie between the Mother Country and the Dominions, and I am sure that any scheme which does not fully realize this could only bring disappointment and disillusion. . . . Decentralization and liberty have done wonders. Let us be very careful before we, in the slightest manner, depart from that policy."

Sir Edward Morris, Prime Minister of Newfoundland, rejected the proposal, which he said would not effect what Sir Joseph Ward desired, and that the representation of the overseas Dominions would be so small as to be practically of no value.

Do the critics of Sir Wilfrid Laurier imagine that they are wiser and more patriotic than the men who in 1911 were Prime Ministers of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and Newfoundland?

Canadians Well Satisfied.

The "Morning Leader," London, of June 10th, 1911, had the following to say on some of the criticisms on Sir Wilfrid Laurier:

"Yesterday the Imperial Conference agreed to two resolutions—one urging the desirability of encouraging emigration to the colonies rather than to foreign countries, and one suggesting that reciprocal provisions should be made

throughout the Empire with regard to destitute and deserted persons. The value of such decisions on the real life of the people is much greater than may be supposed by the stamp of Imperialist, who is lacerated by a dream of rigid uniformity of the German of Zollverein type. It is inevitable that to these people the Conference should be a disillusion. The withdrawal of Mr. Harcourt's proposal to establish a sort of Standing Committee of the Conference—which we find ourselves disposed to regret although the South African and Canadian fears and objections are quite intelligible—has been the last straw to them. The "Standard" yesterday was inspired by it to a long and bitter attack on Sir Wilfrid Laurier. "It almost seems" it wrote, "as if Sir Wilfrid Laurier's aim were to eliminate everything but the link of the Crown, so that Canada would in fact be a separate kingdom under the British Monarchy. But does this really represent Canadian sentiment? We can only reply that the slightest rumour of any interference with Canadian autonomy has hitherto never failed to provoke an outcry in the Canadian press, and that we have it on the reluctant testimony of the "Times" Toronto correspondent—no admirer of the Canadian Premier's—that "the masses of Canadians are well satisfied to have Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the representative of Canada in London." The whole incident only serves to show how dangerous is the attempt to force the colonies into any sort of unity for which they are not prepared. It should not have taken much foresight to see that if there is one thing calculated more than another to foster and stimulate the assertion of an independent colonial sentiment, it is the idea of a mechanical Empire on the Birmingham model; and experience already proves it to have been the sole result of Mr. Chamberlain's crude efforts in that direction.

Freedom of Action—Not Tightened Fetters.

The "Nottingham Express," in its issue of June 15th, 1911, refers to the attacks made by the Conservative Press of London, England, on the colonial premiers, in an editorial, part of which is as follows:—

"A number of Conservative newspapers have combined during the last week or so in attacks on the Colonial Premiers, with the exception of Sir Joseph Ward, and special attention is paid to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Disappointed party hopes lead people to do and say extraordinary things, but it is a long time since we have noticed such disgraceful attacks as those which the Tory press has directed against the Canadian Premier. He is charged with a desire to cut the painter and steer Canada clear of the Empire, and probably into union with the United States. Home Tories would restrict Canada's freedom and force her to consent to be part of an Empire, every section of which would be bound down by the cast iron uniformity of a tariff and ruled with disregard to local conditions. The charges are replied to in an extremely able letter to the "Times" by a correspondent who signs himself "Alex. C." and who is evidently by no means a Liberal. "History teaches us", he says, "that whenever England has tried a policy of tightened bonds, dissatisfaction, open revolt, and secession have been the result; whereas the enlargement of the rights and powers of the Colonies have always been followed by a stronger feeling of loyalty to the Mother Country." That is perfectly true. There never was a time when Empire loyalty was such a real thing. We have, however, to consider this. Colonies have to take into account Colonial interests first; Colonial Ministers have to give local considerations first claim. That is the true Imperialism. The various parts of the Empire must have full liberty to pursue that course which will tend to

make them prosperous and strong. If they are so, then it stands to reason, it should be clear to the meanest intellect that the Empire will be prosperous and strong. That is what Sir Wilfrid Laurier sees. To quote the writer mentioned above:

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it may be fearlessly maintained, is not a separatist, neither in aspiration nor in tendency, but a far-sighted statesman, seeing things clearly and acting wisely. Strong enough to resist the allurements of cheap popularity based upon pure jingoism and class prejudice, he shapes Canadian policy on lines which history has proved to be safest to ensure the willing cohesion and unconquerable strength of the Empire, a strength based upon freedom of action, not upon tightened fetters."

Lack of Knowledge Misleads.

In the "Outlook," of June 17th, 1911, a writer criticizing Sir Wilfrid Laurier, refers to Canadians as "children of Scotch and Irish clansmen in the woods of Columbia and by the banks of the Saskatchewan."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Greatest and Most Venerable Figure in Dominion Statesmanship.

The Manchester (England) Guardian in its Empire Number of March 20th, 1917, had the following:

"In Canada, again, since the outbreak of the war were fully apprehended, all discussion of Canadian obligations and of the limit of Canadian liabilities to the Empire gave way before a unanimous determination to lend all possible aid in a just cause. The mind of Canada was well expressed in a speech on the outbreak of war by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Liberal Opposition, and the greatest and most venerable figure in Dominion statesmanship. Throughout his career he had resisted with the utmost of his power and eloquence all suggestions for a mechanical strengthening of the Imperial tie, and had the legal obligations of Canada at this crisis run counter to the mind of her people it would have been his part to make clear the discrepancy. On the first day of the emergency session of the Canadian Parliament he said:

"It is our duty, more pressing upon us than all other duties . . . to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind the mother country, conscious and proud that she had engaged in this war, not from any selfish motive, for any purposes of aggrandisement, but to maintain untarnished the honour of her name, to fulfill her obligations to her allies, to maintain her treaty obligations and to save civilization from the unbridled lust of conquest and power."

HOW SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S POLICY HAS WORKED IN SOUTH AFRICA—THE FREEDOM GRANTED BY THE PREMIER OF GREAT BRITAIN, SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

Lieut.-General Smuts of South Africa, speaking on April 2nd, 1917, at a luncheon given in the British House of Commons, said:—

"What can I modestly say about South Africa? We started this war with an internal convulsion in the country. Unlike any other parts of the Empire, we first had to set our own house in order. That was done. (Cheers). We secured peace and quiet in South Africa, and to-day the German flag, except in a small and fever-ridden district, is not flying south of the Equator. (Cheers.) You have to remember—I do not want to be parochial, but the case of South Africa is significant of our whole position in this war—we must remember that, unlike the other Dominions, this work was done by a Dominion the majority of whose white population is not British, but Dutch. You have to remember that only fifteen years ago a very large portion of this population was locked in deadly conflict with the British Empire. And when you bear in mind these facts and see what has been achieved, I think you will agree with me that South Africa has done her share and more than her share. (Loud cheers).

"How was this done? Here I come to a wider issue. It was done because the Boer War of 1899-1902 was supplemented—was complemented, or compensated—by one of the wisest political settlements ever made in the history of this nation. I hope that when in future you draw up a calendar of Empire builders, you will not forget the name of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. (Cheers). He was not either intellectually or politically a super-man, but he was a wise man with profound feeling and profound political instinct, and he

achieved a work in South Africa by one wise act of statesmanship which has already borne, and will continue to have, the most far-reaching results in the history of this Empire. (Cheers). I say that completed what was begun in the Boer War and that switched South Africa again on to the right track and the British Empire again on the right track, because, after all, the British Empire is not founded on might or force, but on moral principles—on principles of freedom, equality, and equity. It is these principles which we stand for to-day as an Empire in this mighty struggle. (Cheers). Our opponent, the German Empire, has never learned that lesson in her short history. She still believes that might is right—that a military machine is sufficient to govern the world. She has not yet realized that ultimately all victories are moral, and that even the political government of the world is a moral government. The fundamental issue in this struggle in which we are engaged to-day is that the government of the world is not military, and it cannot be brought about by a military machine, but by the principles of equity, justice, fairness, and equality, such as have built up this Empire. (Cheers.)"

Experience Further Confirms Sir Wilfrid's Principles.

Previous to the meeting of the Imperial Conference in London, England, during the months of March and April, 1917, Jingo Imperialists and Round Table Groups in Canada, issued a memorandum setting forth certain propositions with the view of creating a sentiment in favour of a mechanical binding together of the Empire, but the report of Sir Robert Borden on the floor of the House of

Commons, as printed in Hansard, May 18th, 1917, shows that proposals like these were not entertained. The fact is that the Imperial Conference of 1917 reaffirmed the general principles laid down at previous conferences attended by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and particularly that of 1911. It was in 1911 that the Jingo and Round Table members were most bitter in their denunciations of Sir Wilfrid. Had he been at the 1917 Conference they would no doubt have denounced him the same as in 1911. They are obliged for the present to accept the situation as reported by Premier Borden although it is in principle what Sir Wilfrid had maintained. To this the Ottawa Citizen of May 21st, 1917 aptly remarks:—"Those who have dreamed of a colossal, united machine have come face to face with the historic fact that imperialism in essence eventually means the imposition of external government without responsibility to the governed. In a confederation of nations, in a democratic age, this is impossible."

**"The Basis of the Empire is Freedom;
It is Cemented by Freedom; It
Will Last as Long as the Freedom
of its People Endures."**

The Victoria, B.C., "Colonist" (Conservative), in its issue of Tuesday, March 20th, 1917, had the following introductory to a report of a speech by Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P.:—

"A stirring reference to some of the chief points in Canada's glorious history, a few lessons from the past and a survey of what will constitute the chief problems of the future, formed the outlines of a stirring patriotic address at the

Canadian Club luncheon yesterday at the Empress Hotel by Hon. George P. Graham, formerly Liberal Minister of Railways in the Federal capital. The attendance was very gratifying and the audience was at times roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm."

To further impress Mr. Graham's remarks upon its readers the "Colonist" in its issue of the same day (March 20th, 1917), had the following editorial:—

"Mr. Graham's Speech."

"Mr. Graham's address to the Canadian Club yesterday was very instructive and at the same time very appropriate to the days in which we are living. His object clearly was to impress upon his hearers that the solidarity of the British Empire had been developed in proportion as self-government had been extended to the people of its component parts. There is a danger that this great truth may escape the notice of many people who are ardent supporters of an Imperial movement. The basis of the Empire is freedom—it is cemented by freedom. It will last as long as the freedom of its people endures.

"Mr. Graham did well to direct the attention of his hearers to the various stages through which constitutional government in Canada has progressed. Too many people are unfamiliar with Canadian history, and no truer word was ever spoken than what was said by one of those present, who expressed a hope that Canadian history will be better taught in our schools, not merely the story of events, but the meaning of them."

SIR WILFRID LAURIER FOR UNITY AND AMITY.

From time to time architects who have new plans to reconstruct the Empire try even to divide the people of Canada into sections and factions. In Quebec they shout that the Catholic Church is in danger from Liberal principles, and in Ontario and elsewhere they shout Protestantism is in danger because Sir Wilfrid Laurier is a Roman Catholic and a Frenchman. In 1911 all the French who voted against Sir Wilfrid were looked upon and cheered by the Ontario wing of the Nationalist-Conservatives as being the saviours of the Empire.

In the House of Commons, March 13th, 1900, Sir Wilfrid said:—

"If there is anything to which I have devoted my political life, it is to try to promote unity, harmony and amity between the diverse elements of this country. My friends can desert me, they can remove their confidence from me, they can withdraw the trust they have placed in my hands, but never shall I deviate from that line of policy. Whatever may be the consequences, whether loss of prestige, loss of popularity, or loss of power, I feel that I am in the right, and I know that a time will come when every man will render me full justice on that score."

Canada a Nation Within the British

Empire.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier speaking at Bowmanville, Ont., in October, 1899, on the position of Canada in the Empire said:—

"I claim this for the Liberal Government, that we have endeavoured to carry on the policy of this country so as to make Canada a nation—A NATION

WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE—A nation great in the eyes of the world. For my part, I want to see her lands occupied, her mines developed, her forests cleared, her fisheries exploited, her cities growing, her population increasing, but above all, I want to see our people united.

"I do not know whether my political career or my natural life shall be short or long, but whether short or long, I cherish the hope that I shall have so lived that when deposited in my grave, every Canadian, be he friend or foe, be he English-speaking, or French-speaking, Protestant or Catholic, will have to say: 'There rests a man who has given the best of his life, of his soul, of his heart, to make us a united people.'"

Britain a Living Light to all Other Nations.

Speaking on the floor of the House of Commons during the short war session on August 19th, 1914, Sir Wilfrid Laurier concluded his address as follows:—
"Even those who on principle do not believe in war, admit that this was a just war and that it had to be fought. That union of hearts which exists in the United Kingdom exists also in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand, yea, even in South Africa—South Africa rent by war less than twenty years ago, but now united under the blessing of British institutions, with all, British and Dutch together, standing ready to shed their blood for the common cause. Sir, there is in this the inspiration and the hope that from this painful war the British Empire may emerge with a new bond of union, the pride of all its citizens, and a living light to all other nations."

THE SCHOOL ISSUES.

Time and Toleration Better Than Interference and Coercion.

Sub-sections 1, 2 and 3 of Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, read as follows:

"Education.

93. "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:—

1. "Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union;
2. "All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec;
3. "Where in any province a system of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education."

Sub-Section 4 provides for the passing by Parliament of Remedial Laws to compel the Provinces to obey any decision under Sub-Section 3, if they neglect to do so.

In 1896 the Conservative Government at Ottawa attempted to pass Remedial Laws to compel Manitoba to restore Separate Schools. Sir Wilfrid Laurier contended that eventually the Province would work out its own edu-

ational problems and resisted the efforts to coerce Manitoba with the result that the Federal Legislation was not passed. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England held that at the time of the union of Manitoba with the other Provinces that that Province did not have Separate Schools, but they were subsequently recognized or established by the Legislature and so when beer on they were abolished an appeal was made under Sub-Sections 3 and 4 of Section 93 of the B. N. A. Act. In the Northwest Territories out of which the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were established in 1905, Separate Schools were in existence from 1875, but by the Federal Acts of 1905 establishing these Provinces instead of the Law of 1875 being re-enacted it was provided that the Separate School System as defined by the Haultain Territorial Government in 1901, be the System of the two new Provinces, and it was declared that Section 93 of the B. N. A. Act apply only to the said Territorial law of 1901.

Saskatchewan and Alberta Schools.

In 1875 the Parliament of Canada unanimously passed an Act establishing Separate Schools in the North West Territories. In 1881 the Quebec system under the Act of 1875 had been set up in the Territories providing for two boards of education, (Protestant and Catholic, but each practically under clerical control), two courses of study, two staffs of inspectors, and separate administrations. But in 1892 this dual system had been abolished by the Territorial Legislature and in 1901 the existing system had been definitely established by a series of ordinances. This 1901 system worked very satisfactorily. It gave Catholic and Protestant minorities the right to establish separate schools, and to pay taxes only for such schools. In all other respects the school system was

uniform; there was only one department of education, one course of study, one set of books, one staff of inspectors and all uniform under Government control. No religious teaching or religious emblems were permitted during school hours; only in the half hour after the close of school might such teaching be provided. The separate schools were really national schools with the minimum of ecclesiastical control.

Curtailed System B. N. A. Act Would Have Automatically Imposed.

In 1905 when legislation was passed by the Parliament of Canada establishing the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan out of the North-West Territories, it was argued that Section 93 of the British North America Act would apply and the Separate school system as established by the Act of 1875 would be continued and the provinces would be obliged to re-establish the system set up in 1884. After full discussion by lawyers contending on legal difficulties the ordinances of 1901 passed by the Haultain Government were embodied in the Saskatchewan and Alberta Autonomy Bills and the school system (of 1901) above described was maintained and established.

In Saskatchewan since the Act of 1905 was passed provincial general elections have been held in 1905, 1908, 1912 and 1917, with the result that the Liberal party was on each occasion returned by a large majority. In Alberta similar results followed the elections of 1905, 1909, 1913 and 1917. In the Federal elections of 1908 and 1911 the Liberals obtained large majorities at the polls in these two provinces. It might be pointed out that the Roman Catholic population of these two provinces by the census of 1911 was but 18 per cent. of the population of Saskatchewan and 17 per cent. of Alberta, and many of the adult male population had not the right to vote at the above elections as they were not long enough resident in Canada.

The determining vote was therefore made up of Protestants from the Eastern provinces who settled in the West.

Proposed French Language in Legislatures of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

When the above provisions were about to be adopted in the House of Commons, July, 1905, the Nationalists then in the House moved that the law of 1875 be reaffirmed but this was voted down by every Liberal present, and by a large number of the Conservatives. The Nationalists mustered but 6 votes.

On July 5th, 1905, as will be seen by a reference to the Journals of the House of Commons, Volume 40, page 463, a motion was presented by Mr. Monk, the first portion of which was agreeable to Mr. Bourassa, and said portion reads as follows:—

“Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Legislative Assembly of the Province and in the proceedings of the courts, and both these languages shall be used in the records and journals of such Assembly, and all laws made by the Legislature shall be printed in both languages.”

Seven Nationalists, including Mr. Monk, who was subsequently a member of the Borden government, voted for the motion, while it was voted down by all the Liberals and a considerable number of Conservatives.

If the motion had been adopted its terms would have applied to both Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Sir Wilfrid's Position Clearly Set Forth.

Speaking on the above motion of Messrs. Monk and Bourassa in the House of Commons on June 30th, 1905, (for the motion was discussed for some time before the vote was taken on July 5th, 1905,) Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Hansard, pages 8571-2) in criticising Mr' Monk's remarks said:

"My hon. friend has not attempted this afternoon to base his motion upon anything that can be found in the British North America Act. That Act expressly leaves the subject of language to the legislatures, with two exceptions only, namely, the Quebec legislature and this parliament. Section 133 is in these words:

Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the legislature of Quebec; and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses; and either of those languages may be used by any person or in any pleading or process in or issuing from any court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from all or any of the courts of Quebec. The Acts of the parliament of Canada and of the legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those languages.

"The very fact that here the French and English languages are made the official languages in the Dominion parliament and the Quebec legislature, necessarily excludes the other provinces from that provision, and leaves that subject to be dealt with by them as they may see fit in the best interests of the public. With regard to the schools, the matter is very different. There is no use discussing again the provision of the law in that respect, because we have been discussing it for months. But let me repeat, for the purpose of this debate, that the law says in, so many words, that where a separate school system is found to exist in any of the provinces admitted into the union, that system must be perpetuated and be given the privileges provided in section 93. No such privilege, however, exists for the use either of the English or French or any language, in any section of the British North America Act, and I did not understand my hon. friend

even to attempt to pretend that the constitutional right which he claims for the French language in the Territories is to be found in the four corners of the British North America Act. Therefore let any such contention as this be discarded. There is nothing in the British North America Act to support the motion made by my hon. friend."

French Language in N. W. T.

In 1877 an Act was passed by the Parliament of Canada authorizing the use of the French language in the North West Territories. In support of this change in the law it was stated that at that time there were as many French speaking people in the Territories as there were English speaking people. It was on that ground therefore that the use of the French language was granted in 1877. It was not granted as a result of a compact or as a constitutional right, but simply as a concession to the inherent sentiments of justice.

From 1877 on there was a greater increase in the English speaking population of the North West Territories than in the French. In 1890, Sir John A. Macdonald being Prime Minister, on motion of Sir John Thompson for the Conservatives, and supported by the Liberals, a resolution was adopted re-asserting as it were the previous legislation of the Parliament of Canada on the language question in the Territories; but in 1892 the Assembly of the North West Territories passed an ordinance abolishing the use of the French language as an official language, and the then Conservative Government at Ottawa with Sir John Abbott, Premier, did not disallow the ordinance. This course was taken on the advice of Sir John Thompson, then Minister of Justice at Ottawa. At the time (1905) Alberta and Saskatchewan were established into Provinces, the French language was not an official language in those portions of Canada except in so far as Section 133

of the B. N. A. Act applied, and its application is very limited, and applies to the use of the French language in the Federal courts in these provinces. Up to 1905 it might be said that all the courts in the Territories were Federal, but under Provincial self control or autonomy the provinces establish the courts and English is the language employed in them.

Under Section 133 of the B. N. A. Act the French language could be used in the courts in the North West Territories, and on this point Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as reported on page 8577 of Hansard, June 30th, 1905, said: "It is perhaps worthy of remark that although the French language exists to-day as an official language in the North-West Territories in the courts of law, if I am correctly informed there has not been a single document in the French language entered in a court of justice there for the last fifteen years, nor a single word of French spoken in the courts. That is not to be wondered at when we remember that to-day the population of French origin in the North-West Territories is almost infinitely small, not more than 4 per cent. If the French people in the Territories were in the same position to-day as they were in 1877; if there were as many who speak the French language as there are who speak the English language, then I could understand my hon. friend arguing from the point of view of utility and sentiment. But, if it be true that according to the last census there were altogether 200,000 people in the North-West Territories, and only 8,000 of them who spoke the French language, then I say it cannot be argued in the name of justice that they have the right to the official use of that language. For my part, proud as I am of my French origin, I could not claim in the name of justice and fair-play that right, in view of the fact that there is such a small proportion of French-speaking people in those Territories."

What Confederation Imposed.

On pages 8580 and 8581 (Hansard, 1905), Sir Wilfrid Laurier continuing said:

"The fathers of confederation did not pretend to authorize the French language in any part of the Dominion except in this parliament and in the province of Quebec. Everywhere else the people were left free to deal with the matter as they thought fit. Not so with regard to the schools. As to them the minority were given special protection by the Acts I have quoted. The legislature of that day, composed of men whom we still delight to call the fathers of confederation, put into the constitution principles and regulations for the protection of the minority in its religion, but not in its language. Sir, I have to say this only to my fellow-countrymen. I know very well what will be said to-morrow in the province of Quebec. I anticipate the language which I shall hear in a few days—that I have gone back upon my race. I have heard that before, and I am prepared to hear it again.

"I have done the best I could in order to give to the minority in those Territories the rights to which they are entitled under the constitution, and my first words to my fellow countrymen in Quebec will be, if they continue in me that confidence which my hon. friend said to-day they had in me, I will tell them that upon this occasion, as on all occasions I have stood for their protection in the rights given to them by the constitution. But, Sir, I find nothing in the constitution for the protection of the rights of the French language. It is a right which they must exercise like everybody else and if they become strong they shall be respected and they shall have their language respected, but not if they are a minority, as they are to-day, for I understand there are only two members of the French race in the legislature of the Territories out of twenty-five, not a word of French in

ever heard in the courts of law because I am happy to say the French do not go to the courts of law and do not require to use their language there. On what principle or what language can it be said that the French people in the North-West Territories have a right to the privilege of having that language implanted in the constitution, that their language shall be there for ever. My hon. friend from Montmagny (Mr. Armand Lavergne) this afternoon asked a question as to whether parliament had not the right to implant the French language in the new province. Sir I answer my hon. friend that I do not recognize that parliament has that right to implant the French language in those new Territories. Parliament may have the power to do so, but I deny that it has the right. Parliament has the power to do everything, but I deprecate the day when the French people of this country shall ask parliament to do anything that they have the power to do if they have not at the same time the right to do it. These are the reasons for which I ask that this motion shall not be granted. These are the reasons why I say in the presence of friends and foes, in the hearing of the people in all parts of Canada, and especially in the province of Quebec, that if we should grant this motion we would be granting the worst measure that could be granted for the protection even of the very people whom it intends to serve."

The Provinces Decide on Language Questions.

The vote on the above motion was taken on July 5th, 1905, and immediately before the taking of the vote, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as reported on pages 8852, 8853 and 8854, of Hansard, spoke in French, of which the following is a translation:—

"I am very much pleased to hear that statement; in the heat of the debate the hon. member (Bourassa) seems to have gone beyond what he intended to say.

At any rate, if, in this House, we have the right to use both languages, it is not simply a theoretical right. It is because the great majority of the province of Quebec send French Canadian representatives to parliament.

"I am now coming to the principle expressed by the hon. member for Labelle (Bourassa) and I trust that he will recognize it as I do on all occasions—and that is that the rights of the provinces are absolute within the limits of the constitution, and that among these rights there is the freedom to legislate as regards the language to be used in the courts and the legislative assembly.

"Now, if the House agreed to that amendment, as desired by the hon. member for Labelle (Bourassa), and if we inserted it in the constitution which we are enacting for the province of Alberta and for that of Saskatchewan, we would be interfering thereby with one of the rights of these provinces, that of deciding in what language the proceedings will be carried on in the legislatures.

"There is one other thing which he will recognize. In the constitutions which we are giving to Alberta and Saskatchewan, we have deliberately restricted the rights, of the provinces to legislate on educational matters. We have done so under the authority granted by section 93 of the constitution. For, in matters of education, the rights of the provinces are not absolute; they are restricted by the powers of interference of the Dominion parliament. We have done so with a view to remaining faithful to the principle laid down, whereby in matters of education the fundamental right of the provinces is limited, in order to safeguard separate schools. My hon. friend stated a moment ago that we had refrained from dealing with the French language question, on account of the commotion which the discussion on separate schools had given rise to. Does my hon. friend

think that the excitement has now subsided? Is he of opinion that the agitation is about to cease, and that he may safely to-day do what he considered inadvisable two or three months ago? I ask him, is he any more justified in taking that stand just now than he would have been a few weeks ago? No; we would have been grievously amiss if we had given further cause to the agitation already on foot.

"If my hon. friend were able to point out in the constitution a single clause stating that the French language shall have official recognition in every province, I would be ready to agree with him. But he will seek in vain in the whole British North America Act a provision dealing with the French language in the same way as schools are dealt with. Schools have been put on a different footing. Exception has been made for them; but no such exception has been made as regards the French language.

"I need not tell my hon. friend of Labelle (Bourassa) that I am as proud of my tongue as he himself may be, that I am as proud of my race as he is, and that I am anxious to see it respected in the other provinces. If the French Canadians, however, are desirous that their rights be respected in the other provinces they should always be the first to abide by the constitution."

THE BILINGUAL QUESTION.

The Lapointe Resolution clearly expressed its whole meaning; the discussion in the House of Commons bore out its whole purport and intention:

No interference with Provincial Rights.—No suggestion of Disallowance.—No dictation—no coercion—not even advice—Ontario's supreme right to decide for and by herself is not questioned.—Every child must be taught English.

The principle of teaching French in Ontario schools is not at issue—that is

settled by the Conservative Legislature in the Law of Ontario to-day. Simply a plea for better mutual understanding of the law by which French children may be taught French in their own schools.

The above are the headings on an article published in the Liberal Monthly of June, 1916. The same issue contained a rather full report of speeches by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other Liberals. The monthly is printed in separate editions in French and English and is circulated from the Atlantic to the Pacific, so its statements are read in both languages.

On May 10th, 1916, in the House of Commons, E. Lapointe, M.P., Kamouraska, Que., introduced the following resolution:—

"That it has long been the settled policy of Great Britain whenever a country passed under the sovereignty of the Crown by treaty or otherwise, to respect the religion, usages and language of the inhabitants who thus become British subjects;

"That His Majesty's subjects of French origin in the province of Ontario complain that by recent legislation they have been to a large extent deprived of the privileges which they and their fathers have always enjoyed since Canada passed under the sovereignty of the British Crown, of having their children taught in French;

"That this House, especially at this time of universal sacrifice and anxiety, when all energies should be concentrated on the winning of the War, would, while fully recognizing the principle of provincial rights and the necessity of every child being given a thorough English education, respectfully suggest to the Legislative Assembly the wisdom of making it clear that the privilege of the children of French parentage of being taught in their mother tongue be not interfered with."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier in speaking to this resolution said that he did not

dispute the right of the Ontario Legislative Assembly to pass the law they had passed. And at that time the Government of Ontario was spending thousands and tens of thousands of dollars to be told on November 2nd, 1916, by the judicial committee of the Privy Council that they had the right. What Sir Wilfrid did plead for was that in the administration of the laws just consideration and wise toleration should be exercised. The speech is too long to quote here, but the following are selections:—Sir Wilfrid said: "I want to appeal to the sense of justice and fair-play of the people of Ontario, and to their appreciation of British institutions—no more. Even if I am wrong—and I hope I am not—I am sure that a frank understanding between the majority and the minority in the Province of Ontario, between the two great elements which compose the Canadian people, may force a solution of this troublesome question. Every man in the Province of Ontario, every man in this room who comes from the Province of Ontario, whether he sits on that side or on this side, is determined that every child in the Province of Ontario shall receive an English education. To that, Sir, I give my fullest assent. I want every child in the Province of Ontario to receive the benefit of an English education. Wherever he may go on this continent I want him to be able to speak the language of the great majority of the people on this continent. I want it, I say, not only because it is the law of the province, but because of merely utilitarian considerations. No man on this continent is equipped for the battle of life unless he has an English education. I want every child to have an English education. . . ."

"And will it be said that in the great Province of Ontario there is a disposition to put a bar on knowledge and to stretch every child in the schools of Ontario upon a Procrustean bed and say that they shall all be measured alike,

that no one shall have the privilege of a second education in a second language? I do not believe it; and, if we discuss this question with frankness, as between man and man, in my humble opinion, it can yet be settled by an appeal to the people of Ontario. I do not believe that any man will refuse us the benefit of a French education."

Better Feeling Soon Arose.

There was no suggestion or hint to coerce Ontario or proposal to pass remedial legislation, but the speech is a classic in the fervor by which Sir Wilfrid pleaded for justice and toleration by one class towards the other. Since this debate took place and since the judgment of the judicial committee of the Privy Council of England was handed down, the Premier of Ontario and members of his government have promised that the law will be administered in a spirit of toleration and good will. The whole situation is firmly in their keeping, for has not the highest court in the Realm so decided. The history of Great Britain shows that toleration will succeed where strict enforcement of legal enactments on questions of sentiment not only fails but retards.

The Ottawa Conservative Newspaper Makes a Suggestion Similar to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Plea.

In its issue of Friday, November 3rd, 1916, the Ottawa Evening Journal, the Conservative organ at the Capital, had something to say on the bilingual trouble. It spoke with the full text of the judgment of the judicial committee of the Privy Council before it as well as having a knowledge of the bilingual situation at Ottawa, the chief seat of the difficulties. The following are extracts from the Journal's leading editorial on the day mentioned:—

"Now that the point (the legality of Regulation 17) has been finally and definitely settled there seems no im-

mediate reason why the question cannot be dealt with on broad and generous lines. . . .

"Regulation 17 was never declared to be the last word in regulating the teaching of French in Ontario. . . .

"Like all other human legislation for the government of men it had its defects and its flaws. . . .

"Now that it is declared to be based in law the situation is changed. If the French people accept the situation and instead of demanding rights, urge only justice, The Journal believes that it is not beyond possibility to amend Regulation 17 so that its application will impose the minimum of hardship and the maximum of benefit upon those it is designed to serve."

The Religious (?) Cry.

If Roman Catholics were to be excluded from the honours, responsibilities and services of Canadian politics the late Sir John Thomson would never have been leader of the Conservative party or Prime Minister of Canada, nor would Hon. John Sandfield MacDonald, wise and shrewd, have been allowed to be the first Prime Minister of Ontario after Confederation, himself a Liberal at the head of a coalition government (the vogue at that time) with the majority of his cabinet Conservatives. If Roman Catholics had been excluded the late Sir James Whitney, the great Conservative leader, would not have enjoyed the counsel and advice of the late Hon. J. J. Foy, K.C., and of Hon. Dr. Reaume, both Roman Catholics, the one French and the other Irish. If Roman Catholics had been excluded Sir Oliver Mowat and other Liberal Premiers of Ontario would not have enjoyed the counsel and advice of Hon. Christopher F. Fraser and other Roman Catholics.

If Roman Catholics were to be excluded Hon. A. E. Arsenault a Roman Catholic French-Acadian would not have become the Conservative Prime Minister of Prince Edward Island in 1917.

A Procession of Nationalists.

Sir Robert Borden took into his cabinet a procession of Nationalists (Roman Catholics) who owe their election to Bourassa.

The first Nationalists to be taken into the Borden cabinet were Messrs. Monk, Nantel and Pelletier. Mr. Monk resigned; Mr. Nantel was appointed to the Board of Railway Commissioners, and Mr. Pelletier was appointed to the Superior Court Bench in the province of Quebec. These were succeeded by Mr. Coderre (now a judge), Mr. Blondin, Mr. Patenaude and Mr. Sevigny. Since 1911 no less than seven Nationalists have held portfolios in the Borden government.

The Allies at Washington.

If Roman Catholics were excluded from taking part in public affairs, Sir Joseph Pope, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada, would not have been at Washington in April and May, 1917, on behalf of Canada, at the greatest conference the world has ever known—the war conference of the Allies. Sir Joseph was for some years Private Secretary to Sir John A. MacDonald, for a long time leader of the Conservative party, and Prime Minister of Canada for many years. Sir Joseph has spent his life in the Civil Service at Ottawa, and shortly after Sir Robert Borden became Prime Minister. Sir Joseph received the distinction of being knighted. Sir George Foster and Sir Thomas White, members of the Borden Government in the months of April and May, 1917, during the absence of Sir Robert Borden, Hon. J. D. Hazen and Hon. Robert Rogers in England, took turns at visiting Washington to consult and advise with Sir Joseph. France and Great Britain had each over 25 experienced men present to assist in the conference.

THE MISCHIEF MAKERS.

The Presbyterian and Westminster, Toronto, in its issue of March 29th, 1917, had the following:—

“Speaking at the meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Ontario West, Grand Master H. C. Hocken, of Toronto, made a strong attack upon the people of Quebec for their attitude towards war. It is unwise to draw a provincial line in this fashion in dealing with the matter of enlistment. There are thousands of eligible young men in Ontario who for reasons which seem good to them, have not enlisted. There is no doubt a still larger number in Quebec. All these men are in the same class, and if they are worthy of condemnation it should be visited upon them without distinction of province, race or religion.

“Further on in the same address, Mr. Hocken referred to something which recently appeared in a Quebec paper about the formation of a French-Canadian Roman Catholic Republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Talk of this kind appearing in the public press is undoubtedly mischievous, but it ought not to be taken too seriously. No person in Quebec with any sanity or judgment regards such a project as anything but a fantastic dream. Their public men recognize and appreciate the heritage which Quebec shares with the other provinces in the vast Dominion and they have no thought of condemning themselves to political and commercial isolation. Mr. Hocken took up the idea quite seriously, however, and declared that: ‘If occasion should arise, 250,000 Orangemen could be enlisted in a month to put down any attempt that might be launched in the Province of Quebec to set up a Republic.’ Such a declaration only accentuates the mischief created by the babble of the French newspaper. To talk in this fashion of civil war, when the occasion is so remote as to be prac-

tically non-existent, is unpatriotic in the highest degree; for it tends to create the atmosphere which would make civil war possible. It gives the mischief makers in the other province something to lay hold of. A few days after the meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge, a firebrand orator in Montreal informed his audience that ‘Hocken, the Orangeman, says that 200,000 Orangemen will come here to invade Quebec.’ The response was immediate: ‘They will be welcome. We will give them a bath in the St. Lawrence.’

“In the providence of God we have in Canada two predominant races, differing in language and religion. However, human nature being what it is, it is not easy, under such conditions, to keep the peace and build up a united nation. But the task is made tenfold harder by such unnecessary and provocative utterances as those to which we have now referred.”

Could Not Bury Sir Charles Tupper Without Raising Religious Strife.

At the funeral of Sir John A. Macdonald, on June 11th, 1891, the representative heads of the various churches were granted an official place in the procession, although the order of precedence from London recognizes only Archbishops and Bishops.

At the next State Funeral, that of Sir John Thompson, in January, 1895, similar representatives were invited and marched together in a body.

As pointed out in the correspondence printed in the Acadian Recorder, Halifax, N.S., December 4th, 1915, these precedents were ignored at the state funeral of Sir Charles Tupper and in reporting another protest from the Evangelical Alliance the Recorder states:—“At a special meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, held in the Y.M.C.A. building yesterday afternoon, to

discuss the exclusion of the representatives of the Protestant churches other than the Anglican from their proper places in the cortege at Sir Charles

Tupper's funeral on Nov. 16, strong disapproval was expressed of the attitude adopted by Premier Borden toward the complaint registered by the Alliance."

EXCLUDING FORTY PER CENT.

If Roman Catholics were excluded from public affairs forty per cent, of the population of Canada would be excluded from an interest in their own affairs and the affairs of the whole Dominion.

It is in Ontario where the cry is raised as by the census of 1911 less than 20 per cent. of the population or 484,997 are Roman Catholic. Of this number 202,442 are French, and about 175,000 Irish and Scotch, while about 108,000 are of other nationalities, namely, Italian, German, etc.

The total population of Ontario is 2,523,274, and of this less than 500,000 are Roman Catholic—a mere handful, and yet there are men who pin prick at this minority and at the same time claim to be patriots.

In Prince Edward Island the Roman Catholic population is about 45 per cent; in Nova Scotia 30 per cent; in New Brunswick 40 per cent; in Quebec a little over 76 per cent; in Ontario about 20 per cent, and in the four Western provinces about an average of 17 per cent. In Manitoba it is 16, in Saskatchewan 18, in Alberta less than 17, and in British Columbia 15.

The total population of the Dominion of Canada according to the census of 1911 is 7,206,643, and of this number 2,833,041 are classed as Roman Catho-

lics. This is 40 per cent of the total population. Of the Roman Catholic population 1,724,683 reside in Quebec.

How Laurier Was Chosen.

It is well to remember that Sir John MacDonald for the Conservatives and Hon. Alexander MacKenzie for the Liberals, both premiers of Canada, recognized the broader view. MacKenzie chose Laurier to enter his cabinet, not because Laurier was French and Catholic, but because his views and principles were Liberal. It is well to remember that when Hon. Edward Blake retired from the leadership of the Liberal party he recommended Laurier as his successor and it was on motion of Sir Richard Cartright, seconded by Hon. David Mills, that Laurier was elected leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons.

Subsequently Laurier was confirmed in his leadership of the Liberal party by a great National Liberal Convention held in Ottawa June, 1893, Sir Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, presiding. In 1896, 1900, 1904 and 1908, Laurier was successful at the polls. In 1891 and 1911 he was defeated, but upon each and every occasion, in success or defeat, the majority of his supporters in the House were not Roman Catholics. Sir Wilfrid Laurier is a Liberal of the English school.

ALL RELIGIONS EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW.

Throughout Canada the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans and Baptists are in the order mentioned numerically strong, but in accordance with the great Liberal principle of civil and religious liberty the small religious bodies or sects enjoy the same civil and religious freedom and equality before the law as do the larger

bodies. Adventists, Brethern, Christians, Disciples, Evangelicals, Friends, Greeks, Jews, Lutherans, Salvation Army, Mennonites, Mormons, and scores of other small bodies enjoy and appreciate the freedom to worship as they see best, and have like all religious bodies equality before the law in all respects.

ADVANCE TOWARDS HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

In the spring of 1917 the United States, through its Congress and President, decided to make common cause with the Allies of Great Britain and France in the world war pending. Within a few days of this event the Government of the Dominion of Canada under the authority of the Canadian War Measures Act, took advantage of the offer of the United States Government, made in their tariff of 1913, for Reciprocity in "wheat, wheat flour and semolina," so there is now free trade in these commodities between Canada and the United States. This is but a small portion of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911. All who recollect 1911 will remember that those who now yield to the oft expressed wish of the western farmers fought Reciprocity with great force. It is well to recall a noted speech of that time.

Speaking in the town of Simcoe, Ont., on August 15th, 1911, Sir Wilfrid Laurier said:—

Bond of Peace and Harmony.

"I do not parade my loyalty, but I may be allowed to say that I was born under British institutions, and under these institutions my people have found a liberty that they could not have found under any other regime, and I could not do any other but stand loyally by Britain, because I value the liberty of my countrymen higher than any question of political economy. (Applause.) I have now laid before you all the objections that have been raised against this Reciprocity agreement. These objections, you will agree with me, do not stand discussion. On the other hand, the advantages are obvious. The more they are examined, the better they appear to be. They commend themselves, and the more they are discussed, the more attractive they appear, but there is much more. This agreement which we place before you for your ratification is a bond of peace and harmony and

friendship between two nations, between whom more than between any two other nations in the world, there should be a bond of mutual respect and affection. (Applause.) We share with our neighbors on this one hemisphere a longer frontier than exists between any other two nations. We spring from the same stock, English, Scotch, Irish, French, and to a certain extent, German. We have inherited in a certain measure the same institutions and everything makes for peace, harmony, and concord between us and our neighbors. Yet it was not always so. The days are not far distant, many of you remember them, as I do, when there was a feeling of hostility between Great Britain and the Dominion of Canada on the one hand, and the American Republic on the other, when the American press was filled with abuse against England, and the English newspapers talked of Yankee arrogance. Such expressions, however, are heard no more. We have seen the dawn of a new era, and better and nobler sentiments prevail. We have learned, perhaps, in spite of ourselves, that blood is thicker than water. At the battle of Manila in 1898 (when the Americans were fighting the Spaniards in Phillipine waters,) the commander of one of the European (German) squadrons sought to interfere, but the commander of the British squadron who happened to be in the same waters, stated that there was to be fair play, and that if there was not fair play he would line up his ship by the side of Admiral Dewey. This was giving voice to the fact that blood was thicker than water.

The Peace Treaty.

"It was only last week that a treaty was signed between His Majesty King George V and the President of the United States, which makes it practically impossible that there shall be war between the United States and Great

Britain. (Applause.) It has been given to us to see this glad day. (Renewed applause.) But far reaching as this treaty is, I ask is it to be supposed that it is the last and final and supreme expression of friendship between these two great countries. (Cries of 'No.')

"For my part, I harbor in my heart a sincere belief that this treaty may be supplemented with another which shall, in so far as possible, repair the mischief that was done in the Eighteenth Century, by the violent separation of mother and child—by the separation, that is to say, of the then American Colonies from Great Britain. (Applause.)

"Sir, this (Reciprocity) agreement which I propose to you to-day, will not only be a powerful factor for our material prosperity; but, it is an advance towards that higher civilization which I tell you is now within the range of practical politics. (Loud applause.) "

British Preference and Reciprocity.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when attending, June, 1911, in London, England, at the Coronation of Their Majesties, King George V., and Queen Mary and the meetings of the Imperial Conference, took occasion to re-assert his faith in, and advocacy of, the British Preference adopted and placed by his Government on the Canadian Statute Book, in 1897. He asserted, in a public address in London, that the British Preference was nailed to the mast.

Sir Wilfrid, when in London, proclaimed and recommended the great boon to be obtained by Canada by entering into a Reciprocity arrangement, in natural products, with the people of the United States.

Of the Reciprocity arrangement, Rt. Hon. David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Imperial Government, and subsequently Prime Minister of Great Britain, expressed himself as follows:—

"I rejoice that it has been negotiated,

and heartily trust it will carry to a successful conclusion. I regard it as a great triumph of common sense, and an immense stride in the cause of free trade, inculcating a step towards the fraternity and co-operation of the English speaking family." (See Canadian Associated Cable, dated London, February 17, 1911.)

CONDITION OF CANADA IN 1896 AND ITS GRAND GROWTH THEREAFTER.

It is no exaggeration to state that in June, 1896, when the Liberal Government was formed, Canada had not found itself. For years national progress had been very slow, and there appeared to be an almost entire absence of the snap and vigorous aggressiveness usually characteristic of Canadians. Deficits were annually recorded in the national finances; our foreign trade was practically stationary; manufacturers were making no headway; the great North West was practically undeveloped; immigrants came to our shores in comparatively few numbers, but the most of them did not stay long, and what was worse, we were unable to retain our own people. As our boys grew to manhood they found little incentive for the exercise of their ambition, and they drifted by thousands and hundreds of thousands across the line. According to the United States census of 1901 no less than 1,181,255 of the population of that country were born in Canada. The Conservatives, then in office for a long time, had greatly lowered the standard of public life. Scandal after scandal, too numerous to mention, but still fresh no doubt in the memories of middle-aged men of the country, were unearthed. To cap the climax a disgraceful internal quarrel arose in the Cabinet, which drew from Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the then premier, the expression that he had been living in "a nest of traitors." This was the discouraging situation that had to be faced by the Liberal Ministers

when they took charge of the administration of the country, but they measured up to the task.

A Strong Cabinet.

The first and most wise step was the selection by Sir Wilfrid Laurier of the strongest possible colleagues to form his Cabinet. No other body of men ever presided over the destinies of Canada — a fact admitted even by opponents. It was truly a great combination which instilled much needed confidence in the people. To form it Sir Wilfrid had to go outside the ranks of the men who had fought the battles of the party in Opposition in the Dominion House, and who no doubt expected preferment. But the wisdom of his choice has never been questioned, and the record of his Government is the most ample justification of it.

Tariff Reform.

The Customs tariff was properly the first problem to be tackled, as it is the hub of the wheels of industry and commerce. The Liberal party had taken office upon a declared policy, to substitute for the Conservative tariff, a sound, fiscal policy, which while not doing injustice to any class would promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity. They had also declared that the tariff should be reduced to the needs of honest, economical and efficient Government, that it should be so adjusted as to make free or bear as lightly as possible upon the necessities of life and should be so arranged as to permit freer trade with the whole world, particularly with Great Britain and the United States.

The first step taken by the Government was the eminently practical one of appointing a committee of its members to ascertain with exactitude the precise situation of all classes and sections of the country and their actual needs. No hole and corner methods were adopted by the committee, and there were no private meetings between

Ministers and manufacturers in the Windsor Hotel at Montreal. Everybody was invited to give expression to his views. To meet the requirements of the public, meetings were held in most of the principal cities and towns. Parenthetically we might here observe that different methods prevailed. The Conservative Government made important and radical changes in the Customs tariff on the advice, almost solely, of a man who for years was the paid tariff expert of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. They evidently do not need to consult the people.

The result of the labours of the committee, and subsequent daily meetings of the Cabinet for months, was the promulgation of a tariff, which judged by the best possible test, actual results, created a revolution in the industrial life and activities of the country. Briefly stated the new tariff.

1. Materially reduced the duties on many necessities and staple commodities used by consumers generally.
2. Placed on the free list certain articles of prime necessity to the farmer, the miner, fisherman and manufacturer.
3. Reduced the duties on iron and steel which constitute the staple raw materials for many industries; duties on other raw materials were also lowered.
4. Simplified the classification of articles for duty purposes and thereby assured more uniform administration.
5. Last but by no means least, gave a substantial preference to the products and manufactures of Great Britain over the rest of the world.

First Serious Attempt on Tariff Revision.

This Liberal tariff was the first serious attempt made in Canada towards equality of treatment and reconciliation of conflicting interests. No class or interest was singled out for undue favoritism. The needs of all were considered. Evident lies the difference between the Conservative and Liberal

attitudes on the tariff. The formula of the Conservatives for tariff making always has been the simple one of giving protection to the manufacturer without reference to the rest of the community. The Liberals on the other hand believe in being fair all round and in distributing the burdens of taxation as much as possible. Consider the situation for a moment. We have five great sources of national wealth. The farm, forest, fisheries, mines and manufacturing industries, on the income of which we keep our national house. It will be obvious that the interests and needs of these various producing branches are not identical. They conflict in some instances very strongly. The farmer for instance has to pay higher prices for his articles of necessity and comfort by reason of customs duties imposed thereon, whereas the prices for his produce are largely determined in the markets of the world. The miner, too, could buy most of his supplies and machinery cheaper if they were free from duty. The fishermen, who are chiefly located in the provinces forming the extreme boundaries of the Dominion, are unable to supply the markets in our principal centres of population by reason of the great distance separating them therefrom, and are consequently obliged to export the bulk of their catch to foreign markets easier to reach, but where they have to encounter stiff competition. The lumberman also is affected by the tariff on his commodities. Manufacturing industries are an immense benefit to the country but not more so than the agricultural industries; indeed, if we take the population engaged and the capital invested in farming and ranching, the agricultural interests bulk greater in the national wealth. Everybody recognizes that manufacturing institutions are necessary to build up a great nation and acknowledges that it would be undesirable to devote our attention purely to pastoral pursuits.

The Liberal Government recognizing

all these salient factors endeavoured to strike a fair balance and thereby promote the utmost development in all industrial pursuits. The principal thought in their minds was to provide the maximum of profitable labour for the people in all spheres of activity which surely is the truest and highest duty of statesmanship.

Reduction of Taxation.

The extent of the reduction in taxation brought about by the tariff can be best arrived at by taking the average rate of customs duty imposed by the Conservatives during the last years they were in office, and applying it to the imports under the Liberal rule. In 1896, which was the last year of Conservative administration, \$18.28 was on the average collected on every \$100 worth of goods imported into the country. If the same rate had been collected during the time the Liberals were in office, instead of collecting duty to the amount of \$605,000,000 they would have collected \$685,000,000, so that there was an actual reduction of \$80,000,000 in fifteen years. This is at the rate of about \$5,500,000 per annum. In addition to this saving one has to consider the reduced price of Canadian manufacturers to the consumer by reason of the reduction in protection, because undoubtedly as a general rule, although not in every case, the selling prices of Canadian manufacturers are based upon the amount of protection they enjoy.

Again there is the indirect saving to the people in reduced prices on foreign exports to Canada by reason of the operation of a British Preferential tariff. The United States exporters to Canada for instance, had to reduce their price to Canadian buyers to offset the reduction in duties in favour of British goods. This is an undoubted fact.

Another way of arriving at the extent of the reduction in taxation brought about by the Liberal Government, is to take the average rate of duty imposed

by Conservatives during the eighteen years they were in office, which was \$19.10 on every \$100 worth of goods imported into the country. If the same rate had been applied to the imports during the fifteen years from 1896 to 1911, the additional taxation which would have been imposed would have amounted to \$10,000,000, so that there was a saving to that extent to the people of the country under Liberal rule.

British Preference.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the new tariff was the adoption of a preference in favour of British goods, and it was probably the most popular step ever taken by any Government in Canada. Judged by results, it has been highly beneficial alike to Canada, Great Britain and the Empire. This preference at first consisted of a reduction of 1-8 from the general tariff rates. A year or so afterwards the reduction was increased from 1-8 to 1-4 and later to 1-3. Subsequently the flat reduction of 1-3 was abandoned and a specific preferential rate provided for each item or article in the tariff. Such specific rate however on the whole averages a reduction of 1-3. The benefits of the preference were given not only to Great Britain but by successive steps to nearly all the British colonies.

The preference granted by the Liberal Government was exactly the tonic that was necessary to stimulate British trade. From the moment it became law the trade started to boom and it has steadily and rapidly increased ever since. But the increase in British trade was not the only beneficial result. The preference substantially reduced duties to the Canadian consumer on the most important staple commodities, and thereby further implemented the pledge of the Liberal party to reduce taxation.

Supported by Sound Business Policy.

Having dealt with the preference feature of the tariff we will now resume

the consideration of the general subject. Well as they believe they had wrought in the creation of their tariff, the Liberal Government were not content. They knew that a great deal more was needed to bring about a betterment of conditions. They felt that the most vigorous and progressive measures were necessary to put Canada in its proper place on the map of the industrial world, and to afford scope for the exercise of the natural ambition of its people. They realized that the farmer could not be benefitted much by protective duties on his produce, but they saw that they could benefit him by enlarging the means, and cheapening the cost, of transportation and they devoted their best energies towards improving and extending transportation facilities all over the country. They saw also that the manufacturer could be benefitted by enlarging the home market, and they instituted an aggressive immigration policy which developed the great North West in a marvellous way. Step by step in the most vigorous manner and without let-up the great work of building surely and strongly was undertaken, and concurrent with it the country grew and more prosperous.

The finances were so handled as to show a substantial surplus each year instead of the era of deficits in Conservative days.

The great canal system of the country was rushed to completion.

The Crows Nest Pass Railway was built, thereby facilitating the development of the immense mineral resources of interior British Columbia—in the Kootenay District.

The Intercolonial Railway which had its Western terminus in what was then a comparatively small town, namely Levis, was badly handicapped in securing traffic from the West, and was extended to Montreal, the commercial metropolis of the country.

Later on the construction of the Transcontinental Railway was entered

upon and was well on towards completion when the Liberals went out of Office in 1911.

By means of Government guarantees and subsidies a third Transcontinental Railway, the Canadian Northern Railway was made possible.

Immigrants to the number of nearly 2,000,000 were brought into the country in fifteen years, a large number of whom went on the land resulting in a magnificent development of the West and North-West.

Free land grants to railways were discontinued and the public lands were reserved for the actual settlers.

Ocean ports, harbours and rivers were vastly improved. A 30-foot clear channel was provided in the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Quebec.

Postal rates were reduced substantially, and the Money Order system simplified and extended.

Free Rural mail delivery was established.

Canal and steam boat duties were abolished in the interest of promoting cheap transportation by water.

A Railway Commission was appointed which admittedly was one of the best pieces of constructive legislation ever adopted in Canada. That Commission became practically the master of the railways.

A Labour Department was created which has done splendid work in averting and settling strikes.

Agriculture was aided in a hundred and one ways.

Cold storage facilities of an excellent character were provided for the products of the farm and fisheries.

Commercial agents were appointed in the principal countries of the world.

A Canadian Mint was established.

The resources of the country were splendidly exhibited at every Exposition held through the world.

From time to time the tariff was modified to meet changed conditions, and in 1907 a complete revision was

made, again by a committee of the Ministers, after consulting with the people.

The French Treaty was extended so as to comprise our principal productions instead of as formerly only a few articles of comparatively trifling importance.

A treaty was entered into with Japan whereby we got most favoured nation treatment in that country.

As a result of our institution of preferential trade we got a preference in New Zealand. As a direct benefit from this the British Columbia fishermen captured the import trade of that country.

An intermediate tariff was established as a standing invitation to other countries to reciprocate in trade, and Holland, Belgium and Italy were admitted to the benefits of that tariff for corresponding advantages given to us.

Through the efforts of the Liberal Minister of Agriculture the vexatious quarantine regulations that existed for some years between the United States and Canada were abolished.

A sur-tax was imposed upon Germany by way of retaliation for Canadian products being placed on the maximum tariff of Germany.

To prevent the slaughtering of manufactured goods in the Canadian market a law known as the Anti-Dumping Act was passed, which effectively operates against such unfair trade warfare.

A Commission of Conservation was appointed, the object being to conserve our natural resources and to disseminate full information in regard to them.

Dominion Government securities were placed on the favoured trustee list of Great Britain.

An assay office was established at Vancouver which materially aided in retaining our Yukon trade.

Substantial financial assistance was given towards the construction of a Pacific cable. Canada bearing its full share of this expenditure.

Throughout the career of the Liberal Government the revenues were buoyant notwithstanding considerable decreased taxation and the financial situation was always of the best.

A NEW CANADA AROSE.

In a word the men at the helm knew their business and attended to it, in a thoroughly workmanlike manner. Their successive acts of genuine constructive statesmanship along practical lines filled the people with hope, and made them gird up their loins for supreme individual efforts in industrial life. The wisdom of our legislation and administration and its accompanying prosperity of the people attracted the attention of the whole world, particularly the Mother Country, and started a flow of much needed capital to develop our great natural resources, a flow which went on unceasingly throughout the Liberal regime, increasing and increasing all the time as our needs were made manifest. Canada was then the favorite investment field of the Empire.

Under the Liberals a new Canada arose. The country found itself and for the first time realized its immense possibilities. It was an era of the full dinner pail; the first golden age in Canada's history. Every legitimate industry from the Atlantic to the Pacific, speaking generally, prospered. Manufacturing institutions were enlarged and enlarged again and again to meet the demands. The farmers shared in the prosperity probably better than any others. The price of farm products increased materially and the home market was greatly extended, the results being seen in the increase in farm land values and a more rapid payment in full of farm mortgages than ever before. The much deplored exodus under the Tory regime was practically stopped. The young Canadian found Canada quite good enough for him.

The Borden Government Bears Witness.

Perhaps the best testimonial to the Liberal Government's policy that was ever given was contained in the speech from the throne on November 11th, 1911. The Conservative Government then only a month or so in Office put the following words in the mouth of His Excellency, the Governor-General:

"It affords me great pleasure to congratulate you upon the continued and increasing prosperity of the country. Our trade both with the British and foreign countries is rapidly extending and there is every prospect that its volume in the present year will be largely in excess of that attained at any time in the past."

Sir Thomas White Enthusiastic.

Hon. Mr. White (now Sir Thomas) in his first Budget speech delivered on March 13th, 1912, testifies as follows:—

"It will, as I have said before, be gratifying to all that the material prosperity with which we have been so highly favoured still continues to be our portion. Despite the serious vicissitudes through which the western wheat crop has passed and the unusual heat experienced in the province of Ontario during the past summer, the field crops of Canada show a bountiful yield and with the high prices prevailing for practically all its products the great basic industry of agriculture continues in a flourishing condition. Almost every department of trade and commerce shows expansion. Our mines are wonderfully productive. Our coast fisheries, notably the Atlantic, have enjoyed a good catch and high prices. Our manufacturers are thriving and new industries are springing up throughout the whole Dominion. Railway construction, especially in the west, proceeds apace, preparing a way for

settlement in districts not yet opened up and for trade with other markets than we now enjoy. Our increased bank deposits, clearings and circulation, the amount of public and private building evidenced in municipal and business structures, extensions to manufacturing plants and residences in almost every part of the country, all attest that the general prosperity of Canada at the present time is very great.

"Our Dominion continues to be the land of hope and promise to the home-seeker. During the last year, as before shown, our immigration from Europe and the United States reached an average of nearly a thousand a day bringing their capital, their intelligence, their energy to assist in the great task of developing the resources of Canada and building up her nationality. Much has been said in the past with which I am in accord as to the selection of immigration as far as possible with an eye to the quality and character of our future citizenship. Not

withstanding the large stream of immigration, labour conditions are good and extreme poverty, from any reason other than incapacity or direct misfortune, is hardly known.

"Under the favourable conditions which I have described, and with every prospect of their continuance, the future of Canada looks bright indeed. In the enjoyment of peace, plenty and prosperity her energetic loyal and patriotic people look forward with hope and expectation to an ever great and greater future."

The foregoing statements have undoubtedly a roseate hue, but not more so than the actual facts warrant.

The Next Election.

After fifteen years of successful administration, the Liberal Government was defeated in 1911, and the indications are that at the next election the Liberals will be returned to power to renew, enlarge and develop the record of progress and prosperity inaugurated shortly after 1896.

ENGLAND WAS NEVER GREATER THAN AT THIS MOMENT.

On May 28th, 1917, on the floor of the Canadian House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at the welcome extended to Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, formerly Prime Minister of Great Britain, in the course of an eloquent address said:—

"England, great at all times, was never greater than at this moment; never was greater, I repeat, and because of what? Because to-day England is the home of civilization and the terror

of the enemies of civilization. In Germany to-day the cry is, 'Gott straffe England.' But everywhere else, on the seven seas, throughout the five continents, in the mansions of the great, and in the cottages of the lowly, there rises every day the fervent and ever more fervent prayer, 'God bless England' God bless England for all the sacrifices she has made, for the duties she has undertaken, for the risks she has assumed."

