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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

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MEIGHEN PAPERS

SERIES 3

(M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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055975

For translation.

G.A. Fauteux.

My dear Fauteux:

I appreciate very much your letter of 3nd April. At the first opportunity I will take a occasion to state in the House what I have said at various places in the country on the subject of ~~my views on~~ what is called the Imperialist Question. In this connection I am sending you today Hansard containing the speech of the present Prime Minister on the Motion of Mr. Woodsworth. Therein you will find underlined certain references which go as far as I have gone at any time. I also attach herewith extract from a speech of Sir Wilfred Laurier on the day of August 1914. Sir Wilfred went much farther there, that is, he spoke in much more general terms than I have done at any time. As you know I have never concealed my belief that in the association of the British Empire we have not only the preservation of our finest tradition but the strongest shield of our security.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

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CANADA

055976

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EX - HANSARD, Aug. 19, 1914.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER:.....

.....

"I am well aware that the small contingent of some 20,000 men which we are going to send will have to show double courage and double steadiness if they are to give any account of themselves among the millions of men who are now converging towards the frontiers of France, where the battle of giants is to be decided. But, Sir, it is the opinion of the British Government, as disclosed by the correspondence which was brought down to us yesterday, that the assistance of our troops, humble as it may be, will be appreciated, either for its material value or for the greater moral help which will be rendered. It will be seen by the world that Canada, a daughter of old England, intends to stand by her in this great conflict. When the call comes our answer goes at once, and it goes in the classical language of the British answer to the call to duty: 'Ready, aye, ready'.

If my words can be heard beyond the walls of this House in the province from which I come, among the men whose blood flows in my own veins, I should like them to remember that, in taking their place to-day in the ranks of the Canadian army to fight for the cause of the allied nations, a double honour rests upon them. The very cause for which they are called upon to fight is to them doubly sacred". .....

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Imp R

Manitoba Free Press
Oct 5/24
977

Mr. Meighen on Empire Relations

Mr. Meighen's temperate and admirably phrased speech on Imperial relations, to the Commonwealth Club on Tuesday night, is especially valuable as showing the large measure of agreement which exists as to the main features of the settlement of this once complex problem which has been reached. The principles, which Mr. Meighen laid down as governing the relations of the various parts of the Empire, would be accepted by all who advocate an enlarged status for Canada, though there might be differences as to the manner in which those principles should be applied. In fact, as has happened before in our history, this question has been settled practically by consent. There has been going on for the past ten or fifteen years a triangular duel in Canada between those who adored the status of colonial subjection, those who desired to see Canada a province of a highly unified state, and those who believed that the time had come for Canada to extend her self-governing powers into the field of external affairs and claim a position of nationhood, both within the British Commonwealth and the world at large. The latter solution has now been practically accepted by everybody, the evidence of which is to be found in Mr. Meighen's speech, if indeed any evidence is necessary. An address by the leader of the Conservative party ten or fifteen years ago, affirming the equality of Canada with Great Britain and agreeing that Canadians themselves must have complete control and assume full responsibility for both external and internal affairs, would have been followed on the part of the faithful by the rending of clothes and the crying of Ichabod, Ichabod. As it is, Mr. Meighen's remarks will be taken as a matter of course.

The degree and the manner in which Canada will co-operate with the other British nations in the new scheme of things are matters about which there will be legitimate differences of opinion and it will be in this field that the divergences of the Liberal and Conservative views will manifest themselves. With respect to the method by which the Dominions will participate in international conferences, Mr. Meighen declared himself in favor of the panel system which was resorted to at the recent international conference in London. But the panel system is open to the objection which was preferred against it by the London Times, that it commits the capital error of putting the Dominions and Great Britain in different categories. In the panel system the members of the all-British delegation do not serve in rotation. The British members are constantly in attendance and it is the Dominion representatives that rotate. As a permanent method it is quite unacceptable. This was so clearly recognized at the recent conference that the British Government publicly agreed with the Canadian Government that it was not to be regarded as a precedent. The Canadian Government accepted the panel solution for this occasion as the only way out of an impasse which had been created by the failure of the British foreign office to make provision for the representation of the Dominions at the conference. It is not likely to be repeated.

There is no reason why there should be any trouble whatever between Great Britain and the Dominions with respect to representation at international conferences. By the terms of the declaration as to treaty-making powers adopted at the last Imperial Conference, whenever international negotiations are afoot between any British nation and a foreign nation, any other British nation can declare itself in on the conference if it believes that its interests are affected. It follows that when a nation thus declares itself in, it goes in as a principal and not subject to the exigencies of a panel system. It may be that the foreign nation may raise objections to the appearance of other British nations in the conference; but that is an entirely different question which must be dealt with in its own way.

The problems of common Imperial defence weigh heavily upon Mr. Meighen. Obviously he thinks Canada is shirking a measure of responsibility. Canada's contribution to Imperial defence must consist of the measures which she takes for her own defence, creating a power which in the event of war will be available for the larger defence of the Empire. If Mr. Meighen thinks that Canada is not making due provision for her defence it is both his privilege and his duty to submit to the Canadian people for their judgment at the next election an alternative programme embodying his views as to what is proper. Vague complaints that we are not living up to our responsibilities will not get us very far.

All this worrying about how the British nations are going to co-operate to defend themselves against aggression, to keep the ocean routes open in case of war, to provide security for the Empire, is, of course, based upon pre-war conceptions of international policy. They rest upon the assumption that each nation or combination of nations must provide by armaments and by defensive alliances for its own defence. But it is increasingly plain that despite many difficulties in the way the world is moving steadily and rapidly to a point where the security of each nation will be the concern of all, as witness, for instance, the developments at Geneva at this present moment. These problems of Imperial defence and common diplomatic action for purposes of defence will in all probability solve themselves within the next ten or fifteen years by simply disappearing.

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1924

MR. MEIGHEN'S ADDRESS

It is refreshing to find a Canadian public man laying emphasis on Canada's duties and obligations in Empire partnership, rather than on Canada's rights and privileges. Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen did in his address to the Commonwealth Club last evening, and in so doing added greatly to the general excellence of a dispassionate, logical and informative discussion of the subject.

The address can be briefly summarized under five headings:

1—Canada's position in the Empire is entirely a matter under her own control. British statesmen do not restrict or hamper her constitutional development.

2—Canada has great privileges and rights as a member state of the Empire. Partnership in the Empire is in itself a "place in the sun."

3—Canada has important duties and assumes real obligations by her partnership in the Empire, the principal being:

(a)—To work for world peace by expressing the Canadian point of view in the Empire councils;

(b)—To co-operate with the other parts of the Empire in the necessary measures of fortification and defense, bearing a fair part of the burden of expense, since the defense of every part of the Empire is vital to the whole.

4—Canada should regard her separate representation at the Peace Conference and in the League of Nations not as precedents but as a special method of meeting extraordinary conditions; and should take part in future international conferences on the panel system which Great Britain is quite ready to adopt.

5—The Empire must hold together, and to maintain and uphold it is a first task of Canadian citizenship. There is no hope of world peace through the League of Nations—two score nations of many tongues and creeds and with many natural hostilities—if the League of British Nations cannot hold together and act as a unit.

Mr. Meighen did not break wholly new ground in his address. It was simply a statement of the present condition in regard to Empire relations, accurate in all respects and as already noted refreshing in its emphasis on the obligations that Canada should assume co-equal with her rights and privileges. On this point he declared that, whereas Canadians feel consciously or otherwise a sort of security in the shadow, so to speak, of the great republic to the south, it is a false security. No part of the Empire can suffer attack without the whole Empire suffering. The security of Australia or South Africa or Great Britain is as vital to Canada as her own safety. He did not urge that Canada's expenditures for defense need be as great as those of the United Kingdom, but he emphasized that Canada has a proportion of the burden of Empire defense to carry and cannot in honor escape it.

It is more difficult to follow Mr. Meighen in his division of the people of Canada into three classes, extremists who seek out every opportunity to advance Canadian autonomy even to the point of complete separation from Great Britain, "raging, rampant Imperialists," and the great mass of the people who occupy middle grounds. The division is wholly arbitrary. That there are extremists who contemplate complete withdrawal of Canada from the Empire is true enough. But where are the raging, rampant Imperialists? The great majority of the people, on Mr. Meighen's own statement, desire to maintain the British connection and consider no sacrifice too great to that end. They look, he said, upon membership in the Empire as in itself a "place in the sun," and desire to maintain it at all costs. No raging, rampant Imperialist could voice his views more vigorously. In other words, the strongest Imperialist in the Dominion occupies common ground with the great mass of the people.

If Mr. Meighen meant by Imperialists the centralists, who desired to establish in London a government for the whole Empire, where in Canada can he find a spokesman of this idea? Decades ago there probably were some centralists in Canada, and certainly there were some in Great Britain. Today they are extinct in Britain as in Canada.

However, this arbitrary division marred but little what was on the whole an admirable address.

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3. (M.G. 26, I, Volume 10)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Imp Rs Moose Jaw Times-Herald Oct. 6/24

055979

MR. MEIGHEN ON EMPIRE RELATIONS

(Manitoba Free Press.)

Mr. Meighen's temperate and admirably phrased speech on Imperial relations, to the Commonwealth Club on Tuesday night, is especially valuable as showing the large measure of agreement which exists as to the main features of the settlement of this once complex problem which has been reached. The principles, which Mr. Meighen laid down as governing the relations of the various parts of the Empire, would be accepted by all who advocate an enlarged status for Canada, though there might be differences as to the manner in which those principles should be applied. In fact, as has happened before in our history, this question has been settled practically by consent. There has been going on for the past ten or fifteen years a triangular duel in Canada between those who adored the status of colonial subjection, those who desired to see Canada a province of a highly unified state, and those who believed that the time had come for Canada to extend her self-governing powers into the field of external affairs and claim a position of nationhood, both within the British Commonwealth and the world at large. The latter solution has now been practically accepted by everybody, the evidence of which is to be found in Mr. Meighen's speech, if indeed any evidence is necessary. An address by the leader of the Conservative Party ten or fifteen years ago, affirming the equality of Canada with Great Britain and agreeing that Canadians themselves must have complete control and assume full responsibility for both external and internal affairs, would have been followed on the part of the faithful by the rending of clothes and the crying of Ichabod, Ichabod. As it is, Mr. Meighen's remarks will be taken as a matter of course.

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 50)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Imp R Moose Jaw Times Oct. 7/24

055980

MR. MEIGHEN ON EMPIRE RELATIONS

(Manitoba Free Press.)

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 50)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Free Press London Ont. Oct. 7/24

055981

MINISTER OF DEFENSE DEFERS SEEING THOMAS

Canadian May Discuss Matter of Imperial Parley With Colonial Minister.

LONDON, Oct. 6. — (Canadian Press Cable.)—Hon. E. M. MacDonald, Canadian minister of defense, who is in London, after having been in attendance at the League of Nations' assembly at Geneva, has deferred meeting J. H. Thomas, colonial secretary, until tomorrow.

The engagement of the Canadian minister to meet the colonial secretary has little apparent connection with the proposal made by Mr. Thomas some time ago that an imperial conference might be held in London this autumn for the discussion of matters of interest to the mother country and the dominions.

The political developments of the last week in Great Britain naturally strengthen the impression that the conference proposed by Mr. Thomas, which met with a generally luke-warm reception by the dominions, cannot now take place.

Senator Dandurand has not yet arrived from Geneva and the latest information as to the Canadian senator's movements is to the effect that he will remain on the continent for three weeks more. He has a variety of engagements in Paris, so he would not be available for any general conference here if one should be held in the immediate future.

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Mtl. Gazette Oct. 22/24

055982

IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

There should be wide acceptance of the ideas set out before a non-party audience at Quebec on Saturday by Mr. Meighen, when he spoke of the relations towards each other of the different parts of the British Empire. There has been much that was not well-considered said on the subject in this country. Some have spoken as if there were a continuous struggle going on between the mother country and the colony, the one to impose its wishes on the other, and the other ever watchful lest it should lose some of its powers of self-control. There is no such state of affairs. The British Government, no matter what the politics of its members, is careful in all that it does concerning Canada to be informed beforehand of this country's views as these are understood by the Cabinet at Ottawa. There is no occasion for a Canadian minister going about, like a bellicose schoolboy with a chip on his shoulder, proclaiming his championship of Canada's rights, and forgetting that with rights there go, as a matter of course, equivalent duties. And there is no need for changing the medium of communication between the British and colonial governments from the Colonial to the Foreign Office, an action that, if taken, if it had any meaning, would imply that Canada was a foreign and not a British country. The Opposition leader put it that the principle of local autonomy had grown until it became the chief cornerstone of the Empire structure. It is recognized as necessary to the Empire's development and security. The cornerstone, important as it may be, is only a part of the structure in which it has its place. The structure as a whole must be protected, and, consistent with individual honor and with the least burden on the people, each part must bear a share of the defence. The countries may all desire peace, and certainly this country does; but the world may not be altered in a day or a decade by a general desire; and certain measures for defence are fundamental conditions of existence. This brings the natural conclusion that "having established and having recognized, without question or hesitation, the full right of Canada to decide what Canadians should do, to decide whether Canada moves or does not move, there must nevertheless pervade the Canadian people the conviction that we cannot be members of the Empire without responsibilities, we cannot enjoy rights without the entailment of duties, and we must have some responsibility in the nature of defence." This does not mean that, as in some European countries is yet thought to be the case, the army must be considered before any other public service and provided for. Canada does not need defensive works along her frontiers now any more than it has done for a hundred years. It does mean that members of one family or commonwealth are vitally concerned in the integrity of the whole and that weakness in or disaster to any one reacts on all.

The relations to each other of the different sections of the Empire were also reviewed. At the Imperial Conference in London in 1917 a resolution was adopted which deplored the fact that these relationships were vague, and leaving to another conference the task of dealing with the constitutional position of the Dominions. This conference has not been held and is not likely to be held for some time. If it is never held, nothing need be lost. Mr. Meighen intimated that his feeling was against any hard and fast definition of the relations of the Empire parts to each other. He would deal with matters from time to time as they arose. This policy has been tried. In the war, without any definition of relations, or responsibilities, or duties, all sections of the Empire acted with one accord. Each did what it could for the common welfare. What was the case when the great issue called for decision and action may be relied upon to settle minor questions when they come up. It is well that this should be remembered when overzealous partizans suggest changes, the result of which, if resolved upon, no one could foresee.

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Imp Rs

Ottawa Journal Nov. 12/24

055983

MAKING CLEAR THE STATUS OF THIS DOMINION

Senator Belcourt Gives Version of Happenings At London Conference.

INTERNATIONAL MEET IS EPOCH IN HISTORY

British Dominions Were Near Having No Direct Representation At London.

By Canadian Press.

TORONTO, Nov. 11.—Canada's status in Imperial affairs was the subject of an address delivered to The Canadian Club today by Senator N. A. Belcourt, envoy extraordinary of the Canadian Government at the recent conference in London.

How nearly the British Dominions were to having no direct representation was described by Senator Belcourt.

Notwithstanding that Canada had protested because it had not been invited to the conference of Lausanne and had refused to submit to its own Parliament the treaty bearing that name, the matter of the representation of the Dominions and India at the last London conference was overlooked by the Government of Great Britain, said Senator Belcourt.

Canada's Status.

"When the Prime Minister appointed me to represent Canada at the conference his instructions were to insist upon representation separate from Great Britain and with equal power."

On his arrival in London, however, he learned that Australia, New Zealand and India had agreed to be represented on the "panel" system by their High Commissioners in London. "I was informed by the head of the British Government and the Colonial Secretary that insistence on my part for separate and equal representation would hinder, delay and probably frustrate the work of the conference. Accordingly I consented to recommend to the Government of Canada the panel representation, as Canada would, I felt sure, decline to assume and responsibility for delay or hindrance in the work of the conference.

"I, however, insisted that my recommendation must be accompanied with a distinct agreement that the panel representation must be only for this conference, and, if approved by my Government, that it would not be looked upon as creating a precedent or quoted or looked upon as in any sense a derogation from the status recognized at Versailles and Washington or from the agreement made at the Imperial conference of 1923."

"The question of Canadian status in connection with treaties and conference is no longer debatable," he continued, "It has been settled finally and definitely by the agreement which was drawn up at the Imperial conference of 1923. Canada is entitled to separate and equal representation with Great Britain and the other Dominions of the Empire."

Canada's Part in War.

Senator Belcourt pointed out that because of what Canada did in the war, Great Britain had recognized her right "to be consulted and to have representation and full power in all international agreements and treaties".

"I cannot see how we can hope for larger powers unless we become an independent nation—and accept the consequences."

"And for the present, I am certainly not prepared to say that we should cut the painter."

Senator Belcourt declared that the International conference held in London last summer to pave the way for making the Dawes report operative was the most eloquent and portentous event of modern times and marked an epoch in the history of nations equal at least to that one when man finally emerged from the jungle.

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Vancouver Province Jan. 3/25

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BRITAIN PLANS TO LABEL IMPORTS

Premier King Tells Board of Trade He Expects British Assistance.

Preference By Way of Duties On Food Will Not Be Given.

May Use Sum to Encourage Consumption of Canadian Merchandise.

Marking Act Likely to Be Brought In By Baldwin Ministry.

Several weeks ago the council of the Board of Trade wrote Premier W. L. Mackenzie King, bringing to his attention the desirability of securing confirmation of the resolutions passed at the Imperial Conference of 1923, in regard to preference on canned salmon. A reply has been received from the Premier in which he reviews the situation, pointing out that while it will be impossible now to provide for the preference, as suggested by the 1923 Imperial Economic Conference, some other method of encouraging the import of salmon from Canada may be undertaken.

Speaking to the conference on November 7, 1923, the president of the British Board of Trade said that in 1921 406,000 cwts. of canned salmon were received by Great Britain from foreign countries and 170,000 cwts. came from Canada, adding that the development from this country could be largely assisted by the mother country.

DUTY RECOMMENDED.

Under these circumstances the conference recommended a duty of 10s. per hundredweight upon canned salmon, imported from foreign countries, and the admittance of canned salmon from Empire countries free of duty.

Premier King then points out why this was not done as follows:

"In the general election which followed in 1923, and which resulted in the defeat of the government of the day in Great Britain, much opposition was expressed to any increased taxation of food. During the general election of 1924, Mr. Baldwin specifically promised that if the Unionist party was returned to power there would be no taxation of food. The new British Government has evidently considered itself bound by this pledge not to impose any new taxes on food. It is, therefore, dropping such of the preference proposals as involved putting new taxes on foreign foods and admitting Empire products free, though it proposes to carry out that part of the preference programme which merely involved the granting of a preference on articles already liable to duty.

MAY BONUS GOODS.

This policy means that the proposed preference on canned salmon will not be given. As an alternative, however, the British Government has proposed to ask a committee to enquire into the possibility of utilizing a substantial sum in other ways for the encouragement of the marketing of Empire produce in Great Britain.

"This decision will undoubtedly be received with regret by Canadians, particularly those interested in the salmon canning industry. You will, however, I think, agree with me that, while it is the duty of the Canadian Government to make clear what we consider would be in the interests of Canadian producers, as we have done, it is the right of the government and Parliament of Great Britain, as of every other part of the Empire, to make the ultimate decision as to the fiscal policy which they believe to be in the interests of the people they represent.

MARKING IMPORTS PROBABLE.

"The question of marking merchandise to show the country of origin was also discussed at the Imperial Economic Conference. Sir Robert Saunders, speaking for the British Government, stated that the government was going to take up a merchandise marks bill which had been introduced by a private member, and, in deference to the wishes of the Dominions, it has been agreed that the words, 'Empire produce' and 'foreign produce' should be used in the bill, instead of 'imported produce,' in order to distinguish between articles coming from the Dominions and foreign countries, and, further, that it has also been decided to insert in the bill a general provision as to indication of origin applying to all the cases falling within the scope of the bill.

"The British Government was prevented by the coming on of the general election from proceeding with the bill, but we have no doubt that it will be taken up later. We shall, if need be, bring the matter to their attention."

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41, Threadneedle Street,
London, E.C.

17.I.25

My Dear Meighen,

This article by Richard Jebb seems to me penetrating & sound & worth reading.

Yours sincerely
Loring C. Christie

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remind him that fair play requires that all the ex-Service men should have the same chance? Let them have a fair field; and let the best men win! The *temporary* men who fail can be consoled with the vacancies in the lower grades created by the success of the *permanent* men."

* * * *

IN the current issue of "The American Mercury," Mr. H. L. Mencken unburdens himself on the subject of the raiding of England of rare books and art treasures by American collectors. He is sure that in the long run this will have an evil effect upon Anglo-American relations. Mr. Mencken is always provocative and his anti-Puritan Puritanism is one of the most refreshing notes in contemporary American journalism. Among other things he says:—

> Every time an American dealer rises at a book auction in London and begins bidding his English colleagues under the table the patriotic English squirm, and every time they squirm they show sound feeling and sound sense. Suppose we were poor and the English were rich, and some of our most precious national heirlooms had to go to on the block, and the English sent hard-boiled commercial gents across the ocean to buy them, and every effort of an American to save them was met by a gaudy flashing of money, like that of an Elk in a supper-club. Who would squirm then? The two cases are exactly parallel. For the books that the agents of American profiteers now gobble so copiously in London are not merely old books; they are, in many cases, national treasures of the English people. Some of them are quite unique; when the single known copy comes to America there is none left for England. The English, seeing this single copy go, feel that they have been stripped—that there has been something unfair about the transaction. Nine-tenths of these books are of English origin. They constitute, collectively, one of the great glories of England. To take them away is to do violence to the national *amour propre*.

* * * *

IT is very sporting of Mr. Mencken to feel like this, but I am afraid he has inadvertently fallen into a romantic fallacy. As a man of letters naturally books and objects of art assume an undue importance to him. There is not a library or gallery, private or public, in any country of Europe, that does not contain countless art treasures out of their original setting. The greater proportion of Cézannes, to cite a modern instance, is owned outside France. I prefer that Egyptian antiquities be in the British Museum or the Metropolitan Museum, rather than in Cairo, subject to the vagaries of political children like the Egyptian nationalists. Æsthetic susceptibility and political sagacity do not go hand in hand. International relations are governed by men of affairs, and there are plenty of these who do not know a first folio from a Breeches Bible and who probably think an incunabulum is a kind of insect.

* * * *

CERTAINLY some of the "hard-boiled commercial gents" of whom Mr. Mencken speaks are offensive, but I don't think that we regard them as worse than any other variety of the species because they travel in books. If American newspapers make a fuss when a new art treasure reaches American shores solely because "a prodigious and unprecedented price has been paid for it," ours are not much better. We have the habit of ignoring what Mr. Mencken calls "the great glories of England," until some rich American comes along and buys one of them, and then the Press sets up a howl. I hope I am not cynical, but such is the way of the world.

OCELLUS.

Will Liberalism Survive?

CAN Liberalism survive? Will Liberalism survive? Liberal headquarters have been hearing a good deal of evidence on these points recently, but most of the witnesses have been interested parties. With all deference we offer for their consideration a few observations on the condition of the patient from an outside study of the symptoms. "To see ourselves as others see us," must sometimes be the ambition of even the pundits of Abingdon Street.

Can Liberalism survive? Understood in its widest sense, this question can only have one answer. While intelligence and generosity, in however small proportions, continue to be attributes of the human animal, Liberalism must survive; and until the race has acquired the fixity of habit and mechanical routine of the insects, so long must Liberalism, in some form or another, be a permanent quality of its mind. But unwelcome as the admission may be to the rank and file party politicians, Liberalism in this wide sense of the word has had some of its most distinguished representatives in the Tory Party. Lord Castlereagh, who has been vilified by every Liberal historian for a century past, used his influence in an essentially Liberal direction in the settlement of Europe. The late Mr. George Wyndham, the founder of this journal, was a Conservative by conviction and habit, but his method of approach to many of the political problems of his time was more essentially Liberal than the cut-and-dried shibboleths which the Liberal caucus adopted. Liberalism, in short, is an attitude of mind, and is part of the common possession of every Englishman.

But that is not the point for Liberal headquarters. What they want to know is not whether Liberalism in some form or another can survive, but whether it can survive in that particular form known as the Liberal Party with a palatial club on the Embankment, half a club in Pall Mall, and headquarters at Abingdon Street. But even here the answer is not ambiguous. There is always room for a party of rational progress. With the Labour Party falling daily more and more into the hands of its extremists, there is no reason in the world why the Liberals should not gradually resume their traditional position in the councils of the State. They must resolve their differences, revise their programme, and reorganise their machinery; and Time, the great arbiter of political fortunes, will sooner or later provide an opportunity. There can be no doubt that the Liberal Party *can* survive.

But *will* it? That is the question for us who are living history, not merely reading it. The same process, which has made Liberalism a permanent possession of intelligent beings, provides no guarantee of its having a permanent repository. The spirit of rational change is tied to no un-

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changing habitation. If one form fails, it fashions another. And the question is, whether the Liberal Party, as distinct from Liberalism, has not reached the end of its capacity for variation; whether having ceased to adapt itself to its environment it is not now destined to perish by a process of natural selection. The task of reorganisation is at best a formidable one. Is it going to prove equal to it?

So far it is too early to say. We have heard a good deal of Liberal revival recently. A Liberal contemporary has even given a prize for a poem celebrating its revival. Daily, ever since the election, enthusiastic "Daily News" correspondents have written from all parts of the country declaring that never was Liberalism so vital, never were Liberals more enthusiastic. But as similar protestations have been forthcoming on the morrow of every Liberal defeat since the Armistice, it would seem to follow that never would Liberalism be more vital, never would Liberals be more enthusiastic than on the day after the party had finally given up the political ghost. A heavy discount should be put on Cadbury *Couéism*.

No, this is emphatically a case of "by their fruits ye shall know them." And as a matter of fact, the first fruits—whether of repentance or triumph we leave to competitors in the "Daily News" crossword competition to determine—so far from being rare and refreshing, are singularly unpromising. Mr. Lloyd George has been outlining the Liberalism of the future. Naturally he sees a great future for Liberalism. The nation is threatened by the parties of interest. The nation will be saved by the party of the people. Sinister dangers are menacing the people. Two gigantic monopolies are "strangling its life-blood." But they have not been unnoticed by the experienced leaders of the Liberal Party. The great party of the people is arming itself to do desperate battle with those twin monsters . . . landlordism and drink!

Landlordism and drink? There is a grim pathos about this battle-cry. It is as though some long-forgotten favourite were suddenly to display herself, ghastly with paint and enamel but aping the graces of her past, in scenes of her former greatness. Is it really conceivable, we ask ourselves, that so intelligent a man as Mr. Lloyd George should be so utterly incapable of emancipating himself from his former catchwords? Is he, is the whole Liberal Party, passing into a second childhood? Do they really imagine that these hoary old bogies are seriously going to frighten anybody?

If they do, they are labouring under a pathetic delusion. We have no hesitation in saying that, if they can do no better than this, the Liberal Party is dead as a doornail. We are not contending for a minute that everything is perfect in regard to Drink or the Ownership of Land—any more than it is in regard to anything else. On the contrary, we have often urged public-house reform ourselves: and we have no doubt that the conditions of land tenure are sometimes far from ideal. But that these issues should be the main planks of any political platform—the thing would be comic if it were not so serious. Possibly a few nonconformists, in whom all belief in those principles of individual liberty, which inspired their ancestors, is dead, may be attracted by the idea of depriving others of pleasures they themselves are not inclined to: there may be some life in an anti-drink campaign. But anti-landlordism is not going to attract anybody save a few fanatics who have never seen through the bad economics of Henry George and John Stuart Mill. Fifteen years ago the cry was stale and flat. Do the Liberals really think it rings truer to-day?

We ask it in no carping spirit. For if they do, if this is their much-heralded revival policy, then the question we asked at first needs no further investigation. If landlordism and drink are the be-all and end-all of its policy the Liberal Party will not survive. And we should be genuinely sorry if this were so. The fall of a great party is an event which rouses feelings deeper than those roused by the party conflict—

> Men are we, and must grieve when even the Shade
> Of that which once was great is passed away.

Imperial Consultation

By Richard Jebb.

In fullness of time the Conservatives will go out of office, and someone will inquire how far they may have succeeded in their intention of strengthening the political unity of the Empire. The lately issued correspondence with the Dominions (Cmd. 230) concerning the methods of consultation, will furnish the historical record of what the position was when the Conservatives took it over.

Last June the late Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, sent a circular dispatch to the Dominion Governments pointing out certain defects of the existing system and proposing a joint committee—technically it would have been a "Subsidiary Conference," as provided for by the capital resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1907—to examine the situation and suggest improvements. In the ensuing correspondence no eagerness was anywhere displayed for the proposed conference, and only the replies from Canada and Australia need now be considered. When the Conservatives came into power the new Colonial Secretary, early in December, sent a dispatch abandoning the proposal, but at the same time intimating a desire to arrange a conference on the question of the Geneva Protocol.

The first defect to which Mr. MacDonald called attention is the difficulty of maintaining consultation in matters of foreign policy, which so often require quick decision, during the long intervals between sessions of the Imperial Conference. He gave no examples; but everyone would remember the not very distant affair of Chanak, and the more recent trouble with Canada over the Lausanne Treaty. His practical suggestion was that it might be worth while to consider how far the resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1923 regarding Negotiation and Treaties "needs to be supplemented and interpreted, and whether principles embodied in it can usefully be extended to other matters affecting foreign relations."

Now, the 1923 Resolution was apparently devised to facilitate separate rather than collective action in regard to treaties. By the Canadian Government, whose influence was manifest in the drafting, the resolution was claimed as a vindication of their much-

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criticised procedure in the case of the Halibut Fisheries Treaty with the United States, where they had refused to permit the co-signature of the British Ambassador at Washington. It has seemed to be the Canadian contention that it is both practicable and desirable for the Crown to authorise negotiations and ratify a treaty on the advice of Canadian Ministers alone, if in their own opinion the subject matter affects Canadians exclusively, and, further, that this can be done without involving other Governments of the Empire in any sort of responsibility. Against that contention it has been argued that in practice his Majesty does not, and could not, accept the advice of Dominion Ministers without first consulting his British Ministers, who would take into account the general interest of the Empire. If so, the action of the Canadian Government in deliberately confining the signature of the treaty to their own representative was a futile gesture, ineffective to limit the responsibility of the Empire as a whole, for which alone his Majesty can act. But, characteristically enough, this crucial point was left ambiguous in the carefully drawn formulae of the 1923 Resolution, which certainly remain to be "interpreted" as and when occasion may arise. In any case, to carry into "other matters affecting foreign relations" the principle embodied in that resolution would seem to imply an attempt to delimit spheres of foreign policy in which the principle of consultation and joint responsibility should by agreement be excluded. In short, it suggests a separatist rather than unionist line of inquiry.

Replying to Mr. MacDonald's invitation the Canadian Government recognised "the difficulty inherent in the existence of several self-governing communities scattered over the globe, with . . . different neighbours and different problems," and the further difficulty of lack of precedents in working out this new experiment in co-operation; but they felt that it could be overcome, as hitherto, by mutual good will. As might have been expected, they "agree that it would be helpful to consider the possibilities of a further extension of the principle embodied" in the 1923 Resolution. To follow out these ideas, we may imagine the discussion beginning on the basis that Canada should have the right to play a lone hand in America and Britain in Europe. To that general rule exceptions might be sought and some admitted; resulting in an agreed schedule of the exceptional cases in either hemisphere where consultation would be proper. But we need not at present pursue the speculation. The Conservative Government are pledged to uphold the principle of the "diplomatic unity" of the Empire, which the 1923 Resolution at least obscures if it does not antagonise. Well might Mr. Amery remark that, in regard to the suggestion of interpreting and extending the resolution, "on this point, in particular, his Majesty's Government feel that the time which has elapsed since the Resolution was passed is hardly sufficient to enable any very definite opinion to be given. For themselves they would prefer to defer a considered judgment until they have had an opportunity of studying for a longer period the working of the Resolution in practice." Meanwhile the appointment, long since authorised, of a Canadian "Minister plenipotentiary" to Washington, is still delayed. *Solvitur ambulando.*

If the tone of Canada in Empire affairs has been of late years somewhat negative, that of Australia has been decidedly positive. The Commonwealth Government agreed, under pressure, to send representatives to the subsidiary conference, "on the principle that anything which even remotely tends to improve the relations between the various Governments of the Empire is worthy of trial." But they did not themselves set any store by the suggested inquiry. They had "already given a great deal of consideration to this most important question" of consultation—a very reasonable claim when one remembers Mr. Bruce's devoted work at the Imperial Conference only fifteen months ago. They had, however, a definite proposal of their own, which has since been carried out. A specially selected Australian officer has been appointed to join the High Commissioner's staff for the purpose of keeping in intimate touch with the Foreign Office, where he is to have special facilities, thus being enabled to give his own Government independent information on the foreign questions of the day.

This is, no doubt, an important step forward. Hitherto the information regularly conveyed, by cable and mail, from the British to the Dominion Governments has been drafted in the Foreign Office, giving therefore the official British view of affairs abroad. For example, the protracted episode of the Ruhr occupation in 1923 was doubtless coloured in the official story by the anti-French bias of our diplomacy. An independent Dominion observer, having access to all the secret facts, as well as to the Continental newspapers, might have thought it worth while to balance the Foreign Office version by a statement of the French point of view, as set forth in M. Poincaré's weekly speeches and confidential dispatches, and to warn his own Government that public opinion here was acutely divided. Perhaps it was a surprise to General Smuts, when he came here in the autumn of 1923, to find that, despite his official intelligence, the country was by no means ready for a crusade against France.

Information, however, is one thing and consultation another. It may assist Mr. Bruce in Melbourne to form his own judgment if he gets a supplementary account from his own man of what is going on in Europe. But what then? It has long been felt that there can be no equal responsibility for "Imperial" policy in foreign affairs without direct personal consultation between the Governments. Mere exchange of cablegrams has been found quite inadequate. It is a question of how to bring responsible Ministers, or sufficiently authorised representatives, of the several Governments into daily contact. In other words, the Imperial Conference has to be made a continuous instead of an intermittent institution. Mr. Bruce's new expedient is hardly an obvious step in that direction. Rather it may seem a recognition that, for the present, continuous consultation remains an unattainable ideal. It signifies the acceptance of a situation in which there can be no assurance that the Governments of the Empire will act in concert at all. It does not openly concede, but neither does it specifically deny, to Britain that right of playing a lone hand in European affairs which the Canadian Government perhaps would readily grant as the logical corollary of Canada's right to go her own way in American affairs.

Following the publication of this correspondence have come Press reports from the various Dominions indicating that the conference desired by the British Government on the Geneva Protocol is not considered necessary. It is intimated that in this instance an exchange of views by cable may suffice. Which means, one may surmise, that the Dominions have already decided against accepting the Protocol. Once more the inevitable moral obtrudes itself. Britain cannot have it both ways. She must choose between the Empire and Europe. All the New World shrinks from European entanglement. The Dominions do not want any extension of the liabilities they have already incurred by signing the Peace Treaties. Canada, indeed, has already tried to have her existing liability, under the Covenant, curtailed by amendments. To the overseas mind Europe could and should now take care of herself. If there is to be a common foreign policy for the Empire, collectively supported, Britain must cease to subordinate Empire development to European reconstruction. Until then, Canada and Australia, each in its own way, will continue to find insurmountable obstacles to any plan for continuous consultation as to foreign policy.

As regards other subjects of common interest, Mr. Bruce places them in a different category, and has made an important proposal which will be discussed in a second article.

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Post Office Inefficiency

By John Saxon.

THE utter break-down of the Post Office at Christmas time will be the subject of an official inquiry. Pending completion of that prolonged operation, it has been extensively criticised in the Press—not always with lucidity, or without the prejudice that has its origin in political or business hostility. I propose to consider here, impartially if I can, the reasons of the collapse and the possible remedies. It is, of course, useless to launch invectives against State Trading, or to suggest that the causes of the catastrophe—for it was a catastrophe—were inherent in the System. With a profound belief in the superiority of private enterprise, as a general proposition, I am constrained to admit that there are cases in which the combined effort of the community, concentrated upon a particular service through a colossal State organisation like the Post Office, is likely to be at least as efficient as, if not more efficient than, the maximum energy of any individual, or any Joint Stock Company.

Apart from the difficulty of providing the necessary capital, the very extent and complication of the machinery would make it impossible to exercise that individual supervision and control of details which is the secret of the superiority of private enterprise. In the case of a Company of the proportions required to carry on such a business as the Post Office, the control would be as little in the hands of the individual shareholders, and as much in the grasp of their paid servants, as it is, and always must be, in the case of a Government Department. And Governments have powers and possibilities of facilitating operations and coping with emergencies which could not be conceded to any private undertaking. Besides, the Christmas mails have, on the whole, been handled hitherto with conspicuous success. What we have to investigate is, so to speak, an isolated phenomenon; and isolated phenomena are generally the result of more or less isolated causation. We may, therefore, begin by ruling out the explanation that the failure of the Department was due to its dose of original sin. We must seek for it in some other direction.

What, then, is the explanation? Students of psychology will recollect the theory that the nervous system—the Post Office of the human organism—in the earlier stages of its evolution, conveyed its messages direct from point to point, with little or no central control; that later the tendency was for messages to travel more and more through the central office; and that later still, when this threatened congestion, all mere routine reflexes were remitted to subsidiary centres with a minimum of central control. Only messages demanding deliberation were, as a rule, referred to headquarters. Roughly, that theory, with modifications (as slipshod statutes phrase it), may be applied to the Post Office.

The tendency towards undue centralisation, characteristic of bureaucracy, has there reached the point when it becomes a drag upon efficiency. This is especially the case in the Inland Section; and by a coincidence which suggests a connection, that is where the failure was most conspicuous. Reconstruction has been at work recently in this Section. Traffic Managers have been installed, as in the Telephone Department, and there has been increased centralisation both of traffic and control—intensified centralisation where already congestion was threatened under normal conditions.

But there was not only a new system to be worked and an overtaxed bottle-neck to be negotiated by the traffic. There was a new equipment of standardised fittings in use, insufficient in quantity, unsuitable in character and inadequate in size; there was lack of imagination in the superior control; there was lack of flexibility in the working of the machinery; there was lack of co-ordination between the sorting and the dispatching agencies; and there may have been a suspicion of ca'-canny among dissatisfied members of the emergency staff. In effect, the whole thing resolves itself into the simple conclusion that the men at the top were not big enough for the crisis; and the practical men at the working face either had not the experience or the vision to foresee the difficulties, or they lacked the courage to correct the optimism of those above them. They were the products of a perverted system which supresses Initiative and which only a super-man could resist.

Let us consider what used to happen in a big Post Office before the Christmas rush came. About three months in advance, the Postmaster made his estimate of the quantity of extra work he anticipated, the number of extra hands he needed, the amount of extra space he required, the tale of extra fittings the occasion demanded. His estimate was submitted to the local Surveyor, who had discretion to sanction it or to question any detail. If he thought it excessive he referred his doubt to headquarters. Subject to this check, the responsibility was the Postmaster's. His estimate approved, he hired the necessary premises, indented the necessary fittings, and engaged the necessary helpers. Naturally, he saw to their training for the work: he personally supervised it. Then he was On the Bridge through the whole cyclone, easing this, shifting that, determined through all to get the job finished in time. His reputation was at stake. If a regulation stood in the way, he ruthlessly broke it. If he had to promise unauthorised pay or privilege to ensure the necessary speeding up, he promised it. And he kept his promise. The work was done, the community was satisfied; though Red Tape rules were scandalously violated.

The Postmaster's trouble began when bags from the London centre arrived after the dispatch of the out mail which they should have been in time to catch; or when traffic came in faster than sorters could deal with it. The former had to wait for the next dispatch. That was a minor evil. With an accumulation, the extent of the trouble depended upon the way it was tackled. If the sorting was worked from the end that came in first, the delay was minimised, though it was spread over the whole sequence of deliveries. If it was worked from the end that came in last, some of the later packets were dispatched without delay; but the ones that were first received would be the last sent out, and the Office lost its reputation for efficiency. Whether the one or the other happened depended upon the Man on the Bridge and his methods of working.

We are now in a position to understand what occurred last Christmas. Traffic which should have been dealt with at a District Office was passed through the Central bottle-neck. The discretion of Postmasters and Surveyors was curtailed and subordinated to a centralised Control. There were, in consequence, large District Offices with little or no pressure, and others, especially in the Eastern, South-Eastern, and Suburban Divisions, hopelessly congested. The trouble was increased by premature discharge of temporary men, in accordance with standing instructions from headquarters. There was nobody with sufficient courage to disobey and trust to Providence for absolution.

It was in the London Centre of the Inland Section that confusion was most confounded. The job was too big for the new Traffic Managers and those above them. It was not direct intervention of the Treasury that was to blame; but fear of the Treasury and of the undiscriminating demand for economy. The volume of traffic was grossly and inexcusably under-estimated. The premises provided were insufficient. There were not enough tables, or receptacles, or bag frames; frames and receptacles were individually too small for the work; and difficulties with bag frames retarded

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Replying to Mr. MacDonald's invitation the Canadian Government recognised "the difficulty inherent in the existence of several self-governing communities scattered over the globe, with . . . different neighbours and different problems," and the further difficulty of lack of precedents in working out this new experiment in co-operation; but they felt that it could be overcome, as hitherto, by mutual good will. As might have been expected, they "agree that it would be helpful to consider the possibilities of a further extension of the principle embodied" in the 1923 Resolution. To follow out these ideas, we may imagine the discussion beginning on the basis that Canada should have the right to play a lone hand in America and Britain in Europe. To that general rule exceptions might be sought and some admitted; resulting in an agreed schedule of the exceptional cases in either hemisphere where consultation would be proper. But we need not at present pursue the speculation. The Conservative Government are pledged to uphold the principle of the "diplomatic unity" of the Empire, which the 1923 Resolution at least obscures if it does not antagonise. Well might Mr. Amery remark that, in regard to the suggestion of interpreting and extending the resolution, "on this point, in particular, his Majesty's Government feel that the time which has elapsed since the Resolution was passed is hardly sufficient to enable any very definite opinion to be given. For themselves they would prefer to defer a considered judgment until they have had an opportunity of studying for a longer period the working of the Resolution in practice." Meanwhile the appointment, long since authorised, of a Canadian "Minister plenipotentiary" to Washington, is still delayed. *Solvitur ambulando.*

If the tone of Canada in Empire affairs has been of late years somewhat negative, that of Australia has been decidedly positive. The Commonwealth Government agreed, under pressure, to send representatives to the subsidiary conference, "on the principle that anything which even remotely tends to improve the relations between the various Governments of the Empire is worthy of trial." But they did not themselves set any store by the suggested inquiry. They had "already given a great deal of consideration to this most important question" of consultation—a very reasonable claim when one remembers Mr. Bruce's devoted work at the Imperial Conference only fifteen months ago. They had, however, a definite proposal of their own, which has since been carried out. A specially selected Australian officer has been appointed to join the High Commissioner's staff for the purpose of keeping in intimate touch with the Foreign Office, where he is to have special facilities, thus being enabled to give his own Government independent information on the foreign questions of the day.

This is, no doubt, an important step forward. Hitherto the information regularly conveyed, by cable and mail, from the British to the Dominion Governments has been drafted in the Foreign Office, giving therefore the official British view of affairs abroad. For example, the protracted episode of the Ruhr occupation in 1923 was doubtless coloured in the official story by the anti-French bias of our diplomacy. An independent Dominion observer, having access to all the secret facts, as well as to the Continental newspapers, might have thought it worth while to balance the Foreign Office version by a statement of the French point of view, as set forth in M. Poincaré's weekly speeches and confidential dispatches, and to warn his own Government that public opinion here was acutely divided. Perhaps it was a surprise to General Smuts, when he came here in the autumn of 1923, to find that, despite his official intelligence, the country was by no means ready for a crusade against France.

Information, however, is one thing and consultation another. It may assist Mr. Bruce in Melbourne to form his own judgment if he gets a supplementary account from his own man of what is going on in Europe. But what then? It has long been felt that there can be no equal responsibility for "Imperial" policy in foreign affairs without direct personal consultation between the Governments. Mere exchange of cablegrams has been found quite inadequate. It is a question of how to bring responsible Ministers, or sufficiently authorised representatives, of the several Governments into daily contact. In other words, the Imperial Conference has to be made a continuous instead of an intermittent institution. Mr. Bruce's new expedient is hardly an obvious step in that direction. Rather it may seem a recognition that, for the present, continuous consultation remains an unattainable ideal. It signifies the acceptance of a situation in which there can be no assurance that the Governments of the Empire will act in concert at all. It does not openly concede, but neither does it specifically deny, to Britain that right of playing a lone hand in European affairs which the Canadian Government perhaps would readily grant as the logical corollary of Canada's right to go her own way in American affairs.

Following the publication of this correspondence have come Press reports from the various Dominions indicating that the conference desired by the British Government on the Geneva Protocol is not considered necessary. It is intimated that in this instance an exchange of views by cable may suffice. Which means, one may surmise, that the Dominions have already decided against accepting the Protocol. Once more the inevitable moral obtrudes itself. Britain cannot have it both ways. She must choose between the Empire and Europe. All the New World shrinks from European entanglement. The Dominions do not want any extension of the liabilities they have already incurred by signing the Peace Treaties. Canada, indeed, has already tried to have her existing liability, under the Covenant, curtailed by amendments. To the overseas mind Europe could and should now take care of herself. If there is to be a common foreign policy for the Empire, collectively supported, Britain must cease to subordinate Empire development to European reconstruction. Until then, Canada and Australia, each in its own way, will continue to find insurmountable obstacles to any plan for continuous consultation as to foreign policy.

As regards other subjects of common interest, Mr. Bruce places them in a different category, and has made an important proposal which will be discussed in a second article.

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055989

Post Office Inefficiency

By John Saxon.

THE utter break-down of the Post Office at Christmas time will be the subject of an official inquiry. Pending completion of that prolonged operation, it has been extensively criticised in the Press—not always with lucidity, or without the prejudice that has its origin in political or business hostility. I propose to consider here, impartially if I can, the reasons of the collapse and the possible remedies. It is, of course, useless to launch invectives against State Trading, or to suggest that the causes of the catastrophe—for it was a catastrophe—were inherent in the System. With a profound belief in the superiority of private enterprise, as a general proposition, I am constrained to admit that there are cases in which the combined effort of the community, concentrated upon a particular service through a colossal State organisation like the Post Office, is likely to be at least as efficient as, if not more efficient than, the maximum energy of any individual, or any Joint Stock Company.

Apart from the difficulty of providing the necessary capital, the very extent and complication of the machinery would make it impossible to exercise that individual supervision and control of details which is the secret of the superiority of private enterprise. In the case of a Company of the proportions required to carry on such a business as the Post Office, the control would be as little in the hands of the individual shareholders, and as much in the grasp of their paid servants, as it is, and always must be, in the case of a Government Department. And Governments have powers and possibilities of facilitating operations and coping with emergencies which could not be conceded to any private undertaking. Besides, the Christmas mails have, on the whole, been handled hitherto with conspicuous success. What we have to investigate is, so to speak, an isolated phenomenon; and isolated phenomena are generally the result of more or less isolated causation. We may, therefore, begin by ruling out the explanation that the failure of the Department was due to its dose of original sin. We must seek for it in some other direction.

What, then, is the explanation? Students of psychology will recollect the theory that the nervous system—the Post Office of the human organism—in the earlier stages of its evolution, conveyed its messages direct from point to point, with little or no central control; that later the tendency was for messages to travel more and more through the central office; and that later still, when this threatened congestion, all mere routine reflexes were remitted to subsidiary centres with a minimum of central control. Only messages demanding deliberation were, as a rule, referred to headquarters. Roughly, that theory, with modifications (as slipshod statutes phrase it), may be applied to the Post Office.

The tendency towards undue centralisation, characteristic of bureaucracy, has there reached the point when it becomes a drag upon efficiency. This is especially the case in the Inland Section; and by a coincidence which suggests a connection, that is where the failure was most conspicuous. Reconstruction has been at work recently in this Section. Traffic Managers have been installed, as in the Telephone Department, and there has been increased centralisation both of traffic and control—intensified centralisation where already congestion was threatened under normal conditions.

But there was not only a new system to be worked and an overtaxed bottle-neck to be negotiated by the traffic. There was a new equipment of standardised fittings in use, insufficient in quantity, unsuitable in character and inadequate in size; there was lack of imagination in the superior control; there was lack of flexibility in the working of the machinery; there was lack of co-ordination between the sorting and the dispatching agencies; and there may have been a suspicion of ca'-canny among dissatisfied members of the emergency staff. In effect, the whole thing resolves itself into the simple conclusion that the men at the top were not big enough for the crisis; and the practical men at the working face either had not the experience or the vision to foresee the difficulties, or they lacked the courage to correct the optimism of those above them. They were the products of a perverted system which supresses Initiative and which only a super-man could resist.

Let us consider what used to happen in a big Post Office before the Christmas rush came. About three months in advance, the Postmaster made his estimate of the quantity of extra work he anticipated, the number of extra hands he needed, the amount of extra space he required, the tale of extra fittings the occasion demanded. His estimate was submitted to the local Surveyor, who had discretion to sanction it or to question any detail. If he thought it excessive he referred his doubt to headquarters. Subject to this check, the responsibility was the Postmaster's. His estimate approved, he hired the necessary premises, indented the necessary fittings, and engaged the necessary helpers. Naturally, he saw to their training for the work: he personally supervised it. Then he was On the Bridge through the whole cyclone, easing this, shifting that, determined through all to get the job finished in time. His reputation was at stake. If a regulation stood in the way, he ruthlessly broke it. If he had to promise unauthorised pay or privilege to ensure the necessary speeding up, he promised it. And he kept his promise. The work was done, the community was satisfied; though Red Tape rules were scandalously violated.

The Postmaster's trouble began when bags from the London centre arrived after the dispatch of the out mail which they should have been in time to catch; or when traffic came in faster than sorters could deal with it. The former had to wait for the next dispatch. That was a minor evil. With an accumulation, the extent of the trouble depended upon the way it was tackled. If the sorting was worked from the end that came in first, the delay was minimised, though it was spread over the whole sequence of deliveries. If it was worked from the end that came in last, some of the later packets were dispatched without delay; but the ones that were first received would be the last sent out, and the Office lost its reputation for efficiency. Whether the one or the other happened depended upon the Man on the Bridge and his methods of working.

We are now in a position to understand what occurred last Christmas. Traffic which should have been dealt with at a District Office was passed through the Central bottle-neck. The discretion of Postmasters and Surveyors was curtailed and subordinated to a centralised Control. There were, in consequence, large District Offices with little or no pressure, and others, especially in the Eastern, South-Eastern, and Suburban Divisions, hopelessly congested. The trouble was increased by premature discharge of temporary men, in accordance with standing instructions from headquarters. There was nobody with sufficient courage to disobey and trust to Providence for absolution.

It was in the London Centre of the Inland Section that confusion was most confounded. The job was too big for the new Traffic Managers and those above them. It was not direct intervention of the Treasury that was to blame; but fear of the Treasury and of the undiscriminating demand for economy. The volume of traffic was grossly and inexcusably under-estimated. The premises provided were insufficient. There were not enough tables, or receptacles, or bag frames; frames and receptacles were individually too small for the work; and difficulties with bag frames retarded

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055990

TELEPHONE: REGENT 738.

CABLE & TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
CAMERGOT, LONDON.
CODE: WESTERN UNION.

83, PALL MALL,
LONDON, S.W. I.

19th January 1925

The Rt Hon Arthur Meighen, P.C, K.C, M.P,
OTTAWA,
Canada.

My dear Meighen:

By to-day's mail I am sending you the first issue of the "Conservative Review," which is a new monthly just come out. These people I understand are quite open to take articles on Imperial questions, and I should think you ought to be able to pick up some suitable journalist who might like to get in touch with a magazine of this type early in its career.

I am also sending you a copy of yesterday's "Sunday Times." This paper has been expanding very much lately and, as you will see, always has a weekly communication from Paris and Dublin. If the right man were to take the matter up, I am satisfied they would be glad to entertain a weekly Canadian letter, but it must be well-written and a good size-up of the situation. I should think Tom Blacklock would be about the type of man who might make this communication.

There is nothing further particular to note here.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

Henry B. Thomson

HBT/GK

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055991

TELEPHONE: REGENT 738.

CABLE & TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
CAMERGOT, LONDON.
CODE: WESTERN UNION.

83, PALL MALL,
LONDON, S.W. I.

Personal

26th January 1925

The Rt Hon Arthur Meighen, P.C, K.C, M.P,
OTTAWA,
Canada.

My dear Mr Meighen:

After Colonel Amery's return from Switzerland I had a long talk with him on the subject of your memorandum. He is naturally greatly interested and concerned about the situation.

He told me it had been his intention and also the Prime Minister's to go out to Canada this early summer, but, as there are apparently rumours of a Canadian election in June, naturally this would preclude their visit as it would be looked upon as inopportune. I could not confirm the rumour as to the June election as I have heard it from several different quarters, but, as Canadian elections generally take place in the fall, probably the date will be shifted until then, and in this event and if the coast is clear it might happen that they would go out.

I pointed out to him the necessity for a much closer alliance between many institutions here and Canada, and also visits from Members of Parliament and prominent men.. He quite concurred in the necessity of this, but, as he says, the war conditions have broken up this very desirable habit and it is difficult to get it going again. However, I think you can rely upon him using his best endeavours in this regard with various individuals, and, should he and the Prime Minister come out, it would be a good point to see that they are taken care of and get into proper hands.

As you will have seen by the papers, the trend of Canada towards the United States has been prominently taken up. You no doubt read the article in last week's "Economist." Unfortunately I have not got a copy to forward you, but it bears out all that has been said. I enclose a copy out of yesterday's "Sunday Express," which carries the same idea, and we are hearing ~~these~~ this news on all hands.

Colonel Amery emphasised the great need for better correspondence in Canada with our press here, notably articles in the magazines, and the Sunday newspapers should be a great

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field for a well-got up Canadian letter, notably the "Sunday Times," the "Observer," and the "Referee," and a good journalist, who knew his business, should have no difficulty in connecting up with these journals, as sufficient has now been said in the papers to arouse interest and prepare a field for further and more definite material.

I see the question of falling off in British emigration is also being taken up and, in fact, they have made the sieve so fine here that it is hard for intending settlers to get through it. The whole Emigration Department requires close scrutiny as to their methods and the type of people they seem to be desirous of getting into Canada.

There is one thing I think you should make a point of doing, and that is to see Black Jack Robinson, the editor of the "Toronto Telegram." He is about to come over here with his family and will be here for some time. We will arrange that he sees the right people here. Black Jack is a stout imperialist and I think it would be judicious for you to make a closer personal connection with him if possible through some of your Toronto friends. His correspondent here, Murton, is a great friend of mine and I think you will agree with me he has been doing good work.

I hope sincerely that during the next Session the question of the London site of the High Commissioner's office will be thoroughly ventilated, as they have supplied enough definite information to warrant this situation being thoroughly looked into.

Nothing of a definite character resulted from my interview with Colonel Amery, except that he was very glad to have a talk, and I promised to keep him posted on anything of interest that comes up.

My friend Franklin Peterson, who has been off the "Times" for some time owing to illness and a trip to Bagdad, has now returned and I rather expect to see something of a valuable character drop in their columns in a few days.

I see that Campbell Stewart has been gracing Canada by a tour of the Dominion. What his particular function is I do

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not know as he does not seem to be filling any particular niche in the "Times," but he is sitting very close to Mackenzie King and Larkin. The general idea seems to be that he wishes to be made Chairman of the Pacific Cable Board at a highly remunerative salary, but exactly what good he will do in this position is not visible to the naked eye.

I understand our mutual friend Loring Christie is now in Canada and I have no doubt you will see him. He is a very fine fellow and Canada lost a valuable man in connection with foreign affairs, but I sincerely hope it has been to Christie's personal gain.

If there is anything I can do to be of assistance, please let me know and I am always willing to try.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Henry B. Thomson

Henry B. Thomson

HBT/GK

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Ottawa, Feb. 6, 1925.

H.B. Thomson, Esq.,
83, Pall Mall,
London, S.W. 1,
England.

Dear Mr. Thomson:

I have yours of the 25th, and thank you very much for it, and as well for the enclosures. I am glad you have had a talk with Amery. My view is that there will be an election this summer, and that the Government will take the first incident which they can call an excuse to bring on a contest, especially if they think they can get away from the tariff question.

In view of this fact I am just a little afraid as to whether it would be best for the two parties you name to make their visit this year. If they were to come or set out before any election was announced I don't think there could be any objection. Certainly they would be cordially welcomed in Canada, and the utmost courtesy shown them at all hands. I am disposed to think though that if the contest is on the Prime Minister would endeavour to cover up by an over-plus of attention and rhetoric the truculent and unfriendly drift of his policies. Nevertheless there is quite a bit to be said for the trip, especially if they could start before an election is announced.

I saw Robinson of the Toronto Telegram just a few weeks ago. He is a very remarkable character and as you say a strong Imperialist.

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He will get some real impressions over in England which will be of service to him when he gets back here. Loring Christie has arrived and I am to see him to-morrow.

Yours very truly,

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4. 2. 25.

MERRIAM:

Mr. Meighen wants you to show this letter to Mr. Blacklock.

W.H.G.

WHG
will see to CC

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Ottawa, February 4, 1925.

Dear Mr. Thomson:

Thanks for your letter of the 19th ultimo with enclosures. I was especially glad to read the editorial in the Morning Post. I am going to try to get this circulated in Canada. It is a very effective answer to the Canadian Prime Minister and the Post has analysed exactly his outlook on matters Imperial. There is an error though in the editorial where it says that the Canadian Senate amended the Halibut Treaty; it was the American Senate.

I will see Tom. Blacklock with reference to the "Sunday Times."

Yours very truly,

Henry B. Thomson, Esq.,
83, Pall Mall,
London, S.W. 1.,
England.

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EX - HANSARD (SPECIAL SESSION) Aug. 19, 1914.

Rt. Hon. SIR WILFRID LAURIER:.....I am well aware that the small contingent of some 20,000 men which we are going to send will have to show double courage and double steadiness if they are to give any account of themselves among the millions of men who are now converging towards the frontiers of France, where the battle of giants is to be decided. But, Sir, it is the opinion of the British Government, as disclosed by the correspondence which was brought down to us yesterday, that the assistance of our troops, humble as it may be, will be appreciated, either for its material value or for the greater moral help which will be rendered. It will be seen by the world that Canada, a daughter of old England, intends to stand by her in this great conflict. When the call comes our answer goes at once, and it goes in the classical language of the British answer to the call of duty: 'Ready, aye, ready'.

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From
THE RT. HON. SIR HAMAR GREENWOOD, BT., K.C., M.P.

13 *Chester Terrace,*
*Regent's Park, N.W.*1.

MUSEUM
9408.
160

5th January 1926.

My dear Meighen,

I am sorry I missed you the last time I was in Canada, but I was hurriedly recalled to fight, and I am glad to say to win East Walthamstow, as a supporter of Mr. Baldwin and his Government. At the same time I follow Dominion affairs very closely and note your vigorous speeches.

If you can spare a few minutes to run through my address in the enclosed Magazine, I should like your frank criticism on it. As you know, the matter is one of great importance and is certain to be raised at the next Imperial Conference.

My wife joins me in best regard to Mrs. Meighen and to yourself.

Ever yours sincerely,

Hamar Greenwood

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.
Parliament Buildings,
Ottawa,

CANADA.

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Ottawa, Jan. 25, 1926.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Hamar Greenwood, K.C., M.P.,
House of Commons,
London, S.W. 1, England.

Dear Sir Hamar Greenwood:

I have now had time to read the address which you delivered on the Overseas Empire and Foreign Affairs, as printed in "United Empire". With the view expressed in this article I am in full agreement. I think you have correctly measured the present position which the Empire in its constitutional evolution has reached. It has been my judgment for some time that it will be necessary for some years to lapse before anything further of a substantial nature could be done in the way of inter-Empire organization for the management of our foreign affairs. There is more danger in too rapid progress than in too slow progress.

I congratulate you most heartily on your return to the House of Commons in support of Mr. Baldwin after a comparatively long career in high position in the other party. Were it possible for me to consider or to think of achieving entrance to British politics I would most undoubtedly do so on

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the side of the Conservative party, and would feel like throwing myself most urgently behind the cause of tariff reform. Britain's position in this respect differs materially from that of Canada, but in a world tariff ribbed as it is to-day there can be no equal competition on the part of Britain while she retains her present policy.

Yours very truly,

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Ottawa, January 30, 1926.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen to acknowledge your letter of the 18theJanuary, and to thank you for the enclosure. Mr. Meighen is so busily engaged with the work of the session that he finds it almost impossible to keep up with his daily correspondence.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

J.G. Nicholl, Esq.,
35 Rosky St.,
Manchester Road,
Bradford, Eng.

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056003

35 Rocky St.
Manchester Road,
Bradford
June 18/1926.

The Rt Hon A Meighen KC MP.
Ottawa.

Dear Sir.

It will probably be still within your recollection, that when you esteemed self, was Premier, I sent you some MS. entitled, "The establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth between Gt Britain, the whole of her Colonies, Protectorates"

There will be a meeting of the Imperial Conference, this summer in London, & it is highly desirable that the Commonwealth Ideal, should be the prime feature, to the exclusion of everything else.

It is beyond doubt, the most urgent problem which confronts the British Race today.

When I last approached your esteemed self, I was fighting for the problem unchanged, but happily there is today in existence a Society The League of the British Commonwealth. of which I am a member

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Our Sec has just sent me a fresh supply of the first 4 pamphlets issued by the Society.
The Society is making very steady progress, & is not the property of any one party. It is composed a people of many different parties.
I am sending your esteemed self a copy of each pamphlet.
I have also taken up the matter with the Hon W.L. MacKenzie King.
Will you kindly take the matter up with the Canadian people, in cooperation with your Prime Minister?
I shall be delighted to hear from your esteemed self, as soon as convenient & beg to remain Sir. Respectfully yours,
J. G. Nichol.

056022

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056008

The League of the British Commonwealth

(Independent of all Political Parties)

2 HARE COURT, TEMPLE, LONDON, E.C.4

President: The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.
Chairman: Frederick Thoresby.
Hon. Secretary: H. T. Wilson.

OBJECTS

1. *To pursue the service of the League independently of political parties and without attachment to them;*

2. *To examine, with relentless fairness, all current and pressing industrial, social, economic and international problems and questions;*

3. *To secure the control by the nation of Great Britain's Credit Power, so that our agriculture and manufactures, and our home and foreign markets, may be developed and protected, and a fairer distribution of production secured;*

4. *To promote real and full partnership between employers and employed so that all workers, whether managerial, technical, clerical, or manual, may realise their common interests and responsibility, and by consent convert all producing effort into one of co-operation.*

Please cut out, fill up, and send to—
THE HON. SECRETARY,
"The League of the British Commonwealth"
2 HARE COURT, TEMPLE,
LONDON, E.C.4.

I wish to become a member of the "LEAGUE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH," and enclose the sum of ..... as a donation.

Please send me ..... copies of your pamphlets which I undertake to distribute.

Full Name .....

Full Address .....

.....

056005 (Pamphlet No. 2.)

THE

CHIEF CAUSE OF BRITAIN'S DIFFICULTIES.

WHEN Mr. Lloyd George, as Prime Minister during the War, sanctioned the conscription of labour without conscripting wealth, he laid the foundations of all our present miseries. By permitting the creation of a National Debt of £8,000,000,000 he placed the nation in pawn to Selfish Financial Interests, which, as such, do not produce a single penny of the £400,000,000 in interest which has to be paid annually upon such debt.

DEAR MONEY

These same Selfish Financial Interests, supported consciously or unconsciously by all the other non-producers who collect from the nation that which they enjoy without producing anything in return, (especially those who owe their incomes to interest, dividends and rents), have discovered that it is greatly to their interest, under the pretence of protecting our national finances, to increase the purchasing power of the £ sterling, so increasing the purchasing power of their own incomes. By restricting the credit facilities of our manufacturers and reducing the wages of our productive workers, they have succeeded in making money ever dearer and dearer, and so are able to buy ever more and more goods and food with their interest, dividends and rents.

£4,000,000,000 HIDDEN PROFITS

This is why they have demanded a return to the so-called Gold Standard and the appeal to our national pride to make the Pound look the Dollar in the face. Such cries are the shallowest of humbug, although their enormous success is proved by the fact that our Selfish Financial Interests have already made a hidden profit of £4,000,000,000, for the *purchasing power* of our National Debt, which was nominally worth £8,000,000,000, was only worth £4,000,000,000 or less, calculated in present-day values, when it was borrowed. That is, they have succeeded in restricting credit, the life-blood of our trade operations, to such a degree that the £ sterling will purchase to-day about twice the quantity of goods compared with the quantity when the National Debt was created.

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056006

A GREAT CRIME

These huge prospective profits explain why our Selfish Financial Interests in 1920, after encouraging manufacturers and others to borrow the Nation's Credit Power controlled by them, suddenly called it in by withdrawing or reducing loans and overdrafts, with the result that millions of productive workers were robbed of their jobs and thousands of manufacturers of their working capital. For allowing this in 1920 Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, can never escape a terrible responsibility.

WHY MR. BALDWIN WENT TO THE U.S.A.

These same possible enormous profits due to making money ever dearer also explain why Mr. Stanley Baldwin, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent in 1923 by our Selfish Financial Interests to the U.S.A., and unconscious that he was acting as their nominee, promised to liquidate our debt to America by paying gold instead of goods (goods being the form in which America paid us), so losing a wonderful opportunity for reducing unemployment. If Mr. Baldwin did not realise the meaning of what he was doing he was not fit to be Chancellor of the Exchequer.

IS MR. CHURCHILL ASLEEP?

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AMERICAN MISERY BORROWED FROM ENGLAND

To prove that the above statements are neither speculative nor extravagant it is only necessary to mention that in 1921 similar Selfish Financial Interests in the U.S.A. thought they could not do better than follow their English brethren's example of 1920. Accordingly in order to increase the purchasing power of the dollar when collected in the form of interest, dividends and rents, they proceeded to call in credit loans and overdrafts, wholesale, with the result that 6,000,000 productive American workers found themselves without work, and thousands of American manufacturers without working capital; in fact, during only about six months in 1921 there were more bankruptcies in the U.S.A. than during the previous six years.

056007

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A FICTION AND A JOKE

If with no assets behind our National Debt Great Britain is able to maintain its value at £8,000,000,000 merely by paying the interest and guaranteeing by means of the Nation's Credit Power its capital value, surely the stupid fiction that a few millions of gold, more or less, at the Bank of England must determine the amount of credit granted to our manufacturers, *when not a penny of credit is lent to them except against the security of actual and existing wealth*, is the contention of practical jokers laughing at us all for a nation of simpletons. What is evident is that unless and until the Credit Power of the Nation, in the form of loans and overdrafts to our manufacturers *against tangible assets*, is controlled by the Government instead of by purely Selfish Financial Interests, we shall always have with us the horrors of unemployment, trade slumps and booms with their inevitable industrial disputes, and all the other contradictions to our claim to be considered a civilised nation.

THE AWAKENING OF MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Since writing the above, Mr. Lloyd George, at Wisbech, on July 10th, 1925, is reported to have said:

"But the action of the Government which has had the most disastrous effect upon British trade is their premature and precipitate restoration of the Gold Standard before our credit was ripe for that departure. It has made the sterling dearer, and thus artificially put up the price of British goods in the neutral markets where we were already competing on very narrow margins with our trade rivals."

FREDK. THORESBY.

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(Pamphlet No. 2.)

THE

CHIEF CAUSE

OF

BRITAIN'S DIFFICULTIES.

WHEN Mr. Lloyd George, as Prime Minister during the War, sanctioned the conscription of labour without conscripting wealth, he laid the foundations of all our present miseries. By permitting the creation of a National Debt of £8,000,000,000 he placed the nation in pawn to Selfish Financial Interests, which, as such, do not produce a single penny of the £400,000,000 in interest which has to be paid annually upon such debt.

DEAR MONEY

These same Selfish Financial Interests, supported consciously or unconsciously by all the other non-producers who collect from the nation that which they enjoy without producing anything in return, (especially those who owe their incomes to interest, dividends and rents), have discovered that it is greatly to their interest, under the pretence of protecting our national finances, to increase the purchasing power of the £ sterling, so increasing the purchasing power of their own incomes. By restricting the credit facilities of our manufacturers and reducing the wages of our productive workers, they have succeeded in making money ever dearer and dearer, and so are able to buy ever more and more goods and food with their interest, dividends and rents.

£4,000,000,000 HIDDEN PROFITS

This is why they have demanded a return to the so-called Gold Standard and the appeal to our national pride to make the Pound look the Dollar in the face. Such cries are the shallowest of humbug, although their enormous success is proved by the fact that our Selfish Financial Interests have already made a hidden profit of £4,000,000,000, for the *purchasing power* of our National Debt, which was nominally worth £8,000,000,000, was only worth £4,000,000,000 or less, calculated in present-day values, when it was borrowed. That is, they have succeeded in restricting credit, the life-blood of our trade operations, to such a degree that the £ sterling will purchase to-day about twice the quantity of goods compared with the quantity when the National Debt was created.

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A GREAT CRIME

These huge prospective profits explain why our Selfish Financial Interests in 1920, after encouraging manufacturers and others to borrow the Nation's Credit Power controlled by them, suddenly called it in by withdrawing or reducing loans and overdrafts, with the result that millions of productive workers were robbed of their jobs and thousands of manufacturers of their working capital. For allowing this in 1920 Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, can never escape a terrible responsibility.

WHY MR. BALDWIN WENT TO THE U.S.A.

These same possible enormous profits due to making money ever dearer also explain why Mr. Stanley Baldwin, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent in 1923 by our Selfish Financial Interests to the U.S.A., and unconscious that he was acting as their nominee, promised to liquidate our debt to America by paying gold instead of goods (goods being the form in which America paid us), so losing a wonderful opportunity for reducing unemployment. If Mr. Baldwin did not realise the meaning of what he was doing he was not fit to be Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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The League

British Commonwealth

(Independent of all Political Parties)

2 HARE COURT, TEMPLE, LONDON, E.C.4

President: **The Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, M.P.**
Chairman: **Frederick Thoresby.**
Hon. Secretary: **H. T. Wilson.**

OBJECTS

1. *To pursue the service of the League independently of political parties and without attachment to them;*

2. *To examine, with relentless fairness, all current and pressing industrial, social, economic and international problems and questions;*

3. *To secure the control by the nation of Great Britain's Credit Power, so that our agriculture and manufactures, and our home and foreign markets, may be developed and protected, and a fairer distribution of production secured;*

4. *To promote real and full partnership between employers and employed so that all workers, whether managerial, technical, clerical, or manual, may realise their common interests and responsibility, and by consent convert all producing effort into one of co-operation.*

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"The League of the British Commonwealth"
2 HARE COURT, TEMPLE,
LONDON, E.C.4.

I wish to become a member of the "LEAGUE OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH," and enclose the sum of ..... as a donation.

Please send me ..... copies of your pamphlets which I undertake to distribute.

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Full Address .....

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Ottawa, March 23, 1926.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 22nd instant, dealing with an occasion upon which some members of the House of Commons refused to rise when the National Anthem was being sung, reached me to-day. Like yourself I regret very much that any such incident took place. However, there is no way of bringing these men to task as there is no law compelling them to rise. I am sending you herewith Hansard of yesterday in which you will see a speech by Major Kennedy of Winnipeg with respect to this subject.

Yours very truly,

Charles F. Fruin,
451, Sussex St.,
Ottawa, Ont.

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March 22nd, 1926.

To The Hon:
Arthur Meighen, M.P.,

Sir,

The British have always enjoyed a world-wide reputation for fair-mindedness and justice, and it was therefore both painful and incomprehensible for me to read of the recent actions of silent contempt towards The Crown and the excuses they made. How unfair and unbritish are these slurs cast by educated men it is the conduct of such which bring the law and journalism into contempt it is because of such as these that people speak evil of our great professions The Law and Journalism

It will be a blessing for this country when the people wake up to the fact and use a little more discretion in selecting their future representatives -

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- to represent their interests in the business of this country.

I write this solely from a British-view-point as a morsel of food for thought

In conclusion I trust that you will bring all future offenders to task who insults the British Flag irrespective of party

With Best Wishes

I remain,
hon Sir,
Yours respectfully,
Charles F. Fenwin

451, Sussex Street,
Ottawa.

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Ottawa, March 28, 1926.

Dear Mr. MacDonnell:

I have your letter of the 25th. The conduct of the debate to which your letter refers was carefully considered not only by myself but by all the older members of our party here.

In the first place it is certainly anything but good Parliamentary procedure to have ~~have~~ a very important debate on a subject of very great and real Empire consequences launched upon a recklessly worded resolution by a very reckless member of Parliament. A debate on such a subject should undoubtedly await a pronouncement of Government policy, or at least for a time when the House is entitled to presume that no such pronouncement is coming. On neither ground had the time arrived in this case.

Further, should the motion have been considered as a proper basis for such debate, it certainly was no duty of mine as Leader of the Opposition to take part until the Government had stated its position. This the Government never did. The Prime Minister did not rise, nor did any Government supporter rise in the whole course of the debate. As a matter of fact Mr. Bourassa in a speech of over three hours so monopolized

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the time that the hour for adjournment was reached at the close of his address.

I am quite aware that the Montreal Star has been calling upon me to demand this and demand that. On one occasion I had intended taking the step anyway, and so acted, following as it happened the "Star's" demand. For this very act I was immediately bitterly attacked in an editorial tirade.

If my memory serves me rightly I have urged you to prepare for and early seek election to the House of Commons. This is where you should be and I can assure you that if you take your rank among us your views ~~which~~ will be a potent influence in determining our course. Meantime I am always glad to hear from you, even in criticism, but would be delighted if you would come down and have a full discussion with me on any question in which you are especially interested.

Yours very truly,

J.M. MacDonnell, Esq.,
National Trust Company,
Montreal, P.Q.

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NATIONAL TRUST COMPANY, LIMITED
MONTREAL

March 25th, 1926.

Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, P.C., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

You were kind enough last Autumn to deal very patiently with certain questions of mine and I am encouraged to continue.

It is not often that I find myself in agreement with Lord Atholstan's organ, but I am bound to say that the enclosed editorial entitled "A Case for Leadership" seems to me to be not without some force. Perhaps you will enlighten me, (the question is not put in any carping or critical spirit) as to the attitude of the Conservative Party towards our foreign relationships at the present time. Unfortunately I suppose in that term one must now understand other parts of the Empire to be included.

No one living in Montreal can be insensible of the difficulties of this question from the point of view of Quebec, but I cannot help believing that in the long run this Province, like the rest of Canada, will respond to a courageous and intelligible attitude on this question as on others.

At the present time some of us feel that we are in

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rather the ridiculous position of having no certain pronouncement on this question from any one except Bourassa. You will agree that one has fallen on evil days when he has to turn to the Montreal Daily Star and Le Devoir for his political nourishment.

I would not write in this perhaps unduly frank way except that I am confident you will believe that I am sincerely desirous of seeing the Conservative party prosper under your leadership although I find it rather difficult to see any progress being made at the present time - we seem to lack a cause and I suppose without one it is impossible to arouse any enthusiasm.

Yours faithfully,

J.H. Macdonnell

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House of Commons
Canada

Ottawa, June 22, 1926.

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons.

Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I beg to enclose herewith copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce with regard to holding the 1928 Imperial Conference at Vancouver.

Before replying to this I would be glad to have a word from you concerning the feasibility of this proposal.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I am,

Yours faithfully.

S. V. Valmie

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COPY

VICTORIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
Arcade Building,
VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

June 14, 1926.

Hon. Dr. S.F.Tolmie, M.P.
Ottawa.

Dear Sir,-

The Vancouver Board of Trade has requested our Organization to assist them in endeavoring to secure a holding of the 1928 Imperial Conference at Vancouver.

Before taking any action, our Board of Directors have requested me to communicate with you and to ascertain from you whether, in your opinion, there is any possibility of the Imperial Conference being held in Canada. We believe that it would be the best possible thing that could happen but we did not wish to make any move in the matter if the request is not feasible or practicable or would not be entertained by the authorities in charge.

Thanking you for an early reply, we are,

Yours very truly,

Sgd. George I. Warren,

Managing Secretary.

W:S

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WHO'S WHO IN CANADA 1923-4

RIDDELL, Walter Alexander, M.A. Ph.D. - Chief of Agricultural Service, International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland. Born Stratford, Ont, Aug 5, 1881, son of George Bradshaw and Georgina (Cawston) Riddell.

Educated: Public Schools Denver, Co, and Manitoba; University of Manitoba, B.A. 1907; Columbia University, M.A. 1908; Ph.D. 1916, in Sociology and Economics; Union Theological Seminary, B.D, 1912; part of early life spent on farm at Minto, Man. Student Missionary, Chilliwack, B.C, 1907, Neelin, Man, 1908, Winnipeg, 1909; ordained and in charge at Reston, Man, 1910-11; conducted Ohio Rural Survey, investigating rural conditions for State Committee during summer, 1912, under direction of Dr Warren H. Wilson; during fall of 1912 and part of 1913, made researches for his dissertation in the archives of London, Eng, Paris and Ottawa; studied in Ottawa as Research Fellow from the University of Manitoba in Canadian Archives, June to September, 1913; appointed Director of Social Surveys for Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, 1913, Superintendent of Trades and Labour Department of Public Works, Ontario Government, 1916; Deputy Minister of Labour, 1919, which position he resigned to accept his present appointment in 1920, with the International Labour Office;

Chairman, Dominion Employment Council; Chairman, Labour Section, the Orgnaization of Resources Committe; investigated and recommended a system of Employment Exchanges for the Province; outlined and urged upon the Dominion Government the scheme that resulted in the Employment Co-ordination Act, 1918; introduced and organized the surplus labour of the Province for wartime farm service; as Commissioner for the Ontario Government investigated and drafted the Mothers' Allowances Act, 1920; also author of the Minimum Wage Act, 1920; Adviser to the Canadian Delegation at the First International Labour Conference at Washington, and Secretary of its Unemployment Commission; Technical Adviser on Agricultural Questions to the secretariat of the Third International Labour Conference; represented the International Labour Office at the National Council of Social Work, Providence, R.I, 1922; the Agricultural Congress, Paris, 1923; also in hearing before the British Tribunal of Experts investigating agriculture, London, 1923. Member of the Executive of the Canadian Safety League; Member, Royal Canadian Institute; Lecturer, University of Toronto, "Industrial Investigation;" Member, American Scientific Society; Member, American Sociological Society; Member, American Association for Labour Legislation.

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RIDDELL, Walter Alexander, M.A., Ph.D (contd)

Author of "The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec," "The London Survey," "Swan River Survey," "Turtle Mountain Survey," "Picton Survey," "St Catherines Survey;" Joint author, "The Huron Survey."

Married Mary Gordon Clark, daughter of J. Murray Clark, K.C, and niece of Dr C. W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), October 14, 1916; has one daugher and two sons.

Society: A.F. & A.M. Recreations: Tennis, curling, football, hockey, ski-ing. Presbyterian. Residence: Les Cytises, 1, Chemin Louis Dunant, Geneva, Switzerland.

Looks like a queer appointment to represent Canada at Geneva. Came out of same stable as Mr. N. N.

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With the Secretary's Compliments.

The Rt. Hon. A. Meighen
M.P.

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p. 1-13

THE DOMINIONS
and
FOREIGN POLICY

Reprinted from

The Times

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA
LONDON

LONDON:
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SIXPENCE.

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The Times, Monday, February 2, 1925.

THE DOMINIONS and FOREIGN POLICY.

I.—A MENACING POSITION.

The failure of the British suggestion that a special Imperial Conference should be held this spring to determine the attitude of the British Empire towards the draft Geneva Protocol, and the White Paper recently published containing the abortive correspondence initiated by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald with the object of improving the means of consultation between the Governments of the Empire, prove that there is something seriously the matter with the way in which we conduct our Imperial business, and especially our foreign policy. This becomes all the more obvious when we remember that these failures were preceded by the dispute about representation on the London Conference last summer, and by the even more acrimonious controversy over the Lausanne Treaty and the Chanak incident in the preceding years. These events do not presage any early dissolution of the British Empire. But they do point to a deep-seated difficulty which will become exceedingly dangerous unless it is sensibly and genuinely solved in the near future.

They bring to the front, indeed, the most formidable problem which confronts the post-war Empire. How are the six self-governing nations, which now make up the dominant power in the Empire, to agree upon and support a common policy in their dealings with the outside world? It is a problem which is of the first importance because ultimately it involves the existence of the Empire itself. Unless the six nations can agree about foreign policy it is only a question of time for them to separate into a number of independent States. There is no escaping that dilemma. We must agree or the Empire will dissolve.

The White Paper and the events of the last three years prove that at present, while there is excellent feeling between the self-governing units of the Empire, there is no effective means by which they can take counsel together about their foreign policy. Every four years there is an Imperial Conference which lays down in very broad outline the general aim of British policy. That is satisfactory and works well so far as it goes, but it does not carry us very far. The real problem is not agreement about general outline, but agreement about those practical international difficulties which cannot be foreseen, yet which are always arising and which may involve the Empire in commitments, or liabilities, or the risk of war, before they can be solved.

SPECIAL CONFERENCES.

The present Government suggested a special Imperial Conference to settle one of these difficulties, the question of the Geneva Protocol. The suggestion failed mainly because it was a wrong way of trying to secure agreement about foreign policy. It is obviously impossible to summon an Imperial Conference whenever there is an international crisis. If it is the Protocol to-day it will be the question of the evacuation of Cologne in March, and of the Rhineland in May, and of a guarantee to France in July, and so on, to say nothing of the sudden crises affecting the whole Empire which may come out of China, or Russia, or the Mediterranean, or the Pacific. You cannot summon an Imperial Conference every time. Yet Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then Foreign Secretary, said that the present system, which depends almost entirely on cables and dispatches, "renders immediate action extremely difficult, more especially between conferences, on occasions when such action is imperatively needed." And experience has shown that in practice it ends in an unpleasant series of inter-Imperial rows. It is quite clear that it is time that the nations of the Empire considered seriously how this inadequate system of inter-communication can be improved.

Before, however, examining practical proposals let us consider what the problem really is. It is not a question of securing the better performance of Consular duties, or the negotiation of trade or similar treaties, or even of transacting the great mass of ordinary diplomatic business. These questions do not present any serious difficulty. They do not occasion disputes between the nations of the Empire. They do not imperil the unity of the Empire. The vital problem is how to deal with those

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great international issues, always cropping up in some form or other, which involve the risk of ultimate war. War, because it threatens security, trade, and life, is and must always be the primary concern both of Great Britain and the Dominions alike. Every nation will do almost anything to avoid war. The unity of the Empire ultimately depends on whether its six nations are satisfied that British policy is that best calculated to defend their security and legitimate rights and to solve international problems as they arise, justly and without war.

THE RISK OF WAR.

Under present conditions war, or the risk of war, whenever it appears above the international horizon subjects the unity of the Empire to a terrific strain. There is no principle in Imperial affairs which has become more clearly established than that the decision as to whether any nation in the Empire should go to war or not rests solely with its own Parliament. If the Parliaments of the Empire are united in backing a policy for dealing with a dangerous international situation, well and good. But if they are not, what is to happen? Directly Great Britain or any Dominion becomes involved in a conflict with any important Power, then the only way in which the other nations can escape belligerency is by seceding from the Empire. There is no other way.

Yet war, or the risk of war, is much nearer to all of us than we generally realize. It may arise, as it did in 1914, because of a condition of international tension between conflicting ideals and peoples which has become intolerable. Or it may arise because of the mishandling of any one of the international problems which are continuously coming up for settlement. It is well to remember sometimes that the end of our much vaunted modern civilization has been, since 1895, the greatest series of wars the world has seen—the Chino-Japanese War, the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War, the Turko-Italian War, the Balkan War, and the World War. And even since the Armistice there have been some ugly incidents—over the Straits, about Corfu, in Egypt, in the Ruhr, in the American Senate's handling of the problem of Japanese immigration, in the collapse of parliamentary government in China and the emergence of a triumphant militarism. Any of these incidents, badly handled, might have resulted in a local conflict; and in the modern world any war, anywhere, immediately affects the trade and commerce of all nations, and is liable, like a prairie fire, to spread far beyond its original zone.

War, indeed, is an ever-present possibility in international affairs. It is a risk inseparable from national sovereignty. The risk of war can never be abolished so long as the world is divided into separate sovereign States. Nothing short of the immensely distant World State comprising all nations will end war. The League of Nations has improved our procedure for dealing with international disputes. But it has done, and can do, nothing to abolish war itself, for no League can discharge the functions of a State. Moreover, fundamentally even the League of Nations itself is a covenant to go to war to compel obedience to certain canons of international right.

It is essential that we should face these facts, for only so can we escape being beguiled by the illusions of unthinking enthusiasts, and realize that the only sure preventive of war is the wisdom, courage, and resolution with which the leading Powers, through the League of Nations or otherwise, deal with threatening international situations as and when they arise. Yet how are we to ensure that the foreign policy of the Empire manifests that wisdom and firmness which are essential if it is to maintain security and peace, unless its spokesmen know that they have the agreement and support of all the self-governing peoples within it? And how is it possible for them to formulate such a policy seeing that by the admission of a British Foreign Secretary himself the means of consultation between the nations of the Empire to-day are hopelessly inadequate, and, as we shall see, inferior to those which are universal between foreign Powers?

Thus there is an ever-present risk which confronts the Empire to-day. On the one hand there is the risk of its being forced, through want of unity, into a vacillating foreign policy, which will imperil security and increase the danger of war. On the other hand, there is the risk of disruption whenever the nations are faced with the stark dilemma of either acquiescing in a war of which they do not understand the cause or do not approve, or of breaking up the Empire in order to escape war.

It may be asked why the problem is more acute to-day than it was before the War. The Empire was as widely flung in 1914 as it is to-day, the foreign complications which threatened it were as varied and as serious. Yet when the supreme crisis did come, its peoples rallied as one man to the Allied cause. The reason is that, while the instability of the international situation has not altered, the situation within the Empire has entirely changed. This change British public opinion has hardly begun to understand.

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The Times, Tuesday, February 3, 1925.

II.—THE CHANGE IN STATUS.

The new situation which has arisen as the result of the War can best be seen by considering the profound change which has come about in the status of the Dominions since the beginning of the century. In the Boer War, which broke out in October, 1899, there was no consultation whatever beforehand between Downing Street and the Dominion Governments. It was assumed that when Great Britain went to war the Dominions were automatically at war. Requests were made by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain for military assistance, and, though there was some opposition, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand all sent contingents. Practically all the financial expenditure, however, was borne by Great Britain.

A few years later the impending European War began to throw its shadow over the world. In 1909, after the failure of the Campbell-Bannerman negotiations with Germany for a limitation of naval armaments and the formulation of a new German naval building programme, an Imperial Defence Conference was called in London, at which the foundations of the Australian and New Zealand Navies were laid, and certain arrangements were agreed for assuring uniformity in military training and equipment throughout the Empire. There was however, no discussion about foreign policy. It was not until the regular meeting of the Imperial Conference in 1911 that, for the first time and only after much agitation, the Foreign Minister, then Sir Edward Grey, was induced to explain fully to the assembled Prime Ministers the dangerous international situation with which the Empire was confronted.

When the crash came in August, 1914, the Dominions rallied instantly to the Allied cause and during the course of the war sent nearly a million men to the front, and made considerable contributions in supplies, munitions, and money. It was as inevitable as it was right that this assumption of responsibility and of sacrifice should carry with it the assumption also of power. In 1917 the Dominion Prime Ministers came to London, and with the four members of the British War Cabinet sat as an Imperial War Cabinet to examine the war situation and agree upon what further common measures could be taken to assure victory. In 1918 they came again. Only this time there was a subtle change in their attitude. They came not for information alone, but as of right, to discharge their responsibility to their own peoples for seeing that the war was properly conducted. During 1918 the Imperial War Cabinet, instead of being an *ad hoc* body for the exchange of information and ideas, sat alternatively with the British War Cabinet, and became, in fact, the plenary authority which dealt with the major problems of the war.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

It was the same at the Peace Conference. The British Empire delegation consisted of three British delegates, the Dominion Ministers, and a representative of India. Every major problem of the Peace was brought before it, the British member of the Council of Four always spoke on its behalf, and one of the Dominion Prime Ministers was often the second British representative on the Council of Ten. Sir Robert Borden repeatedly presided over the British Empire delegation itself in the absence of the principal British delegate. A like procedure was followed at the Washington Conference. The main lines of British policy were laid down at the Imperial Conference of 1921 in London, and it is an open secret that it was the firm attitude of Mr. Meighen that brought the Conference round to the necessity of substituting a four-power agreement about the Pacific for the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. At the Washington Conference itself every decision was taken by the British Empire delegation sitting together as a single body.

But these developments, remarkable as they seem, were not the only outcome of the war. A far more striking feature was the demand, successfully pressed by the Dominions, for distinctive representation of their own at the Peace Conference, on the League of Nations, and at all first-class international conferences. As may be imagined, the demand was not readily conceded by foreign nations. But the Dominions claimed that they had done more to help to win the war than most of the smaller Powers represented at the Peace Conferences and on the League, and threatened to leave Paris if they were not each given representation equal to that of Belgium. After some struggle their views prevailed.

And this is not all. Immediately after the war it was agreed that the Dominions had the right to send Ministers of their own to foreign capitals, though it was understood that they should only do so after consultation with the other nations of the Empire. Canada has announced its intention of appointing a Minister to Washington, though it has not yet made an appointment. The Irish Free State has already done so. In 1923 a resolution was passed by the Imperial Conference which recognized the right of each of the self-governing nations of the Empire to negotiate treaties with foreign nations in all matters affecting only themselves. Where, however, the matters under consideration

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concerned other parts of the Empire, inter-Imperial consultation was to take place prior to negotiations being undertaken.

LAPSES AND PROTESTS.

How real has been the change in the status of the Dominions is shown by what happened in the last two years. After the war the Dominions naturally began to forget Europe and to be preoccupied with the special problems of their own lands. The British Government, equally naturally, became preoccupied with the heavy international responsibilities which weighed directly upon its own shoulders and forgot the Dominions. The consequence was the Lausanne affair. An arrangement was proposed by Lord Curzon and informally accepted by the Dominions whereby the British Government was to negotiate the treaty of peace with the Turks, but the treaty was to be submitted to the Dominions before ratification. After the treaty had been circulated, however, it became clear that the only choice before the Dominions was to accept the treaty with all the obligations it entailed, to refuse to allow Great Britain to ratify, or to secede from the Empire and make a treaty of peace with Turkey on their own account. Public opinion overseas, and especially in Canada, made an immediate and emphatic protest against this departure from the post-war inter-Imperial diplomatic system, though it eventually acquiesced in the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty on behalf of the Empire.

Again this summer, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald proposed to conduct the London Reparations Conference after merely informal consultations with the High Commissioners, so vigorous was the protest from across the seas that the British Empire delegation was revived. One Dominion representative always sat as a member of the British panel, while all the others were present as observers; and it was announced that even this panel arrangement was not to be taken as a precedent for disregarding the system which had prevailed at Washington and Versailles.

The purpose of this brief survey of events since 1900 is to show how completely the relations between the Dominions and Great Britain as regards foreign policy have changed. Before the war most people in the Dominions were willing to leave foreign problems to be handled by Great Britain. Many of them are still willing that it should do so. But they are not now, as they were before, willing to be bound by the results. They will support the Empire's foreign policy only if they approve of it. They certainly will not support it merely because it is made in Downing-street. The Dominions have no special confidence in the omniscience of the Foreign Office. They recognize that it has great knowledge and great traditions. But they also think that it is too insular in its outlook, is too preoccupied with Europe, and has but little understanding of the interests and point of view of the overseas world. If British foreign policy is to be one which will command the approval and support of all parts it must be the outcome of collective discussion and agreement about the ever-changing problems of the international world. Unless that consultation can be brought about it is only a question of time, as recent incidents have shown, for a crisis to arise which will show opinion so divided that action is paralysed or the unity of the Empire endangered.

The Times, Wednesday, February 4, 1925.

III.—THE FOREIGN PROBLEMS.

What are the main elements which must be taken into account if the Empire is to have a foreign policy which can reasonably be expected to command the support of all its parts? Let us examine first the special outlook of each self-governing nation.

Internationally speaking, Great Britain stands in a different position from the rest. She has immense direct responsibilities for territories and interests overseas, in India, in Egypt, in Iraq, in the West Indies, in East and West Africa, in the Malay States, in coaling stations everywhere. Her principal foreign preoccupation, therefore, is with Europe and with that vital line of communications with her overseas possessions which encircles Europe until it reaches the Suez Canal. Situated within 20 miles of the Continent, but separated from it by the sea, England is in Europe, but not of it. She remembers her traditional policy of detachment, her constant effort to avoid permanent entanglement in Europe's internal affairs. But she remembers also the many wars she has had to fight for her very existence against the European autocracies, from the Armada to Waterloo and on to the endless battle of the World War. And she knows, too, that she can never be indifferent to Europe, for France, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and Russia are all in a position to threaten her communications with Australasia and the East.

Great Britain is in a special position for another reason. Her political traditions enshrine the experience of international dealing of many centuries. She possesses an excellent and world-wide diplomatic service, and her

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people contain an extraordinary percentage of ex-Ambassadors, Governors, High Commissioners, and other public officials, who have had first-hand experience in all parts of the globe, and who spend their time in educating the public opinion of their country about the outside world, in Parliament, through the Press, from the platform. Great Britain has external interests, and a nervous system which probably keeps her in closer touch with world affairs than any other country on the earth.

VARIETY OF INTERESTS.

The position of the Dominions is entirely different. Until the world war they had none of them had any direct experience of an international kind. They were young communities, almost entirely absorbed in the arduous work of settling empty territory, building houses, roads, railways, schools, and the other primary equipment of national, political, and economic life. Not one of them had any diplomatic service or any means apart from occasional newspaper articles of first-hand information about world affairs. Their attitude to external affairs, too, differs not only from Great Britain, but from one other.

Canada stands entirely apart from that main artery of Imperial communications, through the Suez Canal and round the Cape of Good Hope, about which cluster most of the international problems which concern the British Empire. It is hardly affected directly by them at all. Canada's direct external preoccupations relate almost entirely to the vast Republic of 110,000,000 people which stretches for 3,500 miles along her southern frontier and to the colour question in the Pacific. Canada has no sentiment of fear of or hostility to the United States, such as is felt by the great European States towards one another. The civilizations of both countries are too similar. Their political interests nowhere conflict. Canada's preoccupation is rather to maintain her own national individuality as against the attractive force of the gigantic magnet to the south, and to ensure that the British Commonwealth of Nations of which she is, and wishes to remain, a member should in all circumstances be in friendly relations with America. In a conflict between Great Britain and the United States the position of Canada would be utterly impossible. The head and front of Canada's external policy must, therefore, always be to promote good relations between the two halves of the English-speaking world. By comparison she is scarcely directly interested in any other international question.

The outlook of Australasia, for the international position of Australia and New Zealand is substantially the same, is different again. One preoccupation overshadows everything else. Can Australia make good her national policy of keeping her huge but empty continent a white man's land ? Can she prevent it from being filled by people of Asiatic colour, with all the incalculable consequences to both races which are involved ? Can 5,700,000 white men inhabiting a total area of 3,000,000 square miles keep permanently at a distance the 900,000,000 of Asia already overcrowded in their own land ?

South Africa has no powerful neighbour at all, now that Germany has disappeared from Africa. Apart from the fact that she occupies one of the strategic corners of the world, and may therefore become an object of envy to any Power seeking world dominion, South Africa's main preoccupation is with the future of the vast hinterland to the north, peopled by the rapidly developing African race. The white population of South Africa numbers 1,500,000. The negroid inhabitants of Central and Southern Africa number about 100,000,000. It is with the colour problem, with all its international ramifications, involving Asia as well as Africa, that South Africa is most directly concerned.

Finally, there is the newest Dominion, the Irish Free State. Leaving out of account the more extreme political and racial animosities of the moment, the most important external interest of Ireland is the maintenance of her own status as a Dominion as against Great Britain and Ulster. As that question recedes into the background her general international interests may be expected to run more or less with those of Great Britain in its desire for world peace.

A COMMON NEED FOR PEACE.

The first necessity of any Imperial foreign policy is that it should reconcile and subserve these very different needs of these widely scattered lands. But that is only one side of the problem. In reality the primary interest of each nation of the Empire is the maintenance of peace—or, rather, the sane and just solution of the innumerable international problems which are continuously arising by peaceable and not warlike means. Though the mass of the population in every country, and certainly in the New World, is preoccupied with its own local affairs, the conduct of the world's business without war is in fact their most important interest. War anywhere interferes with their trade. War anywhere is prone to spread like a prairie fire. War anywhere is liable to end in engulfing themselves and in conscribing the individual for some form of self-defence. The old illusion that it is possible for any nation to avoid entanglement by a policy of isolation was finally disproved by the experience of the American Republic in the World War. And so, though the conscious interest of the average citizen of Western Canada or of the Orange Free State may not be engaged, their safety, their prosperity, and their peace ultimately depend upon the wisdom of the foreign policy which the British Empire pursues, and its success or failure in solving world problems sanely and without war.

We can see the truth of this best by considering briefly the chief of what may be called the world problems of to-day. First, there is the European problem. To-day Central and

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Western Europe is stabilized on the basis that the victorious Allies compelled Germany to accept a position of military impotence—100,000 troops, as against 700,000 in France, 150,000 in Czecho-slovakia, 250,000 in Poland. That was inevitable after the war. It is probably necessary still. But manifestly it cannot last for ever. Sooner or later Germany must be allowed, or she will forcibly seize the right, to deal with her neighbours on equal terms. The question has already arisen in connexion with the Rhineland. Unless the negotiation of that new and more permanent European system is wisely carried out, and at the right time, war will certainly break out in Europe. And if it does, how far will it spread ?

EAST AND WEST.

Then there is the problem of Russia and the East. It ramifies everywhere, from the frontier problems of the Baltic States, Poland, Rumania, and the Dardanelles to the future of China and Japan, the defence of the Indian frontier, and the security of the Suez Canal. And more and more the problem of Russia is becoming mixed up with the readjustment of the relations between Europe and Asia, as the Soviet rulers of Russia turn more and more from the frontal attack on the *bourgeoisie* of the West to an attempt to organize the Orient against Western capitalistic civilization. The international colour problem, especially as it affects Asiatic migration, is one which concerns the Dominions even more than Great Britain, and which is liable to lead to the greatest of all world wars unless it is handled with wisdom, justice, and resolution.

Then there is the Pacific problem. If Japan or any other country begins to expand rapidly its programme of cruisers and submarines, which is not forbidden under the Washington Treaties, there will inevitably commence a new race of naval armaments in the Pacific. If so, where will it end ? And in that event, would it be possible to maintain that Treaty for the sharing of the functions of sea power between the British Empire and the United States, which is the cardinal bulwark of peace and freedom in the post-war world ?

Finally, there are the League of Nations, disarmament, and the whole question of making effective that tentative machinery of international organization which has been built up since the War. All the nations of the Empire are members of the League. All are parties to the Washington Treaties. The obligations they have assumed under them are formidable. They include the obligation, in some eventualities, to go to war. Are they prepared to live up to these obligations ? If not, what modifications in these Treaties do they propose ? Can these international organisms be adapted so as to help a peaceful solution of the vast problems outlined above unless the nations of the Empire are prepared to assume very heavy burdens ?

It is obvious, even from this very brief summary, that the peace, the prosperity, in some cases the whole future, not only of the Empire, but of each of the nations which compose it, depend upon the manner in which British policy deals with these impending problems. And the success of that policy will depend upon whether the British peoples speak with a united voice, and whether their policy is well conceived, wisely executed from day to day, and firmly backed, often by military and naval movements, when the crises arise.

Can the British Empire, as at present conducted, be expected to speak or act with that unity and vigour which may make the difference between world peace and world war, in the days that lie ahead ?

The Times, Thursday, February 5, 1925.

IV.—CONSULTATION—THE FACTS.

It is manifest that if the Empire is to have a foreign policy which will command the approval and support of all its people, it will only be as a result of effective consultation between the six Governments of which it is composed. Extraordinary as the fact may seem, there is no such consultation to-day. There is far less consultation between the Governments of the Empire about the policy upon which their peace and security ultimately depend than there is between foreign nations.

The basis of all healthy international relations is that every Government maintains a Minister in the capitals of all its neighbours, who not only reports continuously upon matters of political and diplomatic importance, but whose regular duty is to supplement by personal explanations the cables and dispatches he has to receive or transmit. It is this constant personal contact which is the very essence of successful diplomatic intercourse. It is the means of preventing or removing the misunderstandings inseparable from the written word, and of ensuring that foreign Ministers are informed of the real meaning of the official communications they receive, and are made to understand the point of view of the other Governments with which they deal. Without these constant personal relations, as every business man knows, diplomatic business like

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other business would never get done, and international disputes would be far more frequent than they are.

NO EFFECTIVE INTERCOURSE.

Yet in the sphere of foreign policy, so vital to the nations of the Empire, this personal element is almost entirely missing from our Imperial machinery. There is ample and intimate discussion of foreign policy at the meetings of the Imperial Conference which take place every four years. There is presumably full discussion of the specific matters under review when, as last summer, the British Empire Delegation comes into being for an important international conference. But in normal times when those daily decisions are being taken which cumulatively predetermine the outcome of foreign policy and the likelihood or avoidance of war, there is practically no intercourse between the Foreign Office and the Dominion Governments at all. A certain number of dispatches and cables of an informatory kind pour out to the Dominions through the Colonial Office as a matter of routine. There are occasional telegrams between Prime Ministers. But of effective and continuous exchange of opinion about the great foreign problems of the time there is none. It would be difficult, indeed, to exaggerate the divergence between the theory of equal status and partnership and the machinery for making that equality effective.

It is not difficult to see why this state of affairs should have come about. Though the spirit of the Empire has been entirely altered by the war, its practical administrative system has remained unchanged. During the war special *ad hoc* machinery—the Imperial War Cabinet and the British Empire Delegations to Peace Conferences—was created, which recognized that the management of foreign policy was the equal concern of six nations situated in different parts of the world, and made constant consultation easy between them. When the period of war and peace conference was over the *ad hoc* machinery disappeared, and nothing has yet been evolved to take its place.

This breakdown is even more obvious at the Dominion end. In the old days the Governors-General were chosen for their political abilities and were in the closest political relations with their Governments. Of late, as a natural and inevitable stage in the development of Dominion nationhood, the function and position of the Governor-General have fundamentally changed. This is most obviously the case in Canada and in South Africa, because in each of these countries the question of Dominion status enters into party politics and the Governor-General has lately been chosen almost ostentatiously from those who have had little or no experience of political life. But everywhere he now acts in Dominion affairs substantially as the King does in British affairs, as a purely constitutional figure. His usefulness as an intermediary and a source of information, therefore, has enormously diminished. On the other hand, the Dominion High Commissioners in London are still mainly confined to commercial duties. In any case, the normal access of both is to the Colonial Office, which has little to do with foreign affairs.

LETTING THINGS SLIDE

Moreover, even the old machinery has ceased to function as well as it did. Practically all inter-Imperial business is still conducted by the Colonial Office on behalf of Great Britain. During the war it was agreed that Prime Ministers should have the right of direct communication with one another and that meant constant consultation about foreign policy, because the Prime Ministers were all actively dealing with it. But the British Prime Minister is no longer primarily concerned with foreign affairs, and as no direct communication has ever been established between the Dominions' Governments and the Foreign Office, there is now a hiatus in consultation about that subject which affects all nations of the Empire more than anything else.

This failure in consultative machinery has been stereotyped by another tendency. On the one hand the British Government and the Foreign Office, preoccupied by the day-to-day responsibility for dealing with a turbulent world and a chaotic Europe, have naturally and increasingly disliked the delay and complication which constant consultation with the Dominions seemed to imply. At every stage it seemed simpler and indeed wiser to "get on with the job" and trust to satisfying the Dominions by explanations after the event. On the other hand, the Dominions, once the war period was over, were only too anxious to be relieved of international responsibilities so that they could devote their whole time and energy to building up their own sparsely inhabited lands. They were quite ready, therefore, to let things slide—partly because it seemed simpler to leave the work to Great Britain, which had the diplomatic machinery at its command, partly because this attitude of detachment seemed to make it possible for them to exercise a complete freedom of choice to approve and cooperate, or disapprove and not cooperate, when the time of decision arose.

Facts and experience, however, have begun to expose the consequences of this attitude. It is perfectly true that the greater part of the diplomatic business affecting the Empire —that which deals with Europe and Asia—must be actually transacted by Great Britain, just as the practical business arising out of a common frontier of 3,500 miles with the United States must be transacted by Canada. But whenever any serious international crisis has arisen since 1919, events have proved how illusory is the idea that it is possible for the various parts of the Empire to conduct their

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affairs on the basis of "limited liability," or of avoiding the necessity of taking decisions about international problems, by the ostrich-like policy of keeping consultation to a minimum. Every time the Foreign Office has been forced to seek the concurrence of the Dominions before it could act, and the Dominions have been forced either to give a decision or to abandon their equal status.

PROMPT ACTION NECESSARY.

But the greatest obstacle to effective consultation is of a more subtle kind. It is the result of the wide gulf which still exists between the long experience and constant contact of Great Britain, and the comparatively small experience and absence of contact of the Dominions, with the international world. As a result the natural and inevitable tendency of the Dominions—though the tendency is much less strong in Australia and New Zealand than it is in Canada and South Africa and Ireland—is to believe that the best way of avoiding war is to keep out of foreign entanglements altogether. The natural and inevitable tendency of Great Britain is to believe that the best way of avoiding war is to intervene promptly in every threatening international dispute with action designed to bring about a peaceful solution before public opinion has begun to solidify into irreconcilable positions.

There is no doubt that the general attitude of Great Britain is right. The surest way of preventing war is a vigilant and active foreign policy, always provided that policy is wise. The surest way of becoming involved in war against your will is a policy of drift or attempted isolation in the rapidly contracting modern world. But it is difficult to convince nations which have no direct contact with the complexities of international life that this is so. It is equally difficult to convince the office which is responsible for the day-to-day conduct of diplomacy that it is wiser to face the difficulties and delays involved in consulting Governments at a distance so as to assure a united Empire when the day of crisis arrives than to take the short cut of going ahead on its own and trusting to a hectic process of persuasion at the last moment. The failure up to date to create any effective machinery for inter-Imperial consultation is due in some measure to the conservatism of the Foreign Office. But probably the biggest single cause is the instinctive feeling in the Dominions that consultation will involve foreign commitments which they might otherwise escape; all the more so because they believe that their representatives are liable to be unduly influenced by the "atmosphere" of London or over-persuaded by the superior knowledge of British diplomatists and statesmen.

As we have seen, this holding back does not imply freedom from risk—rather the reverse. Nor does it make for true national status. For nationalism means, not aloofness, but the assumption of responsibility, for the solution of world problems, either independently or as an active member of a group. What matters both to the Dominions and to Great Britain is that the great impending international problems should be solved wisely and without war; that the reconstruction of Europe and the reopening of its markets should be as rapid as possible: that the growing colour-line problems of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific should be settled without an explosion; that the aggression of Bolshevist Russia should be held in check; and that sane progress should be made with the development of such new international organisms as the League of Nations and the World Court. These problems exist. They will be solved by wisdom or by war. The effort to escape responsibility for coming to decisions about them only means that British policy tends to become too insular and that the Empire is faced by a recurring series of ugly incidents when the demand for a quick decision comes imperatively out of the blue.

AN EMPIRE IN BLINKERS.

There is really nothing to be said for running a great cooperative concern in blinkers. Yet that is what our present system amounts to. To-day the Foreign Office, which, if the Dominions were independent States, would have ambassadors in each of their capitals telling it what was going on and in constant personal communication with their Governments, has no direct information whatever coming into it about Australasia, Central and South Africa, and Canada, and no officials who have had experience of those parts of the globe. All its officials are trained in Europe and Asia, to a less extent in America. and even there mostly in South America. How is it possible for an office so constituted not to be over-interested in and influenced by that part of the world with which it is in constant and direct touch?

Per contra the Dominion Governments have no direct contact whatever with international problems, with the Foreign Office or with foreign countries. They have to rely for purposes of personal information on Governors-General, who are confined to strictly constitutional functions, or on High Commissioners, who are confined to commercial functions, and both of whom communicate only with the Colonial Office. Is it possible to conceive a system more likely to lead to misunderstandings or more calculated to create irreconcilable divergences of opinion, when foreign crises arise and there is imperative need for prompt and decisive action?

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V.—SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

We come now to the practical. The problem which has to be solved can be simply stated. British foreign policy has to represent the views and command the support of an association of six nations, each self-governing, each with a Government and Parliament responsible to its own people and alone able to impose taxes, prepare for defence, or commit it to Imperial cooperation, each equal in status to the rest. It is obvious that the Imperial Conference affords no solution. The Imperial Conference only meets once in four years. It cannot meet oftener, except in great emergencies like the late war, because the Prime Ministers cannot get away. Indeed it is often very difficult owing to elections and similar reasons to secure simultaneous attendance even once in four years. And, when the Imperial Conference does meet, all it can do is to lay down policy on the very broadest outline. The only way in which six widely scattered nations can unite in dealing with those main phases of the international situation, which affect all alike, which are ever changing, and which may at any time involve the risk of war if they are not wisely handled from day to day, is by continuous consultation about the policy to be pursued.

It is clear that such consultation cannot mean that there must be agreement about what is to be done in every case. If consultation meant that, it would paralyse action altogether. What it means is that while each Government retains complete freedom of decision, the policy of the British Foreign Secretary is decided, and his action is taken, in the light of that full and sympathetic understanding of the views and needs of its associates which comes from regular discussion with them of the problems to be solved, and, in all cases of vital moment, with their specific consent and support. The consultation, indeed, is of exactly the same kind as went on continuously between the Allies during the war, or which takes place between the managing director of a company and his fellow directors. How is this commonsense consultation to be effected ?

THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

(1) The first conclusion is that the business of consulting with the Dominion Governments about foreign affairs, the most important business which now concerns the nations of the Empire, ought to be transferred from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office. Proposals have been made for transferring Dominion business from the Colonial Office to the Lord President of the Council. That may or may not be a good thing so far as the mass of routine business is concerned. But, whether that is done or not, the thing that matters most is that all intercommunication about foreign affairs should centre directly in the Foreign Office itself.

(2) The second conclusion is that the relations between the British Foreign Secretary and the Dominion Prime Minister, or Minister for external affairs, ought to be conducted on lines analogous to those followed in ordinary international diplomatic intercourse. It has often been suggested that some kind of standing Imperial committee or secretariat should be established in London, as a convenient clearing house for inter-Imperial business. Mr. Bruce made the suggestion again only the other day. A standing secretariat to prepare the work of the Imperial Conference, as the League of Nations secretariat prepares the work of the Council and the Assembly, is badly needed to improve the working of our only Imperial organism. But a permanent staff of clerks would have little effect on the kind of consultation which is needed about Foreign Policy. And if the secretariat were something more, it would be a challenge to the independence of the Dominions. There is nothing of which the Dominions are more afraid than the creation of some new-fangled Imperial Areopagus which in some way can come to conclusions, so that one fine day they awake to find that they have been morally bound in an international crisis by conversations or resolutions in London of which they knew little, rather as Great Britain found its hands tied by prior diplomatic conversations with France at the outbreak of the war. There is nothing of which the Dominion Prime Ministers are more suspicious than that their High Commissioners should begin to act as absentee Foreign Ministers, speaking as plenipotentiaries for their own countries.

The essence of the case is to remember that the principals in every conversation about Imperial policy are not the Foreign Secretary or the High Commissioners, but the Cabinets. The High Commissioners, therefore, should be treated by the Foreign Secretary on the same basis as he treats the Ambassador of an Ally—as a personal intermediary between himself and the Government at a distance, and not as a plenipotentiary empowered to speak on his own account. To make this fundamental and most vital point still more secure, it might well

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be recognized as a normal rule that the Foreign Secretary has his interviews with the High Commissioners separately, and not together, except in cases where the Prime Ministers definitely authorize joint consultation, and that no Foreign Office papers are circulated to them except such as each Prime Minister specifically asks should be so circulated. That, of course, would not prevent joint meetings from being occasionally held for special and agreed purposes.

ESSENTIAL DETAILS.

It may seem as if insistence on these details is pettifogging. It is, in fact, the very essence of the case. There will be no effective inter-Imperial consultation, and we shall drift on in the dangerous position in which we are to-day, unless absolute guarantees can be given that no attempt is being made, consciously or unconsciously, to create some new centralizing Imperial authority, or some subtle means of getting the Dominions committed to foreign policies in the dark, and that what is sought is simply to make the intercourse between the six Cabinets of the Empire, each of which retains its freedom of action, at least as efficient as that which obtains between friendly foreign Governments. If anybody doubts this let him go and spend a few weeks in Ottawa, Cape Town, Melbourne or Canberra, Wellington, and Dublin. The practical change which is proposed is that the Foreign Secretary should add five to the number of Ambassadors whom he has regularly to see, and that the High Commissioners should be accredited to the Foreign Office on terms substantially similar, but naturally more friendly and intimate, to those of the Ambassador of France or of the United States. This step, of course, would not prevent the Prime Ministers from communcating direct with one another whenever they chose.

(3) The third conclusion is that the representation of Great Britain in the Dominions and of the Dominions in Great Britain ought to be improved. The essence of international intercourse is that there is a two-way channel of personal intercommunication. In Imperial affairs there is not even an effective one-way channel. At present the Dominion Governments are half-blindfold because their representatives in London are appointed for commercial and not political or diplomatic reasons, and are accredited only to the Colonial Office. On the other hand the British Government is half-blindfold because its representatives in the Dominions are appointed to discharge constitutional functions only. It has sometimes been suggested that the Dominions should accredit a special diplomatic agent in London, and that Great Britain should accredit an equivalent agent to each Dominion capital, to improve intercommunication. Australia, indeed, has just appointed an official on the High Commissioner's staff in London to keep it informed about foreign affairs. This step, which is a first stage in building up a staff of Dominion experts in foreign affairs, is all to the good. But it cannot solve the fundamental difficulty. There can be no real consultation between a Foreign Minister and a subordinate official. Consultation can only take place between equals—Ministers and Ambassadors.

The more sensible and practical course would seem to be to remodel the functions both of the Governor-Generals and of the High Commissioners. There is now no question of any Governor-General trying to interfere in the complete autonomy of the Dominion over which he presides, or of Great Britain trying to make him do so. The question of status and autonomy belongs to the past. On the other hand the need of effective representation of a diplomatic character is rapidly increasing. Why should not the Governor-General in future be appointed mainly for his diplomatic qualifications, and be given the title of High Commissioner, as the case already in South Africa, as well as that of Governor-General? And, similarly, what could be more simple than gradually to select High Commissioners for their diplomatic qualities, accredit them to the Foreign Office, and transfer their purely commercial functions to another official? These changes would give to the nations of the Empire the inter-Imperial diplomatic machinery for consultation which it does not possess to-day.

IN TOUCH WITH REALITIES.

(4) The last conclusion is that the Dominions ought to obtain access to direct information about the international situation. The primary attribute of nationhood, as the Dominions proved in the Great War, is readiness to take a share in the risks and responsibilities of international life. The nations of the Empire prefer to do this as a group, because collective action gives greater security to all and makes their action more effective both in promoting peace and in solving the world problems of the day. But it is impossible to expect rapid and sane thinking about international problems or united and effective cooperation in Imperial foreign policy unless they are themselves continuously and directly in touch with the realities of the outside world. It is not enough that they should get their information through the spectacles of the British Foreign Office, for they will never consider such information as completely free from British bias. They must be able to get information or at least check it for themselves. To-day the Dominions have fewer direct sources of information about the outside world than even the smallest European or American Powers.

How they are to get it is an exceedingly difficult problem to solve. It has been agreed that they can appoint Ministers to foreign capitals, and the Irish Free State has already a Minister in Washington. But there are many practical difficulties about precedence—connected with the question which of two or three Ministers speaks for the Empire, and so

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forth—which have hindered the development of the idea. Canada has solved the problem, so far, by sending a Cabinet Minister to Washington whenever important questions arise, and leaving ordinary routine to be done by a Canadian official in the British Embassy.

Two suggestions, however, seem to be clear. One is that the Dominions ought to be enabled to make more use of the world-wide and expensive machinery of the British Diplomatic Service, as a direct source of information on their own account. The other is that the right way of doing so is for each Dominion to build up a staff of foreign experts of its own, paid by, and responsible to, itself, which could be dovetailed, in some way, into the British system and used as a channel through which direct information could reach the Dominion Governments from the principal capitals of the world. Why, for instance, should not both Canada and Australia appoint an official of their own to work in the Embassies at Tokyo and Peking and keep them informed of what is going on on the other side of the Pacific Ocean ?

* * * *

One word in conclusion. The Empire, with all the possibilities for good that it contains if it is wisely directed, will only survive if its six principal nations can continuously agree upon their policy about the great international issues which are constantly arising to challenge peace and threaten war. There is no other means by which it can be preserved. Yet to-day agreement depends upon a system of inter-communication which puts a premium upon that misunderstanding and suspicion which is inseparable from ignorance. The plea of these articles is that want of proper consultation neither preserves the national status of the Dominions nor increases the security of the Empire and the chance of avoiding war. It does exactly the opposite. The only sensible course is that we should make up our minds to try the method of continuous consultation to the limit, and make our machinery for inter-Imperial intercourse at least as effective as our machinery for diplomatic intercourse with foreign Powers. If the Dominions and Great Britain then find themselves unable to work together we shall at least know that the Empire has perished because there is a real and unbridgeable gulf between the opinions of its parts. But it is at least permissible to believe that, despite all changes in status, they will succeed, in the future as in the past, in working together, if only they are provided with the means for understanding the international problems with which they have to deal.

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A PATRON SAINT FOR CANADA

St. Andrew's Day and St. Patrick's Day are known to every Scot and Irishman, and St. George's Day and St. David's Day to most Englishmen and Welshmen as their National Saint's Days. The Canadian, however, commemorates no National Saint's Day, although in the Province of Quebec, St. John Baptist and Ste. Anne in some measure fill the niche.

The reason for this omission can be found in the fact that the status of Canada in the past has been simply that of an integral part of the British Empire, and not as one of the nations of that Empire. Since the War, however, all this has been changed, the status of Canada as one of the nations making up the British Empire has been practically recognised by all other powers. She has her own Coat of Arms and other National emblems, and National days such as the First of July and other evidence of her status, and is about to have her National Flag.

Seeing that Canada has now entered into the full possession of her nationhood, it would not be out of place for her to adopt a Patron Saint, one recognised as such from the Atlantic to the Pacific and throughout Christendom.

There is about to be erected a monument at Menin Gate, Belgium, to the soldiers who fell and whose bodies have not been recovered. There is also a solid monument on the wind swept plains at St. Julien to the Canadians who took part in the glorious battle of that name. Time and circumstances, however, successfully defeat man's wish for perpetual memorials. What, therefore, could be more lasting and more fitting a memorials than the adoption of say April 22nd, as St. Julien's Day.

On April 22nd, 23rd and 24th, 1915, at the battle of St. Julien, Belgium, Canada may be considered to have received her baptism of nationhood when she held back the Germans at the time when the first gas attack had rendered the French troops hors de combat. Of this engagement, the British Commander-in-Chief stated in Despatches that their heroic stand had "saved the situation" and Generalissimo Foch on being asked which he considered was the most critical engagement of the War, stated that in his opinion it was the Battle of St. Julien. What could be more fitting than that the memory of this glorious action should be forever commemorated in Canada by the adoption of April 22nd, as St. Julien's Day, Canada's Patron Saint.

St. Julien was born about the year A.D.100 and was the son of St. Symphorosa, the wife of St. Getule, martyr. St. Julien with his mother and six brothers were put to death at Tivoli, by the order of the Emperor Adrian, about the year A.D.120, long before the then universal church was divided by heresies or schisms, and his name is not identified with any dogmas not universally held by all Christians.

C. Wentworth Sarel.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 056023

Imp R

Subject.....

Date June 29/26 Publication Winnipeg Tribune

EMPIRE FRUIT TRADE

The third report issued by the Imperial Economic Committee, which was appointed by the various governments of the British Empire to study improved methods of marketing Empire goods in Great Britain, deals with the fruit trade.

Though the increasing importance of fruit as a commodity of commerce is obvious enough, probably few people realize that in 1924 imports of fruit into Great Britain for home consumption were valued at £45,000,000, or nearly four times greater than in 1900. In round figures every person in Britain spends £5 a year on imported fruit, wheat and meat, of which £1 goes in fruit.

It is satisfactory to learn from the report that an increasing proportion of Britain's fruit bill is being paid to countries in the Empire. Though there is considerable room for improvement in this respect when certain trade obstacles can be overcome.

It is estimated that on the average each Old Country person eats one hundred apples, seventy oranges, and thirty bananas in the year. Of the apples, 38 come from the United States, 35 grow in Great Britain, while 19 are imported from Canada, and eight from Australia and New Zealand. Of the oranges, 57 are Spanish, seven come from Palestine, and 3 from South Africa. Central America supplies 18 of the bananas, while 7 come from the Canary Islands, and 5 from Jamaica.

These figures go to the root of the matter, for they show that in each case the commanding position in the trade is held by a foreign source of supply, and that the failure of the Empire fruit growers to secure the bulk of the trade is not due solely to lack of enterprise, but to economic causes that are far less simple.

So far as Empire fruit, particularly Canadian fruit, is concerned, the report states that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the spread between wholesale and retail prices is far too wide. It asserts, for example, that boxed apples from British Columbia are sold to the consumer at eightpence a pound, while the grower receives slightly less than one halfpenny. Which would indicate that the distributing trade both in Canada and in Britain needs more economical organization.

The report recognizes the futility of an organization campaign based on such unbacked statements as "British Goods are Best." Appeals to the British consumer, it says, should be addressed to intelligence and not to prejudice.

It is evident that the system of trading in Empire fruit could be improved. The London Times suggests that part of the grant made by the British government might well be used for encouraging schemes of fruit inspection in less advanced colonies and for better marketing methods in the older Dominions.

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Imp R's

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056024

Subject.....

Date July 7/26 Publication Saskatoon Daily Star

Empire Settlement

The Oversea Settlement Committee of Great Britain has reported on work done during 1925. In that year 14,029 men, 11,821 women and 17,207 children left Great Britain to settle in one or other of the Dominions with assistance given under the Empire Settlement Act.

Of the total of 43,057 people, 23,427 went to Australia, 11,442 to Canada, 8,051 to New Zealand and 115 to South Africa. Thus three times as many migrated to the lands of the southern cross as came to this Dominion.

All the families that migrate from Great Britain do not receive assistance under the Settlement Act. Counting everyone, those who come on thir own as well as those who are selected and helped, probably more people moved from the Old Country to Canada than to Australia and New Zealand last year. Certainly this country has received more British immigration than the two southern Dominions since the war.

It is none the less disappointing that they should be leaving Canada behind in working with the British authorities under the Empire Settlement Scheme. Men and women who move to the Dominions under this plan are specially chosen for their fitness to undertake work in new countries. They are helped to establish themselves and are therefore likely to be permanent residents. From two points of view, therefore, they are very desirable settlers.

The Canadian government can count on the support of public opinion in any effort to bring in immigrants of this description.

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SEP 18 1926

Letters of Junius

Copyright by Hadrian H. Baker, Chicago, 1926.

Among the $100,000 frescoes in the Illinois Merchants Trust Co. (Chicago) the first frescoe at the LaSalle Street entrance reads: "Private credit is wealth; public honor is security.—Letters of Junius."

LETTERS OF JUNIUS (1769-1772) (1910-1926)
Hadrian Baker Publisher
718—74 W. Washington, Chicago

AMERICAN TRIBUNAL (Est. Sherman House, 1917)
THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA
Atty. John M. Lonergan, Chairman
H. H. Baker, Mgr.

CONVENTION OF LAWDOM Convention-in-print

JUDGE SCANLAN, TRIALS IN 5 MONTHS

"No doubt 20 per cent of the time of Chicago courts is wasted in needless delays. Every consideration will be given to plans these American Tribunal lawyers unfold." (Chicago Journal, June 29, 1926.)

I shall study all these systems and welcome suggestions in writing so that I may present them at judges' meetings.

I **disagree** with almost all these arguments against bringing cases On Trial in 5 months or less where one or both sides want trial. (1) I disagree with lawyers who say judges are not responsible for speedy disposal of litigation. (2) That, litigation is solely the concern of litigants and their lawyers, who should be allowed to try their cases when they get ready. (3) The moment a suit is filed the State becomes a party to it. All the powers of the State are set in motion. The State is looked to for justice. (4) Judges are not puppets. (5) Quick trials expedite settlements. (6) Defendants wait till the last moment, cornered, before settling. They pay no attention to claims until the case is On Trial. The further away the trial the less defendants are in mood to even discuss settlement. How many settlements are forced in court at the juncture between plaintiff resting, and defendant beginning his defense. (7) **Undisposed** of cases will pile up, mountains high, if judges permit defendants to dictate. (8) One weak spot is that **continuances** are not recorded officially, so that if another continuance is asked, the previous continuances may confront litigants. I keep such a record and use it for all it is worth to keep continuances down to one or two as much as possible. This plan suggested by American Tribunal contains that feature strongly emphasized. (9) **Judges are blamed** for congested courts. Judges not lawyers are elected to administer courts. Supreme power has been given us. Lawyers expect us judges to take care of our courts, and not to blame lawyers for mismanagement of courts. This progress of bringing cases that are ready On Trial in five months or less must arise from the Bench. Judges cannot pass the responsibility on to the Bar. (10) Some of the judges have **pet systems** of their own and resent conforming to any general system, although their own systems consume nearly two years getting cases On Trial, whereas five months, or less, is efficiency. It is highly discouraging.

(11) I disagree with those who advocate setting cases at the **head of the Call** for certain dates ahead. They belong at the foot of the Call of those dates. It would breed confusion, also injustice to those whose cases have reached those dates in regular order. Continuers are asking concessions, because, they are not ready when their cases are reached in regular order. No date can be held hard and fast for anybody. (12) Remember, there are **only about 179 trial days** in a year, after deducting Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, vacations—and not deducting funerals, sickness, etc. It is appallingly short.

ASSIGNMENT CLERK, IF RUN RIGHT

That's the only way to get trials in 5 months or less.—Atty. Anthony J. Schmidt, 1105 Stk. Ex.

ASSIGNMENT CLERK, ONLY SOLUTION

(1) Courts are made for litigants, taxpayers, and civilization. No constructive, patriotic official will defy litigants and voters who finance courts. Judges are paid $60,000 every 4 years to do one thing: try cases from 10 to 4:30. (2) Unbusiness-like Chicago court systems largely destroy justice. Nothing would be more popular to business people than trial 2 to 20 weeks after filing. Honest lawyers have to drive away practice constantly by advising clients to submit to injustice rather than utilize mismanaged Chicago courts, which make justice too slow and costly to be a business proposition. (3) It is no harder to organize a trial in two months, than in two years. (4) The Assignment system has never been properly executed in Chicago. (5) It gets quick trials in Cleveland, Minneapolis, etc. (6) It is injustice for judges to enforce their individual calendars to aggrandize themselves when trials could be reached in 5 months or less.—Atty. Joseph T. Harrington, 918 Otis Bldg.

OPPOSES SPEEDING UP TRIALS

(1) Speeding up trials tends to take plaintiffs' lawyers unawares. This plays into the hands of defendants because plaintiffs must put on their side first. Defendant can snicker at plaintiff's distress being rushed to trial. Defendant in this way has several hours or days to get together his witnesses, law, etc. Defendant may not need to put in any evidence, law, etc., because the case may blow up, or be settled at a disadvantage to plaintiff because of his being forced to trial. (2) Courts are not run for judges, juries, defendants, or lawyers but so litigants can feel their way to justice, rushing neither side. We don't want one side in hysterics. Usually one side is ready for trial and the other side is on thin ice. (3) A trial system must take into consideration unforeseen, unexpected, inevitable, innumerable contingencies which intervene in getting both sides to trial, if justice is to be done both sides. (4) Courts are run for litigants' interests and to winnow out justice, patiently, unhurriedly and not by "efficiency experts." Nervous judges who have a mania for "disposing" of cases are unfit for the Bench. We don't want judges boasting to the press and reformers about the large volume of cases they are "disposing" of but how much justice they bring about. Judges don't "dispose" of cases anyhow. They cannot. The only way to dispose of cases is through the difficult process of having all the witnesses, parties, experts, lawyers, judge, clerk, bailiffs, and jury getting together. (5) A busy lawyer cannot organize several cases ready for doubtful trial the same day. (6) No case should be DWP until the record shows that both sides have been heard from as to whether they wish it dismissed. Atty. James L. Bynum, 1108 Cunard.

FAVORS TOP OF CALENDAR

Continuances are caused by unavoidable circumstances, the fault of nobody, therefore should not be penalized by being put at the bottom of the calendar on the day set. When a case is reached for trial, in regular order, one side wants it set for a future date, but the other side is ready asking no concessions—therefore he is absolutely entitled to top of calendar upon set date. No judge is disrupted, nor tied-up, so long as he is trying cases which he must try, anyhow, at the earliest moment.—Atty. Miles J. Devine, 320 Reaper Blk.

FOUR TRACK SYSTEM

(1) **Limited,** ready for trial. (2) **Local,** being continued, etc. (3) **Sidetracked,** waiting for something. (4) **Assembling.** Keep everything off the trunk-line except Limiteds, then trials will be reached quickly.—Atty. John D. Farrell, 728 Reaper block.

CHANCERY SYSTEM ON LAW SIDE

Why won't Chancery System work on Law side?—Oscar Hebel, Superior Court.

SLOW TRIAL SYSTEM BEST

A fast trial system is the enemy of settlements, which are reached slowly, as inclination on both sides grows, thereby averting costly trials.—Atty. Lessing Rosenthal, 105 W. Monroe

CRIMINAL COURT SPEEDY TRIALS

Criminal courts try indictments almost immediately. Run right, civil courts can do likewise.—Judge Gemmill, Criminal Court (Author "Witch Trials," "American Town Names," "Kingdom of Divorced Hearts").

SAVE TIME ON PLEADINGS

In working out a system to try cases in five months, or sooner, you must remember Aesop's fable where the man, his son and ass listened to every fool, and got nowhere. I can suggest modernized Pleadings which will expedite litigation.—Atty. Hugh O'Neil, 1427 Conway Bldg.

STATES ATTORNEY AT MUNICIPAL COURT

City Prosecutors are not needed by judges. Pay their salaries to high class assistant states attorneys at each court, who would devote all their time examining and O. K.-ing all complaints and bail bonds, interviewing witnesses, consulting with and advising the police, and getting cases ready for trial, always in touch with police and commanding officers.—Judge J. O'Toole, City Hall.

THE FOUR TRACK SYSTEM

(1) Cases set down for trial on day certain. (2) General continued calendar (both sides willing). (3) Passed calendar (to be taken up on notice). (4) Not at issue calendar.

Abolish First Call (1) Have a **Maturing Call.** (2) Then a **Preliminary Trial Call** of a given number of cases published in Law Bulletin. Then proceed as above. This would largely eliminate uncertainty as to when the case will be reached for trial, as under present bad system. And, generally when it does reach the Trial Call lawyers are unprepared for trial, witnesses unavailable, etc. (3) Re-set such cases for a certain date, or Hold upon the **Secondary Trial Call** so that they can be placed on the (4) **Actual Trial Call,** top of the Call, any day on which both sides agree, Or, upon motion of either side, the court can order the case taken from the Secondary Trial Call and placed on the Active Trial Call.—Atty. Henry A. Berger.

CONTEMPT OF COURT CURBED

Oklahoma passed such a law over Supreme Court opposition, a disinterested, unbiased jury now passes on alleged contempts. Is not Illinois in favor of such a law? Lese majesty is unAmerican. Why should judges saddle on America a lese majesty myth arrogated by no other official? unAmerican police arrogate to use insolence, clubs and Third Degrees. No man should act as prosecutor, judge and executioner. England endured the fiend, Lord Chief Justice George Jeffreys, Scotland, held her nose over Lord Justice Braxfield, Ireland has produced tyrants.—Atty. Eugene McCaffrey, 402 Ashland Blk.

CREATE SIXTH GREAT LAKE

$150,000,000 can create a sixth great lake, over two and one-half times as large as Ontario, adding a flow of 18,000 cubic second feet into the Great Lakes, solving Chicago's water controversy with Canada and other cities. This sixth lake would be 15,000 square miles (8,000 of it timber land) southwest of Hudson Bay. Albany river and Ogoki river would be diverted from Hudson Bay to flow into this Sixth Great Lake, instead of being wasted in Hudson Bay. Thousands of small lakes and streams form these two rivers. Lake Nipigon is half way between Lake Superior and this Sixth Great Lake. Two dams, and a two-mile canal would connect, the water then flowing through Nipigon river into Lake Superior. Panama cost $600,000,000. It would bring lower freight rates to 40,000,000 people. Vast horsepower would be gained for electric plants, etc., and pulp wood for the world for 15 years. It would open up vast ore, timber and game resources. It would solve the problem of lake levels for all time.

The U. S. and Canada promoting this would be a world-example in true constructive internationalism. It would lessen boundary complications. This will not interest the "practical politicians" who infest both nations, who are seldom constructive or productive, but crafty, shallow minded, uncultured, dishonest, traitorious, oblivious to all that is noble and worth while in the moulding of countries. It is for the nation-builders to help the marvelous brain of C. Lorne Campbell, the Ontario engineer, who saw the oversight of Nature—Varnac Delfraine (cattle ranches), 716 Board of Trade Hotel, Chicago.

VATICAN ON CHICAGO LAKE FRONT

The Eucharistic festival, June 1926, showed how popular it would be to establish the Vatican in Grant Park, from the Illinois Station to Randolph Street.

According to the press and Catholics the Vatican received ovations from every angle of the U. S. A. including the president, the mayor of Chicago, a leading Freemason, and various Protestant bishops. This proves that it is wisdom to now secure the permanent presence of the entire Vatican. What could be more far-seeing than to unite the world's coming capital with the international church? Westward the star of empire wends it way. Solomon's Sanhedrin was at Jerusalem. The Vatican moved west to Constantinople, then to Rome, then for a hundred years the official Vatican sat at Avignon, France, with usurpers holding Rome.

Visualize the most wonderful edifice that can be erected, eleven blocks long, and from Michigan boulevard to the lighthouses. With stores for papal citizens all along the ground floor. Four basements for the necessary Vatican bank, with Vatican executives and Vatican press in the 22 stories above, surmounted by the 22 story Vatican church eleven blocks deep, crowned with a dome containing the Vatican chimes and Vatican clock, flying the Vatican flag. It would be the talk of the world. Americans do everything upon unheard of scales of stupendousness. Vast monasteries, convents, colleges, schools hospitals, etc.; under the existing "Catholic Corporation of Illinois" would dot Chicago. Vatican barges could invest the Great Lakes to Montreal and down the Mississippi to the Gulf.

Instead of the Vatican living as a prisoner, and in jeopardy of fascist, bolshevik, Mexican, Mohammedan, Protestant, or Masonic dictation it would be in Chicago surrounded by the center of the papal bonafide 15% of the U. S. A.

The Eucharist pageant showed Protestants that its imposing revolution against Eucharism has died out. That it is impossible to survive. The non Eucharists, Masons, scientific world and intelligentsia stood aghast.

Compared with establishing the Vatican on Grant Park the 1933 billion dollar World's Fair sinks into insignificance.

Why not have a national referendum at next election as to bringing the Vatican to Chicago?

ASSEMBLE BRAINS IN CHICAGO

The Chicago Exposition is in 1933.

Mobilize the world's brains in Chicago. Let every field of intellect come, in force. Those who do not come could write, or send what they wish given publicity. Fancy the flags of science, philosophy, physicians, invention, art, music, architecture; altruism, truth, discovery, pathfinding, cosmopolitanism, real schools, real government, etc., flying from all windows, edifices and festooning Chicago streets.

The cinemas, theaters, stadium, coliseum, fraternal temples, public schools, churches, radio and press could broadcast the various angles of this conclave of intelligence and go-getters.

Picture the march past of these intellectual divisions, 100,000 strong, each with its band, playing marches befitting each division.

Think what world-wide colossal effects such a panorama would have, for centuries.

From all over America and the world thinkers would gather. The world's thinkers would take part in this mobilization and follow it with bated breath.

We have had political bursts! Military bursts! Business bursts! Propaganda bursts! Resultless bursts! But never a burst of master minds to speed up progress.

Mobilize the marvel of the universe—Mind.
This will advance civilization 1,000 years.
Those interested write American Tribunal.

RIGHT OF SKYSCRAPER TO ARREST

A $25,000 damage suit against the Illinois Merchants Trust Co. was filed July 9, 1926, in Superior Court, No. 441476 by Hadrian H. Baker manager of American Tribunal, 718 Reaper Block, Chicago, through his attorney John H. Lally, Cunard Bldg. This litigation, besides determining the damage to H. H. Baker for assault and false arrest, may incidentally lead to a decision covering the following questions: Whether a business man and his agents have the right to (1) Call upon all or any of the tenants from the biggest to the smallest in all the skyscrapers? (2) To solicit their business; (3) to deliver sample copies; (4) to deliver advertising matter addressed or unaddressed; (5) to deliver paid-for documents or a news-service to subscrib-

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ers; (6) whether they have the right of ingress and egress as they see fit, during business hours; (7) without being molested, stopped, delayed, searched; questioned or ejected with or without force by agents of the skyscrapers upon pretense that skyscrapers have right to do these things to anybody they see fit, withm their building, or entering or leaving it?

On April 6, 1926, H. H. Baker while making a special delivery of a paid-for news-service, between 1 and 2 p. m., to certain of the largest law firms, tenants in Illinois Merchants Trust building, was challenged by a man on one of the stairways, who turned out to be a part of the management. He insultingly addressed H. H. Baker and when Baker refused to argue with him he grabbed Baker's addressed documents and forcibly stopped Baker going further, placing Baker under arrest, and taking Baker with insolent remarks to the office of the building where Baker was next put through an examination by the assistant manager, keeping him under arrest. In spite of Baker's explanations at the outset, his documents were still wrongfully withheld from him and instead of releasing Baker he was next forced by the assistant manager of the building to accompany him, with the special police officer, to the suite of ex-U. S. District Attorney Edwin Sims (Sims, Welch, Godman and Stransky), where Baker was publicly kept under arrest in this crowded office. Finally, after Baker had been identified and his statements confirmed, he was reluctantly released with the sullen warning that he could deliver only paid-for material in the building, which was all Baker was doing in the first place.

The manager of one of the offices, who witnessed the ill-treatment of Baker, characterized the episode as: Baker being brought in by the police under public arrest and undergoing an hour's experience which he would himself consider highly damaging, and volunteered to testify in Baker's behalf.

The damage done Baker's reputation by the exaggerated and scandalous reports that have traveled about the office buildings and courts which he covers, have caused comment and suspicion damaging to Baker. The injury done to the reputation of a man trusted, utilized and looked up to like Hadrian Baker, by such a false arrest and by being held up to public contempt, ridicule, scandalous reports and suspicion is vastly greater than if an ordinary man was so treated.

It is time that all firms doing business with occupants of skyscrapers and banks should know their rights and help end any persecution and arrogance toward other business men who are carrying on legitimate commerce. These men are encouraging progress, and building up business concerns, lawyers and courts who employ vast amounts of labor and purchase every description of goods. The business and deposits of these firms are constantly solicited by these skyscrapers and by this Illinois Merchants Trust Co., and business houses should not be interrupted in their peaceful pursuit of business or injured by the very concerns seeking them which own these banks and skyscrapers.

Attorney Lally has briefed the law controlling this case, also collateral issues, also the measure of damages. Baker has been furnished precedents supporting him by ten leading lawyers. In Crawford vs. Dr. Sanger Brown, No. 16947 (Atty. C. P. R. Macaulay) the Ill. Supreme Court recently reversed and decided: That arrest, or even friendly and seemingly advantageous detention, without due process of law, is illegal, after three Circuit Superior judges had each tried the case.

Public Policy (New Law)

The Illinois Supreme Court denied a writ of certiorari, on briefs, during the June 1926 term, in Hadrian H. Baker vs. E. J. Lennartz, Attorney John H. Lally, Cunard Bldg., Chicago, carried the case through all the courts for H. H. Baker. The Supreme Court sustained the Appellate (No. 30443) and Judge H. M. Walker (No. 1120164) that it is legal and not against public policy, for Baker to collect a fee for his services in speeding up a settlement of damages, against the City, of $4,750. These courts held that: Baker, as a layman, had speeded up the case and was wholly entitled to all that Lennartz had agreed to pay Baker.

Justices McSurely, Matchett and Johnston laid down new law, of interest to all jurists and lawyers, as follows: "Defendant argues that the contract was void, as against public policy. The supporting cases cited by defendant are not applicable to the present situation. We are referred to no decisions relating to an agreement to employ one to conduct negotiations looking to a settlement of differences between opposing parties. The fact that the City was one of the parties does not change the character of the services rendered. A contract to induce or encourage litigation might be void, but we are not aware of any decisions holding void a contract which has for its object the settlement of differences between parties."

SPEED MUNICIPAL COURT TRIALS

Where jury is demanded pleadings should be automatically settled before a judge, prior to the case being placed on the Jury Trial Calendar. This will disclose that in many cases there is no issue-of-fact to be tried needing a jury. Such cases could then and there be disposed of on the question of law involved by this Pleadings Judge. In many other cases it would be found that pleadings do not consist of such direct statements-of-fact as are required in Municipal Court and in settlement of pleadings parties will often find themselves unable to raise issues-of-fact without perjury. This Pleadings Court would be one of the most important branches. Under the present Rules, I am quite aware, either side may now have a test of the sufficiency of the pleadings upon given notice. My suggestion is: that this test should be made automatically, before such cases are placed on the Jury Calendar.—Judge Albert George, City Hall.

SUGGESTS EFFICIENCY EXPERT

(1) We need an efficiency expert to handle the Chicago court problem in its entirety and not tinker with first one angle and then another. (Leading trial lawyers ask how "commercial" efficiency experts could intelligently handle court matters? Trial lawyers and judges are the only ones competent to give "expert" advice on administering courts.) (2) Let juries definitely fix all penalties. Indeterminate severe sentences cause many "Not Guilties," which otherwise would inflict some punishment. (3) Change the law that juries must adopt the hypothesis of innocence, where evidence shows guilt. (4) Change the law to render good character enough to turn the scale in close cases, to acquit. (5) Give courts more power in selecting jurors. (6) Courts should be the best judges of the law and not be compelled to tell juries they can ignore the instructions of courts as to the law. (7) Municipal Court sends vastly too many minor cases to the grand jury, instead of disposing.—Judge Timothy D. Hurley, Court House.

MINNEAPOLIS QUICK TRIALS

District Court, Minneapolis, 11 judges, 11 page booklet (Walter A. Ryberg, Clerk).

CLEVELAND, O., MODEL TRIALS

Court of Common Pleas (Cleveland), 15 judges, two 36pp booklets (George Wallace Clerk).

Clerk prepares a General Civil Term Calendar.

Assignment Clerk, under general instructions of presiding judge, assigns civil cases to judges. Clerk sets for trial daily sufficient cases to keep courts occupied, mailing to all attorneys postals notifying them the day their cases are set for trial, 15 days in advance, attorneys being required to answer on day set for trial. By written consent of attorneys, filed with Assignment Clerk before noon on day preceding date set, case may be reset for first open date or later date, or dismissed, or stricken. In absence of such stipulation cases may be re-set to later date by application to presiding judge before noon of date set for trial, or continued.

Active List contains all cases ready for trial and when case, next in order on Active List, is about to be assigned to a judge for trial, the Assignment Clerk notifies attorneys by phone to report at once to the trial court, attorneys keeping him informed of their phone, ready when phoned to report to trial court within 15 minutes personally or by representative, time when they are notified being recorded. The case shall then be tried, dismissed or stricken, unless for good cause arising after closing of court preceding day when the case is continued, or returned to Assignment Clerk. But the cause for continuance must be entered on records, with names of the parties obtaining same. If more continuances are asked these records shall be examined and no case continued or re-set for trial over three times.

Without exception, **cases are assigned** to judge who first reports himself ready for a new case. Default cases, however, may be assigned out of regular order to any judge on his request, always retaining their calendar order relative to each other. Any suggestion made to Assignment Clerk to set a case before any particular judge, is severely reported.

All pleadings must be on file before any case is assigned for trial, under penalties of dismissal, continuance, striking, etc.

Cases are not assigned when attorney is actually **engaged** in another court.

When an attorney has a case on Active List and is engaged in another court, he notifies Assignment Clerk, and cases in which he is attorney are taken from Active List and held, in order, until he is released from case he is trying, whereupon he notifies Assignment Clerk and cases held and ready for trial are again placed on Active List and sent to trial judge, in regular order.

When a case is reached for trial, and a jury not available, Assignment Clerk may assign a Court case.

When a case is assigned for trial, preliminaries over, it must be ready for immediate trial.

Interrupted trials return to Assignment Clerk, so recorded, and at once again put on Trial Call.

Cases on Active List, when settled or dismissed, attorneys notify Assignment Clerk to so record.

In civil **jury trials** the Court directs Clerk to draw 18 jurors from jury box, who are then examined, and if any be excused, others are called until 18 are qualified, then litigants peremptorily challenge any of these 18. Finally, of those remaining men, the 12 first called form the jury.

PROSPECTIVE LAWSUITS BEFORE TRIALS

(1) There is nothing to bar a Chicago judge from having more than one Term Calendar, so that he can have a number of cases on different Term Calendars and thus keep himself busy trying cases all day long, every day (Sec.9 et seq. Act of Feb. 16, 1874). Conditions have vastly changed in Chicago since Sec. 29 of Article VI was adopted in 1870. This Practice Act has become unworkable. (2) I suggest that the Legislature change it, whereby a litigant may protect himself by filing a Lis Pendens Pleadings with Recorder, to curb fraudulent defendants, whereby every one is bound to take notice of the facts and lien therein stated. If no settlement ensues the Lis Pendens would be put on Trial Calendar. Cases now clogging the Calendars would thus be out of the way. In other States no difficulty arises where Attorneys are permitted to have service of their pleadings Lis Pendens previously made upon the adverse party and the controversy kept out of the Clerk's office until it becomes necessary to settle the issues, or actually try the case. Thus litigants control the disposition of the case. (3) They thus keep out of the way of actual cases being rushed to trial within a few days after they are placed on Trial Calendar, after which, only for the gravest reasons do they escape trial on day set, at top of the Call.—Atty. K. B. Czarnecki & Jacob Katz, 809 C. H. Sq. Bldg.

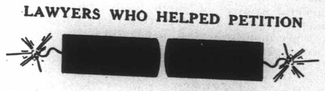
SET-CASES AT TOP OF CALL

(1) I side with those who say, that when one side has to agree to waive their right to go On Trial today, and must set their case for trial on a future date, with sanction of judge, that they should be placed at top of Call of that date. Instead of asking a concession, when their case is called today for trial, they have to step aside until that future date, and give other litigants their place today, thus keeping the procession moving. If any other case is On Trial, when their day arrives, of course they wait until it is over. They are ahead of everybody, from this minute, until that date which they have preempted by right of priority. If others, who come after them today, want to set their cases ahead, for the same date, let them do so, understanding that they follow in order. If the first case blows up, or continued, the second set for that date goes On Trial. If not ready then the third, and so on. Otherwise, each one must wait until the one or ones, ahead are disposed of. The blockade bugaboo will keep righting itself. These litigants were entitled to a trial on that previous date, but they have been letting a lot of others get trials ahead of them—for the furtherance of justice in their own case, and are striving to be ready for trial at this future date. Their case must be tried anyhow, some day, why not on this future date? The present plan consumes nearly two years muddling to trial. (2) The plan adopted must be legal. (3) I favor this waiting list, one behind the other, twenty of them lined up, all the time, sifted from the cases not ready for trial. Defendants' lawyers naturally object to set cases being put at top of Call upon that date, because defendants' want to place every difficulty in the way of getting to trial, exceptions proving the rule. If, as Judge Scanlan says, there are only 179 trial days a year, all the more reason why every one of these precious days should have Set Cases, with plenty of fill-ins, should any of these Set Cases not materialize. Under the present system Chicago courts are trying no cases much of the time, but the moment remedies are suggested foolish objections are raised. (4) Few lawyers know that a subpoena once served on a witness commands him to hold himself in readiness to appear upon a certain date or as soon after as he can be heard. Fresh subpoenas don't have to be served. The court will instantly send the sheriff to bring in witnesses who have been subpoenaed but failed to appear when called to the stand. Let witnesses keep in touch with their lawyers, so that they may be phoned. No need for witnesses to wait around courts. (5) No case should be DWP or tried without the record showing that both sides were present in court, or the non-appearing lawyer notified and case held till he has opportunity to appear. Forcing case to trial ex parte, and DWP, are injustice and bear evil marks. No case should be forced to trial unless one side is insisting on trial. If neither side are anxious for trial, the case should be passed. (6) Judges trying to settle cases are acting illegally, pestiferously and unjustly. They feel venom toward the side declining to do their bidding, to settle. Atty. C. P. R. Macaulay, 505 Ashld.

ONE JUDGE TO SET ALL CASES

(1) When a case is filed it should lie dormant until either side makes motion to have it set (as per Superior Court chancery). (2) When the case is at issue, either side to have right to make motion to set it for trial. In most cases the lawyers would agree on a day, top of the Call. (3) On motion to set case for trial the judge would hear reasons why it should not be set. This obviates the evil of one side coming with witnesses to then hear motion for continuance, as now done. (4) Cases should not be set for trial at a distant date, but within a day or so, making it improbable for anything to intervene requiring continuance. (5) When once set, it should be taken for granted that continuances will not be asked except in the extreme situations, which if granted would send the case back to the Waiting Box, there to remain until new motion is made to re-set it. (6) The trial call would thus be so carefully arranged there would be little of the present infuriating waiting for trial 18 months or more. (7) Some will say this system was followed in the Circuit Court, at 105 W. Monroe, 20 years ago, when they had a bad Assignment System quite different ffrom those working in Minneapolis, Cleveland, etc. (8) The judge who hears Motions to set cases, should use his influence to bring about settlements.—Atty. Geo. Bernhard and Geo. F. Anderson, 508 T&T.

LAWYERS WHO HELPED PETITION



The petition to Judges Scanlan (Circuit), McKinley (Superior), Lynch (Criminal), Olson (Municipal), to bring cases On Trial in 5 months or less: E. C. Anderson, H. E. Ayers, F. P. A'Brunswick, H. A. Berger, C. T. Brown, J. L. Bynum,, G. E. Bogie, J. T. Byrnes, W. J. Bell, Wm. A. Cunnea, ex-U. S. Atty. Guy C. Crapple. Fk. Comerford, C. S. Darrow, M.M. Davidson (2nd mortgages), M. J. Devine, H. S. Ditchburne, J. M. Fiore, J. D. Farrell, S. L. Freedman, T. J. Fell, Judge Gemmill, C. Gigliotti, Judge George, Judge Gentzel, J. T. Harrington, A. A. House, F. A. Harper, Master James P. Harrold.

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E. McEldowney (Chi Rl. Est. News),
H. G. Zander (Installment homes)
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Stanley Wenz Personal injury
Edgar A. Russell Masonic publish

WHEN IN A JAM, big or little, in or out of court, local or national, you need a man of action, who can get results quickly in time of great need, who is resourceful, who is allied with master minds. Write me clearly of your difficulties and terms you offer me. Don't call. Don't phone. Nothing can intimidate me. I can get every angle of justice in motion. The full force of my allies is on the side of the square deal, capacity, and quick action. This is a clearing house for securing your rights—civil, criminal, probate, investment, re-financing, etc. %

SURFACE ROADS' CHIEF COMMENTS

(1) I favor the plan printed by American Tribunal, worked out by some big trial lawyers. (2) The Four Track System sounds intelligent. (3) I oppose an Assignment Clerk. It leads to shysters fixing the clerk to assign cases to preferred judges. —Atty. C. E. Stenning, 1505 Title & Trust Bldg.

(1) All present Rules to be strictly enforced. (See "Organization and Rules of Practice of Circuit-Superior Courts, June, 1915.")

(2) Upon the "First Call" of cases (consisting of 100 to 200 calendar numbers) all parties in interest who are "Not Ready" for trial when their case is reached in its regular order on the Trial Call, shall plead for a Continuance until the next First Call (usually 11 to 30 days later) or such further time as the court may see fit to grant. All other cases, whether responded to or not, shall be marked by the judge "For Trial" and transferred to the Trial Call, and disposed of in their regular order by the trial court—sickness or engagement excepted. (As provided for by the present rules.) Your engagement is not construed against you until your case is regularly reached for trial.

(3) This plan encourages both sides getting together and agreeing on a date when they wish to be placed at the foot of the Call of that date.

(4) The status of this Call shall be published in the Daily Law Bulletin, each court day, for parties in interest to govern themselves accordingly.

(5) Trial lawyers, or their representatives, shall by rules to be adopted by the court, appear in the respective courtrooms, when their cases are posted in the afternoon of the preceding day, or before the opening of court in the morning, and give constructive notice by indorsing the letter R in the column after plaintiff's name (If Ready), and the letter E (If Engaged) and before which court. Likewise defendant. Should either or both fail to indorse their column, the court immediately upon conclusion of the Case-On-Trial shall call such case or cases For-Trial—either by Ex Parte hearing, or by Dismissal for want of prosecution.

(6) This Trial-Call to be posted in each courtroom and handily filed, ready for constant reference in each courtroom or chambers.

(7) This Sheet will be a permanent record of what happens.

(8) The Judge will mark the letter P (Passed) when he sees fit. If the case is re-set for a certain day the judge marks that date in his own column. Or, he marks On-Trial. Or, DWP, etc.

(9) All cases Not-Disposed-Of-Today will appear upon Tomorrow's-Call and will daily receive the same treatment, until disposed of.

(10) It is injustice to other litigants to put any case at the head of any Future-Call. Put all cases at the foot of Future-Calls which have been set for those dates by Agreement of both sides, or by order of court.

(11) It shall be Contempt of Court punished by fine, imprisonment, or both to misrepresent upon this Sheet. All suspicions, all charges, and all manifest fraud to be investigated by the court.

(12) A barrister is Engaged only when (a) Actually on trial; (b) Ill at home; (c) At a close relative's deathbed or funeral; (d) Actually absent from Chicago in pursuit of his profession. Absence from Chicago of a lawyer or witness after a Case is reached is no excuse, if the other side objects.

(13) The Minute Clerk of the various courts shall prepare each day a Trial Call of Cases made up from the last First Call, or Passed, or Continued—on a regular Printed Form approved by the court, which shall contain (a) General Number, (b) Plaintiff's Name, (c) Plaintiff's lawyer, (d) Plaintiff's indorsement (e) Defendant's name, (f) Def. lawyer, (g) Def. indorsement, (h) Judge's notation, which shall be made only when regularly reached For Trial, (i) Expected duration of plaintiff's side, (j) And def. side, (k) Number of plaintiff's prior continuances, (l) Ditto defendant's. It is necessary that the Chicago courts shall adopt this, or some other form of Trial Call. The present Call Sheet is inadequate for this advanced age.

TRIAL COURT SHEET (Superior, Circuit, Criminal) Sep.15, 1926 JUDGE Thomas J. Lynch

GenNo	P	Pff.Atty.		D	Def.Atty.		DEF.INDORSEMENT	MLNF	QON	JUDGE
		(Before 10AM)					(Before 10AM)	Pf	Df	MEMO
12345	A	BynumJas.L	E 1day McKinleyML	Z	SymmesTE	E	1day DeYoungFR	1d	1d	0:0 Pass
98677	B	ComerfordFk	R 10AM	Y	SullivanFrJ			5h	--	0:3 exPte
8877	C	SimsWirinW	E 1weekNewYork	X	BradleyRR	E	2HourJohnstnFr	2d	2d	5:5 Pass
55555	D	MayerElias	E 1day HeardOscar	W	LoucksChasO	E	2HourTaylorTh.	4d	2d	0:0 Pass
12455	E	SchmidtAntJ	R 10AM	V	KitzlerJeffWy	R 10AM		1d	1d	4:3 TRIAL
54321	F	WhiteHarold	E 1hourLindleyWC	U	GerhardSidny	E 1day	LewisHA	2d	2d	3:5 Pass
20202	G	FogleJohnL	E 5daysKavanghJM	T	LoeschFrank	E 5days	Illness	5d	5d	4:4 Pass
33333	H	JohnsonHelmr		S	Stenning[illegible]					DWP
98765	I	HaightWm.H	R Nov 1	R	BurnhMorthy	R Nov.1		9d	9d	1:2 NOV.1
54321	J	FitzsimMiller	R PPP	Q	McArdlePL	R PPP		1d	1d	3:2 HOLD
99852	K	LaneWallace	E 5daysCliffeAdam	P	FlemingJoeS	E 9daysWilkerson		5d	5d	3:3 Pass
54545	L	DruckerHW	R Sep15	O	NewmanJacob	R Sep15		3d	3d	3:1 Sep15
34346	M	BunchThad.O	E 4daysGeoFRush	N	RodriguezWE	E 4daysFisherHM		2d	2d	2:1 Pass
11111	N	ODonnellPH	E 1day Funeral	M	ShortBen	E 1day BurleyTD		7h	5h	3:5 Pass
12435	O	FarrellJnoD	R Sep22	L	HarringtonJ	R Sep22		6h	4h	0:0 SEP22
53564	P	WilmsRoJudg	E 1day McSurelyWH	K	DuffaryDel.	E 2daysSullivnDE		1d	1d	3:6 Pass
99765	Q	MassmlayCFR	E 3HourWalkerSidyM	J	TomeDavidK	R PPP		6h	6h	2:3 HOLD
65432	R	McCallumHW	E 3HourFitzJos.H	I	BassettWilb	E 1weekBashDC		3d	3d	0:3 Pass
76543	S	LonergnJM	E 5daysKerstenGeo	H	DavisWOlnc	E 2daysCrowaRE		3d	3d	2:7 Pass
44444	T	FellTimothy	E 1day CaverlyJR	G	CummsEmA	E 1day SullivnJJ		2d	2d	2:3 Pass
23453	U	MaherCaptEM	E Sep20	F	RyanAndrewJ	E Sep20		6h	4h	1:3 SEP20
77777	V	ChancellorJ	E 1day BrannonJA	E	RoxMelARJ	E 1day JonesEA		5h	5h	2:2 Pass
66000	W	KatzJacob	E 3HourWilsonFr.S	D	McCarthyRegL	E 1day KilerSml		1d	1d	0:1 Pass
54345	X	GesasMich'l	E 1day HornerSamy	C	AtTrumwich	E 1day FylesAHM		2d	2d	3:5 Pass
2222	Y	DevineMiles	E 1day BrotherWT	B	SoelkeChasH	E 1day LyleJohnH		2d	2d	2:2 Pass
99853	Z	LallyJHugh	E 1day PamBago	A	CummingsJmC	E 2daysSteffenWP		2d	2d	6:5 Pass
12435	A	DarbyRaymdJ	E 3HourMitchettDF	Z	OBrienQuin	E 1HourBaschPX		6h	4h	5:4 HOLD
76554	B	AldrichChasE	E 1day MangnaEM	Y	KohnDwight	E 3daysHopkinsJH		2d	2d	4:5 Pass
3333	C	JenningsEvt	E 2daysMcGoortyJP	X	MayerSidnyS	E 1day GemmillWN		1d	1d	2:2 Pass
77675	D	MahonyChasL	E 3HourCaylorWE	W	PattersonEH	E 3HourLindseyWJ		6h	6h	0:0 HOLD
5555	E	OBrienWm.B	E 2daysRebelOscarJ	V	CrapleGuyO	E 3HourArnelAVP		1d	1d	0:0 Pass
TRACING TOP CASE TO TRIAL										Sep.13, 1926
12345	A	BynumJas.L.	E 1day McKinleyML	Z	SymmesTE	E 1day DeYoungFR		1d	1d	0:0 Pass
										Sep.14, 1926
12345	A	Bynum	E 1day SentelGeoW	Z	Symmes	E 3HourSabathJos		1d	1d	0:0 Pass
										Sep.15, 1926
12345	A	Bynum	E 1day ScanlanKnx	Z	Symmes	E 3HourNewcomerJ		1d	1d	0:0 Pass
										Sep.16, 1926
12345	A	Bynum	E 1day HoldomJess	Z	Symmes	E 3HourRynerIra		1d	1d	0:0 Pass
										Sep.17, 1926
12345	A	BynumJas.L.	R 10AM	Z	Symmes	R 10AM		3d	1d	0:0 TRIAL

056028

Imp R

Britannia's Hundred States

A cinema, done in blank verse.

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25c per copy, ten for $1, 1,000 $7.50.

IN A SUPER-THEATRE

Tableaux frame the vast stage of Portsmouth, Suez,
Woolwich. Gibraltar. Singapore, Esquimalt, etc.
George V., Emperor of India, is present.
15,000 Augustians of the Empire are seated.
The Empire's prime ministers are here.
The Parliaments of Westminster.
The Governments of the 100 States.
Generals, Naval and Air Admirals.
Judges, lawyers and highest officials.
Emblazoned are the names of the hundred states.

BRITANNIA'S HUNDRED STATES

Aden, E. Africa, S. W. Africa, Ajmer-Marwara, Alberta, Andaman-Nicobar, Ascension, Assam, Athabasca, S. Australia, W. Australia, Baffin, Bahamas, Baluchistan, Barbadoes, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Benares, Bengal, Bermudas, Bihar-Orissa, Bombay, Borneo, Br. Columbia, Burma-Mandalay, Cape, Central India, Ceylon, Cochin, Coorg, Cyprus, Delhi, Egypt, England, Falklands, Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Gold Coast, Guina, Gwalior, Haidarabad, Haiti, Hongkong, Honduras, Hudson Bay, Irish F. S., Jamaica, Jersey-Guernsey, Kashmir, Kathiawar, Kenya, Labrador, Leewards, Madras, Malta, Manitoba, Manx, Mauritus, Mosul, Mysore, Natal, Nepal, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, New Guiana, New S. Wales, New Zealand, Northern Terr., N. W. Frontier, N. W. Territory, N. Nigeria, S. Nigeria, Nova Scotia, Nyssaland, Ontario, Orange F. S., Orkneys, Palestine, Pr. Edward Isl., Punjab, Quebec, Queensland, Rajputana, N. Rhodesia, S. Rhodesia, Saskatchewan, St. Helena, Scotland, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Sind, Singapore, Malaysia, Solomon Isl., Somaliland, Soudan, Straits Settlement, Suez, Swaziland, Tanganyiaka, Tasmania-Papua, Transvaal, Travancore, Uganda, United Provinces, Victoria, Wales, Wei Hai Wei, Windwards, Yukon, Zanzibar.
Mesopotamia, Persia

THE CURTAIN RISES

300 Musicians render the hundred national anthems.

March past of 500,000 Empire troops.
The 8 Branches of Air-Squadrons.
The Imperial Navy.
Artillery salvos at times shake the theatre.
Machine guns add to the realism.

A bass-voiced orator recites these lines, perfectly:

Britannius the Magnificent! Awake!
Few grasp how fine, or feared, or loved thou art!
Sea kings, and master-minds, unfurled thy Flag!
Do we flow'r, as they sowed the Crimson Rose!

Day and night, 'round this Earth, our eagles soar
Eying the sun, guarding the Empire's homes!
In the Union Jack, glows Britain's Soul—
So dragon-fleets, protect our hundred skies!

Not even Sacred Orbs are safe, unarmed!
Defense comes first! Impregnable defense!
No sacrifice too high, to save our all—
Coldstream Guards! Send legions to trench our skies!

If fearsome pacifists, lost great world wars—
Kaiserlant might be Canada's new name—
With Australia, Hohenzoll, surnamed—
Whilst Britain, Teutania, might be called!

Kings and blue-bloods, fill history with feats!
Amidst the tragic scenes, they play star parts!
Underrated, your ermined pilots are—
Bringing Britannia's Flag, through stagg'ring storms!

Strike down your prey, before they conquer you!
With wolves, waste no words! Lions crouch and spring!
Come On! Come One! Come All! We fear you not—
No super-state, nor foot of Earth, we seek!

Plans, our generals have, with vast allies,
To rend such foes, as boast they'll steal our states!
Loose war's genii, from Britannia's vase—
Again, we'll draw war's circle 'round their forts!

Mid Britannian domes, and settings grand,
An hundred stages, play our dramas great,
In ways wisdom likes, but weak firebrands hate—
With soldiers, sailors, sages, workers there.

This planet shrinks, as science shortens space;
In fierce demand, are Empire's vast domains!
Cruel, as bigots' flames, and platform drool—
Flags flap their selfish wings, and scream, and mock!

Though altruistic, commonwealths must watch!
Beware! Foreign prigs, smirk their poisoned thoughts,
Who, but for us, would hook you with their states!
An apostle, to temple priests, sold Christ!

Empires must be hourly and tensely knit
By science, lectures, music, plays and films—
By senates, conclaves, churches, art and gold—
By tourists, mails, radio, press and trade.

Princely States! Hatching from the waves and dust,
Must "United Empire Loyalists" be;
Each pearl, must make our Great Vast Way transcend—
Lure countless dazzled tourists, by low fares.

Dishonesty! Poverty! Ignorance!
Thou art curses, that keep all countries poor!
Britannians! Each for all, All for each!
Ideas are seeds, that snuff out fiends and fools!

Men of This Age! Great Sense must mobilize!
America, now thunders down the stretch—
Their Chosen Few, are doing wond'rous things—
Their strutting pinhead masses, dull as ours.

We love those British-speaking states, we launched—
Which, from wigwams, rise to Star-Striped heights!
Such speed, such nerve, such art, such class, such Mind!
We wrote the Magna Charta, of those states

The Yankees now are sneered, as curs bark us—
They do not laugh! These insults make them frown!
Mudslinging knockers, certain races are!
Secret influences, stab ev'ry land!

Survival of the Fit, is God's wise law;
Those soon must wreck, who break Great Nature's rules!
No vaster projects swing, than British deeds—
No finer troops, or ships in Europe fought, than ours!

Folks taught by boobs, toot the tame Middle Class!
Worlds, to Mediocrity, do not bow!
Dreamers, with the brains of birds, crowd all lands—
Daily taught by supermen, crowds would tower.

Pompous clowns, grasp not what it's all about!
Most men are led by fatheads, frauds and dreams!
Negatives, loud or subtle, progress blast!
Few, who run any line, have brains enough!

Lion Minds! Men's men! You must school our states!
Eye-op'ning thoughts, not goody-goody froth!
Cosmopolitans, on our bridge must steer!
Real British, are a class, by themselves!

Mostly rot are radio, speakers, press—
With tittle-tattle filled, for nincompoops!
The press, dares not tell monkey-minds too much—
Millions boycott heroes, who print the Truth.

Nations do not reason, nor act alike—
Warlike countries, plan swift triumphal wars—
Sixty propagandas, Dark Ages cause!
But for geese, we'd progress ten thousands years!

Twice two are four, though fools "believe" it's five;
Truth is scientific, not what dolts "think";
Few read a real book, in all their lives
And still, they "think" they're just as wise as you!

Britannic Youth! Heir, of this Jules Verne age,
Ten horse-power, must be your own, these days!
On that mandate, rests failure or success,
Fast moving progress, issues this decree.

Swagg'rers like to lead! Weaklings give advice!
Workers be, who think, who save, spend and build—
Win gardened homes, with music, books and art—
Happy, small towns are! Cities grind their slaves!

Millions, all nations have, puff'ring through life—
Clerking, playing parts effeminates pick;
Into our hundred gorgeous states, go forth—
Do manly work, work that will win you wealth!

Alone, to British zeniths, leave not skill;
Each one of you, to be efficient train;
Teach all Britannic youth, that wealth shows brains
And stupid lazy poverty, is scourged.

Destructionists, all things smash, but their own!
They knife your thoughts, creations, wealth and states!
With Smart Alecks, each race is waterlogged!
"Tailors of Tuley Street" on toy thrones sit.

Loathed, is much of Britain's utt'rance, and slang!
Each race, has its flannel-mouths, and vile brogues!
Use tones the mountain tigers strike in roars—
Choose voice, and words, which all patricians use.

Chicago Symmes, jailed in Southern lands,
Was in the morn, to face a firing squad!
A British warship, quick cleared its decks:
"Release that Yank, or we shall shell your town."

Selfish genius, worlds and ages, drive!
Despicable selfishness, ruins you;
Empires, Fords and Nature—transcendent are'
Unless you reach Man's selfish sides, you fail.

We should not deign, foreigners to become!
It's treachery, the mongrel British show
To live abroad, when Empires burst with gold!
Apostate Yanks, are spurned by Uncle Sam!

Statesmen take note: Pert aliens talk big,
Who scheme, to oust us panthers from our lairs!
Within our gates, are renegades, and simps,
Who no Empire won, and none could keep!

Our trade machines, should gain doled millions aims;
Productive tasks, could rise like phoenix birds—
So knights-of-labor may, earn wages high!
Find us Fords, Owens, Edward Fourths, and Bess!

Our sordid hawks, are demons in disguise;
Ably run, millions of Earth's cream could land;
Cooperate, you pettifogging states—
Help make our present sway, like child's play look!

Whip all parasites, naked through this world!
Politicians the movements sting, that bless—
Control, those mammoth tides of Fundy Bay—
Build, that "Sixth-Great-Lake" Canada designs

Harness! Drive! Sell! The strong cascade's abyss—
Like mail-trains, past donkey-carts, we race!
Wire the stars, filled with sages of the skies,
And they shall tell us, how the angels live!

Our lands are ruled by votes, of those who rule!
Patriotic joys, when you're homeward bound,
Are the best results, gained from trips abroad—
For ev'ry race, has sick'ning sides they hide.

Britannia's abbeys, show sane thoughts of God;
Our worldwide Church, adorns Her solemn niche—
Exquisite shrines, and strains, that pathos stirs
At fonts, when wed, through life, when Death-drums roll!

Choice of God! Forts of Freedom now we hold—
Seers saw, in ages past! Fate cast these dice!
Guarding world-passes, the ports, and the seas—
Await Armageddon, on Heaven's Rock!

Let's deck a Super-Book, superbly wrought,
Mind, works and sights, our hundred states to film!
A cinema-in-print, to charm mankind!
Make our fabulous Empire copied, sought.

From West Minster, this Book must proudly bloom!
In holy joy, our hundred chimes shall peal!
Each year, a thousand precious giants crown
And on these vanguards, whirl the incensed myrrh!

Britannus! Mobilize the world's best brains—
Let every field, send its kings of thought—
Have each speak, or write, or his wonders show!
Cycles of Advance, will such pilgrims speed!

Musicians-of-the-Mind—play jeweled thoughts!
Orchestras-of-Intellect—triumphs sound—
Till, the outside world, throbbed, shall rise and cheer
To see utopias dawn, through our lands.

Roll Call bold Lionhearts, you hundred states!
Muster Shakespeares, Irvings, Tooles, Gilberts, Trees,
Strathconas, Northcliffes, Cunards, Bulwers, Rhodes,
Cecils fetch—Watts, Wrens, Whittingtons and Brights!

Hundred States! Stirring anthemed-marches weave—
Bands, ten times ten, massed, shall play as each pass:
Canada, Indes, Zealand and the Cape
Until our Empire's tribes, sweep past in hosts!

Assemble Brains! Arise! Men of This Age!
Your brawny sons, and British maids to thrill!
From state to state, aircraft shall bring these lines,
Burst! You hundred bands! Wake our Living Dead!

THE CURTAIN FALLS

Some of the American patriots who helped erect this poem and inspire the author, are: Varnac Delfraine, Board of Trade Hotel (big acreage, ranches, large residences), F. W. Story, 716 Reaper Bldg., (Technical lawyer), Dr. Redbeard, (Author "Might is Right"), Patent Atty. A. W. Nelson, 1012, 112 W. Adams (Author "The Thinking Machine"), Attorney, J. H. Lally, 1131 Oak Ave., Evanston, Ill., (Author "Lawyers Who Get Results"), Attorney, W. W. McCallum, Chicago Bldg., (Ptf. r. r. damages), Attorney C. P. R. Macaulay, 508 Ashland Block, (Inventor of syllogism machine), Judge John F. O'Connell, Judge George F. Rush, Atty. T. J. Fell, Ch. of Com., E. Fjellander, 358 Madison, printer, Atty. Cunnea, Rodriguez & Anderson, 1100 Burnham Bldg., Attorney F. P. A'Brunswick, 436 Webster Bldg., (Stk. Ex. Grain, railroad law), Chicago)

Editors wishing to publish "Britannia's 100 States" please quote what you offer. If your offer interests me, will rush permission to publish it.

Court Epigrams

The federal courtrooms, the public library, churches, banks, etc., have great sayings on their walls. The walls of Chicago courtrooms are abominations of desolation. Suppose that hanging oak panels bear such inscriptions as these:

Above this court fly The Stars and Stripes.
Fleets, armies and airships guard these courts.
Courts are the temples of Uncle Sam.
These courts are among Earth's sacred places.
There is a court in Heaven, but none in Hell.
Courts are safety valves against savagery.
Perjury is the unforgivable sin in a court.
Abolish courts and we must return to daggers.
Equal justice, if all verdicts had been reversed.
Lawdom has no superior in integrity.
Judges like Pontius Pilate are the exceptions.
If we cannot trust courts, whom can we trust?
No profession requires more erudition than law.
Courts bring your accusers to face you publicly.
Getting men to talk microscopes their minds.
Humor indicates intellect—animals never smile.
No felon ever loved a judge or hangman.
Nabob and poverty are on a par in courts.
Lawdom often performs acts of utmost heroism.
Unraveling justice in a lawsuit takes intellect.
Jury service makes citizens into patriots.
Jurors are part of the Caucasian augustians.
We are here to do justice, not injustice.
Send a spy into men's minds—get them to talk.
Court: Judge, jury, parties, lawyers, scribe, marshal.
This court is inspired by American immortals.
The Star Spangled Banner opens this court.

LETTERS OF JUNIUS Copyright,

"May USA Be Conquered by 3 Allies?" Invasion analyzed by experts, two maps, 10c per copy.

"Youthius of the Orb," a cinema done in print, describing civilization on The Orb (reached by aircraft) 5,000 years ahead of USA, visited by Beautia, an actress, and Vespasian her actor father; Zenithian is the emperor, Agian is king of science, Youthius is the imperator; 10c per copy.

"Death's Badge," 44 stanzas of 4 lines, blank verse, a cinema done in print, scientifically analyzing immortality. Being sent to friends at time of bereavement. Suitable for high class morticians, tomb sculptors, cemeteries, clergy, florists, etc. Valued by those who make funeral addresses. 10c, $2.50 per 100; $10 per 1,000.

"12 Kinds of Brains Analyzed," chart, 10c copy; 25 for $1.; 500 for $5.; $7.50 for 1,000.
"Intellectual Thermometer," chart; shows how many USA. minds grade at each altitude, 10c.
"Progress Interests Only the Best Minds in Each Line," ten stanzas of 8 lines, blank verse, 10c.
Special prices on larger quantities. You can stamp your card on them with a rubber-stamp.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

Imp R
Bourassa

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056029

Subject.....

Date July 9/26 Publication St-John Telegraph Journal

NO OCCASION FOR ALARM.

Some observations made by Mr. Henri Bourassa prompts the Chicago Journal of Commerce to consider the possibility of a war between England and France, and its relation to Canada. We quote:

"The possibility is tragic. However, it is distinctly a possibility. And therefore Mr. Bourassa is not unreasonable in calling it frankly to the attention of the Canadian people. If the tragic possibility were to become a reality, if France were to go to war with England, the French-Canadian would not fight against France. The French-Canadians are 30 per cent. of the entire population of Canada; they are not scattered, but to a large extent are geographically compact; they are so strong that though they are in a minority, they cannot be overridden by the majority, but must be treated with. The French-Canadians would be intensely unwilling to fight the nation which they regard as their mother country; and there would be no way to compel them. Not only that, but as Mr. Bourassa declares, there would be grave danger to the unity of the Dominion if the Canadian parliament were to endeavor to give effective aid to Britain in such a war, even if the men and the money of French Canada were not called upon."

Neither Mr. Bourassa nor the Chicago newspapers need lose any sleep over the prospect of war between Britain and France. If such a war should ever break out, it would be between the British Empire and France. Canada is part of the Empire. There can be no doubt that French-Canadians would be very reluctant to take part in a war against their Mother Country, but so were the Germans in the United States when that country declared war on Germany. We do not believe, however, that there is even a remote possibility of war between Britain and France. While it pleases Mr. Bourassa, formerly an active Nationalist, to produce a bogey now and then, the Canadian people go about their business as usual.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ext a

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056030

Subject.....

Date Sept 3/26 Publication Montreal Gazette

SIR G. E. FOSTER MAKES BITTER ATTACK ON U.S.

Sharp Criticism of Dictatorial Attitude in World Court Issue

BACKED BY NEW ZEALAND

Sweden Also Feels Strongly Over American Reservations—Blunt Speaking

(Special Cable to the New York Times and Montreal Gazette.)

Geneva, September 2.—Except for the delegates from Canada and New Zealand, who bitterly condemned the American Senate's reservations as an effort to secure for the United States a privileged position not enjoyed by any member of the League of Nations, and the Swedish representative, who suggested that the reservations should be met by a reservation on the part of the present court signatories, the conference of signatories of the statute of the permanent court today continued to give evidence of the greatest desire to meet American demands and assure the entrance of the United States to the international court.

But while the attitude of Canada, New Zealand and Sweden was far outbalanced by the conciliatory spirit of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Uruguay and Poland, who all favored the utmost concessions to meet American demands, its importance must not be minimized. All three have the right to veto American entrance into the court, and Sweden, as a council member who may remain another term, is in a position to make considerable trouble.

Sweden is a great champion of the sovereignty of the assembly of the League, and in today's discussion there was almost universal opinion that the question before the conferees involves the covenant of the League. Sweden showed last March, in vetoing permanent seats for Spain and Brazil, that she will stop at nothing if she is convinced her case is righteous, and it was evident today from the word and tones of M. Unden—the same man who blocked Spain and Brazil—that his feelings are strong.

"Why don't we make a reservation from our side?" he demanded. "Why not accept the Americans' adhesion, but for only so long as they make no trouble about reservations? The United States Senate reserves the right to interpret its reservations. Let them adhere to the court, but if at any future time the interpretation they give is not such as we can accept we will withdraw our acceptance of America's adhesion to the court."

This suggestion was not commented on because adjournment for the night followed the lengthy discourses of Sir George Foster of Canada, and Sir Francis Bell, of New Zealand.

DICTATORIAL ATTITUDE.

While America's demand was something, it is not as much as had been expected from the United States, Sir George Foster declared. It was mandatory and dictatorial. Attention must be given when a country outside the league passed mandatory statutes directed against a court of law, and said it could not do such and such a thing. The council and assembly were free to make any requests to the court it pleased, he said. The only limit was when the court refused to take a case under consideration. It was, therefore, the duty of the court to seek information. But the council and assembly of the league could not tell the court if the United States had an interest in the case.

The court must ask the United States Government if it had an interest. The question must be directed to the United States Government. It must be sent by the state department to the president, but it would not stop there. It would go to the Senate. That meant, according to the information of Sir George Foster, that the delay would be lengthy, if not interminable. Then came the question if the court could ask proof of interest.

The League of Nations was not sent by the Deity into Paris full grown, Sir George continued. It represented an effort to build toward an ideal and the building was going on. It was prepared to work on the principle of equality of treatment which was stressed by Senator Walsh in the Senate debates. But the United States should be put on the same plane of obligations and privileges as other members.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056031

Subject.....

Date.....*Publication*.....

League members were the ones carrying the institution, with all the obligations imposed. The United States was not doing it.

In conclusion Sir George said it was certain that the United States, having declared they did not wish to interfere with the League would change her reservations if she knew they did interfere. Therefore he thought the United States should be asked to come down to a plane of equality.

Sir Francis Bell devoted a long discourse to prove that the United States was asking preferential treatment and that the power of veto should not exist. The League Council members were not representatives of the government in session at Geneva to protect their own countries, but to protect the world and all countries, he said. No member who exercised the right of veto to protect his own country could retain a seat on the Council. Therefore a nation not on the Council should not enjoy such a right.

These discourses, which took up practically the whole afternoon, followed the morning session, which was marked by a conciliatory spirit. This session was given over to a sincere effort to find a formula to permit American adhesion to the court and not to recrimination.

Two schools of thought developed. One, headed by Britain, France and Italy, wishes to have the council propose that the United States adhere to the court on exactly the same footing as the council members. The other school, headed by M. Rolin, of Belgium, would ask the permanent court for a ruling as to council procedure in asking an advisory opinion. If then it was found that the American reservations asked preferential treatment for the United States, it was thought that the Senate would be willing to remodel its reservations.

The first school thinks the court ruling would have very little value.

RIGHT OF VETO.

There still remains the obstacle created by the abstention of parties directly interested in a question, and the right of veto in questions in which she is interested is the very thing the United States is claiming.

Sir Cecil Hurst opposed the Rolin proposal on the ground that the league was too young an institution to make it wise to try to obtain an opinion which must to a great extent be regarded as a binding opinion for the future.

Signor Pilotti, Italy, made a flat proposal for asking the United States to come in on a footing of equality. If that satisfied the United States, everything would be in order. If on, the other hand, the United States was not satisfied, they would have to ask the court whether the decision of the council to apply for an advisory opinion required unanimity or merely a majority.

This proposal was strongly backed by France.

Poland was for accepting the reservations as they were, merely a favored nation clause.

Uruguay made a strong plea, after the speeches of Sir George Foster and Sir Francis Bell, for the conference to stop talking about the form of the reservations and stick to the substance. He, himself, was satisfied that the United States only wished equal treatment and he favored according it.

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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056032

Ex Aff

Subject.....

Date. Sept 6/26 Publication Ottawa Journal

OUR NEIGHBOR'S PROBLEM.

The American people are facing a very serious problem in the matter of the debt settlements with European nations. It is peculiarly a popular problem, rather than a problem which can be solved by government; and it would seem at this moment as if public judgment were swinging toward a revision of policy. From the legal aspect, the case has but one side, but, when all factors are weighed, the pull of expediency is very strong. It may prove to be irresistible.

Right Hon. PHILIP SNOWDEN has an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September which may go a long way toward influencing the decision of those who think as he does in other matters. As a pronounced Laborite, his carefully prepared and thoughtful review of the debt question is well-calculated to appeal strongly to those who are identified with the cause of organized labor. His avowed object is to build up a case for revision, and in that way to direct American thought away from purely legal considerations.

It is a staggering fact, as Mr. SNOWDEN points out, that the settlement agreement will require from Great Britain a tribute of $500,000 per day for a period of two generations, and to that extent will be a drain on the productive capacity of the British people. That view of the matter is rather deepened when it is remembered, as the writer further makes plain, that, while the debt is expressed in terms of dollars, there was no cash in the transaction. The American loans were made in munitions, food, cotton, and other requirements; and it might very well be added at greatly inflated prices.

Mr. SNOWDEN corrects the impression which many Americans appear to have that a large part of the British debt was incurred prior to the entrance of the United States into the war. All purchases up to that date, he points out, constitute a separate debt to the British people, amounting to £800,000,000; so that every dollar of the sum involved in the settlement represents money actually advanced to an ally. He makes the further point that Britain was in no way the guarantor of the obligations of France and other needy belligerent nations.

Mr. SNOWDEN very frankly expresses his personal judgment in this matter when he says:

"The case against America's insistence upon the payment of her loans to her Allies in the war is quite strong enough on the actual facts without importing any questionable contentions into the controversy. That case is that America kept out of the war for nearly three years before she realized that it was to her interests to secure a victory for the Allies; that during that time she made colossal profits out of supplying munitions to the Allies; that by her belated recognition of her vital interest in the Allies' cause she prolonged the war considerably, thus adding enormously to the financial burden of the Allies; that when she entered the war she was not for a long time able to contribute to the military prosecution of the war; that her loans to the Allies, made after her entry into the war, should be regarded as contributions to a common effort; that her financial help to the Allies was a small contribution to the common effort by comparison with the sacrifices in life made by the Allies during the interval in which she was unable to give much effective help in the field; that, on her own contention that 'capacity to pay' should be taken into account in estimating the respective contributions to the cost of the war, she is not bearing her share of that cost; that by insisting upon the payment of loans from impoverished countries she is retarding the economic revival of Europe and the world; that by insisting upon the payment from Britain she is preventing that country from forgiving all her own debtors; and finally, that it is not in the ultimate interests of America that she should burden the nations of Europe with this enormous annual tribute to her."

The writer makes many other strong points. Indeed, his frankness and incisiveness are characteristic features of the article; and, as has been said, it is likely to give impetus and definiteness to the rising tide of public opinion in the United States. Almost daily some new advocate of cancellation comes to the surface across the boundary, as, for example, the ex-Cabinet Minister Mr. NEWTON D. BAKER. All experience goes to show that if public feeling becomes sufficiently strong and articulate, the American executive will respond. The outlook for at least a revision of the terms seems to be brighter.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056033

Subject

Date Sept 10/26 Publication Ottawa Journal

NOT TO REOPEN THE SETTLEMENT OF WAR DEBTS

Sir Esme Howard Would Aid Canadian Ambassador When One Is Appointed.

By Canadian Press.

QUEBEC, Sept. 9.—That insofar as sound public opinion in England was concerned, the problem of Great Britain's war debt to the United States was settled and there was no question of the British Government reopening the matter, was the statement made this afternoon by His Excellency, Sir Esme Howard, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., British Ambassador to the United States, who is in Quebec for a brief visit. "The only thing I can say," declared Sir Esme, when asked regarding the current debt-cancellation rumors, "is to repeat the recent statement of Sir Austen Chamberlain, secretary of state for foreign affairs. That is that the question has been settled and it is not for us to reopen it. Every one in England intends to pay the debt as long as there is a physical possibility of paying and there seems to be no reason why it should not be paid in its entirety."

Deplores Discussion.

Concerning the solution of the problem as put forward by Newton D. Baker, wartime United States secretary of war, His Excellency said that was a matter for the American people themselves and he could not discuss it.

"As far as we are concerned," he added, "the matter is settled." Sir Esme declared that he very much deplored the discussion of the debt question with which the newspapers have lately been filled. The English papers, especially, he thought, had made several unfortunate statements.

Best Arrangement.

The funding of the British debt to the United States, the British Ambassador went on, was the best arrangement that could have been made at the time, in his opinion. As a result of this settlement, he said, Great Britain reaped certain definite advantages. In the first place the funding of the debt helped to stabilize currency and was largely instrumental in bringing the pound sterling back to par. Secondly, this arrangement brought an immense improvement to the general credit of England both in the United States and elsewhere.

Sir Esme declared that he had had no late information regarding the appointment of a Canadian ambassador to the United States. He repeated, as he has often stated in the past, that he had no objection whatever to the appointment of such a minister.

"I am glad to do all that I can for Canada, in the meantime," he declared, "and when a change is decided upon I will feel it my duty to help the Canadian representative as far as it lies in my power to do so. The principle of the matter has long been settled and there is no reason why Canada should not appoint an ambassador if she so desires."

Would Relieve Staff.

The appointment of an ambassador for Canada, Sir Esme went on, would relieve the staff of the present British embassy of considerable work in connection with minor questions of detail which were continually arising between Canada and the United States. As far as any important problems are concerned, His Excellency stated, it has been the practice of the Canadian Government to be represented at the discussion by some special member of the department concerned.

Accompanied by his three sons, Francis, Edmund and Henry, Sir Esme Howard motored to the ancient capital from the summer quarters of the British embassy at Manchester, Mass. Master Edmund and Master Henry Howard are sailing for England on Friday by the Canadian Pacific liner Montroyal. They have been attending school in the United States for the past two years and are now going to take up their studies in the Mother Country. Sir Esme, with Francis Howard, came to Quebec to see his two younger sons off for England.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056034

Subject.....

Date. Sept 13/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

BELIEVE PLOT TO PUT END TO FASCIST RULE

Roman Press Unanimous in Asserting That Would-be Assassin Not Telling Whole Truth to Police.

MEANWHILE MUSSOLINI THROWS HINT TO FRANCE

Says Friendship With Responsible Governments May Be Fatally Compromised.

(Associated Press).

ROME, Sept. 12.—The bomb flung at Premier Mussolini yesterday failed to reach its mark, but instead achieved the startlingly unexpected result of causing the relations of Fascist Italy and Republican France to be more tense than any day since the Black Shirts entered Rome in October, 1922.

Saved from death by the alertness of his chauffeur, who stepped on the gas when he felt the bomb strike the motor car, the supreme chief of Fascism last night faced a mob of a hundred thousand cheering patriots and announced that Italy would demand that plots against her peace fomented on French soil must be stopped at once.

"This must end," shouted Il Duce to the immense gathering in Colonna Square, where the many Black Shirts wearing white straw hats resembled in the gathering dusk a white-capped sea. "We must put an end to gentle tolerance of parties culpable in these matters. It would be well for responsible governments to take note of this because otherwise their friendship with the Italian people may be fatally compromised. And we are ready to apply suitable methods for this purpose."

Was Hint to France.

Premier Mussolini used the word governments in the plural and did not refer by name to his neighbor across the Alps, but it was crystal clear he meant France.

"Italy must not be disturbed by a handful of criminals. As I have abolished strikes so I shall abolish this sort of thing with the restoration of capital punishment. It will be less and less comfortable to endanger this regime and the tranquility of the Italian people. I am not saying vain words but am announcing facts," declared the premier.

BELIEVE FACTS HIDDEN.

(Associated Press).

ROME, Sept. 12.—Ermete Giovannini, who yesterday tried to assassinate Premier Mussolini, is shielding his accomplices in a wider plot to remove the premier and end the Fascist regime, the Roman press declared unanimously today.

The young would-be assassin still insisted to the police today that he was "an individualist anarchist" and that he acted solely on his own initiative and not as part of an organized plot. The newspapers asserted, however, that he was hiding the real facts concerning himself and his previous whereabouts.

Giovannini told the police he crossed the frontier near Ventimille on September 9, purchased the two bombs used in the attack and a revolver after entering the country, and then came at once to Rome, arriving by train only two hours before he hurled the bombs at the premier's automobile.

This tale, it was pointed out, was very unlikely. The frontiers are so closely watched that it is almost impossible for anyone to enter without a passport, it was said. That the young man could find within two days anyone ready to sell him the bombs and the revolver was improbable. His assertion that he spent only two hours in Rome before the attack was discredited, it was said, by the unlikelihood of his learning within such a short time the route followed by the premier on his way to his office and the time he would pass the scene of the attempt as well of his being able to recognize so readily the premier's car.

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Subject.....

Date.....*Publication*.....

On the contrary, it is believed that he had entered Italy long before and had been provided with a passport even if fraudulent; that he had been supplied with arms by friends who gave him all the necessary information regarding Mussolini's habits and the shape and color of his car; and that he was but the instrument of an organization with headquarters abroad, probably in Paris or Lyons, and with affiliations in Italy which helped him in his attempt on Mussolini's life.

Various persons have told the police that they saw Giovannini speaking furtively with other people immediately before the attack. A young girl, who happened to pass the spot a few minutes before, asserted that she saw the young man arrive in a yellow automobile with four other men. The Fascisti who helped arrest Giovannini stated he was speaking w th two other individuals before Mussolini's approach.

Say Wrong Name Given.

Il Messagero declared today that the police are on the trail of a vast plot hatched abroad, adding the belief that Ermete Giovannini is not the prisoner's name and that the young man arrived in Rome a week ago, stopping at a third class hotel.

Infrangible automobile windows, ordered in England, were already on their way to Italy when the attack occurred, it was learned today. It was planned to fit them in Mussolini's car without his knowledge because of his repugnance to special protective measures. Yesterday's bomb explosion shattered the windows of the car, the flying glass injuring several bystanders.

The police questioned Giovannini closely as to what use he intended to put the revolver he carried with the bombs.

The young man merely shrugged his shoulders and muttered: "Do you think I ought to have taken flowers with me?"

PREMIER'S CALM COURAGE.

ROME, Sept. 12.—Il Duce was acclaimed today by adoring crowds on the spot where 24 hours before he had escaped death at the hands of a would-be assassin.

The calm courage of Premier Mussolini when his life was threatened by bombs hurled by an anarchist roused popular admiration to a high pitch and thousands stood for hours in the suffocating heat, unprotected from a burning sun, before the Chigi Palace, to catch a glimpse of the Fascist idol as he entered and left his offices.

Sitting alone in his automobile, the premier insisted that he be driven past the spot where yesterday morning Ermete Giovannini hurled a bomb at him. As the car passed by the scene of the attempted assassination the crowds gathered at the spot cheered wildly.

The palace was flooded today with messages of congratulations and flowers sent by sovereign heads of states and by humblest of individuals from all parts of the world.

Cabinet members who were outside of Rome at the time of the attempt on the premier's life rushed back today, using automobiles and airplanes to return to the side of their leader.

One of them said to Mussolini in a horrified manner: "Thank God the would-be assassin's aim was no better or the bomb would actually have entered the car."

"In that case," Il Duce replied, "I would have picked it up and thrown it back at my assailant as was done during the war."

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056036

Subject.....

Date Sept 16/26 Publication Ottawa Journal

DENOUNCES DEBT POLICY AND SAYS STATES IS HATED

Former Democratic Presidential Candidate Cox Outspoken In Issue.

By Canadian Press.

NEW YORK, Sept. 15. — James M. Cox, who campaigned in 1920 for a chance to carry on the policies of Woodrow Wilson, has followed the example of Newton D. Baker, Wilson's secretary of war, in denouncing Republican debt policy as productive of European ill will for the United States.

The 1920 Democratic presidential candidate does not go as far as Mr. Baker, who recently urged debt cancellation as a means of reclaiming European friendship, but he does believe in more moderate terms.

"File a Mortgage On It."

After fighting to "save the soul of civilization," said Mr. Cox last night upon his return on the liner Majestic from a European visit of several weeks, "we now insist on filing a mortgage on it.

"In 1918," he declared, "the United States occupied a position never before attained by any other nation in all history. No nation was more respected. Today none is more hated. It can hardly be just a coincidence that the present feeling is the same wherever you go. There is a basic reason for it. With the war ended we recognized neither our opportunity nor the duty to assume moral co-operation in peace.

Exact the Pound of Flesh.

"Instead of seeking to ascertain what other nations should pay in fair and equitable consideration of all the circumstances of the war, we ask what they can pay by combining the assets of the present and the prospects of the future. Children yet unborn will be old men before we have exacted our pound of flesh.

"Time was when our foreign policy brought the name of America to grateful lips all over the world, and Americanism was a synonym for usefulness and helpfulness. Now there is no foreign policy unless the collection agency which we are hard fistedly conducting can be regarded as its expression."

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056037

Subject

Date Sept 16/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

BRIGHT OUTLOOK FOR BRITAIN IN NEXT FEW YEARS

Mr. Philip H. Kerr Thinks Miners' Dispute Will Bring Great Good to Old Country In the End.

Bright prospects for Britain within the next two or three years are seen by Mr. Philip H. Kerr, C.H., one time private secretary to Mr. Lloyd George, when British premier, and editor of the Round Table and other publications, who is a visitor to Ottawa.

Mr. Kerr is staying at Chateau Laurier, and in a chat with The Citizen last night indicated that in his opinion the present trouble between the miners and the mine owners is going to result in great good for the Old Country in the end. It is going to demonstrate to the extreme capitalist and the socialist element that co-operation has got to be ensured, and that by this means only can there be good business conditions resulting in advantage to all parties, he claims. Mr. Kerr is of opinion that things are bettering themselves in the Old Land and that if the general strike and the miners' strike had not intervened there would have been considerable trade revival in Britain ere this. When the present trouble is settled progress is bound to follow.

The present is Mr. Kerr's fourth visit to Canada. He was last here four years ago. His present trip is in connection with the Rhodes Scholarship Trust. He will sail for the Old Country on September 29.

Mr. Kerr is heir presumptive of the tenth Marquis of Lothian, and is highly regarded in the Old Country on account of his many public services and his personal attractions. Even that critical individual, A Gentleman with a Duster, author of "Mirrors of Downing Street," reserved high praise for Mr. Kerr and his personal character.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056038

Subject

Date Sept 16/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

LONDON DAILY MAIL EDITOR LEAVES POST

Hint That Action Connected With War Debt Comment.

(Associated Press.)

LONDON, Sept. 15.—Thomas M. Marlowe, editor of the Daily Mail since 1899, has resigned. He was appointed at the age of 31 by the late Lord Northcliffe, who had a high opinion of his ability and judgment, and more than once publicly paid tribute to Mr. Marlowe's services to the Mail.

The reason for the editor's resignation has not been announced, but it was assumed it was connected with the recent dissent from the Daily Mail's editorial opinions respecting setlement of inter-allied debts to the United States as expressed in an article in the Sunday Pictorial, August 8, by Lord Rothermere, who succeeded his brother, Lord Northcliffe, in the control of a group of newspapers, "Associated Newspapers, Limited," to which the Daily Mail belongs.

The Daily Mail strongly opposed the debt settlements and editorially denounced the method of the United States in collecting her debts as "Shylock-like." It also sharply attacked Premier Baldwin for making the British debt settlement with the United States.

Lord Rothermere said in his article in the Sunday Pictorial that he did not share the Daily Mail's view on debt settlements. He contended that the settlement of the British debt was not due to American rapacity but to the ineptitude of British statesmanship.

Mr. Marlowe will retain the chairmanship of "Associated Newspapers, Limited," which he held jointly with his editorship of the Daily Mail.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056039

Subject.....

Date Sept 16/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

NATIONS LIKE CANDIDATES IN THEIR CANVASS

Atmosphere of Excitement Attending Political Convention Now is Reproduced at the League of Nations Assembly.

MANY ASPIRANTS FOR NON-PERMANENT SEATS

Irish Free State Looms Large in Campaign Carried On in Geneva. Canada's Stand.

(Associated Press.)

GENEVA, Sept. 15.—The atmosphere of excitement attending a political convention is reproduced in Geneva tonight, with the exception that nations, not individuals, are the candidates.

So exciting is the canvassing for the nine non-permanent seats in the council of the League of Nations, that the League leaders abandoned their original plans to hold the election today and postponed it until tomorrow morning to permit the aspirants further time to line up their partisans.

The Irish Free State looms large in the campaign for Ireland's candidacy for a League council seat was officially launched today. The Free State is asked for the support of all the dominions, declaring that in the judgment of the Irish delegation dominion interests would best be served by the presence of the Free State in the council.

Thirteen Candidates.

Thirteen candidates have appeared for the nine places, three of

(Continued on Page 4, Column 3.)

which must, under the council reorganization scheme, formally approved by the assembly today, be distributed among the countries of Latin America. Election eve forecasts make Holland, Belgium, China and Rumania practically certain of success. Chile, Colombia and Salvador will go before the assembly as the choice of the Latin-American caucus, but Uruguay, dissatisfied apparently with the designation of Salvador instead of herself, will probably push her claim on the floor of the assembly.

These selections leave only one of the nine seats open to the field, with the Irish Free State, Portugal, Finland and Persia, using all diplomatic energies to rally enough votes to secure election.

To Register.

Announcing in the assembly that he had been instructed to register the newly concluded Chinese-Austrian treaty with the League secretariat, Mr. Chu, head of the Chinese delegation, said that China was to be congratulated in having negotiated treaties of equality and reciprocity with both Germany and Austria. He declared that all the powers should revamp their out-of-date treaties with China; Chinese public opinion was rallying on this issue and he hoped the Peking tariff conference would succeed in reaching a satisfactory solution because China as a sovereign state should exercise the right of fixing her own tariff, and because the present imposed low tariff was causing financial and political chaos.

Speaking at the dedication of the stained glass windows presented to the International Labor Bureau by Germany, Dr. Stresemann, the German foreign minister, committed his country to constant efforts for the consolidation of world peace.

ATTITUDE OF DOMINIONS.

(Canadian Press Cable via Reuters)

GENEVA, Sept. 15.—At a full meeting of British Empire delegates to the League of Nations assembly tonight the question of the allocation of council seats was harmoniously discussed and it was generally agreed that while the Dominions had a good claim to a seat the present was not an opportune time to press it. Each delegation retains complete freedom of action but in regard to the British attitude it must be remembered that certain promises had been given to various countries before Ireland's claim was submitted.

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Date.....*Publication*.....

Sir George Foster, Canadian delegate, told the assembly of the League today that his country was not claiming a seat; however, the Dominion claimed equal status and equal rights with any other state to a seat, he said. During the past few days the air had been full of rumors concerning the course the Irish Free State would pursue but that country's intentions were not definitely known until this morning when its delegates informed the other delegations that they would press the Irish claim to a seat. Seemingly Sir George Foster was not aware of their intention until after he had delivered his speech for he later rose to insert a reference to the Free State's action.

It is stated in circles close to the Dominion delegates that it was agreed some time ago that at an opportune time a seat in the council should be allocated to a Dominion, such allocation not to be by the group system but arranged to meet temporary circumstances. Subsequently, when Spain's seat became vacant and no suitable candidate was forthcoming, some of the Dominions were mentioned, it being supposed that no European complications were likely to ensue from the consideration of a Dominion's claim.

The best feeling prevails everywhere on the question, the issue being rather one of method.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056041

Subject.....

Date. Sept 20/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

FRENCH BEGIN TO SEE ACCORD WITH GERMANY

Prospects of an "Entente Cordiale" Between Two Great European Nations Already Under Discussion.

BRIAND WELL SATISFIED WITH GENEVA OUTCOME

Trying To Arrange Similar Accord To That With Britain in 1899 After Fashoda.

(Associated Press.)

PARIS, Sept. 19.—The French people and press begin to see prospects of an "entente cordiale" between France and Germany as a result of the conversations between Foreign Minister Stresemann and M. Briand during the latter's visit to Geneva.

The French minister of foreign affairs, who refuses to go into details concerning the negotiations at Geneva, at Thoiry, on the ground that this would be likely to give rise to harmful press ptolemics on Franco-German relations during the tentative negotiations. He declares positively, however, that an entente is possible.

"I am fully satisfied with everything that went on in Geneva. I see the possibility of finally coming to a complete understanding with Germany," he said.

M. Briand criticized part of the French press which he charged with seeking to bring about a division in the cabinet on foreign affairs, with a view to gaining a point in domestic politics.

"I am trying to find a basis for relations with all peoples that will permit France to go ahead with her own affairs without apprehension as to the future," said the foreign minister.

While refusing to give an indication of the subjects he discussed with Dr. Stresemann, M. Briand intimated that he was trying to bring about with Germany an entente such as Foreign Minister Delcasse arranged with Great Britain after the Fashoda affair in 1899, settling all the questions between them at the same time.

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056042

Subject.....

Date Sept 20/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

SUGGESTS CANADIAN SUCCEED SIR E. HOWARD AS BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

London 'Spectator' Warmly Supports Views of Anonymous Correspondent, Names of Sir Robert Borden, Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, Sir Robert Falconer and E. W. Beatty Mentioned as Suitable Appointees.

LONDON, Sept. 18.—The Spectator, Conservative weekly paper, warmly supports the views expressed by an anonymous correspondent, said to be a well known Canadian, who thinks Canada must have a greater hand in Empire affairs than it has at present.

The Spectator correspondent suggests that when the present British ambassador at Washington, Sir Esme Howard, retires, a Canadian like Sir Robert Borden, former premier of the Dominion Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, principal of McGill University, Montreal; Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto, or E. W. Beatty, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, should be appointed his successor.

The Spectator declares that the Imperial Conference is not worth five cents, "with its junketing and its platitudinous talk."

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056043

Subject.....

Date Sept 22/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

MEXICAN STATE AND CHURCH.

President Calles of Mexico in an Article on "The Policies of Mexico Today," in Foreign Affairs (New York.

If one bears in mind that Mexicans possess less than one-third of the total wealth of the country, one can easily understand why so frequently in the resolution of Mexican problems, which of course have always had a marked economic character, we have friction or difficulties either with foreign governments defending the interests of their countrymen who consider themselves affected by our constitutional laws, or with Mexican land owners controlling endless tracts of land. And if one considers, furthermore, that of the third part of the national wealth owned by Mexicans (running surely above 1,500,000,000 pesos) 60 per cent., at least, has been and still is in the hands of Catholic priests or religious institutions or orders of the Catholic Church, one can understand why we always have rebellions on the part of the Catholic clergy who fear at every moment of the struggle to lose their main strength: the millions that they have accumulated against the definite and express provisions of the Fundamental Charter of our country.

I wish to lay stress upon the fact that a real religious problem does not exist in Mexico. I mean that there is no such thing as persecution of a religious character against religious creeds or opposition on the part of the government to the dogmas or practices of any religion.

It is true that the constitution of Mexico has provisions that the Catholic high clergy consider incompatible with their constant and illegitimate intervention in politics and questions of state, or with their holding economic strength as a means of spiritual influence and a principal factor of domination of a material order. So long as the clergy do not obtain through the legal means and methods contained in the constitution itself, and through an act of congress approved by at least one-third of the state legislatures, the derogation or amendment of the provisions that aim at crushing the political strength of the clergy by means of making their properties the property of the nation, the government fulfils an elemental duty in complying with these laws and enforcing a strict obedience to them. So long as the clergy in Mexico fail to win over the confidence of the great liberal majority of my country (a result that can not be attained if the clergy, disregarding their high functions, hold to the methods systematically employed so far to secure advantages of a material and political order, unbecoming to their religious character), I seriously believe that the abolition or amendment of these articles of the constitution can not be accomplished.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

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Subject.....

Date Sept 23/26 Publication Ottawa Journal

THE RECRUDESCENCE OF PALESTINE.

It is interesting to note from figures given in the latest issue of the "Canadian Jewish Review" that Jewish immigration to Palestine is attaining quite considerable dimensions. During the calendar year 1925 the Jewish immigration into Palestine was 33,801, as compared with 12,856 in the previous year; and the increased scale of immigration is believed to have been continuing during the present year. "Great strides have been made in the work of rebuilding the Jewish national home in Palestine during the past twelve months," says an article in the "Canadian Jewish Review" written by Mr. HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN, editor of the "American Jewish Year Book." Mr. SCHNEIDERMAN concludes with the note that there is "a more earnest and more purposeful attitude toward the rehabilitation of Palestine on the part both of the British Government and the Jewish people."

Perhaps the reference in the foregoing to the British Government is hardly appreciative enough. The British Government has had a very difficult and a very nasty problem to cope with in Palestine in promoting Jewish interests there. Palestine, when the British Government took the mandate over it, was almost entirely Mohammedan in its population. Even as late as 1923, the last year of reliable population returns, the figures of population in Palestine were as follows:

Mohammedans	590,890
Jews	83,794
Christians	73,024
All others	9,474

During the past three years immigration must have nearly doubled the number of the Jews, but even at that they can be only one-quarter of the Mohammedan population.

The British Government, therefore, in its endeavor to promote Jewish interests in Palestine has had to do so in face of the fact that the country has an overwhelming Mohammedan population; and it is tremendously to the credit both of British good faith and of its friendly anxiety to promote Jewish interests that it has done what it has done. The British administration, with Sir HERBERT SAMUEL as High Commissioner, apparently succeeded in carrying out its duties to the satisfaction of the people as a whole, and it is gratifying to read in Mr. SCHNEIDERMAN'S article that "the Government under the new High Commissioner Lord PLUMER, has shown itself to be fair and just in all its relations with the Jews no less than with the Arabs."

Palestine indeed seems to be entering upon both a progressive and a prosperous era. Water powers are being developed which will shortly make electrical energy largely available for domestic and industrial use in Palestine. Modern water supply systems are being installed in Jerusalem and some other cities. Telephone lines are being built to link up Palestine with Egypt, and considerable railway and harbor development is beginning. This again with the aid and favor of the British Government, which is guaranteeing a loan of $22,500,000 to the Palestine Government for railway, road and harbor development.

Altogether, the story of Palestine is beginning to be one gratifying to Jewish patriotism as well as creditable to British efficiency and good faith. Perhaps the increasing Jewish immigration into Palestine is partly due to the new restrictive immigration laws of the United States. Under the new American quota system, only some 10,000 Jewish immigrants entered the United States last year, thus leaving Palestine the country which had the largest Jewish immigration of any of the world. Whatever the reason, it is evident that Palestine is becoming more and more an object of desire to the descendants of the great people of whom it was the ancient home.

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The Lake of the Woods Indians

A STATEMENT OF SOME OF THEIR GRIEVANCES IN SUPPORT OF THEIR PETITION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA FOR A CERTAIN INVESTIGATION, WHICH PETITION HAS NEVER BEEN REPLIED TO OR DEALT WITH.

BY
JAMES ROBINSON
Solicitor for Petitioners
KENORA, ONTARIO

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 98)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056046

The Names of the Tribes in the Lake of the Woods Agency:

1. Lac Seul.
2. Wabaskong.
3. One Man's Lake on English River.
4. White Dog, or Islington.
5. The Dalles.
6. Eagle River.
7. Denorwic.
8. Rat Portage.
9. White Fish.
10. Sabaskong.
11. North West Angle.
12. Sabaskoshing.
13. Newingoshing.
14. Shoal Lake.
15. Clear Water Bay.

FOREWORD

056047

The Indians referred to are those embraced in Treaty No. 3, known as the North West Angle Treaty.

The Lake of the Woods Indians complain to the Parliament of Canada of unfair treatment. They declare their Treaty Rights have been violated and gross injustice done them for the past forty years. They charge that most of their agents have shown little interest in their welfare and are high-handed and domineering in their actions and do not recognize the authority of their chiefs.

A petition to the Government containing statement of their grievances and asking for an independent investigation of their complants was sent down on August 21st last and no reply was received until November 29th, and then only after complaint to the Prime Minister that no notice or reply had been received to the Petition. Their solicitor writes a series of letters to the press setting forth their complaints, which are re-produced herein with a short summary of the situation. No action has been taken by the Head of the Indian Department in reply to their petition, and this statement is issued in the hope that the Parliament of Canada will listen to their complaint.

At time of making of the Treaty in 1873 no one had any idea of the value of their territory. In area it was a small province within itself, 55,000 square miles of some of the finest territory in Canada, rich in timber, minerals, fur and fish and much of it of splendid agricultural possibilities and now dotted with thrifty towns, villages, hamlets and farming communities.

They surrendered this territory after negotiating a solemn Treaty with the Government of Canada (Treaty No. 3) and in return were allowed certain reserves, many of them containing valuable timber which has been disposed of by their agents and the timber cut and removed. During past fifty years they have never had a statement of how much timber has been cut and removed or what dues have been collected or what amount of money is to their credit.

As to matter of schools, the Indian Chiefs at the time of the making of the Treaty made special requests in their talks with the Commissioners asking that schools be established and that teachers be sent to instruct their young people with the knowledge of the Whites. Within this agency there are 600 Indian children of school age without the advantage of education. The only schools within this agency are two, one at Kenora known as the Indian Industrial School established by the Roman Catholic Church and another out at Shoal Lake known as the Cecilia Jaffray School established by the Presbyterian Church. The area of their agency is equal to about 250 miles from East to West and 225 from North to South. The two schools mentioned are the only schools within their territory, neither of which was established under direction of the Indian Department, but one of which, the Kenora School, has recently been bought by the Government but left in the care of the original owners.

Fifty years is surely long enough for the Indian Department to have experimented on these people, yet after that length of time these Indians are in a worse condition than when the government took away their lands and made them "Wards of the Crown". When are they to become free men and made responsible citizens of Canada if education is denied them and they remain in a state of servitude?

Every honest self respecting Canadian will blush and hang his head in shame when he reflects how these people have been treated by the government of Canada. Instead of being a happy and contented people they are gradually dying off and will ultimately become extinct. Is this the keeping of Canada's word of honour as expressed in the Treaty referred to?

More than one of the provinces of Canada since entering Confederation have asked for a re-consideration of their rights. Are not these people entitled to a review of their Treaty Rights and for further consideration at the hands of our government?

It is requested that an independent Commission be appointed to consider

First the prayer of their Petition and

Secondly to generally review and report on the best methods of making an honest effort to observe the Treaty and bring their native citizens of Canada (indigenous to the country) to a state of civilization and advancement equal to their virility and self respect when in the primitive state as at the time of the Treaty and give them some of the opportunities and advantages given to (in many cases) the questionable element of European immigrants brought into Canada, to enjoy the fullness and bounty thereof, at great expense and, in too many cases, to Canada's harm and hurt.

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Extract from The Mail & Empire, Toronto, December, 18, 1923.

WHITE FISH INDIANS COMPLAIN TO OTTAWA

Declare Their Rights Have Been Violated by the Whites.

In explaining why the Indians of the White Fish Reserve have presented a petition to the Federal Government asking for redress of there grievances, Mr. James Robinson of Kenora, points out that, with but two exceptions, there has not been an agent there who has shown interest or sympathy in the welfare of the Indians. "The ordinary routine," he states, "has been maintained. The annual distribution of treaty money has been made with an absolute indifference to their wants and needs. A deaf ear has been turned to any requests for comforts or help when in distress. As long as the Indians can be kept quiet and give the agency no trouble, they appear to be content, and that policy of do-nothing seems to be their motto. During the long Winter seasons, women as well as men have occasion to come to town from their reserves, a distance of perhaps 40 miles, and when they get here, there is no public house for them where they can get warmth and entertainment. It is a case of starve and freeze for the poor Indian. And during all these years it has not yet dawned on the mind of the agents that the Indians are entitled to a little humane treatment. They are not asking for charity. Their reserves have been stripped of the most valuable timber. If they have something to their credit, they would like to know. They are entitled to know."

But the greatest cause for worry on the part of the White Fish Reserve Indians is the fact that years ago there were a great number of Indians, who now, through sickness, have been reduced to 14 families of about 70 people.

Mr. Robinson goes on to point out that the Indians are producers of no mean order. For instance, the Indians contribute their share towards the annual fur catch of $17,000,000. They do much in the way of supplying the consumers with their blue berries, and though they sow not, they reap.

"Where they are in the vicinity of lumber mills, they are good workers," Mr. Robinson contends. "Where they have the opportunity, they are industrious. And if they had individual allotments of land, and had farming implements and sympathetic instruction and encouragement, they would easily grow sufficient for their support. What interest has been shown by the Indian Department in the people within this agency? Absolutely none. The little progress, the Red Man has made, he has gotten through imitation of white man. He has acquired most of his vices, but few of his virtues. The White Fish Reserve is in the midst of the best timber on the Lake of the Woods and is the locality where the big lumber companies have been operating for the past forty years. The most of the timber on their reserves has been cut and removed. During that time, the Indians say, only one statement has been made to them showing to whom their timber has been sold, what it was sold for, and what is their credit."

Letter No. 1 to the Kenora Miner and News, Wednesday, December 12, 1923.

OUR INDIAN CITIZENS

The Indian people throughout this District are good citizens, law-abiding, inoffensive, frugal. In their habits they are quiet and respectful. People seen, but seldom heard. As they go through the streets, they go about their business in a quiet unassuming manner, speak when they are spoken to, ask but little off those over them and seldom, and usually get no more than they ask. Are they comfortable, contented, happy, prosperous? Do they get joy out of life? Have they ambitions and hopes, same as the white man? Let us investigate, and we shall deal more particularly with the people of the Whitefish Reserve, 50 miles out on the lake.

These people are not contented, nor happy, nor prosperous. They have grievances and have been trying to get the ear of the head of their department for years, but so far have failed. Very few of them speak the language, therefore they have no means of letting their grievances be known, unless their agent is sympathetic. The Indian tribes of this district were the original owners of the soil. We here occupy their territory.

In 1869 the H. B. Co. surrendered its rights to what is now known as the Canadian West and soon thereafter, the statesmen of Canada, began evolving the idea of opening up that immense area by means of a railway. The Indians being in occupation, their good will had to be obtained, and their rights extinguished. To that end the Government appointed Commissioners to negotiate treaties with the Indians. One of the early treaties is known as the North-West Angle Treaty No. 3. The Indians are therein described as the Salteaux tribe of the Ojibways. The negotiations began in Sept., 1873. The treaty was made and when completed the Chairman of the Commissioners, Governor Morris, reported as follows:

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That the Indian title had been extinguished over the vast tract of country, comprising 55,000 square miles of territory, lying between the upper boundary of the Lake Superior Treaty, and that of the Treaty made by Mr. Simpson at Lower Fort Garry and comprising within its boundary, the Dawson route, the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway and an extensive lumber and mineral region. It would be interesting to give extracts from the speeches of the Indian Chiefs present at the negotiations and that of the Commissioners. Suffice it to say that the Chiefs displayed great native shrewdness in their arguments and the presentation of their case, indicating the intellectual vigor of these people.

The idea held out to them by the commissioners was: that they wished the Indian to forsake their nomadic mode of life and settle down to the cultivation of the soil, and promised them cattle, horses seed grain, farm implements and instructors.

The Indians asked for these things and also asked that a school master be sent them to teach their children the knowledge of the white man. These things and much more was promised them by the Commissioners. We shall see later on how much the Indian Department has done for this agency—to foster that thought, and encourage the Indians.

If we refer to the United States we shall find that while their treatment of the Indians during their early history, was a policy of extermination, yet as years passed, their handling of these people, especially during the latter half of last century, has brought forth remarkable success. Large numbers of the Indians were corralled within certain areas and confined there. The greatest number to be found in the mid-west was to be found in the Indian Territory, out of which the State of Oklahoma was afterwards formed and certain other areas, in the States of Washington and Oregon. Twelve years ago it was the privilege of the writer to meet the late Hugh Kennedy (then a member of the Ontario legislature) in the city of Oklahoma, and during two days' sight seeing in that city we had the opportunity to visit their House of Assembly and the State Senate, both of which were in session at the time. We were surprised to find that a large proportion of the membership of both houses were native Indians. These men were well educated and cultured and quite able to hold their own with the other members of their State Legislatures and were engaged in all the various occupations and professions that the whites were in and assumed their full share of responsibility as citizens.

The American Indians in the States of Washington and Oregon, are also progressive people, and have completely changed their former mode of life, and the Indians are compelled to crop their land and produce and competent instructors are kept constantly with them where needed. They are now thrifty and prosperous and have large holdings as farmers, being extensive producers.

Now as to Western Canada, a timely letter in the Winnipeg Free Press of November 19th, contributed by Miss E. Cora Hind, the acknowledged representative of that paper on all matters pertaining to agriculture throughout the west, on "The Indians as Farmers," is instructive. She says:

"With each passing year, the Indians of the three Prairie Provinces, become more and more a factor in agricultural production. This year they have produced in wheat alone, well up to 900,000 bushels besides very large quantities of coarse grain. About 60,000 bushels of potatoes, and have cultivated some 250 gardens, possibly. The cultivation of the gardens is one of the most notable signs of progress, as it marks a steady change of diet.

"Under the direction and encouragement of Mr. W. M. Graham, the File Hill Indians of Saskatchewan in 1921 had more than 20,000 acres under a high state of cultivation."

After speaking of the acreage under crop on the different reserves. Miss Hind says:

"Taking the reserves in Alberta as a whole, they will have 500,000 bushels of wheat and 400,000 bushels of coarse grain and have put up lots of hay."

"Taking the reserves in Saskatchewan as a whole this year there are 12,800 acres in wheat which would average 21 bushels to the acre, besides other grains. The letter concludes, "Heretofore the Indians of Manitoba have largely devoted their attention to hunting and fishing—but under the re-organization policy established a few years ago, they are being encouraged to farm on much the same lines as those in Alberta and Saskatchewan. With farming operations so well under way on the reserves, it will be increasingly necessary for the Indians, to remain on the reservations throughout the year, and Indian Pow-wows and parades—that in the past have formed so attractive a feature to Western Fairs—must be relegated to the limbo of forgotten things. The west will thereby lose something in picturesqueness, but will gain enormously in greater production, and the development of the Indian into an asset instead of a liability, or perhaps the more correct term would be, a responsibility."

Now my effort has been to show, that the Indian is susceptible of better and greater things, both intellectually and industrially, and in all that goes to make a good citizezn. These people have not

been given a chance. Our government for many years has gone to great expense to induce people from south eastern Europe to come to Canada, and one of the problems has been to educate them and transform them into Canadian citizens. Here among us are our people, the original owners of the soil, who know the ways of the country and its resources better than anyone else, and through sheer neglect and lack of sympathetic interest are allowed to run wild, no attempt at education and their peculiar talents (and they have many) left uncultivated. As explorers, wood rangers, fire guardians, mariners, they excell. On either the lakes or in the forests they will out-class the white man every time. They were the men who first taught the whites to navigate the Lake of the Woods—one of the most intricate of the inland lakes.

The great changes for the better, in the condition of the American Indian, and that of the various bands throughout the Western Provinces bring out in striking contrast the condition of these poor people within this agency, and indicates that the responsibility rests not so much with the head of the department in Ottawa as with the local agents. The condition of the Indian here is little better than it was 50 years ago. He still subsists by hunting and fishing, with the blueberry harvest added. Can the Indian Department point to any tribe under this agency where any effort has been made to assist or instruct them in agriculture, or where cattle, horses, seed grain or implements have been supplied, or instructors sent to assist. How many schools have been established among the 2,400 people within this agency that exist today as a result of effort of the Department?

The Whitefish reserve is in the midst of the best timber on the Lake of the Woods, and is the locality where the big lumber Companies have been operating for the past forty years, and much of the timber on the reserves belonging to these people has been cut and removed.

During that time these people say not one statement has been submitted to them, showing to whom their timber was sold, what it was sold for, and what is to their credit, with one exception, viz.: In the years 1921 and 1922, two payments were made them amounting to $2,688, being $42 for each of the 64 persons then residing on the reserve. And that is the only payment made them in 40 years.

And that state of affairs has existed during all these years in the face of repeated requests for information.

Within the jurisdiction of this agency there are about 2,400 people distributed through 14 or 15 bands or tribes, and covering virtually the same area as that indicated in the Treaty of 1873. They are wealth-producers of no mean order, when you consider that our fur catch for the whole of Canada annually amounts to about 17 millions, to which the Indian contributes no small share. When you add to this their earnings during the blueberry season and figure that from 25,000 to 50,000 baskets are shipped from this one point alone, the market value of which would be a dollar a basket to the Indian, but represents a much greater value to the consumer.

From these facts they play no small part in the production of the wealth of the country. They sow not and yet they reap. For both the fur bearing animals as well as the blueberry crop are among the natural products of the soil. And they do more than that. Where they are in the vicinity of lumber mills, they are good workers. Where they have the opportunity they are industrious. And so if they had individual allotment of land and had farming implements and sympathetic instruction and encouragement, they would easily grow sufficient for their support at least.

What interest has been shown by the Indian Department in the people within this agency? Absolutely none. What little progress the red man has made he has got through imitating the white man. He has acquired most of his vices, but few of his virtues. With two notable exceptions there has not been an agent who has taken interest in the welfare of these Indians. The ordinary routine has been maintained. The annual distribution of treaty money, an absolute indifference to their wants and needs. A deaf ear to any requests for comforts or help when in distress. As long as they can be kept quiet and give the agency no trouble is apparently the order of the day.

During the long winter season here women as well as men have occasion to come into town from their reserves, perhaps a distance of 50 miles. When they get here there is no public house for them where they can get warmth and entertainment. It is a case of starve and freeze for the poor Indian, and during all these years, it has not yet dawned on the mind of an agent that they are entitled to a little humane treatment. They are not asking charity. Their reserves have been stripped of the most valuable timber. If they have something to their credit they would like to know—they are entitled to know—how much and where it is. Nor is this the worst.

The Petition, which they have been trying to get before the Superintendent of their Department in Ottawa, has for its first paragraph:

"Years ago our Reserve contained a large number of people, but through sickness and death, our numbers have been reduced to 14 families, about 70 people."

JAMES ROBINSON

Kenora, December, 1923.

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Letter from Captain Edwards, Indian Agent at Kenora, appearing in Kenora Miner and News, Saturday, Dec. 15th, 1923.

Kenora, Ont., Dec. 12th, 1923

Editor Miner & News, Kenora, Ont.

SIR—Mr. Jas. Robinson's letter on "Our Indian Citizens" is very interesting, and I trust it will be the means of inducing more Kenora people to take an interest in the real Canadian to whom we owe a very great deal.

I cannot let the letter go unanswered as he makes untrue statements against the Government and myself as Agent.

He states the Agent has shown sheer neglect and lack of sympathy with these people. He also asks if I can show him any attempt has been made to assist them in agriculture, where horses, cattle, grain, seed, or implements have been supplied them, and also what has been done in the way of education.

Mr. Robinson takes the Whitefish Bay Indians as his example, so I will confine myself to that band.

On looking up my books I find they have received from the Agent at Kenora, grub hoes, garden hoes, rakes, brush hooks, draw knives, mattocks, hay forks, spades, files, saws of all kinds, scythes, grindstones, braces and bits, planes, plows, harrows, nails, lime, hammers, skidding tongs, whipple trees, tar paper, doors, axes, carpenter's tool chests, horses, oxen, bulls, cattle, pigs, hay, chopped feed, oats, timothy hay and clover seed, seed potatoes, seed onions, seed turnips, seed carrots, rolled oats, tea, sugar, flour, pork, etc.

Last year they received lard flour, sugar, tea, baking powder, onion seed, carrot seed, turnip seed, army blankets, tents, shirts, rubbers, canvas shoes, sweaters, coats, socks, skirts, palliasses, agricultural implements, such as blacksmith's outfit, including forge and shoeing tools, coal, lime, mattocks, hay and manure forks, brush and grass scythes, brush hooks, vise, stock and dies, etc. All the above were purchased locally, in addition to the usual supplies of pork, tea, rice flour, seeds, powder, shot, cartridge cases, twins for nets, fish hooks and lines annually distributed to them.

From my record last Treaty they now have 20 horses, 1 bull, 1 cow, 4 plows, 7 sleighs, 25 canoes, 30 guns, 30 nets, and 3 pigs, and they have about 40 acres of cleared land and 20 acres of this in cultivation.

Our Doctor Ferguson is always at their call and makes repeated trips to see them in addition to his usual periodical visits.

Clothing is also issued to the needy, which is obtained from the W.C.T.U. and other bodies in Eastern Ontario. A few local friends also send me a few articles for distribution, and the Whitefish Bay Band get their share.

Medicines are sent them when they desire it, and a supply is always left on hand at the Chief's house.

Counsel has been employed to defend a Whitefish Indian who was in trouble. (Not Mr. Robinson.)

Lumber and shingles were given the band 4 years ago to build and repair their houses. The shingles were lying out in the open two years after and I instructed the chief to put these under cover. They have not been used yet.

We endeavoured to get the Indians to clear part of their land for the purpose of agriculture, and I obtained permission from the Indian Department to allow them a small amount from their funds for the purchase of food, etc., whilst working. The Indians refused to accept this as the amount recommended was only about $15 or $20 per acre to improve their own land.

Seed, grain, lumber, etc., will always be purchased for permanent improvements on request of the whole band, providing their funds warrant the expenditure. The Indians do not want this. They think the Government should give them all their money at once, but the Department has not power to do this, and to do so would be very foolish policy.

Re education—At one time we had a school on this reserve but as no children were attending, it had to be closed down. A Catholic school at Kenora and a Presbyterian School at Shoal Lake, are supplied for the children, but very few of the Whitefish Bay Bands will send their children. There are about 20 children of school age and if the Department had to supply schools and teachers at every reserve with this number of children, there would be a great outcry at the expenditure, when schools are available so close.

As regards the funds received from sale of timber, statements were shown the Indians last Treaty which they fully understood.

When the timber on the Reserve is sold a percentage of the proceeds is given the Indians in cash and the balance placed to their credit at Ottawa. This is used to purchase lumber, agricultural tools, food when required, relief, and an occasional cash distribution. The Whitefish Bay band has only a small amount to their credit. In 1921 a cash distribution of $21 per head was given them, the same amount was distributed in 1922, and this year they were given a large amount of flour, tea, sugar and lard.

If the Department gave them a distribution each year in a very short time they would have no funds, and there would be nothing left to help them when needed, as the Indian has no idea of the value of money.

Mr. Robinson's letter shows he has

some grievance apparently against the agent here. May I give a possible explanation. Three Indians from the Whitefish Bay Band, one who had been brought up for being drunk at one time, one who had been prosecuted for false pretences, and the other who had been brought up for gambling, decided to see Mr. Robinson and one or all of them saw him and got him to make out a petition to the Government. Mr. Robinson prepared this petition and presented it to me in the presence of a representative from our department from Ottawa. We looked through the petition and informed Mr. Robinson that the Indians were asking for statements of monies received from Reserves they did not own. I pointed out the mistakes and asked the Chief to rectify this and I would send the petition in, which was done, and the matters are having attention. Mr. Robinson asked me if I would collect his account from the Indians. I informed him they were wards of the Crown and I could not force them to pay, but if he would let me know what they owed him I would speak to them about it. So far I have not heard from Mr. Robinson.

I trust you will pardon the length of this letter, but it is impossible to give the facts in any more concise manner.

If Mr. Robinson can give me any suggestions that are feasbile for the benefit of our Indian wards I shall be only too glad to listen to him and give them my most favorable consideration.

The question of a house at Kenora has already been taken up and discussed with Mayor Toole and other prominent Kenora people.

Perhaps before writing any more open letters to the Press Mr. Robinson will make sure of his facts.

Yours faithfully,
FRANK EDWARDS,
Indian Agent.
Kenora and Savanne Agencies.

Letter No. 2 appearing in Kenora Miner and News, Wednesday, Dec. 19th, 1923.

Editor Miner & News,

Our Indian Citizens

A word in reply to Capt. Edwards' letter. The gallant captain should not take the criticism too seriously, as his experience at this agency has not been very extended—perhaps two years therefore for opportunity for misdeeds or neglect is limited. Apparently he is willing to assume the burden of the iniquities of his predecessors for 48 years. In commenting on his letter—keep in view the fact that the complaints of the Indians have existed for many years. Also the fact that in not speaking the language they have had no one to take their part in a controversy, no medium through which they could be heard. They have simply had to accept without a murmur that which has been given them, and put up with it. Only through an interpreter could they tell you whether they have received the articles enumerated. Analyze his list and see how many articles would be required in farming operations. The captain's knowledge of agriculture is, I fear, a little shaky. Where he speaks of agricultural implements he follows with "such as blacksmith's' outfit, including forge and shoeing tools, coal, lime, etc." Suppose all the articles he enumerates had been delivered to the Indians. They could take them home and pile them up. What use could they make of them, without an instructor? An instructor resident with them to teach them and show them how to farm. An instructor same as the man under Mr. Graham, over the File Hill Indians in Saskatchewan, where in 1921, they had 20,000 acres under a high state of cultivation. There there was direction and encouragement and a sympathetic interest taken in the work. Not an instructor, to any one of these ten or twelve tribes within this agency in 50 years. If any such instructor sent, name him, Captain Edwards. And yet Commissioners at time of making the treaty, promised these people agricultural implements, cattle, horses, seed grain, etc., and urged them to forsake their nomadic life and settle down to the cultivation of their land. What do these people know about farming? I doubt if any one of them ever saw a farm. Just as well buy a dozen traps for Captain Edwards and tell him to go out and trap for beaver (and expect a success of his venture) as to supply an Indian with seed grain and a plough and harrow and tell him to go and raise wheat.

It might be of interest to see the invoices for the articles the agent enumerates, and the prices they were sold at to the Indians. Where you are dealing with people who cannot speak the language, and have not the means of protecting themselves, such a condition affords very proper ground for an investigation—at least once in 50 years.

Of the 20 horses he speaks of, I doubt if Capt. Edwards can find more than one span of horses on the entire reserve. I know not how much land the people of Whitefish cultivated this year, but as far as I observed in June last, the only crop they were raising, was potatoes and corn, exactly the same as the Chief from the North told the Commissioners they were then growing 50 years ago, and they then asked the Commissioners for other seed grain, and horses and implements and instructors.

The agent says the Whitefish band has only a small amount to their credit. And

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the reserves of these people are in the vicinity of where all the big lumber companies have been operating for the past 40 years. Is it not time for an investigation into that matter alone. These people never ask much, for they have no reason to expect. But surely they are entitled to some information as to what has been done with their lumber, and the proceeds of it.

Mr. Edwards' explanation of why a petition was drawn up and forwarded is a myth, a fiction, in the mind of the brave Captain. The writer never on any occasion during three years past, or thirty years, had any instructions from any Indian from the Whitefish band charged with being drunk or false pretenses, or gambling or any other charge. The beginning of the petition dates from June 1st last and prior to that I did not have instructions from any Indian nor act for any Indian in any court or out of any court on any criminal charge for over three years. Over three years ago I did defend an Indian charged with theft, and did once enquire of Capt. Edwards as to his whereabouts and the prospects of collecting an account from him.

JAMES ROBINSON

THE PETITION

Whitefish Reserve,
Lake of the Woods, June 7, 1923

To the Superintendent General,
Indian Affairs, Ottawa.

The Petition of the people of the Whitefish Reserve respectfully sheweth:

1. Years ago our Reserve contained a large number of people, but through sickness and death, our numbers have been reduced to 14 families, about 70 people.

2. We submit for your consideration, and ask for a change in some regulations affecting us.

3. We ask that allotments of land on the Reserve of 80 acres for farming purposes, be made to each head of family—of those who wish it—and that the same be made inheritable to our own descendants, but not alienable to others.

4. We ask that a farm instructor be sent us to instruct us and teach us how to farm, who shall be permanently here as an overseer.

5. We ask also that horses, cattle, implements and seed grain be sent us with which to make a start.

6. The land on our reserve is arable—could nearly all be cultivated and there is no better soil in this Province, admirably adapted for the growth of such grasses as red clover, alsike and alfalfa, which have been grown to perfection right here. And we submit that the venture could be made self-sustaining as well as profitable.

7. There are 27 children on the reserve—21 of whom are of school age, and, we submit, are entitled to the same advantages of education as the children on other reserves and those of the white population, but we are 50 miles from the Indian Industrial school at Kenora. We ask that a school be established with a duly qualified school teacher.

8. We suggest that a competent teacher (and his wife) be sent. One who has some knowledge of medicine could be of much use, as Dr. Ferguson is 50 miles from us, and is usually too busy to come here. Very seldom comes.

9. We submit there has been gross mismanagement in regard to the timber on our reserves, and that no statement has ever been made, showing how much or what quantity of timber has been taken from the reserves—although we have repeatedly asked for statements from your various agents.

10. We further say that during the past 40 years, the Rat Portage Lumber Co., has cut and removed the timber on 400 acres, being a portion of the 2647 acres, being that portion of Indian reserve 32, 33 and 34A, surveyed by A. H. Vaughan, D.L.S. in 1879, lying south of Lobstick Bay, and north of the White Fish rapids and lake.

11. We charge that 12 years ago, the Rat Portage Lumber Co., cut and removed the timber on Indian Reserve 35H, on Sabaskong Bay and that the same has never been accounted for, or any payment made therefor.

12. We charge that the Rat Portage Lumber Co. some 10 or 12 years ago cut and removed the timber on reserve 32C belonging to us, having camps on Turtle Portage, from which there has never been any accounting or payment.

13. That we have made repeated requests of the agents you have appointed for statements and for accountings for the said timber so taken from our reserves, but have never on any occasion, received any statement or accounting, except hereinafter mentioned.

14. During the year 1921 and 1922, two payments were made us, amounting to $2,688.00, being $42 for each of the 64 persons then residing on our reserve. But apart from that, we have never received any statement or accounting whatever, during the past 40 years.

15. We charge that your former agent, Mr. R. S. McKenzie, neglected and refused to give any statement as to the quantity of timber cut and removed by the Keewatin Lumber Co. on our Reserve 32B, on Black River, although requested by our Chief, Bob Roy many times, and that we have never received one dollar therefor.

16. The agreement made by your said agent McKenzie, with the people of our Reserve, when he was selling our timber to the said Keewatin Lumber Co., was that we were to receive 30 per cent. of the total price each year payable at the time of Treaty Payment until fully paid. Instead of that we received only 15 per cent. in 1921 and 15 per cent. in 1922.

17. The said Keewatin Lumber Co. through your agent McKenzie, leased one acre of land on our reserve, just south of Whitefish Rapids for the purpose of a store house, and built thereon their store house and have occupied it, but have paid no rent therefor as far as we have knowledge.

18. The said Keewatin Lumber Co. also leased as we were informed some land at the mouth of Black River, for the purpose of a garden, but no rent has been forthcoming for that.

19. Your said agent McKenzie, 3 years ago, promised one of our people, Pekowbetung, lumber for the flooring and roofing of his house and instructed him to proceed and put up the frame, but so far no lumber has come, and the said Pekowbetung, with his family of eight persons, have had to exist as best they could in a small shack.

We respectfully ask for investigation into these matters, that we consider our grievances.

(Sgd.) CHIEF ROBT. J. ROY
(Sgd.) Counsellor John Bird,
Counsellor Sha-bah-tise.
Counsellor Peter White and
twelve members of the Band.

Letter No. 3 appearing in Kenora Miner and News, Saturday, February 9, 1924.

Our Indian Citizens

The Editor of the Miner & News,

After an effort of eight months endeavoring to reach the head of the Indian Department in Ottawa, to call his attention to what these people consider grievances, without results, surely we are justified in placing before the public their side of the case. The Indian Department says that no one has the right to investigate the administration of that department but themselves. The Indians say that they cannot reach the head of the Department and that the Agent will give them no satisfaction. That the terms of the Treaty made with them in 1873 have not been kept. That their rights have not been kept. That their rights have not been respected. That the agent will not represent their views to the Department, and having no one to represent their side of the case they are helpless.

The Indian Department says: "In matters of this kind, which come purely within the scope of the internal administration it is not customary for the Department to conduct negotiations with the Indians through an intermediary." In other words they say keep off, Mr. Outsider, it is our province to deal with these people (being wards of the Crown) as we choose. As we have dealt with them for the past 50 years so we shall deal with them for the next 50 years. Whether they make progress or retrogression, whether they are better or worse than when we took them under our tutelage, is not for you—but for me the head of the Indian Department. That in effect is the attitude of the present head of their department.

In my letter to your journal of Dec. 12th last, after making some comments on the Treaty made with these Indians in 1873, I endeavored to draw a comparison between the Indian people of the American west including those in our own western provinces—with our own Indians here. And my endeavor was to show that the American Indian through education and training and kindly interest taken in them, had made great advances, and through similar influences, and humane treatment, the same class of people throughout our own west had made much progress, whereas nothing has been accomplished materially, morally, or socially among the Indian people within this agency. On the one side there have been great strides in advancement, among these people there has been absolute retrogression. On the one side there was intelligent interest taken. On the other side indifference as to their welfare. The annual dole of $5.00 a head with instructions to keep them quiet till they die off, would seem to be a fair deduction from their management.

And these were the people, the rightful owners of the soil (55,000 square miles of it) whose territory our Government of Canada, through their Indian Commissioners stole, and whose inheritance it plundered.

Now, as to the reason for it, I submit:

A lack of interest in these people on the part of those appointed to administer the Indian affairs, from the superintendent general down to their agent, and no effort whatever towards education or manual or useful training. By supplying an Indian with seed grain and a plow and a span of horses and telling him to go and grow wheat will not do the trick—something else is required. As to education, these people, 50 years ago had just as much capacity for development mentally in proportion of their opportunities, as similar groups of people anywhere in Canada.

If half the effort that has been bestowed on communities of foreigners throughout the west had been made on these people, there would have been a different showing.

At the time of the treaty the subject of education was freely discussed. The Chief of the Lac Seul band, during negotiations, stated: "That he represented 400 people in the north; that they wished a treaty, that they wished a school master to be sent to them to teach their children the knowledge of the white man, that they

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had begun to cultivate the soil, and were growing potatoes and Indian corn."

Would the superintendent-general tell us how many people there are in that band at the present time. Tell us about the organization of their school the former Chief asked for, and how it has progressed. Tell us about the efforts that have been put forth to instruct the band in the cultivation of the soil. All this would be interesting as showing how the Department has kept faith with this band. It is a shame and a disgrace to every citizen of Canada, when you reflect on the injustice of the governing body of Canada to these Indians.

Of the 2,400 people within this agency, estimate one-fourth as of school age; 600 children. As far as the knowledge of the writer goes, there are but two schools within this agency to supply that need. The Cecelia Jeffrey School at Shoal Lake is an enterprise of the Presbyterian Church. The situation is about 40 miles as the crow flies, southwest of Kenora, and close to the Manitoba boundary. From reports the school is well conducted and has an attendance of about 30. The other school known as the Indian Industrial school is within the limits of Kenora, organized and conducted by the Catholic Church, but has recently been taken over by the Dominion Government and is, as the writer is informed, under the management of the Grey Nuns, with an attendance of about 50 pupils. The outlying bands are from 50 to 200 miles from these schools. If this school is now a government institution and supported by government money it should be open to inspection and a proper curriculum of studies maintained. The Industrial school has been established a little over 20 years, the other about 15 years, but the Department is entitled to no credit for the existence of either. Let us hear from the Department or their agent here, and find out what effort has been made to give education to these people—who fifty years ago asked: "That teachers be sent them to teach their young people the knowledge of the white man."

And these 600 children are today in just the same condition, educationally, as 600 of their forebears were 50 years ago. How long, Oh Lord, how long, till a sense of justice and humanity, permeates the skulls of those responsible for this disgraceful condition and neglect of their wards.

JAMES ROBINSON.

Letter No. 4 appearing in Kenora Miner and News, Saturday, March 22, 1924.

Our Indian Citizens

To the Editor Miner & News,

The object of these letters has been to lay before the public what the Indian people within this agency considered their grievances. The more general object was to draw the attention of the public to a class of our people who deserve the very best that Canada can give them, but whose rights have been ignored and whose interests have been given but scant consideration.

When you say their rights were extinguished by a treaty, the ghastliness of the huge farce looms before you, and you at once begin to calculate what proportion the few paltry reserves bears to the great domain surrendered by these people. When the treaty was made, the Indian was innocent and guileless and knew little of the arts of diplomacy and trusted the white man. They roamed the forests, fished the lakes and gathered rice, and therefrom obtained their livelihood. They were carefree and happy. However, a treaty is a treaty and they are bound by it. But they say they do not get fair treatment; do not get what was promised them in the treaty; that the authority of their Chiefs is ignored; that the agent dominates and rules, makes contracts, sells timber and rules with a high hand—as if everything belonged to himself—and gives no accounting to them as to what he does.

In my last letter I dealt with the matter of schools. On that matter up to the present I have reports of only four viz., at Whitefish, twenty-one children of school age; Dinorwic, thirty; Sabaskoshing, forty; Grassy Narrows, sixty. There are at least fifteen different bands or tribes. It is safe to say that there are six hundred Indian children of school age without the privilege of any kind of school.

Let us now briefly refer to timber on the reserves. The portion of this great area of approximately two hundred and fifty miles square was called reserves and was supposed to belong to the Indians. Since the date of treaty in 1873 there have been six or seven different agents, and during those fifty years, various lumber companies have cut and removed timber from the reserves. In addition to the lumber companies mentioned in previous letters, large quantities of timber were cut from these reserves in the earlier years by the Keewatin Lumbering and Manufacturing Company as represented by the late John Mather. J. W. Short for three winters recently has been cutting on the reserves at the Dalles, which belongs to the Rat Portage band. For this, their Chief George Skeet says his band has received a money payment of $5.00 each from Captain Edwards, but never an accounting of the quantity of timber cut, or any further information. All the timber was from time to time sold by the agents. That the logs were scaled and the dues were paid thereon at the market price,

and that the various companies paid in their dues to the agents, and presumably the agents made returns of the money to the head of the Indian Department in Ottawa. The best and most valuable timber was on the Whitefish Reserves, and the Indians say that never, but on one occasion, was there an accounting for their timber and a money payment made to them. That was in 1921 and 1922, when they received $42.00 each for sixty-four persons then residing on their reserve, and that was the only payment ever made the Whitefish people during those forty or fifty years. Sufficient lumber and shingles to build about ten very small frame houses on their reserve would seem to be all they have to show for the timber cut during all that time. Are they not entitled to at least a statement even yet? From the information I get, it would appear that the present agent, Captain Frank Edwards, is the only agent who has ever paid the Indians any money. Is it to be assumed then that the dues collected by all the previous agents, McPherson, McCracken, Leveque, Pither, McKenzie, covering a period of forty years, is funded and to their credit with the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa? If so, should they not have the information and a statement be furnished them.

These men are sufficiently shrewd and have a keen sense of right and justice to know that they have not been fairly dealt with. In discussing the matter with Captain Edwards recently, he said: "What is the use of raking up these old matters of long ago? They are past and gone, why not let by-gones be by-gones. Draw a line across the ledger and I'll guarantee the Indians will receive proper treatment from now forward." But that is the very gist of their petition. That is what they have complained about and on that they ask for an investigation. And the fact is that the timber on these reserves has been handled by at least some of the agents just as they chose without let or hindrance from the Indians, and the cutting of timber is going on at this moment on their reserve.

Then again, the Sultana Mine was on one of the reserves of the Rat Portage Band. This mine was one of the best known of all the producing mines on the Lake of the Woods; and was successfully operated for a number of years, and from reports produced a very large amount of gold. And this raises the question as to the rights of this band to at least a percentage of the product.

To make the situation still more delicate, these people, not speaking our language (through lack of education) cannot make their complaints known or enforce their objections, so that the agent is autocratic, and can do as he chooses in matters affecting their property.

JAMES ROBINSON.

Letter No. 5 appearing in Kenora Miner and News, Wednesday, March 26, 1924.

Our Indian Citizens

Editor Miner & News,

In the issue of the Miner and News of December 15th, 1923, Captain Edwards gives a list of articles that the Indians were furnished with, presumably gratuities from the Department. The Indian people say that they bought and paid for these articles through their earnings, and that they were not gratuities.

As regards information respecting business matters the Whitefish people told the writer that with the exception of the payment made them two years ago, they never had a statement respecting the moneys to their credit during all these past years, and were in absolute ignorance as to what was to their credit in the hands of the department. Is this fair treatment to intelligent men because they cannot express themselves in the language of the country? Does such treatment evince an interest in these wards of the Crown by a paternal government and that the government of this country? Surely there is some responsibility on the head of the Indian Department for this neglect.

Then there is another viewpoint—the younger men, the young Indian men, who with our own sons offered their services to their King and country and marched away to meet Britain's foes in defence of hearth and homes, and some of whom have returned. These young men have seen and heard and have learned much, and by comparison have realized that their people living here are not on the same plain in civilized life as those in other parts of Canada. They have talked these things over with their own people, and there is a general feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction amongst them. These are some of the influences at work.

In previous letters I have tried to draw a comparison with the Indians of the American West, and have shown that the American mode of treatment of the Indian has produced educated and intelligent men, men who are able and quite capable of holding their own with the whites, and that change has been brought about within the past fifty years, and the medium has been the introduction of the little red school house and sympathetic treatment.

I have also endeavored to draw a comparison between the treatment meted out to the Indians throughout our own West, and these people, and the Indian

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people of the western provinces have shown that by instruction and kindly interest have within a few years become large producers of grain and raisers of cattle, and are now intelligent, self-supporting citizens. And the query thrusts itself upon us, what is wrong with the Indian people within this agency? The Department has had them under its wing for fifty years, and they are in the same condition now as in 1873. Whose fault is it? During all these years, the Government has spasmodically put forth much effort to bring immigrants from central Europe and plant them in Canada, and have expended large sums of money to educate them and make them Canadians. But here are our own people who are more entitled to consideration than any immigrant. And what has our Government done for them? The present Indian policy has been in operation for fifty years now and these people are today in just the same condition as they were when the Government first took them in charge. Is it not time that different treatment should be adopted? Fifty years is long enough to make an experiment in, especially when similar people under another Government have made great progress. I am not suggesting that any one political party is to blame more than another. It has become a system hoary with age. Dry rot has set in, and the whole structure has become punk. Send out to Oklahoma and ask people who have had more advanced ideas what their policy with the Indian people has been, and what progress their Indian population has made.

(1) To summarize: these people ask for schools, for the same facilities for the education of and training of their six hundred children as the children of the whites.

(2) They ask for investigation into the conduct of the various agents, the head of their Department has seen fit to appoint, in regard to:

(a) The sale of timber from their reserves and the moneys that have been received therefrom, giving details.

(b) What has been charged up to them for lumber.

(c) What items of expenditure have been charged to their account, particularly of late.

(d) The amount of their credit at the present time.

(3) Has the agent authority to sell and dispose of the timber on their reserves without consent of the Chief and Councillors of the tribe, and what is the extent of his authority.

(4) That individual allotments of land be given those who ask for it.

(5) That practical instruction be given them in farming and that necessary seed grain and implements be furnished them.

(6) They ask for a small house in Kenora where their women and children can get warmth and shelter from the severity of the weather during the winter season, after a drive or tramp of perhaps forty or fifty miles from their reserves, the hotels being closed to them.

(7) And they ask for an investigation into the management of their affairs generally.

JAMES ROBINSON.

I have received letters from several of the Chiefs at a distance expressing in their own way what they consider their grievances and showing how the white man has not done right with them. The following letter from Chief David Land of White Dog speaks for itself and is much the same as what the Indians at other places say:

White Dog, Jan. 3rd, 1924.

To Mr. Robinson,

We, the Indians of this band of Islington are asking the Government about the agreement that was made when first the white man asked the Indians this land.

When the treaty first was given to the Indians there was lots of supplies, farm tools, etc. They are getting shorter every year. There is only little supplies now, some twine line, shot and gun powder, no farm tools.

When the government sends the supplies to us we don't get them, the Agent delivers them to the H. B. Co. The white man told the Indians the reserves to be their own land. There is another thing about the moose, deer and caribou and fur animals. The white man told the Indians I don't buy these from you and now the Department is going to look at me like a white man. That is the Department is going to stop me killing any of those.

We are asking the government to be the same agreement now as when the first treaty was made. That is all.

CHIEF DAVID LAND,
Councillors Robt. Land,
Kenneth McDonald
W. Wah-Kah-nuice

NOTES

In 1873 a Commission was issued to Hon. Alex. Morris, the then Lt. Governor of Manitoba, Lieut. Col. Provencher, Commissioner Indian Affairs, and Simon J. Dawson, the then M.P. for Algoma to negotiate a treaty with the Lake of the Woods Indians.

A brief record of some of the utterances of the Indians and the Commissioners is hereto subjoined:

This treaty was one of great importance, as it not only tranquilized the large Indian population affected by it, but eventually shaped the terms of all the treaties—four, five, six and seven—which, immediately after were made with the Indians of the North West Territories, who speedily became appraised of the concessions which had been granted to the Ojibbeway nation.

The Chief of the Lac Seul band stated that he represented 400 people in the north; that they wished a treaty; that they wished a school master to be sent them to teach their children the knowledge of the white men; that they had begun to cultivate the soil, and were growing potatoes and Indian corn, but they wished other grain for seeds and some agriculture implements and cattle.

Governor Morris said he was desirous to induce them to practice agriculture and to have the means of getting food if their fishing and hunting failed, and that he would give them certain implements, cattle and grain. When asked if the mines would be theirs, the Governor answered: "If they were found in their reserves, it would be to their benefit."

The Governor—"If any important minerals are discovered on any of their reserves the minerals will be sold for their benefit, with their consent." The negotiations leading up to this Treaty are full of thrilling interest and the surroundings highly picturesque.

The Governor in his report says:

The closing scenes were striking and impressive. The business of the Treaty having been completed the Chief Mawe-do-pe-nais who with Pow-wa-sang had such wonderful tact carried on the negotiations stepped up to the Governor and said:

"Now you see me stand before you all, what has been done here today, has been done openly before the Great Spirit and before the Nation, and I hope that I may never hear anyone say that this treaty has been done secretly, and now in closing this Council I take off my glove and in giving you my hand I deliver over my birth-right and lands, and in taking your hand I hold fast all the promises you have made, and I hope they will last as long as the Sun goes round and the water flows as you have said."

The Governor then took his hand and said:

"I accept your hand and with it the lands, and will keep all my promises in the firm belief that the treaty now to be signed will bind the red men and white together as friends for ever."

At the tme of the Treaty these people numbered over 14,000. A portion of them have been segregated into another agency, but it is safe to say that the would then be about 8,000 within the present agency. Their population at present does not exceed 2,400.

EXTRACT FROM TREATY:

"Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to her Government of her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.

"Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise determined by the Government of the Dominion of Canada, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force, or hereafter to be enacted to preserve her Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves, or living elsewhere within her North-West Territories, from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors shall be strictly enforced.

"Her Majesty further agrees with her said Indians, that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrended as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by her Government of her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering or other purposes, by her said Government of the Dominion of Canada, or by any of the subjects thereof duly authorized therefor by the said Government.

"It is further agreed between Her Majesty and the said Indians, that the sum of fifteen hundred dollars per annum shall be yearly and every year expended by Her Majesty in the purchase of ammunition, and twine for nets for the use of the said Indians."

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056059

Ottawa, Nov. 21, 1922.

Rev. Thomas J. Rouillard,
Cheyenne Agency,
South Dakota,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 14th November, addressed to Right Honorable Arthur Meighen, is to hand, and has been referred to the Department of Indian Affairs for attention.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Dict. by Rex Crossdell.

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056060

Ottawa, Nov. 21, 1922.

Department of Indian Affairs,
Ottawa.

Dear Sirs:

The enclosed letter addressed to the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen is evidently intended for your Department.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Dict. by Rex Crossdell.

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056061

Rev. Thos. J. Rouillard,

Cheyenne Agency, S.D., U.S.A. Nov. 14, 1922

Hon. Arthur Meighen,

Supt. General of Indian Affairs.

Dear Sir:

Please send to my address a copy of the Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, also such published laws pertaining to the Indians of Canada that you may have on hand.

I am greatly interested in Canada and the Indians who live there. I am an Indian myself. Some day I hope to live in Canada and help to carry on the Indian work for their education and moral life. I am a clergy of the Episcopal church. Thank you for your consideration and the reports in advance.

With best wishes I remain,

Very respectfully yours,

In charge

St. John's Episcopal Church

Rev. Thos. J. Rouillard

COPY

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056062

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Ottawa, Dec. 20, 1923.

J.H. Ingersoll, Esq.,
24 James St.,
St. Catharines, Ont.

Dear Mr. Ingersoll:

Yours of the 18th reached me this morning upon my return from Western Canada.

Attached hereto you will find a memorandum giving the salary of Miss E.S. Martin.

Yours very truly,

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INGERSOLL, KINGSTONE & SEYMOUR
BARRISTERS AND SOLICITORS

J. H. INGERSOLL, K.C.
A. COURTNEY KINGSTONE, K.C.
MURTON A. SEYMOUR

24 JAMES ST.
ST. CATHARINES
ONTARIO

December 18, 1923.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen, -

I am taking the liberty of troubling you about a matter and my only excuse for so doing is because it involves a legitimate enquiry about the sister of a former constituent of yours in Portage La Prairie, and a sister of my wife, and were I to write the Department direct it might be regarded as inquisitive.

Miss E. S. Martin, a senior clerk in the Department of Indian Affairs, is at present in ill health and her retirement from the service is quite likely. She has been in the service for, I think, about thirty years. I have before me a copy of the report of the Auditor General for the fiscal year ending 31st March 1921 and take from it the enclosed memorandum as to her salary. Her mother is about to arrange her affairs and wishes as far as possible to put another unmarried sister and Miss Martin on an equal footing so far as the future is concerned. I have been asked to ascertain what Miss Martin's superannuation allowance would be in the event of her retirement from the service. Naturally under the circumstances you will understand that this enquiry is confidential and that it could not be made through Miss Martin herself. I have no later copy of the report of the Auditor General but Miss Martin is certainly not receiving less salary at the present

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time.

This is my excuse for troubling you in the matter.

Thanking you in advance for your interest, believe me,

Enc.

Yours faithfully,

J. H. Ingersoll

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056065

INDIAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

for the fiscal year ending 31st March 1921.

Miss E. S. Martin, Senior Clerk, received the following:

Salary 1920 - 1921 - 12 mo.	-	$ 1440.00
Cost of Living Bonus	-	162.00
Arrears 1919 - 1920	-	80.00
		$ 1682.00
Less contribution for superannuation fund No. 2		53.20
		$ 1628.80

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THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF CANADA

MEMORANDUM OF CANADIAN ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

OF THE INDIANS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

We are informed of the communication addressed by the Society of Friends of the Indians of Canada to the Minister of Interior relating to the Agreement made between the Government of the Dominion of Canada and the Government of the Province of Ontario on 24th March last. With the view expressed by that Society that for the purpose of providing a basis of all future developments and a final settlement a judgment of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council is necessary we are in full agreement.

In very special degree we think such judgment is necessary in order to make possible settlement of the British Columbia Indian land controversy which throughout half a century has caused serious and increasing trouble.

We know that during the past two years the possibility of bringing about settlement without judicial decision has been subject of discussion between the Government of Canada and the allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia.

Perusal of the Memorandum which the allied Tribes presented to the Government of Canada on 29th February last has made perfectly clear to us that the allied Tribes are determined to accept only settlement based upon their actual rights.

In our judgment all efforts by which it is sought to bring about settlement upon any other basis, either the McKenna-McBride Agreement denying all rights of the Tribes or the theory of the Indian Department regarding aboriginal

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title which sets up a so-called Indian claim radically different from the claim actually made by the Indians, are unjustifiable and bound to prove fruitless.

We consider that the main result of the discussions of the past two years is to bring out into the clearest light the fundamental question what are the actual aboriginal rights of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia. This constitutional question is now more than ever shown to be a practical issue between the Indian Tribes of British Columbia and the two Governments. Beyond all manner of doubt this issue requires to be determined. In what way shall it be determined?

The answer which was given by Sir Wilfrid Laurier is clear and simple. As shown by official record, addressing delegates of the Indian Tribes of Northern British Columbia at Prince Rupert in August 1910, Sir Wilfrid Laurier said -
"I think the only way to settle this question that you have agitated for years is by a decision of the Judicial Committee, and I will take steps to help you."

A Bill which has been introduced into the House of Commons proposes to deal with Indian rights in Canada in a way radically different from that advocated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

The Agreement which this Bill proposes to confirm and make the law of Canada, as we understand its provisions, overrides solemn treaties entered into between British Sovereigns and Indian Tribes, is based upon the assumption that the Indian Tribes of Canada have not and never had tribal title to their Territories, and concedes to the Province of Ontario reversionary title in respect of all Indian Reserves.

Reversionary title of a Province thus conceded was

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unheard of in Canada until, many years after British Columbia entered Confederation, the theory of such title was devised by a Government of that Province. Until recent years the claim so made by British Columbia was vigorously controverted by Canada. Now it is proposed by confirming this Agreement to establish such title for the Province of Ontario and practically for all the Provinces.

A Memorandum dealing with the title of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia, the reversionary claim of that Province, and the Agreement of 24th March last was prepared by the General Counsel of the allied Tribes of British Columbia in consultation with ourselves and on 6th May last was despatched to the Minister of Interior. We think that a very strong case is made by this paper. The Memorandum has not been answered. This fact does not greatly surprise us, for we know that since the alliance of Tribes was formed in June 1916 no answer of any account - no answer dealing with the merits - has been given by the Government of Canada to any one of a number of outstanding papers which have been presented by and on behalf of the allied Tribes.

We have before us the Petition which on behalf of the Nishga Tribe was presented to the House of Commons on 19th May last, asking that the Bill be not passed until the issues which have been placed before His Majesty's Privy Council shall have been determined and that the House of Commons do all possible for expediting full and final determination of those issues and all other fundamental constitutional issues relating to the rights of the Indian Tribes of Canada.

We think that for establishing the rights claimed the Nishga Indians have a strong case. We think that for a hearing

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of their Petition they have an unanswerable case. Their independent Petition was presented to His Majesty's Privy Council after full consultation had with the then Government of Canada. Subsequently they secured from the Duke of Connaught positive written assurance given on behalf of His Majesty that their Petition would be considered by His Majesty's Privy Council.

We think the time has fully come for making a commencement in fulfilling the promises of just dealing which during more than fifty years British Sovereigns and Governments of Canada have made to the Indian Tribes of British Columbia. We think such commencement should be made by immediately abandoning the policy of placing obstacles in the way of the Nishga Indians and adopting instead the policy of helping them to secure a hearing.

Moreover under all present circumstances we think the Government of Canada might well regard most favourably an opportunity of securing decision of the constitutional issues involved without assuming responsibility for initiating the proceeding by which they have been brought before His Majesty's Privy Council.

J. S. DENNIS

W.PERCY CHAMBERS

Montreal,

18th June 1924

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056070

Ottawa, April 11, 1924.

Dear Mr. Paul:

I have your letter of the 9th. There is not sufficient data here to enable me to be of any assistance to you. I would judge from the departmental letter dated March 19th that the property sold was not part of the reserve. To sell any part of the reserve, of course, a surrender by the Indians themselves is necessary. If the lots mentioned by Mr. McLean, though, were part of the reserve the case of course is different and a surrender in that event, as I understand it, would be necessary before the sale can be made. I am returning the correspondence as requested herewith.

Yours very truly,

Chief David Paul,
Eel Ground Reserve,
Newcastle, N.B.

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056071

New Castle April 9th 1924

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen

Ottawa, Canada

My Dear Sir

Please find enclosed Indian Treaty, also correspondence from Indian Department Ottawa, And Department of Lands and Mines, Fredricton N.B. Will You Kindly examine those papers as the offiers at Ottawa and Fredricton give me no satisfaction, how Can the government dispose of Indian lands when the Treaty say no, and who is responsible for the transfer of those Indian lands, this same thing is going on up to the present time, and the Indian people want to Know if this state of affairs is to Continue, if so we will soon have nothing, Also in your opinion what Can we do with those people already located on our Indian lands.

Will You Kindly Reply
Also return the papers

Yours Respectfully
Daniel Paul
(Chief)
Ed, Ground Reserve
N.B.

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056072

281

Ottawa, April 23, 1924.

Dear Chief Paul:

Yours of the 21st inst. together with map reached me this morning. The question you raise is really a legal one, and, as I am no longer practising law, I am afraid I cannot give you advice thereon. I should think the best course for you to follow would be to consult some reputable practising barrister in whom you have confidence. I am returning your map herewith.

Yours very truly,

Chief Daniel Paul,
Eel Ground Reserve,
Newcastle, N.B.

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056073

Newcastle April 21st 1924

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen

Ottawa Canada

My Dear Sir

Your letter of April 11th Recd. and I thank you for your promptness also the interest You show in this matter, I am enclosing You the original plan which will give you sufficient data to enable you to express your opinion, the pencil Cross indicating the distance from rock at right to Stump at left will guide You, I want to Know how those people located themselves on the Indian Reserve legally which seem to me Contrary to the wording of the treaty.

Again thanking You

Kindly return plan

And Oblige Yours Respectfully

Daniel Paul
(Chief)
Eel Ground Reserve

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056074

281

Ottawa, October 16, 1924.

My dear John:

I have your letter of the 13th October and will gladly speak to Mr. Scott on behalf of Mr. Macdonald. However I gather from his letter that the Commissioner has ruled against him. My experience has led me to put a lot of confidence in the Commissioner's decisions, still the department should be decent with every employee and I will do anything I can for him.

I called to see you at Winnipeg and you were out. You subsequently left a message for me as to your whereabouts at the Royal Alexander, but I did not get it until too late. I was most anxious to have a talk with you. No one knows better than you that one cannot say all that is in his mind in a public or semi-public speech. I wish you had spoken to me before taking the line you did at the Marlborough. I do not object to the line as in the least degree unfair to myself for I know you have nothing but the fairest attitude toward me. I could have given you some history which would have put a new light on the whole matter; suffice to say now that we have got too far, that is, too near to the next contest to

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to run the Party into a convention and especially to leave the leadership open to question, pending the time that would be necessary to prepare for convention. If you had had the experience I have had in many matters particularly, you would be too merciful to throw this burden at me now.

After some speaking in Quebec and Ontario I leave on the 22nd for the West again, but must go right through to Yale bye-election. Can only stop in Portage la Prairie one day and that on mighty strict business. Will see you, though, coming back.

Yours very truly,

John T. Haig, Esq., M.P.P.,
Winnipeg, Man.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
WINNIPEG

13th October, 1924.

Rt. Honourable Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Canada.

Personal.

My dear Meighen,-

I enclose you copy of letter received from Mr. McDonald of the Indian Agency, at Griswold, Manitoba. I know this part of the country very well, as it is my home district, and the white people up there have not made anything for years until probably this year. The crops have been failures year after year.

It seems to me that this man's request is a reasonable one and that he should be continued until March 1st in any event. He has given faithful service and is very well liked in the District. I have written him to-day that I am afraid nothing can be done, but wondered if it would be possible to get the Department to carry him until the 1st of March under the circumstances?

Kind regards.

Yours truly,

Encl.

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Copy. Private. Indian Agency, Griswold, Man. Oct.10,1924.

0077

J.T.Haig,Esq.M.P.P.
Winnipeg.

Dear Mr.Haig,-

Mr.T.C.Norris has advised me to write to you in regard to a little difficulty I have with the Department of Indian Affairs.

In 1912 I was appointed Indian Agent for the Griswold Agency.I was not very anxious for it at the time but took it through the persuasion of some of my friends. There was no one put out of this position to give it to me,the former Agent,who had been appointed by the Liberal Government died and six months after I was put in his place.

Things went along smoothly up to the time of Greater Production,on account of poor crops the Dept.had to buy seed grain to increase the production and poor crops followed after and naturally put the Indians back financially; you know yourself that no one has made anything in this District this last few years, everyone has lost money.

After Mr.Graham was appointed Indian Commissioner troubles began; he could see faults in everything I did. He sent one of his Inspectors down here and after he went back nothing seemed to satisfy him.

I don't think his Inspectors know any more than the law allows them and they seem to want to stand in with both parties.

I have taken no active part in politics since I was appointed to this position and I have done my work faithfully and worked hard.

The Indians have advanced as much as any Indians in the Province under difficult conditions and now I have been informed by the Department that my services are not required

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after Nov.1st on account of inefficiency. I wrote to the Department at Ottawa for an explanation.They informed me that the Commission had reported that the Indians were not making any advancement.This is not true. Mr.T.C.Norris can tell you that both myself and my wife have done everything that could be done to help these Indians in every way and there is a great improvement.Mr. Robert Forke has been belittling me to the Department as much as possible- I guess because I am not a Progressive. It is a nice time of the year to let a man out,at the beginning of winter.

I have helped the Indians to the extent of about $250. this fall for binder repairs etc.to help them out,as they could not get them except for cash;the crops are not threshed yet on account of the bad weather and I want a chance to get my money out of it.

The Department has offered me $1900.as a retirement fund if I quit by the 1st of November;after that time,as you know, things are on a different basis.

I thought you might be interested to know about this as I think I am getting a cold deal;after spending 12 years of the best part of my life to be practically turned out for nothing is pretty galling.

Yours truly,

Jas.McDonald,
Indian Agent.

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056079

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Ottawa, Nov. 22, 1924.

A.G. Chisholm, Esq., K.C.,
London,
Ont.

Dear Mr. Chisholm:

Your letter of the 18th inst., I find awaiting me upon my return this morning. I regret very much to hear that you have been so treated by the present Government in the matter of work for the Six Nations Indians, but that action is in line with what they are doing in every department.

We had a very fine and enthusiastic gathering in Toronto, and I should have been glad to have seen you there.

Yours very truly,

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A. G. CHISHOLM, K.C.
Barrister, &c.

CANADIAN BANK OF COMMERCE CHAMBERS
CORNER DUNDAS AND RICHMOND STS.

London, Canada, November 18, 1924.

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, P. C. ,

Ottawa,,Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

As you likely are aware, I have done for years a great deal of legal business for different Indian tribes in Ontario, notably the Six Nations near Brantford, for whom while I was never recognized as their legally appointed Solicitor, I did all their legal work, and was paid in due course my taxed costs.

A very troublesome matter was the elucidation of a dispute regarding lands between the Six Nations and the New England Company, on which I was engaged for a long time, and after persistent digging and much research, finally got into such shape I was able to present these claims in proper form in the shape of a Brief filed with the Indian Department. I took a good deal of pride in this case, as when I took hold of it under instructions from the Indians, the whole matter was very obscure. I straightened it out. Now that the matter in consequence of the refusal of the Company to come to any agreement about the matter, has to go to Court, the Justice Department has taken the whole matter, with my Brief and placed it in the hands of a firm of Grit lawyers in this City, Messrs. Murphy, Gunn & Murphy, to take the necessary proceedings in the Courts. Of course I was paid for the work I did, but the much more profitable business in the Courts, and the desire to secure the fruition of my work, I have been deprived of.

Similarly, I had instructions from some united bands of Indians in the North, to take proceedings on their behalf, and sent Brief to the Indian Department setting out the claims. The Indians had given me instructions and requested the Department to pay my costs. Hon. Mr. Stewart after holding my Brief for several weeks returned it to me. They placed it in the hands of one of their own political friends, and although the Indians have recovered $400,000.00, the Department refuses to pay my earned costs.

I only mention the above matters to you, for when you become Prime Minister again, as I believe you will before very long, it is my intention to draw your attention to these matters, when I hope some appropriate remedy may be found for the injustice I have suffered.

Sorry I could not have been with you all in Toronto yesterday, but I am very busy getting ready for the Court next Monday. With regards,

Faithfully yours,

A. G. Chisholm

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056081

281

Ottawa, Dec. 1, 1924.

W.M. Graham, Esq.,
Regina, Sask.

Dear Mr. Graham:

Thanks for your letter of 26th November. Am glad to have the account of the successful comeback of the Blood Indians. You usually come out ahead on all these controversies.

Am glad you are to have a visit down here in the near future, but possibly I will not be here when you come as I am going to try to take a few days off for the South. However, maybe I shall be here for a day or so after you arrive.

With very best regards to Mrs. Graham and Miss Tye,

Yours very truly,

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DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
CANADA

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
No.....
ALSO TO DATE OF THIS LETTER

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,
REGINA, SASK., Nov. 26th, 1924.

Personal.

Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I am enclosing herewith a page from "The Post", as I thought you might be interested to see how the Blood Indians, about whom Mr. R.N.Wilson was so greatly concerned in 1920, have risen from the ruin he so graphically described in the Memorial that was forwarded to you four years ago.

I have just returned from a short trip to Winnipeg and we are planning to leave for a longer one, to Ottawa, about the middle of next week.

My wife and Miss Tye join me in sending kindest regards and sincere regrets for your disappointment of yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

Wm. Graham

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of The Opposition,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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P.S. I should be glad to know if you expect to be in Ottawa most of the time during December . There may be other news items to be sent from time to time and it would help me to have some idea of your itinerary.

W.M.G.

per A —

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056084

281

Ottawa, Feb. 20, 1925.

W.M. Graham, Esq.,
Indian Commissioner,
Regina, Sask.

Dear Mr. Graham:

Your two letters of February 16th reached me to-day, but the telegram to which you refer was not enclosed with either one. I am sending this letter to Regina as I don't know just where to reach you.

Yours very truly,

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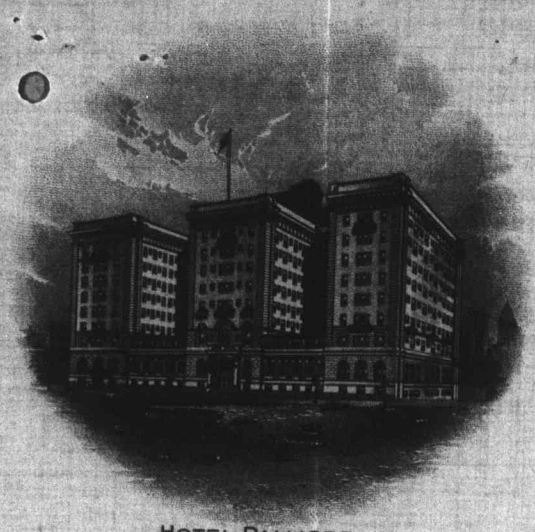

HOTEL PALLISER
CALGARY, ALTA.

Canadian Pacific Hotels

Feby 16/25.

Dear Arthur,

I wrote you this morning but forgot to enclose the attached.

Yours faithfully

Wm Graham

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056086

HOTEL PALLISER
CALGARY
ALBERTA

February 16/28

Dear Arthur

I am enclosing herewith a telegram that I need a few minutes ago from O.C.S. in reply to one I sent the minister last night. I cannot understand the delay in this important matter which

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Means so much to my
boys you see Dr Roche
at once and find out
what is the cause of
decay and write to
me at Regina - I am
inspecting Reserves &
finding the cattle situation
which is so vital with
us in good shape
Thanking you in
advance for anything
you can do to get this
matter straightened out
Yours very truly
W. M. Graham

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281

Ottawa, Feb. 23, 1925.

Jas. M. McDonald, Esq.,
Griswold,
Man.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I have your letter of the 17th February. When the Indian estimates are up I will endeavour to keep your case in mind and will question the Minister on the reasons for your being retired. There are so many calls on me out of the House that I may possibly miss them but I will not if I can help it.

Yours very truly,

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056089

Griswold, Manitoba.
February 17th, 1925.

The Right Honorable A.Meighen,
Ottawa.Ont.
Dear Mr Meighen,

In 1912 I was appointed Indian Agent for the Griswold Indian Agency; for quite a number of years I seemed to be giving good satisfaction; from 1916 to 1923 crop conditions in this District were very unfavourable but I tried to keep the Indians up to the mark as much as possible under difficult circumstances.

After Mr Commissioner Graham was appointed my troubles seemed to commence, most of the things I did were not satisfactory to him.

On Sept 2nd, 1924, I received a communication from the Deputy Supt: General of Indian Affairs informing me that I would have to be retired as my work was not satisfactory to the Department, and that the Indians were not advancing under my administration: this is not true; 49 out of every 50 will tell you that the Indians have advanced; people in this District who actually know the conditions will tell you that the Indians have advanced in many ways under my administration; for I do not think that crop growing alone will ever advance them, they must have a sympathetic understanding and one has to show them the human side of life: forcing them to do things will never civilize them.

If I am inefficient I can do 40 different things to help the Indians to the 1 that the man can do who has been put in my place.

I was practically forced to quit but got the benefit of the Calder Act, $1560-00 and two months pay in lieu of notice, a total of $1900-00. I wrote to the Department several times asking why I was retired but got very little satisfaction: I also wrote to the Deputy Supt: General and asked the Hon: T.C.Norris to write to the Hon: Chas Stewart asking the reason why they let me out, the reply came back that they did not know except that the Commissioner had been complaining about me: Norris said it was Punk, he could see no reason why they should let me out and he is living right here and sees and knows the way the Indians were handled: he thinks there was politics behind it; he cannot understand why we were let out when we were doing good work there.

I am sorry to trouble you in regard to this but I think I got a cold deal and I would like to get a satisfactory reason why I was let out at the beginning of Winter and a single man put in my place. It is all the more galling as the Indians had a good crop this year and more Summer Fallowing done than they have had for some years past and I could have made a good showing this Fall if crops are the most essential thing.

If I am inefficient there are a good many men in the service who have no business there.

Trusting to hear from you in the near future and hoping that after the next election you will be the Premier of Canada,

Yours sincerely
Jas M. McDonald.

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4-3-25

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

C.H.GAUVREAU,

St. Paul, Alberta,

Telegram received re Saddle Lake Indian Reserve. Department advise no private sale but portion surrendered for sale to Soldier Settlement Board.

Arthur Meighen

COLLECT

NIGHT LETTER

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Ottawa, April 6, 1925.

Dear Dr. Gordon:

I have your letter of April 2nd. You are right in the presumption that Mr. O'Mera is not just the right man to make much of an appeal to me on behalf of the Indian tribes of British Columbia. I have not personal confidence in him. However, at your request I will certainly see him if he desires.

I will feel it an honour at any time to accede to any request you may make of me within my power at all, even though it will involve a great deal more than merely giving an interview to Mr. O'Mera.

Kind regards.

Yours very truly,

Rev. Charles W. Gordon, D.D., L.L.D.,
54 West Gate,
Winnipeg, Man.

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056092

~~THE COUNCIL OF INDUSTRY~~
FOR
THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, CANADA
ROOM 344 LEGISLATIVE BUILDING

~~CHAIRMAN: REV. CHARLES W. GORDON, D.D. L.L.D~~
~~COUNCIL: MR. W. J. PARKER~~
~~PROVINCIAL SECRETARY~~
~~MR. W. D. SIMPSON~~

54 West Gate,
WINNIPEG, Man.
April 2nd, 1925.

My dear Mr. Meighen,

I hope you will forgive me for intruding, even for a moment, upon your busy life.

My I earnestly ask your re-consideration of the case of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia, against primarily, the Provincial Government, and now immediately against the Dominion Government. Into the essential merits of the case, as regarding the treaty rights of the Indians, I shall not go. I only wish to say that the case has entered upon a new phase. The present Government, I regret to say, in my opinion, and with such information as I have, has not dealt quite openly and fairly with the Indians. They have made certain promises which they have not fulfilled. They have led the Indians to cherish certain hope of redress, which have not been realized, and I am convinced that at the present time the Indians are suffering an injustice.

I write now simply to ask whether you might allow either the Indians, those who are now in Ottawa on deputation, or Mr. O'Mera, their Solicitor, to put the case before you. I know that to ask you to receive Mr. O'Mera is asking a good deal. As an agent of the Indians, I do confess, he leaves something to be desired, but I have no doubt that your sense of humour will be sufficiently strong to allow you to grant him an interview. It is the cause for which I plead, not the man.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

Charles W. Gordon

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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281

Ottawa, Ont., 10th April, 1925.

Dear Miss Tye,

Thanks for your note of the 7th instant. I have made a memorandum to take this point up when the Indian estimates are under review.

Yours very truly,

Miss A. W. Tye,
Indian Commissioner's Office
Regina, Sask.,

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056094

Personal.

54 Canada Life Building,
Regina, Sask.
April 7th, 1925.

Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I have just been glancing through our Annual Blue Book for the year ended March 31st, 1924. On pages 12 and 13 reference is made to the Agricultural Operations in the Prairie Provinces, but it is significant that no mention is made of the Indian Commissioner, who has been responsible for all the progress that has been made. Inspectors and Agents are referred to in the general report ,- but the Commissioner simply does not exist, according to this report.

Yours very truly,

C W Tye

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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Indian Office, Regina.

April 14th,1925.

Dear Mr. Meighen,-

On our return from Winnipeg this morning I found in the mail your note of April 10th, a copy of your speech of March 19th and the book by Newbolt, for all of which I thank you. I had read a good deal of the speech in "Hansard" but intend to read more from the special copy.

We had a very lively holiday at the Fort Garry, as we have friends living there who simply gave up all their time to giving us a good time, and they were most successful.

I noticed that you were going to spend the week end at Toronto and I am sure you would enjoy that.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

A.W. Tye

P.S. Our Winnipeg friends are going to motor up next week for the Military Ball. We are going for sure this time and invited the dinner guests three weeks ago.

A.T.

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Ottawa, April 21, 1925.

Dear Miss Tye:

I received your personal letter of the 18th and also the correspondence which came to my house in your letter of the 17th. I am glad to have this information and will follow your suggestion not to bring the matter up unless it is precipitated by some one else.

not attached when filed

Kindest

Yours very truly,

Miss A.W. Tye,
Indian Commissioner's Office,
Regina, Sask.

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Regina, April 18th,1925.

Dear Mr. Meighen,- CONFIDENTIAL

I wish to give you a general outline of certain transactions that have caused and are continuing to cause a lot of worry to Mr. Graham.

Part of the Blackfoot reserve was surrendered and sold in 1911 and another sale took place in 1917. Some of the land was not sold and some of that which was sold has since reverted to the Department,owing to non-payment by the purchasers.

Some time ago the Department sent Mr. Graham a list of the lands that were for sale, giving the upset prices, and people who wrote to the Department wishing to buy land, were referred to Mr. Graham and told he was in charge of this matter.

Last November a man named Lyle came to Regina from Gleichen to but some of the land. We wired the Department regarding certain parcels he selected and received a telegram in reply giving approval to the sale if at or above the upset price. Lyle paid his initial payments and was given official receipts. Some of the land he bought was under lease and the Department approved of the rentals from such land being assigned to the purchaser.

Shortly after Lyle returned to Gleichen the lessees of one section sent an offer direct to Ottawa at $6.00 more than Lyle had paid. These lessees,The Thorssen Bros, had previously purchased land and had been notified that unless they paid up,the sales would be cancelled . They have not paid the arrears as yet and the amount is considerable. But, because they made a higher offer ,the Department wrote instructing that the sale to Lyle be cancelled and his money returned. This seemed a very unusual proceeding and when the facts were placed before the Minister in detail he agreed to let the sales remain in abeyance until Mr. Graham and an officer from the Department can go over the land and re-value it. But he did not agree to uphold the sales made by Mr. Graham and approved by the Department. The purchasers , having heard rumors of the proposed cancellations,have taken their case to Hon. R.B.Bennett . There were six sales and 3¼ sections involved. What Mr. Graham wanted was to have these sales upheld,owing to the nature of the transactions, and then make a survey of the rest of the land before selling any more. Those who bought land at the previous sales and paid more than the upset, think that their land should now be reduced in price, because some land is now being sold at the upset. It would not appear that they have any reason or right to expect this, but they have sent a representative to Ottawa and Mr. Garland will probably talk about this affair in the House. In the eventof his doing so I thought it only fair to Mr. Graham that you should be familiar with the facts of the case, but otherwise I would ask you to make no mention of the matter.

Thanking you,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

G. Tyr

P.S. The matter of selling these lands was placed in Mr. Graham's hands and in each case the sale was approved.

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056098

Regina, April 17th,1925.

Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I am enclosing copies of a few letters from a lot that have passed in connection with this matter. I am addressing them to you at home,as I wish them to be treated most confidentially and hope you will not even take them to the office, but destroy them after you have read and digested the contents. There is one men mentioned whom you know, and who is reported as having made certain insinuations against my Chief,and knowing,as I do, of certain uncomplimentary remarks he has made about other people,I can believe the reports. " An ounce of Loyalty is worth a pound of Cleverness". This land question will probably come up in Parliament and though my Chief does not know I am sending you these copies, I am sure he would like to have you familiar with the situation, or I would not send them. This appears to me to be the best way to give you the information but naturally I do not wish you to use it until someone else makes the first move. To some people life seems to be just one harrowing worry after another.

Yours very truly,

A. Tye

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056099

Form 6102, replacing Form 2A-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Day Message	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. CHAS. E. DAVIES, ACTING GEN'L MANAGER

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK
		Copy.

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Ottawa Nov. 27,1924.

W.M.Graham,
Indian Commissioner, Regina.

Replying your wire re West half eighteen Twenty-one; Twenty-four West Fourth Meridian, sale approved if at or above upset price.

D.C.Scott.

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056100

Form 6102, replacing Form 2A-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Day Message	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. CHAS. E. DAVIES, ACTING GEN'L MANAGER

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK
		Copy.

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Ottawa November 25th,1924.

W.M.Graham
Indian Commissioner, Regina, Sask.

Replying your wire recent date re section seventeen, township twenty range twenty-four West fourth Meridian. Sale approved by Department at upset valuation with exception of two acres in South East corner of this section which has been applied for by the Antrim school district of Vulcan Alberta.

Duncan C. Scott.

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056101

Copy.

No. 104B-1-41

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Canada. Ottawa, February 26, 1925.

Sir,-

re Sec. 18-21-24 W4M.

The above section was included in a list of sales referred to in our letter of the 23rd instant, and which the Department has decided to cancel by reason of the fact that the several parcels were sold at upset prices. Messrs Thorssen Bros., Gleichen, are at present the lessees of this section, and they have informed the Department that they are prepared to pay $23.00 per acre for the whole section, and as this is a substantial increase over the upset price, Messrs Thorssen Bros. might be advised to make application through your office to purchase this section 18, at $23.00 per acre, at the same time remitting the cash down payment of ten per cent for transmission to the Department. On receipt of such application together with required payment, the sale will be entered in our books in the name of thorssen Bros.

Your obedient servant,

J.D.McLean

W.M.Graham, Esq.,
Indian Commissioner,
Regina, Sask.

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056102

Copy.

Regina, March 7,1925.

401-6 C.

Dear Mr. Stewart ;-

I am enclosing copy of a letter which I have received from the Department dated 23rd February instructing me to return the cash payments made by recent purchasers of Blackfoot Lands, and at the same time inform them that the Department is not in position to approve these sales.

I do not see how this can be done in view of the fact that the sales were all made and approved at the price fixed by the Department at Ottawa, and the purchasers so advised more than three months ago. It is not as though the purchasers had made application and deposited a certain amount of money as evidence of good faith. The fact is, the land was sold at an agreed price and on agreed terms. The cash payment was made; official receipt was issued; and, in the case of leased land, our interest in the lease has been assigned(with one exception), and we cannot legally return the money and retire from the bargain in this casual manner. The men who have bought the land will not stand for such treatment, and we will have considerably more trouble than we now have if we attempt this.

The fact that no formally drawn agreement has been entered into will not legalize the Department's position in my opinion, as the sales are for the most part the result of correspondence which sets out terms etc., and the assignment of the lessors' interest in the leaae cites the sale of the land as the consideration for the assignment. Further, Mr. Lyle, who came to Regina and made personal enquiry with regard to lands for sale on the reserve, made the request that I have the sales approved at Ottawa by telegraph, and waited in this office for receipt of telegrams from the Department confirming the sales in which he is interested.

It has been represented to you that Mr. Lyle is a member of a real estate firm and is buying this land for re-sale at a profit, but I do not think that is altogether the case.Mr. Lyle is a farmer in the Gleichen district and he is Secretary of a School District of Farmers' organization of some kind in the neighborhood. His partners are two brothers-in-law who have also harvested crops that permit of the little investment, and while it is possible that they plan to re-sell some of the land they have purchased, I do not think they can be classed with the Calgary Real Estate firms who bought so much of the Blackfoot Lands at the sale in 1917. They are genuine farmers residing in the neighborhood of the lands they purchased.

Of the other purchasers, one is a local Bank Manager, and the other two are unknown to me in any capacity. There is no justification to my mind in trying to cancel these deals simply because Thorrsen Bros. desire to purchase the section they are located on. The land they are farming was available at the time they leased it,and Mr. Gooderham, to whom it appears they intimated their desire to purchase ,was aware of this and they could have bought it then or at any time since at the upset price. It was not until they knew it had been sold that thye discovered such an intense longing to own it, and now they have made offers of $21.00 and $23. per acre for a section that, according to all reliable information, is not worth more than the upset price. They have not put up any money of this land

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land as yet, and are badly in arrears for land they have already purchased on the Blackfoot Reserve. If these recent sales are cancelled, then it will become incumbent on the Department to cancel all the sales made at the upset price in the past year or two. We cannot equitably cancel sales made in and since November last and allow sales made, say in October and previous month to stand.

I have on file an offer of $30.00 per acre for the West half of 32-30-23 W4M Bleckfoot Reserve, which the prospective purchaser says was abandoned by the former owner in the Spring of 1923, and a man named C.R.Mitchell has had it in crop since, either by lease or other arrangement. As there is no lease of that land, or in the name of C.R.Mitchell, it o occurs to me that C.R.Mitchell bought the land from the Department direct. There are other sales of a like nature, and if the sales recently made through this office are cancelled, the offended parties will probably wish to know why sales made by the Department direct are allowed to stand.

I strongly urge you to allow these sales to stand, and in the meantime the balance of the unsold land can be revalued, and offers from occupants of land who wish to acquire their holdings can be considered and dealt with on the merit of each case.

The whole of the present trouble has arisen from Thorrsens' having made an offer of $5.00 per acre more than the upset price, and if they are able to complete a deal at this price, I would suggest that they be asked to use the money for the purpose of placing their present contract in good standing.

Tp sum up the whole matter ,these lands were sold at the upset price quoted by the Department, and no sales were made except by the approval of the Department, and cancellation of the sales is going to open up a larger field of trouble then we now have to contend with.

Yours sincerely,

Indian Commissioner.

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April 16th,1925.

Confidential

Dear Mr. Stewart,-

I am attaching hereto a letter I received from Mr. W.M.Lyle of Gleichen, which I think should be brought to your attention without delay, as the statements made by Mr. Ward regarding me cannot go unchallenged. I do not know how much truth there is in Mr. Ward's statements about what took place at Ottawa, but I am satisfied in my own mind that enough was said to give him the impression that I had lost the confidence of the Department and that my dealings in this matter were viewed with suspicion. If I am correct in this conclusion then there is only one course open for the Department to take,- to hold an investigation, as this matter cannot rest where it is. If Mr. Ward has misrepresented the Department or its officers at Ottawa,and has, on his own accord, made the statements that Mr. Lyle claims he has made, the only thing for me to do would be to take action for defamation of character. Lyle's letter was shown to my solicitors and it is on their advice that I send the original to you for your perusal. You will note that several times in his letter Lyle asks me not to let it go beyond my private files, but when such serious accusations are made against me I consider there is no other course open but to make use of it. I do not see how he could expect me to take no action when so much is at stake.

I have only seen Mr. Lyle once, for a few moments in my office,on my return from a trip West.

No doubt Mr. Ward has spread the alleged information

Hon. Chas. Stewart,
Supt. General of Indian Affairs,
Ottawa.

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information that he obtained at Ottawa, among the neighbors and friends in that district, and you can understand how necessary it is for me to clear away such an impression.

If Mr. Ward did get the information he claims to have gained, I have not the slightest doubt that he has communicated it to his representative in Parliament, who mill probably brings up the matter in the House of Commons, and I am in an awkward position. So far I have said nothing to anybody but yourself and my Solicitors, and it rests entirely with you to deny such statements should they be made.

It is most unfortunate that this whole affair has gone so far and the Department is becoming more deeply involved every day, when there is no reason for it whatever. The Department furnished me with a list of unsept prices on this land, which prices were considered to be about the real value of the land, and because one individual writes in after the Department have made a sale and offers more money, the approval which the Department gave to the sale by telegram, is withdrawn,- a most unusual proceeding.

In my letter to you of March 7th I dealt with the whole matter most carefully and it is not necessary to repeat all the details. Regarding the land sold to Mr. Mitchell by the Department, I am to-day in receipt of an offer of $35.00 for this land. I am enclosing a copy of the letter containing this offer . I am unable to answer Mr. Low's questions as to when the land was sold and what was paid for it, but I am certain it was less than the offer he now makes for it. If we cancel the sales recently made through this office simply because someone has come along and offered more for the land, it would certainly establish a precedent that might lead to endess trouble and complications.

To-day I received a letter from Mr. Lyle enclosing a copy of one written to Mr. Scott by Mr. R.B.Bennett, on the subject of the rumored cancellations. You will no doubt see this letter and it will therefore not be necessary for me to send you a copy.

Yours faithfully,

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056106

Copy.

Gleichen, Alberta.
April 12,1925.

W.M.Graham,Esq.,
Canada Life Building,
Regina,Sask.
Dear Mr. Graham,-

You will probably recall me as I visited your office last November after a considerable of correspondence regarding the purchase of Blackfoot Reserve Lands. Your records will show that my correspondence dates back to March 1924.

I wish to express to you my deep appreciation of the kindness that was shown me by you and your entire staff while there. Since I wished to have the deals completed before leaving your office Mr. Christianson,who was in charge during your absence,agreed to have the Department confirm the purchases at my expense by telegraph while I waited. This the Department did for him and later for you by telegraph.

Soon after my return to Gleichen the neighbors awoke that the land was purchased by us and they immediately became envious and offered the Department more than we paid (they were Messrs Leslie,Kelly,Martin,Thorssen Bros and others who already had large holdings of unpaid for Blackfoot land). During the winter we heard rumors at different times that the Department had asked these gentlemen to make bids on our lands but did not give the matter a second thought. It would appear to us that the Indian Agent encouraged them although I have not positive proff of this.

Seceral weeks ago a great many of the Contract Holders of the Blackfoot Reserve Land were threatened ny the Department of losing their land unless payments were made. This alarmed them and they organized and petitioned the Minister to reduce their purchase price and give them a longer term to pay. They sent as a delegate to Ottawa Mr. M.H.Ward,a local farmer, to plead their case. When Mr. Ward returned he had a long tale to tell regarding our purchases and what the Department was doing in connection.

In fairness to you I will give you a report of this to you FOR YOUR OWN PERSONAL FILE and request that this letter go no further.

Mr. Ward seems to have gotten all his information from one named Mr. Caldwell, whom he says is the head man in connection with selling Lands (although I have a letter dated March 1924 signed by Mr. Caldwell stating that you were in charge of selling the lands). Ward stated that Caldwell told him the following ' that he had refused to accept our purchases and has returned our initial payments to you ' ' that you had misrepresented the value of the lands to him in previous correspondence when you gave as your opinion that $15.00 per acre was enough for the lands of the Blackfoot Reserve and that it was for that reason they confirmed the sales by telegraph and later reconsidered when they found out the value placed by the other applicants' " that it appeared that we had bribed you to sell to us at the upset price' 'that you were suspected of having received large sums in connection with leases and etc. in the past' 'that you and Caldwell were at logerheads ' 'that Caldwell was going to show you this time who the boss was of selling reserve lands' ' that if our deals were to stand as made it would be harder to deal with the Land Contract Holders as they would all want a reduction and resale at the upset price ' !

It is very surprising that Caldwell would let a stranger read so much of the correspondence. Ward told of several letters that you had written in this connection that he must have read.

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It is queer that a Department official would tell tales about you as he must have done. Ward stated that every word that Gooderham wrote was believed without question.

Ward stated that letters were written stating that my brother-in-law R.B.Jones, his father G.T. Jones and myself had been represented to the Department as big Real Estate Speculate ors of Calgary. We are bona fide dirt farmers and expect to farm the best of the land we purchased as soon as we can get possession after the leases expire.

Our purchases are not the only sales made of Blackfoot lands privately since 1917. The three following parcels are in this neighborhood and were disposed of in this way namely W.½ 32 20 23, to C.R.Mitchell, SE 5 20 23 to J. McCann, NW 7 20 23 to M.H.Ward. Ward states that in connection with the Mitchell purchase the Department is rebating to the original purchaser for some reason several hundred dollars.

Mr. Ward's advise is for us to deal with Caldwell if we wish the lands we purchased as he is so Bull Headed that he would never give in to you. Ward states that he could have purchased our lands by paying a dollar or two above the upset price and we could so the same by dealing with Caldwell.

You will note there is some inconsistency in Ward's statements but I repeat them as he gave them. PLEASE DO NOT USE THIS LETTER FOR OTHER THAN YOUR PRIVATE FILE.

Respectfully

W.M.Byle

P. S. If there is anything that I could be of assistance please advise me.

W.M.L.

I again request you not to show this letter to Mr. Caldwell as it would get me in bad with my neighbor Ward if Caldwell went back on to him. I feel that you will appreciate my requests in this matter or I would not inform you as I have.

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Left by Mr O'Meara

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THE ALLIED INDIAN TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

MEMORANDUM

Prepared by General Counsel of Allied Tribes

16th June, 1925

As General Counsel of the allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia and in accordance with letter which on 4th May last the Clerk of the Privy Council addressed to the Chairman of allied Tribes, I am by this Memorandum placing before the Cabinet certain additional representations.

In course of interview had by the Delegates and myself with the Prime Minister on 25th April last, it being understood that the Deputy Superintendent-General had entered upon the preparation of a Memorandum presumably dealing with matters which were the subject of the Memorandum issued by the Delegates on 15th April and the Supplementary Memorandum issued by them on 23rd April together with matters which were the subject of papers previously presented on behalf of the allied Tribes, we asked that a copy of such Memorandum be furnished and an opportunity of replying be given.

In course of interview had by the Chairman of allied Tribes with the Minister of Interior on 28th April this matter was again mentioned, when the Minister gave assurance that the Memorandum of the Deputy Superintendent-General when completed would be available for reply. Copy of this Memorandum has not yet reached my hands.

I now beg to submit for consideration of the Cabinet the following as being outstanding papers which have been presented on behalf of the allied Tribes and have not yet been answered:-

1. Statement issued by the Committee of the Vancouver Indian Conference on 28th June 1916 and placed in the hands of the Government of Canada. This paper was sent also to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who by Despatch sent to the Governor-General asked that the

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Statement receive full consideration of the Government of Canada.

2. Memorial addressed by Counsel of Nishga Tribe on behalf of the Nishgas and the Tribes allied with them to the Government of Canada on 12th February 1918. The Minister of Justice sent letter promising full consideration of the contents of this paper.

3. Statement of the allied Tribes prepared for the Government of British Columbia and placed in the hands of both Governments in the month of December 1919.

4. Memorandum for the Government of Canada prepared by General Counsel of allied Tribes and placed in the hands of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior on 31st May 1922. Letter of the Prime Minister promising that all contents of this Memorandum would be considered by the Cabinet was received.

5. Memorandum prepared by Delegates and General Counsel of allied Tribes and placed in the hands of the Government of Canada on 29th February 1924.

6. Memorandum on subject of the Title of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia prepared by General Counsel of allied Tribes and despatched to the Minister of Interior on 6th May 1924.

7. Memorandum issued by Delegates of allied Tribes on 15th April 1925 and on that day placed in the hands of the Government of Canada.

8. Supplementary Memorandum issued by Delegates of allied Tribes on 23rd April 1925 and placed in the hands of the Prime Minister on 25th April.

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On behalf of the allied Tribes it is submitted that all the principal contents of the eight papers above mentioned are material for purposes of the thorough inquiry which the Cabinet has instructed the Sub-Committee to make. Also it is submitted that the allied Tribes are entitled to receive answer to all such material contents and to have opportunity of replying before the Cabinet shall take any action whatever regarding the Indian land controversy other than that of facilitating the securing of a hearing of the Indian case before the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council.

On behalf of the allied Tribes I beg to submit for consideration of the Government of Canada and all others concerned the following summary showing some chief features of the course of dealing with the Indian land controversy and the situation which has now arisen:-

1. Soon after British Columbia entered Confederation in the most authoritative possible way, namely by Report of the Minister of Justice adopted by the Governor-General in Council, it was conceded by Canada that the Indian Tribes of British Columbia have the territorial land rights claimed by them - the very rights now claimed by the allied Tribes - and that such rights were expressly preserved by the British North America Act and are an interest in all the lands of the Province under Section 109 of that Act.

2. Sir Wilfrid Laurier on behalf of Canada unconditionally promised that the Indian land controversy would be brought before the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, which promise the present Prime Minister of Canada declared to be sacred.

3. The Duke of Connaught on behalf of His Majesty the King, who under Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act has unlimited judicial authority for referring any matter whatever to the Judicial Committee, gave definite assurance that the Petition of the Nishga Indians would be considered by His Majesty in Council.

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4. As result of the assurance given by the Duke of Connaught together with correspondence subsequently had between the London Agents of the Nishga Tribe and the Lord President of His Majesty's Privy Council it has, as is submitted, been made perfectly clear that the Nishga Indians are entitled to proceed independently in His Majesty's Privy Council and to secure from the Judicial Committee judgment deciding the Indian land controversy, and that the only question affecting such right now remaining open is that of procedure.

5. The present Minister of Interior speaking on behalf of the Government of Canada at Vancouver in the month of July 1923 conceded that the allied Tribes are entitled to secure judgment of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council deciding the Indian land controversy and gave assurance that the Government of Canada would help them in securing such judgment.

6. Ever since in the month of July 1911 the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent to the Governor-General of Canada Despatch declaring that "an equitable solution of this troublesome case" should be brought about, the Indian Tribes of British Columbia have been advised steadily in the direction of a moderate settlement to be equitably arrived at and have advanced towards such settlement along every way open to them.

7. Since that time the Dominion of Canada and the Province of British Columbia have not advanced towards such settlement, but on the contrary have placed in the way of such settlement what the allied Tribes and those advising them have considered serious obstacles, notably the McKenna-McBride Agreement and the enactment of the Parliament of Canada known as Chapter 51 of the Statutes of the year 1920.

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8. The climax of the course so followed by the Dominion of Canada and the Province of British Columbia has been reached in the passing of the Order-in-Council of 19th July last, by which it has been made practically impossible to bring about an equitable settlement without judicial decision of the issues involved.

9. It is submitted on behalf of the allied Tribes that the statutory settlement consisting of the McKenna-McBride Agreement, the Report of the Royal Commission, and the provisions of the enactment of the year 1920, which by the passing of Orders-in-Council of the two Governments it has been attempted to make constitutionally and finally effective without the concurrence or consent of the Indian Tribes of the Province, when viewed as a connected whole, is a transaction wholly inequitable which it is not possible to justify upon any grounds of justice and reason.

10. The other and very different plan of settlement which has been presented on behalf of the allied Tribes from the constitutional point of view is founded upon the explicit words of the British North America Act and the explicit terms of a considerable number of judgments which have been delivered by the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council, and from the practical point of view is founded upon a very pronounced degree of moderation on the part of the allied Tribes.

For fully appreciating the situation which has thus arisen as viewed by the Indian Tribes, it is important to take into account three outstanding facts. One fact is that the conclusions above stated have been supported by exceedingly strong grounds set out in the papers, no meritorious answer to which has yet been furnished. A second fact is that in their last letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Canada that of 30th April the Delegates stated the main

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position taken by the allied Tribes in the following words:- "With regard to the scope of the work of the Sub-Committee, we trust that by our Supplementary Memorandum we have made absolutely clear that the allied Tribes consider that the passing of the two Orders-in-Council has made positively necessary that the Indian land controversy shall be decided by the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council." A third fact is that by the papers recently placed in the hands of the Government of Canada the Delegates have respectfully but firmly demanded fulfilment of the assurances regarding judicial decision which have been given.

Notwithstanding the facts just stated, by interviews had by the Chairman of allied Tribes with the Minister of Interior and in particular that of 28th April it was clearly shown that the Minister considers the chief work of the Sub-Committee of the Cabinet to be that of preparing conditions of settlement to be proposed by the Government of Canada and to be discussed with the allied Tribes.

Manifestly, as has been pointed out in my letter addressed to the Prime Minister on 27th May, so long as the Government of Canada is controlled by the enactment of the year 1920 as interpreted by the Deputy Minister of Justice, any such conditions cannot be materially different from those of the Order-in-Council of June 1914 which upon the occasion of every discussion it has been made clear that the Indian Tribes are not willing to accept.

The principle governing all those conditions is clearly shown by the following words quoted from the Memorandum issued by the Deputy Superintendent-General on 11th March 1914:- "It follows that the Indian title, when acknowledged by the Crown, cannot be separated from what the Crown elects to grant", and by the despatch relating to schemes suggested for adjusting the Indian land question officially issued at Ottawa on 17th January last, from which the following words are quoted:- "Anything that may be done, however, would be more as an act of grace than a recognition that the Tribes of British Columbia had any legal title or fee in the lands in question".

Beyond doubt it is a question of much importance, how conditions

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of settlement based upon the principle above mentioned that might be proposed by the Government of Canada will be regarded by the Indian Tribes. This question has been answered in advance by the interview which the Chairman and Secretary of the allied Tribes gave to the Vancouver Province in reply to the Ottawa despatch, which was published in the issue of 26th January last. From that interview the following words are quoted:- "The allied Tribes altogether repudiate the notion of acts of grace, and maintain that the taking of any such position on the part of the Government of Canada would be a grave breach of all assurances that have been given to them on behalf of Canada."

I beg to commend the words just quoted to the most serious attention of the Government of Canada and all others concerned. These words are an explicit repudiation of willingness to consider any scheme of settlement based upon abandonment of the case of the allied Tribes against the Province of British Columbia, and distinctly challenge the proposing of any such scheme of settlement as a breach of the assurances which have been given. I know well that these words express the actual mind of all the principal Tribes of British Columbia.

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THE ALLIED INDIAN TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM

NATURE AND EXTENT OF RIGHTS CLAIMED

To the question what extent of territory is included in the claims of the Indian Tribes our answer is that the whole or a large pmportion of the territory now known as British Columbia is included.

Before British Columbia entered Confederation, the whole of this territory was described in maps of official character and in the Imperial Statutes mentioned in our Memorandum as "Indian Territories". This whole territory at that time consisted literally and in the fullest sense of the words of Indian Territories. Each Tribe claimed full title over the whole territory of that particular Tribe. The title so claimed is founded upon the originally complete sovereignty of the Tribe which in case of nearly all British Columbia has not been ceded. In the days before the establishment of the Crown Colonies the Indian Tribes not only claimed but exercised both dominion and property rights over practically the whole of their respective territories.

When British Columbia entered Confederation Section 109 of the British North America Act was made applicable to all public lands with certain specific exceptions. By virtue of the application of this Section it was enacted that public lands belonging to the Colony of British Columbia should belong to the new Province. By virtue of the application of the same Section as explained by the Minister of Justice in January 1875 all territorial land rights claimed by the Indian Tribes were preserved and it was enacted that such rights should be an "interest" in the public lands of the Province. This was an explicit dealing with the land rights claimed by each Tribe in respect of the territory of that Tribe enacting that such rights should be a charge or burden upon the public lands of the Province.

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In answer to the question whether the Indian Tribes claim outright ownership we answer that they claim actual beneficial ownership, but do not claim absolute ownership in the sense of ownership excluding any title of the Crown. It is recognized by the allied Tribes that there is in respect of all the public lands of the Province an underlying title of the Crown, which title at least for present purposes we do not think it necessary to define.

The question what is meant by an "interest" we answer by quoting the following words of Lord Watson to be found in the Indian Claims Case - L. R. 1897 A. C. at page 210:- "An interest other than that of the Province in the same appears to them to denote some right or interest in a third party independent of and capable of being vindicated in competition with the beneficial interest of the old Province". In case of the territorial land rights of an Indian Tribe, the Indian Tribe is the third party and the beneficial title of the Tribe is an interest which is capable of being vindicated in competition with the title of the Crown in right of the Province.

For fuller answers to the questions above mentioned we beg to refer to the Memorandum on the subject "The Title of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia" prepared by the General Counsel of allied Tribes and placed in the hands of the Minister of Interior in the month of May 1924.

It is our desire that all matters above briefly dealt with together with all constitutional questions arising from our previous Memorandum, and requiring to be discussed shall be fully discussed between the Minister of Justice and the General Counsel of allied Tribes.

CONDITIONS OF EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT PROPOSED.

In answer to the view expressed by the Minister of Interior that we must come down to something concrete and say what the allied Tribes want, we beg to say that we have already done so most fully.

The Statement presented in the month of December 1919 and

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mentioned in our Memorandum contains in addition to a general presentation of the Indian case conditions of equitable settlement proposed by the allied Tribes and embodied in twenty paragraphs each of which is a carefully prepared and condensed statement of the particular matter dealt with. These conditions of equitable settlement will be found in printed pamphlet issued by allied Tribes copies of which are in the hands of the Government of Canada.

Upon occasion of interview had with the Minister of Interior at Vancouver on 27th July 1923 the Minister requested that the Executive Committee meet the Deputy Minister and the Chief Inspector and in course of his remarks then made said:-

> "Please bear in mind our officials all want to go into "the matter, and want to sit down and discuss your representa-"tions frankly and openly with you, not with the idea of sign-ing their names to a final settlement, but merely as a means "of seeing if our officials and your committee could arrive at "something definite. Then if the Provincial authorities did "not come in, we could at least go to them and say, this is "the position, and see if an adjustment could not be made."

Upon occasion of interviews which in pursuance of the Minister's request were had at Victoria in the following month the Indian Case was restated and detailed explanations of the conditions of equitable settlement which had been proposed were furnished. The official stenographic report of those interviews occupies 274 pages. Upon that occasion the Deputy Minister in course of his concluding remarks said:-

> "Mr. Kelly, and gentlemen of the allied Tribes, we have "listened throughout this conference with very great interest "to the presentation of your case. And I think, now that we "have it in a volume, and with the particularity in which we "have never had it before, that in itself is highly useful."
>
> ---
>
> "When the report is in our hands I will submit it to the "Minister, and it will be fully and carefully considered."

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To the present time the Government of Canada has given no answer either to the conditions of equitable settlement proposed by the allied Tribes or to the report of the interviews had at Victoria.

By Memorandum which was presented on behalf of the allied Tribes to the Government of Canada on 29th February 1924 the Indian case was again restated. In particular that Memorandum set out reasons supporting the contention of allied Tribes that it is impossible to justify the position taken by the Province of British Columbia during more than fifty years, that of denying that the Indian Tribes of British Columbia have the territorial land rights claimed by them or any title whatever to their territories. Also that Memorandum set out summary of the chief grounds upon which the allied Tribes opposed the passing of Order-in-Council adopting the Report of Royal Commission.

By paragraphs 23 and 24 of the Memorandum last mentioned a definite plan for bringing about a radical change on the part of the Province of British Columbia was brought before the Government of Canada.

The only answer which the Government of Canada has given to the Memorandum presented on 29th February 1924 has been the passing of the Order-in-Council of 19th July 1924.

We beg to state that upon occasion of the meeting of the Executive Committee held in January last the main decision unanimously reached was that the allied Tribes enter seriously upon the work of establishing the rights claimed by them and make clear to all concerned that this is the work to which exclusively the allied Tribes will devote themselves. In pursuance of that decision were adopted the resolutions of the Executive Committee of which the Government of Canada has already been informed.

In view of all that has been above set out we think all that is now necessary is to formally present to the Government of Canada the attached pamphlet, on pages 11,12,13,14 and 15 of which will be found the conditions of equitable settlement which were proposed, together

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with the report of the interviews had at Victoria which is in the hands of the Minister of Interior.

We shall be pleased to furnish any particular explanation regarding any one of the conditions above mentioned that may be desired.

OUR RELATION TO SETTLEMENT.

In all the past the objective of the allied Tribes of their Executive Committee and of their General Counsel has been equitable settlement of the Indian land controversy.

Towards this objective we have advanced along our own road that of our case in His Majesty's Privy Council. Towards same objective we have been willing to advance along the Government of Canada's road that of discussion of terms of settlement.

At the present time our objective is the same, but the Government of British Columbia has passed Order-in-Council and the Government of Canada has passed Order-in-Council both adopting the Report of the Royal Commission. Facing these two Orders, passed in fulfilment of the McKenna-McBride Agreement which provides that the carrying out of its stipulations shall be a "final adjustment of all matters relating to Indian affairs in the Province of British Columbia", we see clearly that our own road is the only one that is open to us. We see clearly that now it is not possible to bring about a radical change on the part of the Province of British Columbia except by a judgment of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council establishing the rights of the Indian Tribes.

In the future our objective will continue to be the same. Also the concrete and definite general plan of settlement which will be found to be contained in the conditions

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proposed by the allied Tribes will be available for accomplishing equitable settlement as soon as a general basis of settlement shall have been provided by the establishing of the rights of the Indian Tribes.

When that time shall arrive the Executive Committee and the General Counsel, as we are firmly convinced, will advise that every Indian Tribe in British Columbia agree to moderate terms of settlement.

NECESSITY OF SAFEGUARDING RIGHTS

Our previous Memorandum has we think made clear the necessity of securing an enactment by which it shall be declared that Section 2 of the Statute Chapter 51 of the year 1920 was not intended for taking away or prejudicially affecting the aboriginal rights of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia.

Upon occasion of the meeting of Executive Committee of allied Tribes above mentioned the delegates were instructed to seek to secure such enactment by bringing the matter before the Senate and House of Commons in such particular way or ways as should be found desirable.

This matter has already been brought before the Government of Canada by means of the first and second questions presented on 15th instant.

We now ask that the Government either introduce the necessary Bill or facilitate securing otherwise the desired enactment.

THE URGENT NECESSITY OF IMMEDIATE ACTION

The allied Tribes ask serious attention to the fact

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that the Indian land controversy has been before the Parliament of Canada and Governments of Canada throughout many years. They ask serious attention to the intense and widespread dissatisfaction among the Indians of British Columbia which has arisen from the prolonged delay experienced in seeking to secure decision of the fundamental issue involved, dissatisfaction which has been greatly increased by the passing of the Order-in-Council of July last and will be further increased by every day 's delay that may be experienced in securing a hearing of the Indian case before the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council.

OTTAWA
23rd April 1925

"Peter R.Kelly"
Chairman

"Andrew Paull"
Secretary

"George Matheson"

DELEGATES OF ALLIED TRIBES.

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Ottawa, 20 février, 1926.

M. Paul Gill,

Odanak,

P.Q.

Indian Affairs
to acknowledge
6 6 1 C. 1 4 2/+

Cher Monsieur:

J'ai votre lettre du 15 avec son contenu. Vous pouvez réaliser que n'étant pas au pouvoir actuellement il n'y a pas beaucoup que nous pourrons faire par rapport au sujet mentionné dans votre communication. Cependant si cette question est discutée à la Chambre des Communes nous la donnerons notre meilleurs considération.

Votre tout dévoué,

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Honorable Arthur Meighen, Chef
de L'Opposition,
Ottawa,
Ont.

Honorable Monsieur,

Nous, les soussignés, Chef et conseillers de la Tribu des Abenakis de St-François, exposons humblement au Gouvernement la question suivante avec prière de la prendre en serieuse considération.

En Décembre 1924, une requête fut présentée au Conseil de la Tribu des Abenakis par laquelle la Fabrique Catholique de Pierreville demandait l'autorisation d'acquérir un certain terrain de la Réserve pour l'agrandissement du cimetière de la dite fabrique catholique de Pierreville; la grandeur de terrain demandé, d'apres les plans fournis alors, comprenait une etendue de dix a douze acres de terre. Ce chiffre était exagéré et on nous a informé plis tard qu'il y avait erreur dans les plans, mais que c'etait bien une moyenne de six acres que l'on désirait acquérir. Après deliberations sur cette question, il fut décidé de disposer en leur faveur d'une étendue de deux et demie a trois acres de terre, chose qui est très raisonnable considérant la grandeur de leur cimetière actuel.

Il fut convenu alors que les marguillers de la Fabrique de Pierreville devaient rencontrer le Conseil de la Tribu pour en venir a une entente quant a la grandeur de terrain a disposer et les conditions de marché; ces négociations n'ont pas encore eu lieu pour la raison que les marguillers de Pierreville n'ont pas convoqué le Conseil de la Tribu a cette fin.

Aujourd'hui on soulève la question de nouveau et on dit a qui veut l'entendre que la Fabrique de Pierreville a fait arpenter le terrain de la Réserve pour l'agrandissement de leur cimetière et que ce dit terrain arpenté couvre une

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superficie de Sept acres;on nous informe en plus que la question est entre les mains du député fédéral d'Yamaska qui doit entamer négociations avec le Gouvernement Fédéral pour l'acquisition du dit terrain en question;et cela à notre insu et même contre notre consentement,on parle meme de faire appliquer la loi dite "loi d'expropriation".

Notre attitude sur cette question est celle-ci;Nous refusons de vendre toute partie de notre terrain que ce soit pour fins de cimetière ou autres et cela pour la simple raison qu'il nous est impossible de vendre.La réserve que nous habitons nous ne l'occupons qu'a titre de location et non a titre de propriété.Ce lopin de terre nous a été octroyé par les seigneurs de St François et Pierreville avec la condition d'y maintenir une mission catholique et advenant le jour ou cette mission disparaîtra,la dite réserve retournera aux dits seigneurs ou héritiers pour leur appartenir comme auparavant le présent acte. (Voir l'Acte de Donation ci-inclus).

Bien que ,d'un côté,nous ne puissions point aliener nos propriétés pour les raisons ci-haut mentionnées,d'un autre cote, reconnaissant la légitimité de leur demande,au moins en partie, nous sommes prêts a entrer en négociations avec la Fabrique Catholique de Pierrevillepourvu que celle-ci ait la délicatesse de passer par la filière réguliere et venir traîter ouvertement avec les intéressés.

On nous menace d'expropriation,cette mesure arbitraire, dans le présent cas,n'a pas sa raison d'être,et nous ne reconnaitrons pas un tel procédéque,dans les circonstances,nous considérons comme frauduleux et malhonnête.Le terrain de la Réserve en question est contigu au cimetière de Pierreville, il constitue une pointe de terre enviable et envié par les canadiens de Pierreville.Depuis déja de nombreuses années on tente de s'emparer de ce terrain et encore tout dernierement en 1920 ou 1921,une requête signée par un certain nombre de contribuables de Pierreville fut adressée au Senateur Blondin,

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alors Ministre de Postes dans le cabinet Meighen,lui demandant de vouloir bien se faire l'interprete aupres du Departement Indien pour l'achat d'un certain terrain de la Réserve dans le but d'y bâtir un Collège.En réponse a cette demande,le Departement Indien leur conseilla de rencontrer les membres de la Tribu et de s'entendre avec eux.Aujourd'hui la tentative est repétée,mais cette fois, avec une question d'apparence plus importante, le cimetière,croyant par ce moyen mieux y reussir.

Le but de nos voisins de Pierreville dans les démarches qu'ils font depuis de nombreuses années pour s'emparer des terrees de la Réserve n'est pas tant avec l'intention d'y batir des Collèges ou agrandir des Cimetieres que D'etendre leur domaine et faire de la spéculation avec nos terres.La raison de nos prétentioms est basée sur les tentatives récentes.Une preuve d'arrière-pensée dans leur demande est que l'étendue de terrain exigé par eux pour l'agrandissement de leur cimetière,soit sept acres, est exhorbitant;après s'etre enquis aupres des autorites de St-François et de La Baie sur l'étendue de leur propre cimetière,nous avons jugé que 2½ a 3 acres de terre ajouté au cimetieze actuel de Pierreville est suffisnat pour plusieurs générations, en pratiquant l'economie de terrain bien entendu. (Voir résolution du Conseil ci-incluse).

D'après les plans projetés le cimetière en question devra comprendre de grandes avenues et des carrés ou lots semblables aux cimetieres de villes;l'idée est bonne,louable même,mais pratique qu'en autant les moyens le permettent.Nos voisins de Pierreville veulent se payer le luxe d'un cimetière-parc avec ce qu'il y a de plus moderne et ne ont pas le terrain nécessaire a leur disposition;ils ne peuvent accomplir cette entreprise sans acquérir des propriétés etrangères,sans morceler notre réserve que nous tenons a conserver intacte et de plus voulant nous remunérer par une base d'évaluation agricole soit une moyenne de $35 a $40 L'acre,Ce prodédé est ridicule et nous ne l'accepterons pas comme marché juste et équitable.En disant que la

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Fabrique de Pierreville n'a pas de terrain a sa disposition nous devons daire erreur puisque du coté Est du cimetière elle possède des propriétés sur lesquelles elle prélève des rentes.

Pourquoi n'agrandit-elle pas le cimetière de ce côté la? Est-ce ~~que~~ parceque elle sera obligé de faire de l'expropriation qui entrainera des dépenses trop considerables? C'est pour cette raison que l'on veut pénétrer sur la réserve sous pretexte que ça coutera moins cher,et meme que l'on pourra se procurer pour presque rien.Non,les prétentions de nos voisins de vouloir nous exploiter sont trop révoltantes pour demeurer impassibles.

Plus que jamais nous réalisons notre droit de propriété et si la Fabrique de Pierreville trouve nos conditions trop fortes et qu'elle prétends ne pas avoir les moyens de répondre a nos demandes,elle n'aura qu'a chercher un lieu ou elle pourra exploiter plus économiquement,ou encore abandonner ses projets de luxe et suivre l'exemple de ses voisines de St-Francois et de La Baie,pratiquer l'économie de terrain de son cimetière actuel.

Pourquoi tenons-nous à conserver notre territoire intact? Parcequ'~~elle~~ il constitue pour nous notre unique avoir notre unique patrimoine.Qu'est pour nous,Abenakis,la réserve de St-François? Un lambeau précieux du riche domaine octroyé a nos ancêtres par les seigneurs de St Francois et de Pierreville.Ce vaste terrain comprenant en 1700,dix-huit milles carrés de superficie, il ne nous reste a peine aujourd'hui que quelques centaines d'acres.Où sont les autres milliers d'acres manquant au domaine? tout ou a peu près a été volé,spolié ou acquis d'une maniere frauduleuse;abusant de l'ignorance et de l'imprévoyance de nos ancêtres,les blancs se sont emparés de leurs biens moyennant une pièce de ferblanc ou une bouteille d'eau-de-vie.

En face de cette exploitation malhonnête de nos terrains par les blancs;est-il surprenant que nous tenions tant a conserver le peu qui nous reste ~~et~~ en évaluant nos propriétés a un haut prix.Nous évaluons nos terres non pas sur une base

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dévaluation agricole mais bien au point de vue de l'avantage du site.Ces terrains contigus au village de Pierreville sont avantageux comme site a bâtir et dans un avenir prochain,alors que Pierreville se développera,ces terrains acquerront de la valeur.Nous ne voulons pas nous départir de nos propriétés, au contraire, nous avons tout interet a les conserver.

Comme conclusion pratique de nos prétentions, voici ce que nous déclarons.Nous sommes formellement opposés a toute vente de terrain de la réserve,que ce soit pour fins de cimetière ou autres.Nous ne prenons pas la responsabilité d'aliener une propriété qui ne nous appartient pasmais que nous ne detenons qu'a titre de location.Nous refusons de reconnaitre,dans les circonstances,l'application de la loi d'expropriation que nous considérons comme systeme frauduleux et malhonnête.

Mais pour être conciliants avec nos voisins,nous serions disposés a céder une certaine étendue de terrain de la réserve pour fins de cimetière seulement,moyennant bail,nous leur louerons une grandeur raisonnable moyennant rente annuelle de tant de l'acre, avec une clause a l'effet que le terrain en question restera a leur disposition aussi longtemps qu'il servira aux fins de cimetière;et le jour ou pour une raison ou pour une autre, le cimetière serait transféré ailleurs,nous reprenons possession de nos terres.Ces conditions sont acceptables et si les Pierreviliens sont de bonne foi et n'ont pas d'arrière-pensée dans leur projet, ils devront accepter ces marchés.

Le terrain sur lequel est bâti le village de Pierreville faisait partie de notre seigneurie et les détenteurs de ce terrain ne s'en departissent pas, mais prelèvent une rente annuelle sur une base de $40.00 l'acre.Pourquoi n'aurions-nous pas l'avantage d'agir de la même maniere vis-a-vis de nos terres.Nous soumettons cette question au Gouvernement Fédéral avec prière de la prendre en serieuse considération.Le sujet en question peut paraitre de peu de valeur,considérant qu'il ne s'agit que de quelques acres de terres,mais le principe du respect des droits de propriétés

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et la protection des minorités est d'une importance vitale. Le danger pour nous est grand et si le Gouvernement autorise une telle(consideration) concession malgré notre consentement et contrairement a nos prétentions,cet acte constituera un précédent terrible et ouvrira la porte a une exploitation désastreuse de nos terres,EN vue d'une issue favorable pour nous et d'un jugement rendu au mérite de la cause,nous suggérons au Gouvernement de nommer un commissaire-enquêteur qui devra s'enquérir sur les lieux du bien-fondé de la demande de la Fabrique de Pierreville et les raisons que nous avons a faire valoir sur la question.

Espérant que notre humble requête sera écoutée favorablement et que le Gouvernement y appostera toute l'attention qu'elle mérite.

Nous avons l'honneur de nous dire,

Vos respectueux,

ODANAK,QUE,

Fevrier,15 1926.

Napoleon R Obomsawin Chef

Ambroise Obomsawin conseiller

Alexandre P. Wawanolett "

Paul Gill "

Charles Nolett "

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Nous, les soussignes, membres de la Tribu des Abenakis, reunis en assemblee dans la salle du Conseil ce seize Fevrier 1925

Ayant pris connaissance d'une requete presentee par la Fabrique catholique de la Paroisse de St Thomas de Pierreville demandant a acheter un terrain de la reserve d'une superficie de six(6) arpents carres plus ou moins pour les fins d'agrandissement du cimetiere canadien.

Considerant que le terrain demande pour les fins susmentionnees est la propriete de deux membres de la Tribu: Philippe Nolett et Dame Veuve Joseph Laurent.

Considerant que la question de disposer d'un certain terrain de la reserve pour l'agrandissement du cimetiere en question a ete longuement discutee et que nous reconnaissons la legitimite de cette demande.

Considerant que nous tenons a conserver le peu de terrain qui nous reste, mais d'un autre cote reconnaissant la necessite d'un agrandissement du cimetiere actuel de Pierreville; nous ne voulons pas etre un obstacle a la realisation d'un projet aussi legitime, tout en nous montrant raisonnables et de bon compte avec nos voisins.

En consequence il est propose par le conseiller Charles Nolett, seconde par le conseiller Ambroise Obomsawin et appuye par les membres de la Tribu:

Qu'en consideration des raisons ci-haut mentionnees, Nous sommes en faveur de disposer d'une etendue de terrain de deux et demie a trois (2½ a 3) acres, plus ou moins, suivant le plan presente par la fabrique de Pierreville, pour les fins d'agrandissement du cimetiere en question SEULEMENT, a la condition toutefois, qu'il y ait, au prealable, entente sur la question du prix pour le dit terrain, entre la Tribu et la Fabrique de Pierreville.

Le principe de disposer d'un terrain pour les fins ci-haut mentionnees est accepte qu'en autant il aura accord sur le prix pour le dit terrain entre la Tribu et la Fabrique de Pierreville.

ODANAK, QUE, 16 Fevrier 1925.

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Par devant les notaires,garde-notes du Roy a Montreal en Canada,soussignes,Monseigheur le Chevalier de Callieres,Gouverneur et Lieutenan General pous le Roy en ce pais,et Monseigneur de Champigny,Conseiller du ROY en ses conseils intendant de justice,police et finance au dit pais,ayant pour le service du Roy et l'avantage de la colonie juge a propos de faire etablir sur la terre et seigneurie de St Francois,les sauvages Abenakis et Sokoquis avec des missionnaires Jesuites pour l'exercice de la religion parmi les dits sauvages dont la plupart sont chretiens,nos dits seigneurs ont presentement fait connoistre leur intention a Damoiselle Crevier,Marguerite Hertel,veuve de Jean Crevier seigneur de la dite terre de St-Francois tant en son nom que comme tutrice des enfants mineurs du dit defunt et d' ELLE?ET A Joseph Crevier de St Francois reforme d'une Compagnie de detachement de la marine,fils majeur des dits sieurs et damoiselle Crevier a ce present,lesquels m'y deferant ont par ces presentes concede aux dits sauvages Abenakis et Sokoquis,et le reverend Pere Jacques Bigot,de la Compagnie de Jesus,leur missionnaire a ce present et acceptant pour eux une demye lieue de terre de front a prendre au bout d'en haut de la dite seigneurie de St Francois des deux costes de la riviere sur toute la profondeur de la dite terre avec les Islee et Islets qui sont sur la dite riviere par le travers de la dite demye lieue.Pour en jouir par les dits sauvages pendant tout le temps que la mission que les peres Jesuites y vont etablir pour les dits sauvages y subsistera.Et la dite mission cessante,la dite demye lieue presentement concedee en l'etat que les dites terres seront alors retournera a la dite damoiselle Crevier es dits noms et au dit sieur son fils ou a leurs heritiers pour leur appartenir comme auparavant le present titre.Et en ce cas qu'il se trouve des terres sur la dite demye lieue ou il y ait du foin qui ne soient point occupees par les dits sauvages,la dite damoiselle Crevier et le dit sieur son fils les pourront faire occuper pour leur profit,comme aussi s'il arrive que les dits sauvages abandonnent des terres qu'ils auront mises envaleur sur la dite demye lieue ne voulant plus les occuper,la dite damoiselle Crevier et le dit sieur son fils les

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pourront faire valoir a leur profit.Et en consideration de la presente concession faite sans aucune charge de rente ou autre la dite damoiselle Crevier es dit nom et le dit sieur son fils auront la liberte d'avoir une maison proche le fort des dits sauvages.pour laquelle et pour un jardin et un enclos ils reservent deux arpents de terre en superficie et de prendre le bois qui sera necessaire pour construire la dite maison et pour le chauffage dans icelle, dans laquelle maison ils pourront faire faire et debiter aux dits sauvages du pain et autres denrees provenant des terres du pais sans qu'aucun autre Francois puisse avoir cette liberte sur la dite demye lieue,ni d'y faire aucun batiment,sinon les missionnaires pour leur logement et leur utilite.Et en ce cas que les habitations de Pierre et Jean-Baptiste Gamelin se trouvent en tout ou en partie sur la dite demye lieue,les dits sauvages n'y pourront rien pretendre, les cens et rentes que les dits Gamelin en payent demeureront a la dite damoiselle Crevier et au dit sieur son fils.Car ainsi a ete convenu.Promettant,obligeant et renoncant,etc.

Fait et passe au dit Montreal en l'hotel de Mon dit seigneur le Gouverneurl'an Mil Sept Cent le Vingt-Troisieme d'Aoust apres midy et ont nos dits seigneurs gouverneur et intendant,la dite damoiselle Crevier et le dit sieur son fils et le dit Pere Bigot signe avec les dits notaires.

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CANADA

056132

Ottawa, February 20, 1926.

Dear Sir:

Herewith is a letter Mr. Meighen has received from B.E. Christmas, Indian Chief at Sydney, Nova Scotia, with regard to the necessity of completing the new reserve which was started last year. In his reply Mr. Meighen has stated that he would bring this matter to the attention of the Department.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

D.C. Scott, Esq.,
Deputy Supt. General,
Department of Indian Affairs,
Ottawa, Ont.

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CANADA

056133

281

Ottawa, February 20, 1926.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 17th instant reached me this morning. You may rest assured I shall give to this subject my very best attention when it comes before the House of Commons. You will realize, of course, that the responsibility of introducing an item for this matter lies with the Dominion Government and that, being in opposition, there is very little I can do to influence them in that direction. However, in the meantime I am taking the matter up with the Department of Indian Affairs.

Yours very truly,

B.E. Christmas, Esq.,
Indian Chief,
Sydney, N.S.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056134

281

Ottawa, Ont., 24th February, 1926.

Dear Sir,

With further reference to my letter of the 20th instant, I have today received word from the Department of Indian Affairs that it is their intention to continue operations this year to the extent of funds made available for the purpose.

Yours very truly,

B. E. Christmas, Esquire,
Sydney, N.S.

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DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
CANADA

OFFICE OF THE
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT GENERAL
OTTAWA

February 22nd. 1926.

Dear Sir,

I have your letter of the 20th. instant with enclosure from Mr. B. E. Christmas, of Sydney.

Last year we commenced work on the erection of dwellings for the Indians on the new reserve. We propose to continue operations this year to the extent of funds made available for the purpose.

Yours very truly,

Duncan C. Scott

Deputy Superintendent General.

A. W. Merriam, Esq.,
Private Secretary to the
Leader of the Opposition,
Ottawa.

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CANADA

056136

281

Ottawa, Feb. 26, 1926.

R. Carter, Esq.,
25 Walnut St.,
Brantford, Ont.

Dear Mr. Carter:

Your letter of the 25th reached me to-day. Most of the representations in your communication refer to matters which are entirely within the control of the provincial Government. For information on these subjects you should address your communication to the Leader of the Ontario Government.

With regard to the expense of the Indian Department this information could be obtained by securing from the King's Printer copy of the Auditor-General's report. There would be a nominal charge for this report but you would get the details of the expenditure by the Indian Department.

Yours very truly,

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Brantford Feb. 25-26

Hon. Arthur Meighen Esq. 056137

Dear Sir

I received you letter some time ago. I was glad to hear from you. I am writing you again on some other matters which should receive attention

Now in regard to the automobile license do you think it just that a person not using their car from November till about April or May should pay the same license as the party that uses their car the year around.

In regard to the Garnishee do you consider this a just proposition. Now there

056138

is a lot of this kind of thing done in the winter I think there should be a law to prevent this being done in the winter as the majority of the working class have all they can do to keep things going without having this extra expense tacked on to them.

The next one is in regard to the bailiff another class that cause considerable hardship to the people for the benefit of the money sharks.

To my mind these two things should be

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done away with and a
Municipal Court
established to investigate
cases instead of robbing
people to pay some
sivel chair artists as is
the case now.

I am also pleased to
note by your letter that
you intend doing some
thing for Labour which
is badly needed I assure
you as conditions are
in a terrible state. If
you intend coming to
the country again if you
want the Labour Support
put up a good stiff
fight for their benefit

056140

In regard to working
hours. I think most of
the workers will agree
with me that Eight hours
is enough to be tied up
for the sivel chair artists
benefit.

The Massey Harris firm
are paying the magnificent
sum of 32 cts. an hour.
and the Industrial workers
are expected to raise a
family and pay rent
which is impossible
in most instances besides
his other expenses

Does it not occur
to you that there should

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be a law established
to compel. living wage
to be paid all classes
of workers.
A Fair Wage. Clause.
The wages should be
set at a living scale
not set so the undertaker
is waiting at the door
of Labourer for a job
Caused by starvation
I also note by the
press that it costs
$3. 000. 000. to run the
Indian dipatment
Would you inform
me where this is all
spent as it looks to me

056142

a pretty big sum for
one department.
Is there some more
investigating needed here
like the customs?
Could you inform me
by whose orders the
Mounties are at the
Reserve and who is
paying for them being
there?
I am in receit of
some literature from the
Government. And I note
some statements in same
of some of the advertising
done by some of the
English papers.
Could you inform me

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who authorized those same items to be printed?

I received a letter from the Premier in regard to the land settlement Policy for the Canadians stating it would be taken up by the Government.

Has anything been done in this in the House?

There should also be a law passed to compel all employers of out door Labour to furnish water proof clothing such as Hats. Coats. and boots.

Hoping it will not be asking to much of

056144

by asking these favors

I remain

Yours Truly

Mr. R. Carter

23 Walnut St

Brantford

Ont.

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CANADA

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

4 3 25

C.H.Gauvreau,

St. Paul, Alta.

Telegram received re Saddle Lake Indian Reserve. No private sale but portion surrendered for sale to Soldier Settlement Board.

Arthur Meighen

COLLECT

NIGHT LETTER

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CANADA

056146

Form 6122
Replacing Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. W. G. BARBER, General Manager

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

RA208 66 COLLECT BLUE

STPAUL ALTA 3 NFT 1925 MAR 3 PM 3 03

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 203

OTTAWA ONT

A PORTION OF SADDLELAKE INDIAN RESERVE HAS BEEN SURRENDERED TO THE KING GOVERNMENT TO BE THROWN OPEN TO SETTLERS MYSTERY IS SURROUNDING THIS TRANSACTION PLEASE WIRE IMMEDIATELY WHAT PORTION HAS BEEN THROWN OPEN AND ALSO WHAT THE GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO DO WITH IT THERE IS A RUMOR THAT IT IS BEING SOLD PRIVATELY TO A SYNDICATE AND THE WHOLE POPULATION HERE OPPOSED TO PRIVATE SALE

C H GAUVREAU

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

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CANADA

056147

281

Ottawa, March 9, 1926.

Dear Mr. Parkinson:

Your night letter with regard to the Saddle Lake reserve reached me yesterday. I immediately took up the question with the Department and find that they are now dealing with the telegram received from yourself. The Department inform me that they are taking steps to procure the detailed facts and that no precipitate action will be taken. In the meantime your representations to them are receiving every consideration.

Yours very truly,

W.S. Parkinson, Esq.,
Pres., Owlseye Conservative Assn.,
Strathcona, Alta.

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056148

FORM T.D. 1 X.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY'S TELEGRAPH

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

1.RA.Z. 1.12AM,

35 N.L., 4 EX. ON STRATHCONA, ALBERTA MAR 6-7-26

PHONED

328

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN,

OTTAWA.

RE SADDLELAKE RESERVE PLEASE USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO PREVENT CONTRACTS BEING ISSUED FORTHE SAID LAND UNTIL DETAILED FACTS COVERING ALL--EGED ILLEGAL PURCHASES REACH YOU.ONE NON FARMER BUYING NINETEEN QUARTERS.

OWLSEYE CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION,

W. S. PARKINSON .PRESIDENT.

Phoned W C Scott getting facts upon action

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CANADA

056149

281

Ottawa, April 2, 1926.

Dear Mr. Hendry:

I have your letter of the 29th March. I would indeed be glad if Dr. Harvey Hassard, who served so efficiently while Medical Officer for the School, could be reinstated. I would think, however, the Government would hardly reinstate him merely because his politics do not suit them. I suggest that you write personally to the Deputy Superintendent General and explain to him the exceptionally capable services Dr. Hassard rendered and ask if it would not be possible for the good of the School to have him reappointed. My impression is that these appointments are made by the Minister direct and not by the Civil Service Commission. Having written this letter you might then advise me and I may find it possible to put in a word to the same effect.

Yours very truly,

W.A. Hendry, Esq.,
Supt., Indian School,
Portage la Prairie,
Man.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056150

Indian School,
Portage la Prairie, Man.,
March 29th, 1926.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.,
Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I understand that Dr. Geo Hassard who is our present medical officer at the school, is leaving town and the position will be vacant.

Do you think that anything could be done to have Dr. Harvey Hassard our former Medical Officer reinstated?

The best service we ever had in the school was that given by Dr. Harvey Hassard and the use of the clinic of which he is connected was of great value to the institution.

If Dr. Harvey Hassard were to return as Medical Offis it would be greatly appreciated by the school.

I am, Very truly yours,

W. S. Hendry
Supt.

The Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.,

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056151

281

Ottawa, Apr. 9, 1926.

Dr. H.J. Hassard,

Portage Medical & Surgical Clinic,

Portage la Prairie, Man.

Dear Dr. Hassard:

I have your letter of the 5th instant. Mr. Hendry wrote me some days ago asking me to do everything I could to have you appointed to the school work. I have made a suggestion to him which I think will enable me to co-operate. I certainly will be glad to do anything within my power.

Yours very truly,

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056152

DR. H. J. HASSARD

DR. G. P. ARMSTRONG

The Portage Medical and Surgical Clinic

P.O. BOX 137

NEWMAN BLOCK, EAST

TELEPHONE 175

Portage la Prairie, Man., April 5th/26

Hon Arthur Meighen.
Ottawa.

Dear Sir.

Dr Geo A Hassard is leaving Portage la Prairie May 1st.

I would like if possible to be replaced in the Indian Dept.

Mr Hendry is anxious to have this arrangement and if it were only for the school alone I would be satisfied.

I thought perhaps you would be able to do this when they are making the new appointments

Sincerely yours.
H J Hassard.

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CANADA

056153

112 Wellington St
Winson Green
Birmingham
England
1914/26

Right Hon. A. Magic. K.C

Dear Sir

May I take the liberty to Draw your attention of my claim of the distribution money to the members of the Sixth Nationals of which I was a member

I have been in constant comunication with the Department of Indian Affairs. but the only reply I can get is that there has not been any Distribution money available, the last payment I received was on Jan 12th 1921

May I take the liberty to ask you of your services to take my case up

Trusting an early reply

I remain yours Faithfully

P B Jamieson

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056154

281

Ottawa, April 23, 1938.

Dear Mr. Hendry:

Your letter of the 19th instant reached me this morning. I have already spoken to the Commission with regard to Dr. Harvey Hassard and I shall be most happy if he is successful.

Yours very truly,

W.A. Hendry, Esq.,
Supt., Indian Residential School,
Portage la Prairie, Man.

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CANADA

056154

281

Ottawa, April 23, 1936.

Dear Mr. Hendry:

Your letter of the 19th instant reached me this morning. I have already spoken to the Commission with regard to Dr. Harvey Hassard and I shall be most happy if he is successful.

Yours very truly,

W.A. Hendry, Esq.,
Supt., Indian Residential School,
Portage la Prairie, Man.

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CANADA

056155

281

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
WINNIPEG

Portage la Prairie, Man.

April 19th. 1926.

The Hon. Dr. W. J. Roche, M.D.,
Chairman, Civil Service Commission,
Ottawa, Ont.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Mr. Roche:-

Dr. Harvey H. Hassard, M.D. of this City is applying for the appointment as Physician to the Indian School here. He used to hold the appointment, but after the last change in Government was dismissed, and Dr. Geo. Hassard, a Liberal, appointed in his place. Dr. Geo. Hassard is now leaving this City and going back to Ontario, and Dr. Harvey Hassard is applying to be reappointed. He is a splendid Doctor, and one of our strongest supporters here, and I am sure we would all appreciate anything that you could do in the way of securing his reappointment. I am surprised to learn from him that the appointment went through the Civil Service Commission, but he says it does.

I am just taking the liberty of writing in case something might turn up in which you could give him your assistance, and which I am sure I would much appreciate.

Yours faithfully,

FGT/W.

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CANADA

056156

Indian Residential School,
Portage la Prairie, Man.,
April 19th, 1926.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.,
Dear Mr. Meighen,-

The position of Medical Officer for the Indian work is to be a civil service appointment so I am told by the Department of Indian Affairs. They are calling for tenders right away.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have sent to Dr. Roache, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission.

I trust that Dr. Harvey Hassard will be able to return to the school as Medical Officer.

I am, Very truly yours,

W. Osborne
Supt.,

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Parliament Buildings,
Ottawa, Ont.,

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056157

Indian Residential School,
Portage la Prairie, Man.,
April 17th, 1926.

Chairman, Civil Service Commission,
Ottawa, Ont.,

Dear Sir,-

I understand that owing to the present Medical Officer, Dr. George Hassard leaving our city there will be another man appointed to take charge of the school.

Should Dr. Harvey Hassard apply for the position I would like to say that during the twelve years he was Medical Officer for the school his services were more appreciated by the institution than that of any Medical service we have ever had in the school. He was ever ready to come at a call and his skill with the advantages of the splendidly equipted clinic of which he is the head was always at our service .

Should we be so fortunate as to again have the services of Dr. Harvey Hassard we shall indeed be very grateful.

I am, Very truly yours,

W. A. Hessdrey
Supt.,

Chairman,
Civil Service Commission,
Ottawa, Ont.,

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056158

281

Ottawa, April 24, 1926.

Dear Fawcett:

Just received yours of the 19th. Your letter to Dr. Roche was alright but it would have been better not to have put in the reference to party service. I think I will simply advise Dr. Roche of the facts personally and you can depend upon me doing anything in my power to get the best appointment made in this case. However, Dr. Roche is really not in control and is only one of three. The other two are very different men.

Yours very truly,

Major F.G. Taylor, M.L.A.,
Portage la Prairie,
Man.

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
WINNIPEG

Portage la Prairie, Man.,

April 19th, 1926.

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C., M.P.,

Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Arthur:-

I am enclosing herewith a letter addressed to Dr. Roche, which I have written at the request of Dr. Harvey J. Hassard. As you know, I have never written Dr. Roche before about anything in the way of appointments, but have several times written to you asking you to see him. Harvey Hassard has written to you too, but for some reason or other insists on my writing direct to Roach to back up whatever you can do. Would you please look the letter over, and, if you think Dr. Roche will take it all right, have your Secretary deliver it to him.

Yours faithfully,

FGT/D
encl.

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W. FORAN,
SECRETARY

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
CANADA

IN REPLY REFER TO FILE No. 1A-1A3-474 OTTAWA, April 23, 1926.

281

Dear Sir;-

I beg to advise you that a competition for Physician, Department of Indian Affairs, Long Plain Reserve, Portage la Prairie Indian Agency, Manitoba, is now being advertised locally with a view to selecting a suitable candidate for appointment. As this occurs in your electoral district, the Commission assumes you will be interested to know the action that has been taken.

Yours truly,

Secretary.

The Right Honourable,
Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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April 23, 1926

File No. 1A-1A3-474

Comp. No. 10,476

CIVIL SERVICE OF CANADA

POSITION VACANT

Applications are invited from residents of Portage la Prairie, Mezieres, Edwin, MAN.
and locality possessing the necessary qualifications for the position of
Physician, (Part-time), Long Plain Reserve, Portage la Prairie
Department OF INDIAN AFFAIRS Residential School and Sioux Village, Portage la Prairie Indian Agency, Man.
Salary $600 per annum

Qualifications required Graduation in medicine from a college of recognized standing; a license to practise medicine; at least one year of experience in the practice of medicine.

An eligible list, which will be valid for one year for appointments of this nature, may be established as a result of this competition.

Applications must be in the handwriting of the persons applying (or if otherwise, the reason therefor to be given) and on forms supplied by the Commission, which may be obtained from the office at which this notice is displayed, or from the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa, and are to be received by
W. M. Graham, Esq., Indian Commissioner, Regina, Sask.
not later than May 10, 1926.

Length of residence in the locality must be stated. Applicants must describe the position as indicated above and must not vary description in making application.

According to law, preference is given among candidates possessing the necessary qualifications first to persons who are in receipt of a pension on account of disabilities received as a result of war service, who by reason of such service are unable to continue their pre-war occupation, and who have not been successfully re-established, and secondly, to persons who have been on active service overseas or on the high seas. Candidates must be British subjects and must have resided in Canada at least three years.

Under the provisions of the Civil Service Superannuation Act, 1924, a deduction of five per cent is made from the salary of every permanent employee entering the Service as a contribution to the Superannuation Fund.

Civil Service Commission, Ottawa, Canada. **W. FORAN, SECRETARY**

(THIS CERTIFICATE IS NOT TO BE DETACHED)

The person to whom this poster was addressed will please sign the following certificate and return the ENTIRE poster to the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Ottawa, immediately after it has been displayed for the required period.

This NOTICE was posted in a conspicuous place in .....
(Name of Building)
and was continuously displayed there from ..... **to** .....

.....
Signature

PENALTY FOR DEFACING OR DESTROYING THIS NOTICE, $100

C.S.C. Form 7—10M-9-25.

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CANADA

056162

281

Ottawa, May 1, 1926.

A. Ogiltree, Esq.,
Portage la Prairie,
Man.

Dear Mr. Ogiltree:

I have your letter of the 28th ult. I will very gladly speak on your behalf as I ought to be able to know something of your qualifications for this position. I am delighted to know that you feel well enough to take on the work. It is certainly good news to me to learn that you have recovered so well from the illness from which you have suffered so long.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Ogiltree and family.

Yours very truly,

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056163

INDIAN AGENT'S OFFICE

281

Portage la Prairie, Man.

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
No.....
ALSO
TO DATE OF THIS LETTER

April 28th 1926

PERSONAL

~~Sir,~~ Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I have sent in my application for the position of Inspector of Indian Agencies for the Province of Manitoba, to the Civil Service Commission.

This appointment will be made on the 6th of May, any assistance you can give in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

As far as I can learn I am the only Agent left in Manitoba who were on the job when I was appointed in 1915, therefore I should have first choice.

The only trouble I see would be if Mr.W.M.Graham would ~~approve~~ oppose the appointment, as he and I do not agree on many matters.

Yours truly

A. Ogletree

Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056164

281

Ottawa, May 3, 1926.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen to acknowledge your letter of the 19th April, together with enclosures, dealing with your desire for interest money from the Department of Indian Affairs. Mr. Meighen has taken the subject up with the Department but he is advised in the same terms as their letters to you that no money is available. Under other circumstances the Department say you would have been considered. Mr. Meighen is sorry it is not possible to have a more favourable reply sent to your communication.

Enclosures returned herewith

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

F.B. Jamieson, Esq.,
112 Wellington St.,
Winson Green,
Birmingham,
Eng.

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CANADA

056165

281

May 17th,1926.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

I notice your friends Messrs Hocken and Davis have been asking questions regarding an Indian Hospital and Agent Faunt of the Blood Reserve. The replies given were not ~~very comprehensive.~~ I am enclosing a file showing a few extracts from letters during the last four years about the hospital . Please return it to me as soon as possible. Am also enclosing copies of three of the latest re Faunt. I think it probable that Mr. and Mrs.Graham will go East next week. The clouds are gathering for a storm which cannot contain itself much longer. Did you get the file about the new Inspector? You will,I know,treat this communication as strictly confidential. No one here knows I am sending it, but really I feel exasperated at the way things are going.

not attached

Thanking you,

Yours very truly,

A. W. Tye.

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CANADA

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THE ALLIED INDIAN TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

NOTES FOR MR. MCQUARRIE.

The material parts of the Rule regarding Petitions- No.75- are the following:-

(8) Every petition so reported upon ..... shall then be deemed to be permitted to be read and received.

(9) No debate shall be permitted on the report but a petition referred to therein may be read by the Clerk of the House at the table, if required ; .....

See Hansard Pp. 13 & 14 of Commons Last Hrg.

Mr. Beauchesnes advises, that if this procedure be strictly followed the petition will not be recorded.

Mr. Beauchesnes advises also that in a case such as that of the Petition of the allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia the Member who presented the Petition may upon its being reported state that on account of its importance he desires to read it and have its contents recorded in Hansard.

Mr. Beauchesnes thinks the House would certainly consent that this particular Petition be so read and recorded.

Among reasons which might if necessary be given for adopting that course, the following are suggested:-

1. The Petition deals somewhat fully with the Indian land controversy which throughout more than fifty years has been recognized as a great National issue.

2. The interests involved, both those of the Indian Tribes and those of the Dominion of Canada and the Province of British Columbia, are very large.

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3. Upon several occasions petitions of the allied Indian Tribes and Memoranda prepared on their behalf have been read throughout and recorded in Hansard.

For example, such a Petition was so read by the present Minister of Justice and was recorded on 26th March, 1920 (Hansard page 825) In same year similar action was taken in the Senate.

4. The Petition relates to property rights claimed by the Indian Tribes in respect of which there is conflict between the Tribes and the two Governments. It has been the established practice of the British Parliament to deal very seriously with Petitions of that character.

5. The importance of dealing very seriously with this particular petition is shown by the fact that the Indian Chiefs of Interior British Columbia who went last year to England are now again on their way to London for the purpose of interviewing His Majesty the King.

A. E. O'M.

11th June 1926.

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Ottawa, June 10, 1926.

Dear Dr. Gordon:

I thank you very much for your kind letter of the 4th, which awaited my return from Winnipeg this morning. While in the city on Tuesday last I had the pleasure of seeing your brother, the doctor, and of having a short talk with him.

As respects the B.C. Indian question, I would not like to undertake at once to advocate the providing of funds by the Government for the conduct of the Indians' case. There might be some serious consequences to such a precedent, and it would appear at first sight as though the duties of guardianship were not such as to include the provision of funds to enable the ward to press litigation against the guardian. However, I will give the matter most sympathetic consideration.

Yours very truly,

Dr. C.W. Gordon,
54 West Gage,
Winnipeg, Man.

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54 West Gate,
Winnipeg, June 4, 1926.

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Mr. Meighen:

Before I attack the main purpose in this letter, will you allow me to say that I am much gratified by a news item in the Free Press this morning to the effect that the more reactionary elements in your political following have apparently abandoned their attitude of criticism and attack toward yourself as leader of the Conservative party. I have often thought during the last year or two that I should like to write you a letter expressing my indignation at the treatment you have received from some men who owed you something better. I am glad to think that they have discovered that you are too firmly established in the confidence and affection of your party and of large numbers of your fellow citizens outside your party to be treated in this cavalier fashion.

Then too, perhaps you will allow me to express my sincere admiration for the manner in which you have conducted your political campaigns, and more especially do I refer to the evident honesty and sincerity of your statements, your fearlessness and your complete devotion to what you believe to be the best interests of the country. I know you will not misunderstand me when I say these things. It has always been a matter of regret that I could not see eye to eye with you on your fiscal policy, though as a matter of fact we may not be so very far apart.

Now may I turn to the immiediate purpose of this letter. It is in regard to the British Columbia Indian question. First, I wish to thank you for the very real help you gave in the House of Commons in this connection last year, for it was due, I think, entirely to your attitude that the Minister of Interior was forced to make the very important concession which he did make upon the floor of the House, namely:

That the Indians are entitled to secure judgment at the hands of Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council as to their land claim.

That was an immense step forward, and for your most able help I wish to express my gratitude.

The shifty and trifling policy of the Government has been most deplorable. I know that there are great interests involved and great constitutional questions intricate and difficult of settlement, but these offer no reason why the matter should not be submitted to the only court competent to deal with it, but rather to furnish the best of reasons why the demand of the Indians for a

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A.M.2.

hearing before that court should be not only granted, but facilitated.

Now I venture to suggest to you one thing more, and in this connection to ask once more your great assistance; if the Minister of Interior is really pledged to the concession that the Indians should have a hearing, then it seems to me that the Government in the capacity of Guardian to the Indians and having under its control the administration of Indian funds should go a step farther and furnish the funds necessary to recompense the Indians for all monies expended hitherto and provide the funds necessary to a completion of the case. If it is right that the Indians should be heard it is surely right that the Government should put up the expenses of the hearing.

You have done so much in this cause already that I feel the more confident in asking you to give this final touch which is necessary to do full justice to the Indians of British Columbia. There is a delegation at this present moment on its way to Ottawa seeking to bring this before Parliament. I should be glad if you would give such help as you can at this very critical juncture in the case.

Let me wish you continued success in your service to our country.

Yours sincerely,

Charles W. Gordon

CWG/H

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PHONE SEY. 4897

McTAVISH BROTHERS,
LIMITED.

308 London Bldg.,
VANCOUVER, B. C., June 10,1926.

Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:

Herewith we enclose copy of a letter being sent to the Hon. The Prime Minister of Canada which is self-explanatory. Should you wish further information regarding the subject under discussion, we would respectfully refer you to the Counsel of the Allied Tribes, Mr. A.E.O'Meara, who may be reached through the University Club, Ottawa.

Very truly yours,

P.D. McTavish

PDM/S
Encl.

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308 London Building, Vancouver, B.C.

May 31st, 1926.

Hon.W.L.McKenzie-King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the Society of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia we beg to remind you of the Memorandum of the Society which was sent to you and the Minister of Interior, on March 21st, 1922, the Memorandum which was addressed to you on April 26th, 1923, the communication which was addressed to you on June 26th, 1923 and the letter-gram which was despatched to you on September 10th, 1923.

The Society's papers have been acknowledged and appreciation of the importance of their contents has been expressed, but we have not received what we consider to be a meritorious answer to any of their representations.

We are informed of the subsequent course of events leading to the Order-in-Council of July 19th, 1924, by the passing of which in our opinion all solemn assurances which had been given on behalf of the Dominion of Canada to the Indian Tribes of this Province from the days of Lord Dufferin to the day of the month of July 1923 on which the present Minister of Interior met the representatives of the Indian Tribes at Vancouver were treated as so many scraps of paper.

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We have before us Hansard report of the debate which occurred in the House of Commons on the last day of last session. In our opinion the remarks then made by the Minister of Interior clearly show that the present Government of Canada has not yet taken any serious action towards carrying out the sound and just method of settlement which Sir Wilfred Laurier declared to be necessary and promised to the Indians, and instead of doing so has endeavoured to carry out under authority of Parliament a method of settlement wholly unsound and unjust.

At the same time we are pleased to know that during that debate the Minister so clearly conceded that the Indian Tribes of this Province are entitled by proceeding independently to obtain judgment of His Majesty's Privy Council deciding the Indian land controversy.

With regard to the whole present position of affairs we beg to request special attention to the following words quoted from the Society's Memorandum of 21st March 1922:-

"It would appear that the whole structure of the policy and plan of the Indian Department has been built upon the assumption that in order to bring about a settlement the allied Tribes must in some way be prevented from securing a hearing of their case. We think that this assumption is fundamentally erroneous and that the real position is exactly opposite. This conviction is expressed with much confidence and is based upon the present practical position regarding settlement as known to us.

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It seems clear to us that the most effective action that the Government of Canada can possibly take for rapidly bringing about a real settlement of this controversy of half a century is to fully recognize the right of the allied Tribes to proceed independently and to have independent counsel, to actively help them in so carrying forward their case, and in particular to provide all funds required for doing so."

With confidence we declare that in now emphatically reaffirming the view then stated we are expressing the mind of all Canadians from this Coast to the Atlantic Coast who are specially interested in securing justice for the Indian Tribes of this Province.

We trust that without permitting any further delay the Government of Canada and the Parliament of Canada will face the issue involved and take immediate action facilitating reference of those issues to the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council.

We believe that Mr. A.E.O'Meara, Counsel representing the Indians of British Columbia, not only because of his legal training, but also because of his long association with this question, is in a position to show the Government of Canada and the Indians of British Columbia a way out of their difficulties that will be mutually satisfactory and we therefore respectfully

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urge upon you the advisability of an early conference with him, knowing that he will advise the allied Tribes in the direction of a moderate settlement as he has always done heretofore.

Yours truly,

P. L. McDavish
Chairman

F. C. C. Heathcote
Vice-Chairman

C. H. Schodley
Secretary-Treasurer.

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Ottawa, June 14, 1926.

Dear Madam:

Your letter of the 11th instant reached Mr. Meighen this morning and as he is extremely busy with the closing days of the session he asked me to acknowledge and to say in reply that the former memoranda you sent him has been held here so as to compare the Return when it is brought down by the Government with the information you sent. However, Mr. Meighen asks me to say that if you desire the return of these documents immediately he will have then sent back at once.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Miss. A.W. Tye,
Indian Commissioner's Office,
Regina, Sask.

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Personal

056177

Regina. June 11th,1926.

Dear Mr. Meighen,-

I am enclosing a memo re salaries of Ogletree and Weir.

The memos which were sent to you some time ago have not as yet been returned nor have any Hansards arrived since last Monday.

Yours very truly,

A. W. Tyre

Yours asked to keep until you answered.

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Memo.

Indian Agent, Grade 4. Salary$1440 to $1920.

A.Ogletree, Portage,	present salary	$130.00	per	month
	cash allowance	33.33	"	"
		$163.33	"	"

Indian Agent, Grade 5. Salary, $1980. to $2460.

John Weir, Carlton,	Present salary	$165.00	per	month
	Estimated value of allowances	50.00	"	"
		$215.00	"	"

Salary of New Manitoba Inspector $2400. to $2800.00
No mention made of extra allowances.

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056179

281

Ottawa, June 14, 1926.

Dear Colonel Dennis:

Your letter of the 13th instant, with regard to the British Columbia Indians, reached me this morning. My purpose is to take part in this debate when the subject is before the House.

Yours very truly,

Colonel J.S. Dennis,
Canadian Pacific Rly. Co.,
Dept. of Colonization and Development,
Montreal, P.Q.

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CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY

DEPARTMENT OF COLONIZATION & DEVELOPMENT

MONTREAL

13th June 1926.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

I understand that a petition has been presented to the House signed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the British Columbia Indians, praying for action in the matter of the rights of the British Columbia Indians which have been in dispute, as you know, for many years.

I have had somewhat intimate knowledge of the manner in which the rights of the Indians of the Prairie Provinces have been disposed of, having been present in the very early days, nearly half a century ago, at several treaties, and many years ago I became interested with a number of other citizens of Canada in the Society of the Friends of the British Columbia Indians, through the medium of which an appeal has been made to have the rights of the British Columbia Indians, which have been so long in dispute, finally dealt with not only by our Dominion Government but as a final action through the medium of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

I understand that the petition now before the House asks that steps should be taken to enable this disputed question to be finally disposed of by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and as a very old member of the Society of the Friends of the British Columbia Indians, and one who in a small way has done what he could to help along this question, I sincerely trust that you will be able to take part in the debate relative to this petition, realising as I do that you owing to your past knowledge of conditions in the West, and your term as Minister of the Interior under which the Department of Indian Affairs comes, places you in a specially qualified position to deal authoritatively with the question now before the House as outlined in the petition above referred to.

Yours very sincerely,

J. T. Dennis

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
O t t a w a, Ontario.

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281

Ottawa, June 16, 1926.

P.D. McTavish, Esq.,
300 London Bldg.,
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, enclosing copy of a communication you have sent to the Prime Minister with regard to the claims of the British Columbia Indians, and to say in reply that you may rest assured he will give to the representations set forth in this communication his best consideration and attention.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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056182

Regina, June 17th,1926.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

I have your Private Secretary's letter re holding the former memoranda to compare with Return when brought down. For this purpose I think you would find the enclosed memo of more value. I may add that all the missing Hansards have since been received.

Yours sincerely,

A. W. Tyler

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Re Agent Faunt.

Mar. 12. 1926.		Inspr. Christianson's report.
" 15	"	Mr. Graham's report to Mr. Scott.
" 18	"	Mr. Scott's letter (4-103) (Copy of Indian George Vielle's letter and Agent Faunt's reply durect to Mr. Scott)
" 22	"	Mr. Graham's reply to Mr. ~~Scott.~~ Christianson) (Enclosing copies of above)
" 30	"	Inspr. Christianson's report.
Apr. 17	"	TELEGRAM FROM MR. GRAHAM. FAUNT SHOULD BE SUSPENDED
" 17	"	" " " Scott. WILL AWAIT WRITTEN REPORT.
" 17	"	Inspr. Christianson's report.
" 17	"	Mr. Graham's letter enclosing report.
" 21	"	TELEGRAM FROM MR. S COTT."Send Christianson to take complete charge etc. "
" 22	"	TELEGRAM GRAHAM TO SCOTT. " Christianson will leave in a few days, family sick."
" 23	"	TELEGRAM FROM MR. SCOTT. " As Taylor is at Blood need not send Christianson etc.
" 23		TELEGRAM MR.GRAHAM TO MR. SCOTT. "Christianson leaving Sunday.
" 23	"	Letter from Mr. Graham to Mr. Christianson instructing him to take full charge.
May. 4	"	Mr. Scott's letter re Blood Staff.
" 5	"	" " " re Faunt borrowing on wheat and asking for copies of all instructions in this connection.
" 10	"	Mr. Graham's letter sending copies of six others.
" 11	"	Mr. Graham's letter (re Mr. Scott asking Mr. Faunt to send his statement in reply to Inspector's report, direct to him)
" 12	"	Mr. Graham's letter re Faunt's wheat selling, and borrowing from Bank.
" 11	"	Mr. Christianson(s letter and copy of correspondence with Mr. Scott.
" 14		Mr. Scott's letter," YOU AND THE INSPECTOR KNOW EVERYTHING THERE IS TO KNOW."
" 17	"	Mr. Graham's Telegram re Faunt "NOT WORKING HARD AS USUAL."
" 17	"	Mr. Graham's letter re Faunt's position and re Mr. Scott's remark, "You and the Inspector know everything there is to know."
" 7	"	LETTER FROM JOE MOUNTAIN HORSE.
" 19	"	Mr. Graham's note enclosing it to Mr. Scott.
JUNE 4th		TELEGRAM. " MINISTER HAS DECIDED TO TRANSFER PUGH TO BLOOD AGENCY AND FAUNT TO CROOKED LAKES AGENCY PLEASE GIVE NECESSARY INSTRUCTIONS." D.C.Scott.

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Indians

DRAFT RESOLUTION.

With reference to the Petition of the allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia now before this House it is resolved that, for safeguarding such aboriginal land and other rights of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia as shall be found to have been expressly preserved by the provisions of the British North America Act and in particular Section 109 of that Act, for defining and settling the constitutional issues requiring to be decided between the Indian Tribes of British Columbia on the one hand and the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada on the other hand, and for determining the responsibility in respect of the aboriginal land and other rights of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia undertaken by the Dominion of Canada under the provisions of the British North America Act together with Article 13 of the "Terms of Union", immediate steps should be taken for facilitating the independent judicial proceedings of the allied Tribes and enabling them by securing reference of the Petition now in His Majesty's Privy Council and such other independent judicial action as shall be found necessary to secure judgment of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council deciding the constitutional issues requiring to be decided and shown by the Petition now before this House, and that for accomplishing the objects which have been stated the Petition of the allied Tribes now before this House should be brought before His Majesty's Privy Council.

Also with particular reference to paragraph 21 of the Petition now before this House it is resolved that in the opinion of this House immediate steps should be taken for providing all funds already expended and all funds requiring hereafter to be expended by the allied Tribes.

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COPY

Y. M. C. A. Building,
127 Metcalfe Street,
Ottawa.

30th., June 1926.

Mr. W. C. McQuarrie, M.P.
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. McQuarrie,

With reference to the remarks of Sir Henry Drayton made last night in course of which he said that so far as known to him the only business now remaining before the House consists of certain Bills together with the Estimates, I beg on behalf of the allied Tribes of British Columbia to request special attention to certain facts.

The Petition of the allied Tribes was presented to both Houses of Parliament on 10th instant and was read and received on 14th instant, on which day in each House on account of the importance of the Petition it was ordered that it be recorded in Hansard and it was so recorded.

On account of correspondence had with the late Government with regard to certain matters arising from the Petition we did not at that time ask you to take any further step.

Now we ask that you take the earliest possible opportunity of securing that the Petition shall in some form be placed upon the Order Paper of the House of Commons.

In support of the request so made and in view of all present circumstances affecting the business of the House, we respectfully invite your attention and that of the House to the ancient and well established constitutional principle relating to matters before Parliament that redress of grievances should be considered before the granting of supply.

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COPY

The Petition of the allied Tribes now before the House of Commons embodies a very grave injustice which throughout a very long time has been suffered by twenty five thousand subjects of His Majesty the King the members of the Indian Tribes of British Columbia, who as you know have no voice in Parliament, injustice possibly the gravest ever suffered by any body of British subjects.

This most grave injustice was brought before the House of Commons on the last day of last Session of Parliament by the Right Honourable Mr. Meighen now Prime Minister of Canada.

Following up what then occurred in the House of Commons the allied Tribes have now presented to Parliament a somewhat full Petition having as its central objective to bring about a real solution of this controversy of half a century long recognized as a national problem of the first order. The Petition speaks for itself and it is assumed that its contents are now known to all Honourable Members of the House.

It is therefore most respectfully submitted on behalf of the allied Tribes for consideration of the House of Commons that before supply asked for administration of Indian Affairs in British Columbia shall be granted effective action should be taken by the House for dealing with the matters which by the Petition of the allied Tribes has been brought before both Houses of Parliament.

Very truly yours,

"PETER R. KELLY",
CHAIRMAN.

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Indians

056187

Ottawa, Ont. September 6th. 1922.

Private & Confidential.

Dear Mr. MacKelvie:

I am enclosing you copy of memorandum which the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri has presented to the Government on the subject of the enfranchisement of Indian fellow subjects now resident in Canada. What the attitude of the Government on this question would be is not known, but as yet I understand they have lived up to their usual tactics and shown no attitude at all.

The memorandum gives a pretty full account of the history of the question. You will observe particularly the Resolution agreed to at the Prime Ministers' Conference of last year. I must say that I find it most difficult to understand how the case for enfranchisement can be logically, or even honourably, resisted. Further, I feel that the subject is one of very real consequence to the Empire as a whole. The condition of affairs in India is by no means reassuring.

Please note particularly that nothing involved in the resolution, and nothing asked for by the

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representatives of the Indian Government affect at all the absolute right of this Dominion to control, even to the point of exclusion, its own emigration. It is merely a matter of equality of status of British citizens after admission as permanent residents.

I am writing each of the British Columbia members with a view to ascertaining the opinion of each on this question. For myself I think we ought, even though it involves some small political danger, to meet the wishes of the Indian population and government in this matter, and would be glad to feel free to co-operate to that end; in fact, I fear that failure to do so may later be a cause of deep regret.

Would you kindly let me hear from you at an early date.

Yours very truly,

Hohn A. MacKelvie, Esq., M.P.,
Vernon, B.C.

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India

Ottawa, Ont. September 6th. 1922.

Private & Confidential.

Dear Colonel Clark:

I am enclosing you copy of memorandum which the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri has presented to the Government on the subject of the enfranchisement of Indian fellow subjects now resident in Canada. What the attitude of the Government on this question would be is not know, but as yet I understand they have lived up to their usual tactics and shown no attitude at all.

The memorandum gives a pretty full account of the history of the question. You will observe particularly the Resolution agreed to at the Prime Ministers' Conference of last year. I must say that I find it most difficult to understand how the case for enfranchisement can be logically, or even honourably resisted. Further, I feel that the subject is one of very real consequence to the Empire as a whole. The condition of affairs in India is by no means reassuring.

Please note particularly that nothing involved in the Resolution, and nothing asked for by the representatives of the Indian Government affect at all the absolute right of this Dominion to control, even to the point of exclusion, its own immigration. It is merely a matter of equality of status of British citizens after admission as permanent residents.

I am writing each of the British Columbia members with a view to ascertaining the opinion of each on this question. For myself I think we ought, even though it involves some small political danger, to meet the wisehs of the Indian population and government in this matter, and would be glad to feel free to co-operate to that end; in fact, I fear that failure to do so may later be the cause of deep regret.

Would you kindly let me hear from yousat an early date.

Yours very truly,

Colonel John A. Clark, M.P.,

Vancouver, B.C.

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Ottawa, Ont. September 6th. 1922

Private & Confidential.

Dear Mr. Ladner:

I am enclosing you copy of memorandum which the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri has presented to the Government on the subject of the enfranchisement of Indian fellow subjects now resident in Canada. What the attitude of the Government on this question would be is not known, but as yet I understand they have lived up to their usual tactics and shown no attitude at all.

The memorandum gives a pretty full account of the history of the question. You will observe particularly the Resolution agreed to at the Prime Ministers' Conference of last year. I must say that I find it most difficult to understand how the case for enfranchisement can be logically, or even honourably, resisted. Further, I feel that the subject is one of very real consequence to the Empire as a whole. The condition of affairs in India is by no means reassuring.

Please note particularly that nothing involved in the Resolution, and nothing asked for by the representatives of the Indian Government affect at all the absolute right of this Dominion to control, even to the point of exclusion, its own immigration. It is merely a matter of equality of status of British citizens after admission as permanent residents.

I am writing each of the British Columbia members with a view to ascertaining the opinion of each on this question. For myself I think we ought, even though it involves some small political danger, to meet the wishes of the Indian population and government in this matter, and would be glad to feel free to co-operate to that end; in fact, I fear that failure to do so may later be the cause of deep regret.

Would you kindly let me hear from you at an early date.

Yours very truly,

Leon J. Ladner, Esq., M.P.,

Vancouver, B.C.

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056191

House of Commons
Canada

901 Vancouver Block,
Vancouver, B.C.,
September 14th, 1922.

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

I am in receipt of yours of the 6th instant.

I have read the enclosed memorandum with great interest. It seems to me that we cannot refuse British subjects the franchise if we admit them to this country. On the other hand, I am absolutely opposed to Indian immigration into Canada, and, in my opinion, when the franchise is granted to Indians, it should be on the express understanding with the Indian Government that they will co-operate with us in our policy of exclusion. I feel sure that sooner or later the question of Indian immigration will again become more or less a live issue. However, I cannot see how the granting of the franchise will in any way compromise us when we are required to deal with the immigration problem, particularly if we have a definite understanding with the present Government.

I received your personal letter some days

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House of Commons
Canada

Hon. Meighen -2-

ago, and was delighted to note that you had really enjoyed yourself when here. I hope that you are feeling fit again.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. A. Clark

JAC/B

P.S. I see by today's paper that J. A. Stewart is weaker. I hope he will pull through.

J.A.C.

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056193

"India"

Ottawa, Ont. September 19th. 1922.

Dear Mr. MacKelvie:

I appreciate very much the terms of your letter of the 13th. September.

Yours very truly,

J. A. MacKelvie, Esq., M.P.,
Vernon,
B.C.

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056194

House of Commons
Canada

Vernon B.C.
Sept. 13/22

Dear Mr. Meighen

I have yours of the 6th inst., and have given the matter to which you refer a good deal of careful consideration. I heard Sasaki's address in Vancouver and confess that I could find no logical reply to his arguments which were presented with great force and clarity of expression. You are of course aware that to attempt to oppose popular opinion in this province on any phase of the Oriental question is about equivalent to taking one's political life in his hands. I am bound, however, to say that wider and more important considerations than those of temporary political expediency must guide one's course in this matter, and I have made up my mind as to the direction wherein my duty lies. In this case local prejudice must not be permitted, as I see it, to imperil the safety of the Empire, and it is pretty evident that the situation in Jordan at present presents anything but

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House of Commons
Canada

a re-assuring aspect. I have not had an opportunity of discussing the matter with any of the B.C. members except Ladner, who, I gather, does not agree with my view, and is opposed to any step being taken towards enfranchisement. At least, this was his expression of sentiment after hearing Pashin.

I am glad you have written our members on this matter, as it is a problem I have been willing see in my mind for some time.

With kindest regards and all good wishes

very sincerely yours
J.A. Macdonald

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen M.P.
Ottawa, Ont.

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CANADA

056196

House of Commons
Canada

507, Dominion Building,
Vancouver, B.C.

20th September, 1922.

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen,
OTTAWA, ONT.

Dear Arthur:-

Having further reference to your letter regarding the extension of the franchise to British Indians properly resident in Canada, let me say at once that our chief interest has always been in securing such relations as would prevent immigration of these people to Canada in competition with our resident white workers.

I understood from Mr. Sastri, while in conversation with him in your room at the Hotel Vancouver, that his Government had effectively and definitely stopped emigration to Canada and that they had officially acknowledged Canada's right to impose exclusion against persons from India, if we so chose. This apparently definitely disposes of the immigration problem.

Indeed, as to extension of the franchise to British Indians now properly resident in this country, I can see no reason why this should not be granted. I have always held strongly to the belief that we should not admit to Canada persons to whom we are not prepared to extend the franchise. In other words, that should be the test of our immigration policy. Further, I would point out to you that it is the duty of the Provincial Government to take action in this matter. It is a Provincial and not a Federal Law that prevents the extension of the franchise to these Indians. I admit that our Federal Law limits the franchise in a Federal sense to that of the Provincial law, and care should be taken in suggesting any change to this.

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House of Commons
Canada

The proper course is for the Federal Government to make the necessary representations to the Provincial Government to secure such amendment to the Provincial franchise law as will do justice to these people.

I therefore beg to suggest to you that care should be exercised in this matter as the responsibility rests wholly upon Mackenzie King and John Oliver, and you and I are not called upon to relieve them of this responsibility. Nevertheless, I am quite prepared to stand by the principle enunciated in the former part of my letter.

Yours very truly,

H. H. Stevens

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September 25th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Sastri:

I was indeed pleased upon my return from Toronto to receive your letter of the 22nd. September. Had I known when in that city on the same day that you were at Government House, I would have at least given myself the pleasure of a telephone conversation with you.

To this letter you will find attached copy of the communication I sent to each of the British Columbia supporters of our Party in the Federal House. I will ask you for the present at least to treat this communication as confidential, same being between myself and my party followers. To my enquiries four replies have to date been received, and it is a great satisfaction to me to say to you that they are more favourable than I anticipated. There runs through all a feeling that there must be nothing done which in the least degree interferes with Canada's absolute rights as to immigration, but in none of the replies as yet has there been a challenge of the soundness of your position.

There appears in all of them the most manifest evidence of the impression created by yourself in your recent addresses. You may rest assured that you have done very great and lasting service to your country in discharging with such marked result your present mission to Canada. I quote as follows from one of my replies:

"I had the pleasure of hearing a "magnificent address delivered by Rt. "Hon. Mr. Sastri to the Canadian Club. "His speech was published almost ver- "batim in the newspapers and I think had an important effect upon public "opinion in British Columbia. None of "the various organisations here who are "accustomed to pass resolutions on dif- "erent public questions made any objec- "tion norewere there even the usual "letters of complaint in the newspapers "I watched for these in order to get an "indication of public opinion. Imme- "diately after Mr. Sastri's speech a "committee of Native Sons of B.C. came to me, as a fellow member, expressing "strong antipathy to the idea of exten- "ing the franchise to the Hindus. They "had in fact laid out plans by way of "resolutions and speeches to interest "a large number of public bodies in th "Lower Mainland with a view of forming "public opinion against extending the "vote to the East Indians. On their in "vitation I attended a fairly large "meeting of the organisation and urged "the extension of the vote to the East

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"Indians on the broad grounds of
""Imperial solidarity, and found that
"almost all of them were willing to
"sacrifice their prejudice in the
"interests of the Empire. Their real
"prejudice is based on the question
"of immigration. I have given you
these actual facts because I think they
"are fairly representative of the public
"at large in this Province. 90% of the
"Hindus here are ignorant, uneducated
and unacquainted with our form of Govern-
ment and merely for their benefit I do
"not think public opinion would support
"the idea of granting them the vote but
"I am satisfied that the public here
"would be willing to give them the vote
"if they were assured that the Govern-
"ment of India would co-operate andpre-
"clude further immigration and that our
"government also would make the necess-
"ary regulations to keep out any further
"influx of East Indians."

The above is fairly typical of the attitude so far as evidenced to date; others, however, are more critical of the government failing to take a stand and are disposed to insist that we do not make an error in relieving the government of its responsibility.

I took your letter hom last evening and gave the other members of the family an opportunity to read it. They desire one and all to be remembered to you and as well to
and ask me to assure you that they will never cease to look back upon your visit as the source of real and lasting pleasure to them and as well to look forward to the hope of meeting you some day in your own land.

056201

I thank you very particularly for your photograph and the under-written note It is a really splendid likeness and I onl regret not having one equally as good of myself that I could transmit to you. Later on I hope to reciprocate your kindness.

Yours very truly,

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri,
c/o The Ritz-Carlton Hotel,
New York,
N.Y.

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056202

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
TORONTO

September 22nd, 1922.

My dear Meighen,

I have ventured to send you a copy of my photograph which you will doubtless receive in due course. Will you accept it as a mark of friendship and esteem? It will perhaps serve to remind you that, in far off India, there is a friend who will always cherish the memory of his happy association with you in many tasks and who will always watch what is destined to be a great career, with unfailing interest and tenderness. It may be that I shall not be able to see you again before I leave Canada. If so, will you convey my thanks to Mrs. Meighen for her hospitality and kindness and say goodbye on my behalf? Also, please remember me to your charming daughter Lillian, and give her my blessings.

Have you heard anything from your political supporters in British Columbia? Perhaps it is too soon yet to expect that you will have got all their replies, I should be grateful if, when you do get an expression of their views, you will communicate them to me. I need hardly tell you that I count on your help in securing early enfranchisement for my fellow countrymen resident in Canada. I know that you are fully alive to the

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imperial importance of such a step, and the Empire has no truer or staunchier friend..

I am going to-night to New York where I shall be at the Ritz Carlton Hotel till the morning of the 30th, when I sail by the "Homeric" for London. Perhaps you would not mind sending me a copy of your letter to your followers before I leave America.

And now, goodbye. I shall say no more than that the little inscription at the foot of my likeness which I am sending to you, is a true expression of my feelings and that nothing would I cherish more than a kind thought or an occasional word from you.

Yours very sincerely,

V S Srinivasa Sastri

Rt. Honourable Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
Parliament Buildings,
OTTAWA.

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056204

India

Ottawa, Ont. September 25th. 1922

Dear Mr. Ladner:

I have yours of the 19th. instant. I appreciate highly this outline of your position and the broad spirit it displays.

Yours very truly,

Leon J. Ladner, Esq., M.P.,
510 Rogers Building,
Vancouver, B. C.

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056205

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W. A. CANTELON
J. F. DOWNS

LEON J. LADNER, LL.B.
H. C. GREEN

Vancouver, B. C., Sept. 19th 1922.

Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen, P.C.
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr.Meighen:-

I have delayed two or three days in answering your favor of the 6th inst. with enclosure regarding the enfranchisement of Indians, in order to sound out as well as I could the attitude of the public here. The matter has assumed still greater importance within the last few days owing to the ~~attitude~~ of the Turks.

I had the pleasure of hearing a magnificent address delivered by Rt.Hon.Mr.Sastri to the Canadian Club. His speech was published almost verbatim in the newspapers and I think had an important effect upon public opinion in British Columbia. None of the various organizations here who are accustomed to pass resolutions on different public questions made any objection nor were there even the usual letters of complaint in the newspapers. I watched for these in order to get an indication of public opinion. Immediately after Mr.Sastri's speech a committee of Native Sons of B.C. came to me,as a fellow member, expressing strong antipathy to the idea of extending the franchise to the Hindus. They had in fact laid out plans by way of resolutions and speeches to interest a large number of public bodies in the Lower Mainland with a view of forming public opinion against extending the vote to the East Indians. On their invitation I attended a fairly large meeting of the organization and urged the extension of the vote to the East Indians on the broad grounds of Imperial solidarity, and found that almost all of them were willing to sacrifice their prejudice in the interests of the Empire. Their real prejudice is based on the question of immigration. I have given you these actual facts because I think they are fairly representative of the public at large in this Province. 90% of the Hindus here are ignorant, uneducated and unacquainted with our form of Government and merely for their benefit I do not think public opinion would support the idea of granting them the vote but I am satisfied that

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Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen, P.C.
Sept. 19th 1922.

the public here would be willing to give them the vote if they were assured that the Government of India would co-operate to preclude further immigration and that our Government also would make the necessary regulations to keep out any further influx of East Indians.

Apart altogether from public opinion in this portion of Canada, I am thoroughly in accord with your view that the broad grounds of extending the franchise in the interests of ~~the~~ Imperial unity must determine the minds of those of us in public life unless, of course, public opinion here was extremely bitter and in unity against such a proposal, which in fact it is not. For my part I concur thoroughly in your view that we should meet the wishes of the Indian population and Government in this matter but I think that we should be firm on the question of immigration and that that feature should be emphasized.

It seems to me that the Provincial Government should act as their list constitutes the basis of the Federal lists.

The usual vacillation of Mr.King and his present Government is greatly criticized out here. They feel that the high honour and standing of Canada has not been maintained as it was in the past in that the Government has failed to give the ready response as did Australia and New Zealand as well as New Foundland.

With best wishes to yourself,

Yours very sincerely,

LJL:N

Lem J. Lamer

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056207

Duncan B.C. Sept 25th, 1922

My dear Mr Meighen

I hardly know how to answer your request as to my views respecting enfranchisement of our East Indian Population

Viewed "by & large" these people should be given full citizenship, but I cannot make up my mind to wind with favor the extension of the franchise to a body of men 90% of whom are low caste Hindus, filthy, morally & physically, & entirely ignorant with respect to our political ideals & with no "vision" as Canadians. These men would be voted as a unit by 5% or 10% at the most of their more intelligent compatriots who in turn would be manipulated by unscrupulous politicians, "promises would be made that could not be fulfilled & the result would be greater dissatisfaction than now exists

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056208

Are Lave a few Lightminded men among the people in question, but I personally know of none of the Sastri type who obviously are truly British - at present -

Our East Indians are prospering & with few exceptions are contented & are not laying awake nights because of franchise restrictions

Better leave matters as they are at present. Any small concession we can make would do but little to allay discontented grumbling when wild eyed orators are at large among those credulous, inconsistent & not altogether loyable people

Yours most sincerely

Canada has a surfeit of present of undesirable visitors

C. H. Dickie

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056209

House of Commons W.
Canada

New Westminster, B. C.,
September 30, 1922.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Leader of Opposition,
Ottawa, Ont.

Private and Confidential.

Dear Mr. Meighan:

I must apologize for not having sooner replied to your favour of the 6th inst. in reference to the enfranchisement of East Indians now resident in Canada and would say that I have been away from the City a good deal lately which accounts for the delay. I am very much opposed to granting the franchise to East Indians or any other class of Orientals whether they be British subjects or not. At the present time Orientals are not allowed to vote in British Columbia and we are able to say that in the case of the Japanese, for instance, we are not discriminating against them because the franchise is withheld from all our fellow British subjects as well as from the Japanese who become naturalized in this country. If we give the vote to East Indians I can see no good argument which could be advanced against extending the same privilege to naturalized British subjects of Japanese origin. I would suggest so far as you are concerned it

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Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighan -- 2.

would be well for you to refrain from assisting the Government in formulating a policy or assuming any of the responsibility which should naturally devolve upon the Government in this connection. I presume however that we will have the opportunity of discussing this matter with you further when the House meets again.

With best regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

WGM.

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CANADA

056211

India

Ottawa, Ont. October 9th. 1922.

My dear Mr. Sastri:

I have now received practically all replies to my letters and am sorry to say that the latter ones are much less favourable.

I purpose discussing the matter very frankly with my supporters as on the question of right or wrong I have, as you know, very decided opinions.

Yours very truly,

Rt. Honourable Srinivasa Sastri,
c/o Ritz Carlton Hotel,
New York, N.Y.

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056212

India

Ottawa, Ont. October 9th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Ladner:

I have yours of the 2nd. instant.

The question of political tactics is one thing, but the question as to where we stand is another thing.

In the views expressed by those with whom you have communicated, there does not seem to have been very much consideration of the matter of right or wrong or of the vital interests of the Empire as a whole.

Yours very truly,

Leon J. Ladner, Esq., M.P.,
Vancouver, B.C.

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056213

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CODE: WESTERN UNION

Vancouver, B. C., October 2nd 1922.

Personal

Rt. Hon.Arthur Meighen, P.C.
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr.Meighen:

Referring again to the question of the Hindu franchise and to my letter to you of the 19th, as mentioned in that letter there is a strong local prejudice against the extension of the vote but I thought it could be overcome if the public were informed of the real situation and were asked to lay aside this prejudice in the interests of the Empire. I write to emphasize this aspect of the question. Further inquiries among all classes of the people have brought me to the conclusion that it would be politically unwise for our party to take the initiative. There is a deep rooted objection to the Oriental,both to his presence and to the extension of any rights. That applies to the East Indian as well as to the Japanese. The strongest objection which I hear is that if we extend the vote to the East Indian because he is a British subject we might be called upon for the same reason to extend the vote to the naturalized Japanese because he also is a British Subject. People say that giving the vote to the Hindu means the entering of the thin edge of the wedge by which greater privileges will be extended to the Asiatic and thereby enabling larger numbers to get into this Country by one means or another.

As a matter of practical politics the Government has a responsibility both Provincially and Federally and I think that you would be well advised so far as B.C. is concerned to force the Government to work out their own course of action. If it came to a question where we must take a stand then so far as I am concerned I will abide by your decision and consent to the extending of the vote notwithstanding the political conditions here, because I believe that in an election the fair minded average Britisher, would come around to our way of thinking. In any event we would be standing on a sound principle. I had Dr.Tolmie over from Victoria yesterday and drove him and Mrs.Tolmie out to Ladner

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056214

where there was an agricultural exhibition. We argued the matter thoroughly and he retained his original view that he was entirely opposed to the idea of extending the vote. Billy McQuarrie was also over at Ladner at the Exhibition; he and I had a talk and he is even stronger against the idea of extending the vote than Dr.Tolmie. He thinks it is the thin edge of the wedge. I asked both of them what possible consequences could come either to our domestic or national policies by the fact that 1100 Hindus in British Columbia had a vote amongst 175,000 people when we were assured that further immigration was restricted. It seems that the only argument raised in answer, is that the Naturalized Japanese will demand the same privilege. I urged upon them, however, the point that the East Indian and Japanese are entirely different classes.

I am having a meeting of my Executive on the 12th inst. and without going into any of the facts of our correspondence as it is private and confidential, I will discuss the matter with them in connection with the speech of Mr.Sastri with a view of eliciting their frank expression of opinion. We have a great advantage over our Liberal friends so far as the general question of Oriental exclusion is concerned and I think it wisest as a matter of practical politics to retain it as far as possible. If it is not troubling you too much I will write to you again after the Executive meeting because I think that will be a real expression of the view-point of representative men throughout the Riding. Our Executive has over fifty members.

Yours sincerely,

LJL:N

Leon J. Ladner

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056215

Ottawa, Nov. 8th, 1922.

Leon J. Ladner, Esq., M.P.,
510 Rogers Bldg.,
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Mr. Ladner:

Many thanks for your letter of the 1st. I think I understand pretty clearly the attitude of our B.C. men on the question of East Indian suffrage, and I thank you for the help you have given me. I had read Mrs. Lipsett-Skinner's article.

I sincerely trust you had a good summer and that the provincial outlook is steadily improving.

Yours truly,

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LEON J. LADNER, LL.B., M.P.
H. C. GREEN

Vancouver, B. C., Nov. 1st 1922.

Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen, P.C.
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr.Meighen:

Referring again to the Hindu franchise question. A representative meeting of 35 members of the Executive from all parts of my Riding were present at my office a few days ago. The question of the franchise was considered and I thought that you might be interested in hearing something of the views of the representative party men and women of the district. Few denied the fact that as a matter of right and in the interests of Imperial solidarity that the franchise should be extended, but a number, and some of the best heads in the gathering, considered that public opinion here was so strongly prejudiced against Orientals that it would be extremely unwise to advocate the idea. Those favoring the extension were chiefly British born who had migrated to this country. I put it to the different members as to what they would do if they were called upon to say yes or no after they had well weighed the whole question from the point of view of politics locally as well as that of Imperial unity. I found that there was practically an equal division of opinion.

There is no doubt in my mind as to the stand we should take as Members but it might be well, as a matter of good judgment and practical politics, to let the Government carry the whole matter through if possible without a division and without our people being brought into a debate. The B.C. members undoubtedly would support you along the lines which you have intimated. After all a course of action on a high plane, having regard primarily to our National and Imperial interests, is the sound one and in my judgment would prevail over local prejudice.

I hope I am not troubling you too much about this matter but out here it is important and I believed that a careful examination of the situation is worth while. I have just received the enclosed article from Mrs.Lipsett-Skinner who is now in Victoria writing a book and newspaper articles. I thought it would interest you.

Yours sincerely,

Leon J. Ladner

LJL:N

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56217

IS THE HINDU EQUAL OF CANADIAN WOMAN?

Majority of East Indians in British Columbia are Too Ignorant to Vote.

THIN EDGE OF WEDGE

Japs Would Want Franchise Next—Changes in the Federal Law Likely.

By GENEVIEVE LIPSETT-SKINNER.
Special to The Star Weekly.

Victoria, B.C., Oct. 14.—"Would you like to have the franchise?" I asked a Hindu who speaks good English and works in a saw mill on Vancouver Island. "Yes, sure," he replied with a smile.

"What would you do with it?" "I don't know."

"What do you think the franchise is?" "I don't know," he admitted.

Those who go among the East Indians of British Columbia as missionaries and social workers advise me that this is the typical attitude of these people on this much mooted question.

Some of the East Indians in Canada are in constant communication with the seditious leaders in India. Close students of the movement headed by Gandhi assert that the Komogata Maru incident in 1914 is the cause of the sore which has festered and spread ever since.

Loses Nothing in Telling.

Since that time any governmental act that looks like discrimination against an East Indian here is reported to the seditious faction in India—and of course loses nothing in the telling.

A missionary who has labored among the East Indians in British Columbia for the past ten years asserts that many of them are not the moral people they were when the first came to Christian Canada. He accounts for their deterioration. It is due to the drink traffic and its attendant evils.

When Sastri Visited Victoria.

When the Hon. Mr. Sastri visited Victoria and Vancouver a few weeks ago, he was not well received by his fellow East Indians. They had been warned from Gandhi's headquarters to give him the cold shoulder—on account of Sastri being a member of the government of India at the time of the General Dyer affair when the riot act was read and numbers of men, women and children were shot by the soldiers.

The Hon. S. Sastri of India, came to Canada on a special mission in connection with the enfranchisement of the East Indians now in this dominion.

Sastri presented a powerful plea on the ground that the hands of the British in India would be greatly strengthened in dealing with agitators of the Gandhi school, if East Indians in this part of the empire were given all the rights of citizenship. Sastri came to Canada to request the provincial and federal governments to enfranchise the 1,200 East Indians, 1,100 of this number being residents of British Columbia. He stated that India recognizes the right of each colony to control absolutely its immigration not only in regard to foreigners, but from other parts of the British Empire. However, there are dangerous agitators in India who are urging the withdrawal of India from the British Empire. They inflame the masses in India by asserting that British citizenship is a farce, and that Great Britain holds India for what she can get out of it—not according to East Indians their full rights within the Empire. The demagogues illustrate by recalling the fact that East Indians in Canada are denied the franchise which is granted to African negroes and other aliens of inferior status to these fellow British subjects. To strengthen the hand of the government of India and in the interests of empire solidarity is the reason given for craving the vote for those voteless men.

What People at B.C. Think.

How do the people of British Columbia regard this campaign? It is true that some years ago there were 6,000 Hindus in British Columbia—now there are 1,100. Yet the fact remains that so far as Asiatic immigration is concerned the people of India are classed with the Chinese and Japanese. The people on the Pacific coast believe in total exclusion. The impossibility of the assimilation, the lower standard of living which makes unfair competition for the white working man are the objections cited.

Out of these incontestable facts has developed a deep-rooted prejudice against making any concessions whatever to any Orientals already here. The people of British Columbia fear that the granting of the franchise to the Hindus would be a serious step, the consequences of which could not be forecasted. Other demands would be sure to follow—if backed up by such an all-powerful weapon as local political influence. The East Indian would naturally want to bring out his wife to whom he is now married—which he is entitled to do under present regulations. The next demand would probably be the right to bring out prospective brides. This point could be specially urged on the ground of morality.

Equal of Canadian Women.

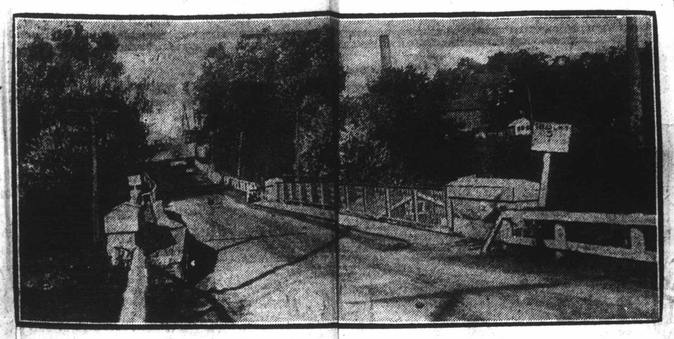
Now let us return to the East Indian in British Columbia. What is he doing about all this fuss to make him the equal politically of a Canadian woman? Going about the community, seeing and speaking with them, discloses the fact that by far the largest proportion of those here are uneducated, ignorant and totally unacquainted with the Canadian form of government. If one speaks to the average Hindu about a vote, he stares at one, not comprehending what the word means. He is absolutely uninformed on all municipal, provincial and federal questions. He doesn't give a pound of rice whether he has a vote or not. There has been no movement or request emanating directly from the Hindus of British Columbia for the franchise. They are peace-loving, law-abiding citizens, generally speaking, whose concern is to work or run a farm and meet fellow subjects at their temple.

It appears that the people of British Columbia would not be willing to grant the franchise to East Indians for the sake of the 1,100 here. However, for the interest of the empire and as a duty to the empire they would put aside their own prejudices and might agree to the extension of the vote. It is understood that the whole question will be taken into careful consideration at the next session of parliament.

The provincial voters' list is accepted as the basis and is in fact practically the entire list for the federal elections. Qualifications of voters are fixed by provinces so that the question of enfranchising the East Indian is really one for determination by the provincial government. A canvass of those in the know would lead one to believe that the attitude of the provincial government will likely prove unfavorable. That is the reason the issue has been carried to Ottawa.

It is expected that the prime minister will submit legislation along these lines to parliament early in the year.

Neither the provincial Liberal party or the Liberal-Conservatives like to handle the matter of the East Indian franchise. Undoubtedly the Liberal-Conservatives would pass over local prejudices for Imperial needs. I have this on the authority of members of parliament who sit in the ranks of the official opposition. In all probability the known attitude of the federal government and the official opposition will oblige the provincial government, which is Liberal, to deal with the question and extend the franchise to these British subjects.



DOES OAKVILLE REQUIRE A NEW BRIDGE?

Take a look at this picture of the bridge at Oakville, on the Hamilton highway. It clearly shows why citizens demand a new structure. It is the only section of the highway which is incomplete. In order to get a chance to observe the beauties of this bridge motorists are allowed to cross it at 5 m.p.h.

OSBORNE—SCHADEL.

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056218

~ V 378

Ottawa, Jan. 24, 1925.

Dr. J.K. Foran,
735 Outremont Ave.,
Montreal.

Dear Dr. Foran:

Yours of the 22nd instant reached me this morning. I have no doubt that your representations are entirely correct. In fact I understand that even the Justice Department advised Mr. Murdock against proceeding without the consent of the provinces.

Yours very truly,

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056219

733 Outremont Ave.
Montreal.
22nd January, 1925.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C., K.C.
Leader of Opposition
House of Commons
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen;

Just a line to draw your attention to the recent judgment of the Privy Council declaring as ultra vires the "Industrial Disputes Act (Lemieux Act)".

Some two years ago I drew the attention of the Labour Department to the danger of proceeding under this Law without previously securing the consent of Provincial or Municipal authorities by the Federal Minister of Labor. No attention was paid to my representations and, in this case, the Minister proceeded to appoint a board without such consent being obtained. I am not going to weary you with a rehearsal of all the inconveniences likely to follow. You fully appreciate them. I simply wish to point out that the present Minister of Labor (and no one else), is to blame for the situation to be faced. In the present case it is not a question of trade and commerce, which is Federal, but of civil rights as between employer and employee. (B.N.A. Act; Sec. 91.)

Yours very sincerely & with best wishes,
J. K. Foran

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056220

378

Ottawa, 20 février, 1925.

L'honorable André Fauteux,
Montréal.

Cher M. Fauteux:

J'ai la vôtre du 19 février. Vos idées dans cette matière sont les miennes sous tous rapports. Ci-inclus je vous envois le Hansard d'hier dans lequel est mon discours complet.

Votre tout dévoué,

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056221

FAUTEUX & FAUTEUX
AVOCATS
G.A. FAUTEUX
FRS FAUTEUX

TELEPHONE MAIN 4365

EDIFICE MAISONNEUVE
97 RUE ST. JACQUES
MONTREAL

19 février 1925

Le très honorable Arthur Meighen,
Edifice du Parlement
O T T A W A.

Cher M. Meighen,

Je vois dans la Gazette de ce matin, la nouvelle que M. MacLean a présenté une motion à l'effet d'obtenir les pouvoirs d'amender la constitution. Cette motion serait occasionnée par le jugement rendu récemment par le Conseil Privé, déclarant inconstitutionnelle la loi Lemieux.

Il est difficile de se prononcer maintenant sur le but réellement poursuivi par ce député, mais il ne doit pas oublier que dans notre province, on considère la constitution comme intangible à tous les points de vue, et comme une imprudence toute tentative de la modifier dans un sens ou dans l'autre.

Je crois qu'il ne serait pas opportun qu'une discussion sur ce point ait lieu, surtout à l'approche des élections.

Je constate que l'honorable M. Lapointe a déjà pris position dans le sens indiqué plus haut. Au premie

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abord, son attitude est conforme au sentiment général dans la province à ce sujet.

Veuillez accepter, cher M. Meighen, l'expression de mes meilleurs sentiments, et me croire

Votre bien dévoué,

G.A. Fauteux

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056223

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA

Leader of the Opposition

TRANSLATE.

Ottawa, February 20, 1925.

Dear Mr. Fauteux:

I have your letter of the 19th February. Your views in this matter are in every respect my own. I enclose Hansard of yesterday in which you can read my speech in full.

Yours very truly,

G.A. Fauteux, Esq.,
etc.

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056224

THE SENATE
CANADA

Senator Robertson

The Chief would like you to prepare a reply to the atts.

Please do not forget pamphlet on transferable vote.

Q.239.

Merrem

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056225

DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN. Cranbrook B. C., January 27th, 1924.

Fellow Workers:-

A new development has cropped up in the strike situation here. Twenty-five men were shipped from Winnipeg the other day to go to work for Baker and McNab and were taken from the train at Wardner by our pickets. They state that they were hired thru the Immigration Hall in Winnipeg and were accompanied here by the Interpreter from the Immigration office. They were told that there was no strike on and were threatened with deportation if they did not go to work. This is a new stunt for any government to pull--that of herding scabs. The strike committee is taking steps to have the matter looked into at once and such tactics stopped. The Deputy Minister of Labor for this province is here now and is looking into the affair, as is also the Provincial employment service. The companies want to flood the country with cheap labor, but they are liable to find that they have a bunch of very dear labor on their hands before they are thru with this matter.

Baker and McNab succeeded in getting 17 scabs on Firday from somewhere. They throught them to Elko under heavy guard and unloaded them off the train into cars and rushed them to camp under escort of a squad of bulls and gunmen. We do not know for sure whether the bosses had the bulls to protect these scabs from the pickets or to protect themselves from the scabs. From the looks of the scabs we do not doubt that it was for the latter reason. They did not look like anything human or inhuman either for that matter. They looked more like a "de-horn's" nightmare than anything else that I can think of right now. We are sure glad that they got past the pickets and that the boss has to feed them instead of our having to do so. We now have pickets riding the trains from the East and that gives them a chance to interview all men coming into the country and inform them as to the exact state of affairs here.

Owing to the rush that is on in the Hall here at present the Cranbrook District conference has been postponed indefinitely. It will be held as soon as we can get the time to make arrangements for it.

The funds are coming in well, Fellow Workers, but the expenses are also mounting all the time. More men are depending upon the strike fund every day and we are adding to the list of families to be fed all the time too. In Cranbrook alone we are feeding over 400 men, as well as a number of families. Then there are the outside pickets at Fort Steele, Elko, Wardner and Kitchener and 350 men at Golden. We also have pickets at Calgary and train pickets riding the trains from Crow's Nest to Elko, whose expenses must be paid. This all requires money and plenty of it. So far the workers all over the continent have shown splendid solidarity by the way they have dug up their hard-earned dollars to help us win this battle, but we want them to continue to do so, as this fight is not over yet. Now, and from now on until the finish, is when the hard part of the battle comes. The bosses are about crazy when they see that they have not shaken our determination and solidarity, and they will do anything before they will give in. We are in a position to force them to their knees and make them be good, so, Fellow Workers, dont let the lack of funds force us to relinquish the advantage we now have. More than the demands we are after here depends upon the winning of this strike. <u>If we win here it means that within a year we will have the lumber industry of the Dominion solidly organized!</u> That is what we are after and that is WHAT WE ARE GOING TO GET TOO! All that is needed is a little support from the workers in other parts and we will do the rest. So far we have felt no lack of funds and we do not want to be hampered by the lack of them at this stage of the game, so dig and dig deep. Make all remittances to Jas.L.Peterson, Chairman Central Strike Committee, Box 761, Cranbrook.

Yours for the Solidarity of Labor.

General Strike Committee.

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056226

DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN. BOX 761, CRANBROOK, B.C., February 12th, 1924.

FELLOW WORKERS:

We were notified this morning by the California Defense Committee to the effect that the criminal syndicalism prisoners in San Quentin Penitentiary ARE WILLING TO DONATE THEIR RELEIF MONEY TO THE STRIKE FUND! It is hard for anyone to appreciate the extent of such a sacrifice, unless he has at some time enjoyed the hospitality of one of those moniments to the stupidity of himanity. Going without their relief allowance means that they will be deprived of things ordinarily considered a necessity, such as tobacco, stamps and writing materials, shaving soap, tooth-paste and a hundred other little thinks like that. All those things have to be purchased from a vendor, who has a liscense to peddle them within the jail. Those men would go without everything that would tend to somewhat relieve the torture of their confinement, in order that we on the outside may be able to carry on the fight. We would not accept such a sacrifice under any circumstances, nevertheless we appreciate the offer, and the noble spirit that inspired it, more than any words of ours can express. It should be an inspiration to all the workers thru-out the world to keep on fighting until the principles those men went to jail for are triumphant. The men now rotting in the dungeons of plutocratic California are some of the greatest of Nature's noblemen, and we are proud to have the privelege of fighting for them. If they are willing to sacrifice so much to help us win this battle with the master, can the workers on the outside do any less than help a little anyway? How much would it hurt YOU to go without, say the price of a couple of shows, in order to send us a little financial aid? Remember that this is the fight of the WORKING CLASS and it is with the working class that the final decision rests. Whether we stand or fall rests entirely with you.

Fellow Worker M. J. McDonald was arrested in Calgary the other morning, charged with obstruction, vag, abusive language and a lot of other clap trap like that. It was at the instigation of Hanson, (an employment shark whose business of shipping scabs was being affected by the picketing of our fellow worker) that he was arrested. He was held in bail of $100.00, although a degenerate arrested the same day charged with indecent assault on a six-year-old girl, was released on bail of $50.00! Apparently the profits of our masters are more inviolate than the virginity of our babies. At least, attacking profits seems to be the greater crime anyway.

A car-load of scabs came thru from the Prairies to-day for the Otis Staples Co. The car vestibules were locked, the blinds all pulled down and a young army of gunmen on guard. As soon as the train pulled into the depot here, a special engine hooked on to the car of scabs and rushed it back to the "Y", where Staples' log train picked it up and wheeled it to one of the camps. Some of the pickets flew to Wycliffe, hoping it would stop there, but it did not. There were forty or more of the scabs and, if they hold them, it will be more than that Comapny has done so far with men sent in. They may be real scabs and, again, they may just some stiffs wanting to get across country and are only sticking around until they get their baggage. Either way we are not crying very much, as the scabs coming from the Prairies now cannot hurt us and only save us the trouble of striking on the job. Today the B. C. Spruce Co. has about 90 scabs working, after three of their camps being idle for six weeks. A year ago they about 400 good lumberjacks working all winter and yet they had to shut the mill down early last Fall on account of log shortage. The scabs now working produce about 15 percent of their keep, making the Companies expense, overwhat is produced about 75 percent of the scabs wages multiplied by the number of scabs working. Besides, they will have to put in two or three new camps to keep the mill running next summer. God bless the scab. We have been studying for years how to put the bosses on the bum and now the bosses bring in scabs who can do the trick unconsciously. Again we say "God bless the scabs". Just give us your support, Fellow Workers, and it will only be a short time until the bosses will be in aposition to walk out of the camps and turn them over to us or some one else who can run them right. The companies have fallen down on that job very noticeably. Yours for the I.W.W.

Central Strike Committee.

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DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN. BOX 761, CRANBROOK, B.C. FEBRUARY 18th, 1924.

FELLOW WORKERS;

One of the flying squadrons that went out recently has reported back. They went to Camp #2 of the C.N.P., at Skookunchuck, landed there yesterday morning and found 25 or 30 scabs in camp. The boss and a gunman ordered them away, but they went on just the same and held a meeting in the yard in front of the bunk-houses. Some of the scabs came out and attended the meeting, butdid not know whether they should come out on strike or not, as they had a large fare against them and did not think it right to come away and leave the good kind Company (which had shipped them out here to make scabs out of them) in debt. One of the pickets, slipping away un-noticed by the rest, got into a bunk-house and was talking to some of the rats in there, when one of them got him from behind with a club and the rest of them piled on him and beat him up considerably. In the meantime, the rest of the squadron, after having annoyed the scabs, boss and gunman to their hearts' content, decided to go away, and left camp without noticing the absence of the fellow worker who had gone into the bunk-house. They missed him before long though and turned back on the double. The gunman cam out and started running backwards ahead of them ordering them away. Then came a bunch of scabs, one with a rifle, and the rest with axes and butcher knives, trying to stop them. They went on in just the same and found the fellow worker. He was not seriously hurt, although he was beaten up quite a little. The scabs were then and there informed that if any of them thought himself tough and wanted to start anything, that the pickets would gladly finish the job for them. The same thing was made plain to the gunman and they say he was as pale as a ghost is supposed to be and was trembling like a wet dog. He begged the boys "for Gaw-awd's sake" not to have any rough stuff. There were 31 men in the squad and every one of them carries in his head the pictures of all the scabs.

The local lumber operators have been having a series of meetings in the Hotel Cranbrook recently. They started in Saturday afternoon and were still at it last night. On Saturday they were all telling each other how much money they had lost and blaming each other for not giving in to the strikers at the start. Robsonof the B.C.Spruce (who is acknowledged by all to be the one who practically forced the others to fight us) was almost crying because they had not given in at once. His outfit has had several horses killed, as well as a lot of rigging broken up and timber spoiled by scabs. They also have the largest number of scabs in the hospital, to say nothing of being ten or twelve million feet of timber short in their winter's output.

Another, scab named Charlie Parsons, was hurt Saturday on the landing at Baker and McNab's. He is one of the yaps who was picked off the blind of the passenger at Wardner, one night about two weeks ago, and was threatened with thirty days if he would not go to work. He has had his leg pretty badly jammed, so he will have thirty days to think it over, anyhow. The Good Lord hates a scab.

There are a number of squadrons out, who have not reported yet, and perhaps will not get in before night. They are the pick of the bunch, though, and will no doubt have some interesting reports to turn in. One squadron started to Lumberton, in order to mask the actions of the others, and the bulls fell into the trap fine. A couple of car-loads of bulls were waiting on the road to turn them back and, after a lot of foolish palaver, the boys turned around and came back, looking very disconsolate indeed. Everyone was watching Lumber and none of the other squads were noticed until they had landed where they were going. We are going to send more men to Lumberton though, because they always keep the scabs in camp when the squadrons are around. If the men land before breakfast, they will not roll out the crew until they have gone. If they go up in the day time, they always call in the crew from the woods. That is a good system of holding them on an involuntary strike and is better for us than holding the scabs off the job and feeding them. As the road going thru the works there is government road, they cannot stop us from travelling it. We are having lots of sport watching the boss break himself. Keep the support up, Fellow Workers, and we will soon have the jobs fixed up in good shape for the boss to go to work on.

Yours for the I.W.W.

Cranbrook Central Strike Committee.

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DAILY STRIKE BULLETIN. BOX 761, CRANBROOK, B. C. FEBRUARY 22th, 1924.

FELLOW WORKERS:-

Fellow Worker Gilbert Legere, one of our most valuable and best liked members, died this morning in the St.Eugene Hospital here of typhoid fever. He was in the picket camp in Elko when taken sick, and although advised by the other men there to seek medical aid,he, like the game little rebel he was, did not want to leave the picket line. When the fellow workers practically forced him to cime in here, it was too late. The doctor says, that had be come in sooner he might have been saved. This is a severe blow to all who knew the fellow worker, ad he was likeable in every way and was always a cheerful and true blue rebel who could be depended upon any place or any time. His cheery smile will not be seen around the Hall here any more, but as long as any lumberjacks live, who took part in this strike, Fell Worker Legere will always have a warm spot in their memories. He is gone but the work he helped carry on has a place in history, the importance of which it is impossible to estimate. His folks live in Moncton, N.B., and they are being communicated with regarding the disposition of the remains. W e are taking no action until they reply.

Another good answer was given to the injunctions last night. A squadron raided Camp #6 of the C.N.P. at Skookumchuck and talked to the scabs,in spite of the protests of the push and gunman. Most of the scabs there are of the last shipment from the Prairies and were practically shanghaied by the Saskatchewan provincial police. It seems, according to their stories,they were destitute and were getting relief for their families from the province and the provincial police came around and cut off the relief and told them to get out to B.C. and go to work. They now have big fares against them and it will be a month or more before they will have a nickle for their families anyway. The pickets tried to tell them that the best thing they could do would be to get out and go to work where they could have some money right away, as they will be fired as soon as they are out of debt there anyhow, but only two of them had the guts to come. The rest of them wanted to come so badly they were almost crying,but the fear of the boss was even greater than the love of home and family. Why nature ever gave such invertebrates the semblance of human beings is a riddle that has puzzled all scientists and which will perhaps never be answered until all the riddles of the universe are solved. We would sure like to know the size of hat the man will wear who can answerit.

Fellow Worker Rowan spoke here to-day,to a crowded house and his talk was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Everyone who heard him agrees that it was the best apeech ever heard in this town. It was not a flow of oily oratory,nor was it a barrage of huge words having no particular meaning. It was just a working man talking to working men in their own language,giving them two hours of solid facts,every one of which went home in a way that will be remembered. We are trying to route him for Kitchener,Elko and Fernie and perhaps several other places in the district. If you know of a place he could get any kind of a crowd, just notify the strike committee. He speaks here again Sunday.

Mr. Ross,aalawyer from Vancouver,is here to argue the injunction cases. The first case,which came up today,has been postponed u until tomorrow,to give the attorney time to prepare his case. He will no doubt file a "writ of hydrophobia" or something that sound that way, and then he and other lawyers will throw words at each other for several hours, trying to tell the judge something he already knows and trying to influence him to a decision,when he and they already know his decisions are already cut and dried. He knows tonight just what arguments he is going to hear tomorrow and he knows just how he is going to decide the case, neverthe less anyway, in order to find out what the judge thinks, when we can already guess the whole business. Either way it ddes not make much difference to us,as all the picket camps voted to carry on just the same regardless of any injunction. That is the final decision anyway--the Solidarity of the workers on the job. If that is maintained the rest dont matter at all,as they will be powerless against us.

FELLOW WORKERS,FUNDS ARE STILL NEEDED TO CARRY ON WTTH.

Yours for the I.W.W.

Central Strike Committee.

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Industrial Welfare workers

Ottawa, June 10, 1924.

Dear Mr. Poole:

I duly received your letter of the 27th May and regret that extreme pressure here has prevented an earlier acknowledgment. I had prepared a memorandum setting out certain historical facts as respects this organization and its operations in Canada, as they have come under our observation. With the outline therein given I am in substantial agreement.

Yours very truly,

Mr. J.R. Poole,
Secretary,
Mountain Lumber Manufacturers Assn.,
Nelson, B.C.

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I. R. POOLE,
SECRETARY-TREASURER

056230

Senator Robertson

MOUNTAIN LUMBER MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

BRITISH COLUMBIA PINE, CEDAR, FIR, LARCH,
HEMLOCK AND SPRUCE LUMBER.

NELSON, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

May 27th, 1924.

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

At a recent meeting of members of the Mountain Lumber Manufacturers' Association I was directed to bring to your attention the activities in Western Canada of an organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.).

The headquarters of said organization are in Chicago, U.S.A., and same is divided into various branches or units covering the lumber industry, agricultural, and other industries. Copy of the preamble to the I.W.W. constitution is enclosed.

The I.W.W. have been particularly active during the past six months or so in the lumber industry of Interior British Columbia. During the months of January, February and the first week of March of this year, said organization conducted an open strike among the loggers in the Golden and Cranbrook Districts in Eastern British Columbia. Funds for carrying on the strike were obtained from I.W.W. and other communist centres, chiefly in the United States, also from I.W.W. headquarters, Chicago. Propaganda conducted through the medium of I.W.W. newspapers, strike bulletins, etc., contained a constant appeal for funds, and it was not until there was a falling off in these contributions that the strike was declared transferred to the job. The latter, as you probably know, means that the I.W.W. will endeavor to obtain employment in the logging and sawmill camps with the object of doing as little work as possible, to hamper operations, and to spread their doctrines of discontent, etc.

During the open strike above referred to said organization did everything possible to stop logging operations, and through so-called peaceful picketing they were able to hamper operations and interfere with men desiring and willing to work. The I.W.W. were not satisfied with so-called peaceful picketing of railway stations and approaches to camps, but they also travelled on the trains intimidating, by various methods, men looking for employment. Last, but not least, through a system of raids on camps and operations they seriously interfered with workmen who continued in their employment as well as with the newcomers who desired to work. These raiding parties of I.W.W. consisted of from 25 to as high as over 100 men who raided camps both during the day and at night for the purpose of scaring out the workmen in order to cripple

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logging operations.

The open strike in question was engineered by I.W.W. agitators, the majority of workmen being forced out either through veiled threats or the desire to get away from trouble. The man who acted as Chairman of the Strike Committee was not in the employ of any of the operators affected, and is the same party who promoted and conducted a similar strike in the Crow's Nest District during the spring of last year, also in other districts of B. C. during the past three years or so.

I.W.W. leaders stated the demands of the men were for an Eight Hour Day, release of all class war prisoners, minimum wage of $4.00 per day, no discrimination against the I.W.W., or interference with their literature. The working time in logging operations has not for some years averaged over eight hours per day; operators in this country have no control over the so-called class war prisoners, which refers to men imprisoned in the U.S. for syndicalism, etc. Wages were and are from $3.50 to $4.00 and over per day. Operators pay the highest possible wage to good men, and will not under any circumstances recognize or deal with the I.W.W. As a matter of fact these so-called demands are made merely to cloud the real object, as it is the avowed purpose of the I.W.W. to disrupt and destroy our present form of Government and industrial life. Professional agitators speaking throughout the district stated that immediately present demands had been met, they would commence to agitate for a six hour day, and so on.

Recent press reports state that said organization is endeavoring to get a foothold in the agricultural districts of Western Canada, and are also spreading their propaganda in coal mining districts. Copy of strike bulletins issued during recent open strike are enclosed. These are a few of the many issued from strike headquarters at Cranbrook, B. C., were distributed to I.W.W. centres and many appeared in the I.W.W. press, all forming part of their propaganda to breed discontent and strife, and to raise funds to carry on their nefarious work.

The organization in question continue their headquarters in Eastern B. C. at Cranbrook, and it is said are busy spreading their doctrines and distributing literature wherever and whenever possible. It is also reported that just as soon as they consider the time ripe they propose to force another open strike, and will continue what they call the "intermittent strike" until they "break the boss".

The I.W.W. menace is a most serious one, not only to British Columbia, but to the country as a whole, and unless something is done, and done at once, said organization will become so firmly established that it will ultimately cost the people of this country many thousands of dollars to curb same, and to rectify the damage they have done.

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MOUNTAIN LUMBER MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

With regard to picketing. We are strongly of the opinion that so-called peaceful picketing is not of a peaceful nature, but is the means through which men desiring and willing to work are intimidated, and that picketing of any description should be prohibited by law. No one denies the right of any man to quit his employment if he so wishes, and this being so, why should not man have the right to work where and when he pleases without interference ?

There is sure to be a repetition of the recent I.W.W. disturbances unless immediate steps are taken to curb their activities. There appears to be no remedy under our present laws and regulations, and it seems to us that something should be done which will permit industry to be carried on and give to those willing to work the right to do so without interference.

We shall be very pleased to have your views regarding this matter at your early convenience.

A similar letter has been forwarded to, The Rt. Hon. Wm. L. Mackenzie King, Premier of Canada, Robert Forke, M.P., Ottawa, and Hon. Dr. J. H. King, M.P., Minister of Public Works.

Yours very truly,

I R Parle

Secretary.

IRP/MG

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Mr. J.R.Poole,

Secretary,Mountain Lumber Manufacturers Association,

Nelson, B?C.

Dear Sir;-

Your esteemed favor of May 27th is received and although somewhat busily engaged with parliamentary business which just now is at it its height,I have carefully read your letter together with the enclosures attached thereto.

The problem the B.C. Lumber men are facing is indeed a difficult one. From 1918 to 1921,the Governments of that period were called upon to deal with a somewhat similar problem in both the lumber and coal industries. Funds for I.W.W. and Communist propaganda were being supplied in liberal quantities;the object being to make industry unproductive and unprofitable to the end that present existing industrial and political systems might be destroyed and new ones established controlled and directed by " The Workers" as they termed themselves. That movement culminated in a general strike called in Winnipeg in May 1919 which it was intended to extend to all Western Canada. Assisted by the then Minister of Labor, I had a hand in dealing with that problem and acquired, from observation and experience,what seemed to me useful information in such matters which I transmit for your information and consideration.

In that instance an extended campaign of so called education of the people had been carried on until,public opinion was largely in sympathy with the alleged grievances of the workmen. All classes of wage earners,with very few exceptions were honestly of the opinion that the metal trades and building trades workmen were being unfairly treated. Postal employees,telephone employees,street railway employees and various other classes were induced that they too had

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serious grievances to be remedied and that the best method for all concerned was a general strike. It was further proposed to establish a "One Big Union" of workers in Western Canada to replace the Trades Unions of every description then existing, and make the grievance of one the grievance of all. The "One Big Union" was a subsiduary of the I.W.W. and its literature was largely printed and issued by the I.W.W. at the Chicago headquarters. The method followed in handling the Winnipeg strike seemed to me consistent from every view point and certainly the conflict was ended with a minimum of loss to both life and property. First every opportunity was given to the leaders to state their grievances in detail to Government representatives, who in turn consulted with the employers concerned. A declaration was obtained from the employers outlining a basis of collective bargaining with their employees through recognized representatives, which the employers were ready and willing to adopt. We then obtained declarations here from the Managers of the several railroad Companies and from the heads of the various railroad Brotherhoods that the basis offered by the Winnipeg employers was in keeping with the past and present practices on the railroads which had been and was satisfactory to all parties concerned, and therefore ought to be accepted as a basis from which to adjust the troubles of other classes of employers and workmen. The employers subscribed to this and it was then submitted to the strike leaders who repudiated it absolutely and told the Minister of Labor that the Trade Unions had always stood in the way of the progress of socialism and must be destroyed. The issue thereupon became clear cut, namely a strike to destroy both industry and the Trade Unions, as both were a barrier to the progress of Communist policy. All these facts were laid before the public which quickly turned the tide of public sympathy against the strikers and from that moment their cause was lost and

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enlightened supporters desarted until in a few days it was called off and broken. The deduction to be made is that public opinion is a governing factor in such matters. They must be convinced as to who is right in the first place and when so convinced, automatically operate. In Canada we have had for 17 years a law, the operation of which either employer or employees may invoke, which when used, brings to the public mind, knowledge of the facts from a disinterested tribunal authorized and empowered to hold an investigation at the expense of the State.

From your description of the hours of service, rates of pay and general conditions of employment in the lumber industry it would not appear difficuly for the B.C. Lumbermen to convince a Board under the law that the demands of the workmen were in large part at least both unreasonable and impossible, obviously made to create unrest and hamper industry. This is especially true as regards distribution of their red literature and the release of prisoners in another country. Such an inquiry with full details given to the public through the press would undoubtedly create a public opinion that would result in the sowers of discord curtailing their activities and probably abandon the field. Next the employers might well consider the encouraging of some form of organized understanding and cooperation between themselves and their workmen which would so operate as to prevent this red propaganda from becoming popular with the men engaged in the lumber industry, thereby creating a stable situation to the advantage of both the industry and the workmen engaged therein. There is the other alternative of fighting them openly and adopting arbitrary measurers as they themselves seem to be doing and make it a question of the survival of the strongest. In this age of organization in every business activity, I do not feel that such a course would be ~~either~~ wise

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neither would it merit or receive public commendation.

Since you are good enough to solicit an opinion from me on the subject, I am under obligation to give it you for what it may be worth, knowing your Association must ultimately determine its own course of action.

My view as to a policy ~~would be to~~ first adopt and establish conditions of employment and rates of wages which are obviously fair and reasonable. Make it known that you are at all times willing to hear and discuss with your employees, or any of them any matters of grievance they may desire to submit. Make it known that you will not only not recognize or deal with the I.W.W. but feature to the public the unreasonable and impossible demands made upon you. Public sentiment will thereby rapidly crystalize, in your favor, so long as you can prove honest intention and square dealing. If that did not prove effective, you might then with advantage call upon the Federal Government for a public investigation under the Industrial Disputes Act or under the Inquiries Act and thus bring forcibly to the public eye the facts from a disinterested source, so that in the event of a favorable decision you would then be in a firm position to expect and demand assistance to rid the community of those revealed and proven to be the conspirators responsible for the trouble. One of course cannot assume to speak with authority as an employer of labor nor yet as representing the views of the workmen, but in the light of observation and experience I am of the opinion that a course similar to that above outlined would have beneficial and lasting results.

Interested as I am, in all questions of public concern, I would be glad, if you feel so inclined, to be kept informed from time to time as to how this situation develops.

Yours sincerely

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MEMORANDUM:

The problem the B.C. Lumber men are facing is indeed a difficult one. From 1918 to 1921 , the Governments of that period were called upon to deal with a somewhat similar problem in both the lumber and coal industries. Funds for I.W.W. and Communist propaganda were being supplied in liberal quantities; the object being to make industry unproductive and unprofitable to the end that present existing industrial and political systems might be destroyed and new ones established controlled and directed by "The Workers" as they termed themselves. That movement culminated in a general strike called in Winnipeg in May 1919 which it was intended to extend to all Western Canada.

In that instance an extended campaign of so called education of the people had been carried on until, public opinion was largely in sympathy with the alleged grievances of the workmen. All classes of wage earners, with very few exceptions were honestly of the opinion that the metal trades and building trades workmen were being unfairly treated, Postal employees, telephone employees, street railway employees and various other classes were induced that they too had serious grievances to be remedied and that the best method for all concerned was a general strike. It was further proposed to establish a "One Big Union" of workers in Western Canada to replace the Trades Unions of every description then existing, and make the grievance of one the grievance of all. The "One Big Union" was a subsiduary of the I.W.W. and its literature was largely printed and issued by the I.W.W. at the Chicago headquarters. The method followed in

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handling the Winnipeg strike seemed consistent from every view point and certainly the conflict was ended with a minimum loss to both life and property. First every opportunity was given to the leaders to state their grievances in detail to Government representatives, who in turn consulted with the employers concerned. A declaration was obtained from the employers outlining a basis of collective bargaining with their employees through recognized representatives, which the employers were ready and willing to adopt. Then declarations were obtained from the Managers of the several railroad Companies and from the heads of the various railroad Brotherhoods that the basis offered by the Winnipeg employers was in keeping with the past and present practices on the railroads which had been and was satisfactory to all parties concerned, and therefore ought to be accepted as a basis from which to adjust the troubles of other classes of employers and workmen. The employers subscribed to this and it was then submitted to the strike leaders who repudiated it absolutely and told the Minister of Labor that the Trade Unions had always stood in the way of the progress of socialism and must be destroyed. The issue thereupon became clear cut, namely a strike to destroy both industry and the Trade Unions, as both were a barrier to the progress of Communist policy. All these facts were laid before the public which quickly turned the tide of public sympathy against the strikers and from that moment their cause was lost and enlightened supporters deserted until in a few days it was called off and broken. The deduction to be made is that public opinion is a governing factor in such matters. They must be convinced as to who is right in the first place and when so convinced automatically operate. In Canada we have had for 17 years

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a law, the operation of which either employer or employees may invoke, which when used, brings to the public mind, knowledge of the facts from a disinterested tribunal authorized and empowered to hold an investigation at the expense of the State.

From your description of the hours of service, rates of pay and general conditions of employment in the Lumber industry it would not appear difficult for the B.C. Lumbermen to convince a Board under the law that the demands of the workmen were in a large part at least both unreasonable and impossible, obviously made to create unrest and hamper industry. This is especially true as regards distribution of their red literature and the release of prisoners in another country. Such an inquiry with full details given to the public through the press would undoubtedly create a public opinion that would result in the sowers of discord curtailing their activities and probably abandon the field. Next the employers might well consider the encouraging of some form of organized understanding and co-operation between themselves and their workmen which would so operate as to prevent this red propaganda from becoming popular with the men engaged in the lumber industry, thereby creating a stable situation to the advantage of both the industry and the workmen engaged therein. There is the other alternative of fighting them openly and adopting arbitrary measures as they themselves seem to be doing and make it a question of the survival of the strongest. In this age of organization in every business activity, I do not feel that such a course would be wise neither would it merit or receive public commendation.

As to a policy, first adopt and establish conditions of employment and rates of wages which are obviously fair and reasonable. Make it known that you are at all times willing to hear and discuss with your employees, or any of them any matters of grievance they may desire to submit. Make it

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known that you will not only not recognise or deal with the I.W.W. but feature to the public the unreasonable and impossible demands made upon you. Public sentiment will thereby rapidly crystalize, in your favor, so long as you can prove honest intention and square dealing. If that did not prove ~~adequate~~ you might then with advantage call upon the Federal Government for a public investigation under the Industrial Disputes Act or under the Inquiries Act and this bring forcibly to the public eye the facts from a disinterested source, so that in the event of a favourable decision you would then be in a firm position to expect and demand assistance to rid the community of those revealed and proven to be the conspirators responsible for the trouble. One of course cannot assume to speak with authority as an employer of labor nor yet as representing the views of the workmen, but in the light of observation and experience it would seem that a course similar to that above outlined would have beneficial and lasting results.

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I. R. POOLE,
SECRETARY-TREASURER

056241

MOUNTAIN LUMBER MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

BRITISH COLUMBIA PINE, CEDAR, FIR, LARCH,
HEMLOCK AND SPRUCE LUMBER.

NELSON, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

September 13th, 1924.

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

Referring to your letter of June 10th last enclosing memorandum on the subject of the I.W.W. organization.

The writer had the pleasure of reading your memorandum at a recent meeting of the Executive Board of this Association, and I have been instructed by said Executive Board to convey to you the thanks of our members for your very excellent brief on the subject in question, which I assure you is much appreciated by our people.

Yours very truly,

I. R. Poole.

Secretary.

IRP/MG

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B23

Ottawa, Ont., September 18, 1924.

Dear Senator Robertson,

I thought you might be interested in the attached copy of a letter from I. R. Poole, of Nelson, B.C. You will remember preparing the memorandum referred to.

Yours sincerely,

Private Secretary

Honourable G. D. Robertson,
The Senate,
Ottawa

ENCLOSURE.

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Ottawa, February 14, 1924.

Dear Mr. Casselman:

Mr. Meighen would be glad if you could suggest a name to fill the request in the attached letter.

Please return the enclosed.

Yours very truly,

Private Secretary.

A. C. Casselman, Esquire,
Prescott, Ontario.

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A. C. Casselman
BARRISTER, SOLICITOR & NOTARY.
SOLICITOR FOR THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA
PHONE No. 38 OFFICES, ROYAL BANK BUILDING
PRESCOTT, CANADA

Feb. 16th. 1924

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Your letter of 11th. inst. is at hand, re recommendation of a medical examiner for the purpose of Civil Service Insurance here.

I would recommend Dr. W. J. Kerfoot of Prescott as a capable party to act in the position required.

I return herewith the letter from the Department of Insurance as requested.

Yours faithfully,

A. C. Casselman

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Confidential

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DEPARTMENT OF INSURANCE.

CIVIL SERVICE INSURANCE

CANADA

OTTAWA, February 11, 1924.

Rt. Hon. A. Meighen,

OTTAWA.

Dear Sir,-

Will you kindly suggest the name of a reliable physician residing at Prescott, Ont., to act in the capacity of medical examiner for the purposes of the Civil Service Insurance Act at that place.

Yours truly,

L.D. Finlayson

GC Superintendent of Insurance.

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Ottawa, February 18, 1924.

Dear Sir:

As requested in your letter of the 11th instant, I beg to suggest the name of Dr. W. J. Kerfoot as a capable party to act in the capacity of Medical Examiner for the purposes of the Civil Service Insurance Act at Prescott.

Yours very truly,

G. D. Finlayson, Esquire,
Supt. of Insurance,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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Ottawa, March 3, 1926.

R. Leighton Foster, Esq.,
Department of Insurance,
Toronto.

Dear Mr. Foster:

I have your letter of the 1st, and thank you very much for sending me copy of the Judgment of the Supreme Court of Ontario in the matter of provincial insurance legislation. I am indeed glad to have this information at hand.

Yours very truly,

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R. LEIGHTON FOSTER
SUPERINTENDENT OF INSURANCE
REGISTRAR OF LOAN CORPORATIONS

ONTARIO
DEPARTMENT OF INSURANCE

TORONTO
Mar. 1st
1926

Personal

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Last December when I was privileged to be seated beside you on the occasion of the luncheon in connection with the laying of the corner stone of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Building in Ottawa, you requested that when the judgment of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario in the matter of a Reference as to the validity of conflicting federal and provincial insurance legislation which we then discussed, was handed down, you would like me to forward you a personal copy. I am pleased to enclose herewith a copy of the judgment delivered a week ago Friday.

May I observe that the majority judgment of the Court is sweeping in character and declares ultra vires the "key" sections of the Insurance Act, 1917 (Dominion). It is not restricted as might appear at first glance, to the question of the validity of certain provisions of the Dominion Act respecting automobile and accident and sickness insurance provisions.

Yours faithfully,

R. Leighton Foster

RLF/ENB

Encl.

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RE INSURANCE CONTRACTS REFERENCE

JUDGEMENT

of the

SUPREME COURT OF ONTARIO

APPELLATE DIVISION

Latchford C.J., Riddell, Middleton, Masten, Smith J.A.

Delivered the 19th February, 1926.

HELD that it IS within the legislative competence of the Legislature of Ontario to enact such provisions as are contained in sections 168 and 180 of The Ontario Insurance Act, 1924.

HELD that it is NOT within the legislative competence of the Parliament of Canada to enact such provisions as are contained in sections 11, 12(1), 71, 71A, 134, and 134A of The Insurance Act, 1917 (Dominion).

IN THE MATTER OF A REFERENCE BY HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO TO THE APPELLATE DIVISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF ONTARIO PURSUANT TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS ACT (R.S.O.1914 Chapter 85) RESPECTING INSURANCE CONTRACTS.

Edward Bayly, K.C. and R.Leighton Foster
for the Attorney-General for Ontario.

V.Evan Gray
for the Canadian Automobile Underwriters Association and Canadian Casualty Underwriters Association.

F.W.Wegenast
for Reciprocal Insurers.

Sir William Hearst, K.C.
appointed to argue against the contentions of the Attorney-General.

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MASTEN, J.A. This is a reference by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario pursuant to Chapter 85 of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1914.

By the Orders-in-Council directing this reference the questions so referred for hearing and consideration are as follows:

(1) Is it within the Legislative competence of the Legislature of Ontario to enact such provisions as are contained in Sections 168 and 180 of The Ontario Insurance Act, 1924.

(2) If the answer to the first question is in the affirmative is it within the legislative competence of the Parliament of Canada to enact such provisions as are contained in Sections 11, 12(1), 71, 71(a) and 134 of The Ontario Insurance Act, 1917; sections 71 and 71A as enacted by chapter 50 of the Statutes of Canada 1924?

(3) If the answer to the first question is in the affirmative is it within the legislative competence of the Parliament of Canada to enact such provisions as are contained in sections 11, 12(1), 71 and 71A and 134A of The Insurance Act, 1917; sections 71 and 71A as enacted by Chapter 50 of the Statutes of Canada, and section 134A as enacted by Chapter 55 of the Statutes of Canada, 1923?

I deal first with Question One, Section 168 of The Ontario Insurance Act, 1924, is as follows:-

"The conditions set forth in this section shall, subject to the provisions of section 169 and 170, be deemed part of every contract of automobile insurance in force in Ontario and the said conditions shall be printed on every policy under the heading "automobile statutory conditions."

Then follow fifteen statutory conditions referred to in the above section.

Conditions 5 and 9(1) afford fair examples of the nature of these statutory provisions. These two conditions read as follows:-

5. The insurer shall not be liable under this policy while the automobile, with the knowledge, consent or connivance of the insured is being driven by a person under the age limit fixed by law, or, in any event, under the age of sixteen years, or by an intoxicated person.

9.(1) Upon the occurrence of any loss or damage to the insured automobile, the insured shall, if such loss or damage is covered by this policy,
(a) forthwith give notice thereof, in writing, to the insurer, with fullest information, obtainable at the time, and shall, at the expense of the insurer, and as far as reasonably possible, protect the automobile from further loss or damage, and any such further loss or damage accruing directly or indirectly from a failure to protect shall not be recoverable hereunder. No repairs shall be undertaken or any physical evidence of the loss or damage removed without the written consent of the insurer, except such repairs as are immediately

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necessary for the protection of the automobile from further loss or damage; or until the insurer has had a reasonable time to make the examination provided for in subsection 2 of this condition.

Section 180 referred to in Question One reads as follows:-

"The conditions set forth in this section shall be deemed subject to the provisions of the section 181 and 185 to be part of every contract of accident and sickness insurance in force in Ontario and shall be printed on every policy hereafter issued under the heading "statutory conditions."

Then follow twenty-one statutory conditions referred to in the section as quoted. It will suffice to quote two of these conditions as examples merely of the general character of all these provisions:

2. "All statements made by the insured upon the application for this policy shall, in the absence of fraud, be deemed representations and not warranties, and no such statement shall be used in defense of a claim under this policy unless it is contained in the written application for the policy and unless a copy of the application, or such part thereof as is material to the contract, is endorsed upon or attached to the policy when issued.

17. All moneys payable under this policy for loss other than that of time on account of disability shall be paid within sixty days after the receipt of proofs of claim.

The provisions of sections 169 and 170 and the provisions of sections 181 and 185 do not affect the answers to the questions submitted for the consideration of the Court.

This legislation is similar in all relevant aspects to the legislation respecting statutory conditions in contracts of fire insurance, which, in the case of Citizens Insurance Company v. Parsons (1881) 7 A.C. 96 was held to be within the legislative authority of the province. It was determined in that case that the legislation there in question fell under that enumerated subhead of section 92 of the British North America Act which entrusts to the Provincial Legislature the subject of "Property and Civil Rights."

In the same case it was determined that in No.2 of of S.91 the words "Regulation of Trade and Commerce" do not authorize the regulation by the Dominion Parliament of the contracts of a particular business or trade such as the business of fire insurance in a single province. For more than forty years the judgment in Citizens v. Parsons (supra) has been applied as a basis of decision in all our courts from the judicial committee down and now forms an essential part of the constitutional law of Canada. The circumstance that the legislation now in question might conflict with possible Dominion legislation relative to Aliens and Dominion companies does not remove it from the competency of the Provincial Legislature as was determined by the Judicial Committee in the Reciprocal Insurers Case (1924 A.C.328) at page 345 where it is said:

"Nothing in section 91 of the British North America Act, in itself, removes either aliens of Dominion companies from the circle of action

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which the Act has traced out for the Provinces. Provincial Statutes of general operation on the subject of Civil Rights prima facie affect them."

"It may be assumed that legislation touching the rights and disabilities of aliens or Dominion companies might be validly enacted by the Dominion in some respects conflicting with the Ontario Statute, and that in such case the provisions of the Ontario Statutes where inconsistent with the Dominion law would to that extent become legally ineffective; but this, as their Lordships have before observed, is no ground for holding that the provincial legislation relating as it does to a subject matter within the authority of the Province, is wholly illegal or in-operative. McColl v. Can.Pac.Rly.Co. 1923, A.C.126 at 135)."

I can find no distinction in principle between the statutory conditions relating to fire insurance and the enactments here in question and it therefore suffices to say that following the Citizens Insurance Case (supra) the first question submitted must be answered in the affirmative.

Questions 2 and 3. Having determined in answer to Question One that legislation regulating the statutory conditions in policies of automobile and accident and sickness insurance is insurance legislation within the exclusive authority of the Provincial Legislature as coming under the head of civil rights it follows that legislation on the same subject matter by the Dominion Parliament can be valid only so far as it comes within the principle that subjects which is one aspect and for one purpose fall within section 92 of The British North America Act may in another aspect and for another purpose fall within section 91. But that principle is to be applied only with great caution as remarked by Viscount Haldane in Attorney-General for Canada v. Attorney-General for Alberta 1916, 1. A.C. 596. I understand it is to that principle that their Lordships refer in the Reciprocal Insurance Case Supra, to which it is now necessary to advert.

Questions two and three now submitted though not in form are yet in principle supplementary to the questions considered in that case and the present application cannot be adequately considered without bearing in mind the observations of the judicial committee on that appeal and the circumstances there under consideration. In that case the facts were that the Legislature of Ontario had in 1922 passed an Act known as The Reciprocal Insurance Act which authorized any person to exchange, through the medium of an attorney, with persons, whether in Ontario or elsewhere reciprocal contracts of insurance, subject to provisions as to licenses and other conditions; and it was provided that actions in respect of such contracts might be maintained in the Courts of the Province.

A Dominion Act of 1917 inserted in the Criminal Code, S.508C, by which it was made an indictable offence for any person to solicit or accept any insurance risk except on behalf of a company or association licensed under The Insurance Act, 1917, of Canada.

The judicial Committee in answer to the questions submitted by the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario held, first, that the Reciprocal Insurance Act was validly enacted by the Legislature of Ontario and, second, that the making and carrying out of contracts licensed under the Provincial Act were not rendered illegal or otherwise affected by section 508C of the Criminal Code. That section was held

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invalid because in substance although not in form it was in regulation of contracts of insurance, subjects not within the legislative competence of the Dominion.

The third question submitted was as follows:

Would the answers to questions one or two be affected, and if so, how, if one or more of the persons subscribing to such reciprocal insurance contracts is: (A) A British subject not resident in Canada immigrating into Canada? (B) An alien?

In dealing with the question Mr. Justice Duff who delivered the opinion of the Judicial Committee says, at page 346:-

> In view of the terms of the third question it is necessary to notice a contention of the respondents that S.508C can receive a limited effect as applying to aliens within the meaning of Section 11(b) of the Insurance Act, 1917 and to companies and natural persons not aliens immigrating into Canada within the meaning of section 12 a parallel contention as to the effect of sections 11 and 12.
>
> The enactment in question being in substance, notwithstanding its form, an enactment in regulation of contracts of insurance and the business of insurance, subjects not within the legislative sphere of the Dominion, and, subject to the proviso which is not here material, being general in its terms, is in their Lordships' opinion invalid in its entirety. Assuming that it would be competent to the Dominion Parliament under its jurisdiction over the subject of aliens, to pass legislation expressed in similar terms, but limited in its operation to aliens, their Lordships' think it too clear for discussion that section 508C is not an enactment on the subject of aliens (just ad the Ontario statute of 1922 is not an enactment on that subject): and that the language of the clause in question cannot be so read as to effect by construction such a limitation of its scope. Such a result could only be accomplished by introducing qualifying phrases, indeed, by reqriting the clause and transforming it into one to which the Legislature has not given its assent.
>
> It follows that the third question must be answered in the negative, but with this qualification, that, in so answering it their Lordships' do not express any opinion as to the competence of the Dominion Parlianent, by virtue of its authority in relation to aliens and to trade and commerce, to enact sections 11 and 12(1) of the Insurance Act. This, although referred to on the argument before their Lordships' Board, was not fully discussed, and since it is not directly raised by the question submitted, their Lordships' as they then intimated, consider it inadvisable to express any opinion upon it. Their Lordships' think it sufficient to recall the observation of Lord Haldane, in delivering the judgment of the Board in Attorney-General for Canada v. Attorney-General for Alberta (supra), to the effect that legislation, if properly framed, requiring aliens whether natural persons or foreign companies, to

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become licensed, as a condition of carrying on the business of insurance in Canada, might be competently enacted by Parliament (an observation which, it may be added, applied also to Dominion companies) and to remark that the second subsection of section 12 ascribes an inadmissible meaning to the word "immigrate" which, if governing the interpretation of subsection 1, would extend the scopes of section 12 to matters not obviously not comprised within the subject of immigration and that subsection 2 is therefore not competently enacted under the authority of the Dominion in relation to that subject. Their Lordships' do not think it proper to discuss the limits of that authority, or to intimate any opinion upon the point whether any, or if any, what effect can be given to the first subsection of section 12 as an enactment passed in exercise of it."

Bearing in mind the well recognized rule that in the discussion of questions like the present, the Court ought to limit its answers strictly to the questions submitted, the present inquiry is by the decision in the Reciprocal Case (supra) narrowed to this question: Is the legislation of the Dominion, referred to in questions two and three "properly framed" so as to be"competently enacted"?

To warrant an answer in the affirmative to that question it must appear that the legislation here in question does in its true aspect, its object and purpose relate in the one case to the incorporation of Dominion Companies; and in the others to the admission into Canada and to the licensing of British or alien persons (including companies); rather than to the regulation of the business of insurance. In the alternative if the conclusion is reached that this is in its essence insurance legislation then it will be valid only if it is ancillary to some of those powers which the Dominion Parliament admittedly possesses under section 91 so as to warrant in that way an intrusion by the Dominion on the Provincial field of civil rights. And in either event if the Dominion legislation is valid it must over-ride the Provincial enactment.

With these preliminary observations I proceed to a more detailed consideration of Questions 2 and 3 which may be conveniently treated together as the same considerations apply to each,

On account of their length I refrain from quoting in extenso the sections mentioned in these questions but indicate the substance of the enactment so far as seems necessary for a consideration of its constitutionality.

Section 11 of The Insurance Act, 1917, enacts that:

"It shall not be lawful for
(a) and Canadian Company; or

(b) any alien whether a natural person or a foreign company to carry on insurance in Canada, "Unless under a license from the Minister granted pursuant to this Act.

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Section 12 makes a similar provision in respect to British Companies.

Section 71 provides the penalty to be incurred by any Canadian company or by any alien whether a natural person or a foreign company who does insurance business in Canada without a license.

And section 71(a) makes a similar provision with regard to British Companies and British subjects.

Section 134(a) omitting the irrelevant subsections, is as follows:

> 134(A), (1) "It shall be a condition of the license of every company licensed under this Act to carry on the business of automobile insurance or licensed to carry on any other class or classes of insurance which include the insurance of automobiles whether such condition be expressed in the license or not, and for the breach of which the license may be cancelled or withdrawn by the Minister, that no policy of automobile insurance other than an interim receipt or temporary binder covering a risk for a period not exceeding fourteen days shall be delivered in Canada by any such company unless the company has received an application for the policy in writing signed by the insured or by his agent authorized in writing signed by the insured, such application to contain the information and endorsements hereinafter specified; that no such policy shall be delivered in Canada by any such company until a copy of the form of such policy has been mailed by prepaid registered letter to the Superintendent; and that every such policy shall contain in substance the following terms, provisions or conditions:-
>
> x x x x x x x x x x x
>
> (here follow 18 terms, provisions and conditions)

Characteristic examples of the conditions enacted under this section are as follows:

> "(a) the name and address of the company, the name and address of the insured, the name of the person or persons to whom the insurance money is payable if other than the insured, the premium for the insurance, the perils or risks insured against, the indemnity for which the company may become liable, the event on the happening of which such liability is to accrue, and the terms of the insurance.
>
> "(j) if the policy insures against accident to persons or damage to property of others than the insured:-
>
> (i) that upon the occurrence of an accident involving bodily injuries or death, or damage to property of others, the insured shall promptly give written notice thereof to the company, with the fullest information obtainable at the time; that the insured shall give like notice of such accident, and that every writ, letter, document or adivce received by the insured from or on behalf of any claimant shall be immediately forwarded to the company.
>
> (ii) that the insured shall not voluntarily assume any liability or settle any claim except

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at his own cost; that the insured shall not interfere in any negotiations for settlement or in any legal proceeding, but, whenever requested by the company, shall aid in securing information and evidence and the attendance of any witnesses, and shall co-operate with the company except in a pecuniary way, in all matters which the company may deem necessary in the defence of any action or proceeding or in the prosecution of any appeal.

134 A (2) A copy of the application for the policy shall be attached to and form part of the policy when issued and such application shall set forth the insured's occupation, its purchase price to the insured, whether fully paid for or otherwise, whether purchased new or second-hand, particulars of any mortgage, lien or other encumbrance, the use to which it is and will principally be put, the place where it is and will principally maintained and garaged, the locality where it is and will be principally used, the fact of any accident in which an automobile owned or operated by the insured has been involved, the particulars of any claims made against and by the insured is respect of the ownership or operation of any automobile, whether any company has cancelled any automobile policy of the insured, or refused to issue automobile insurance to the insured and such further information as the company may required

134 A (3) Notwithstanding anything in this section contained, the policy may be renewed by the delivery of a renewal receipt or a new premium note

134 A (4) Upon every such application there shall be printed or stamped in conspicuous type, not less in size than ten point, the following words:

> "If the applicant knowingly misrepresents or conceals any fact or circumstances required by this application to be made known, the contract of insurance shall be void as to the property or risk undertaken in respect of which the misrepresentation or omission is made."

134 A (5) Any such policy may provide for the exclusion from the risks insured against, of losses arising from any hazard or class of hazard expressly stated in the policy.

134 A (6) In any case where there has been imperfect compliance with a statutory condition as to the proof of the loss to be given to the insured, or as to any matter or thing to be done or omitted by the insured after the maturity of the contract and a consequent forfeiture or avoidance of the insurance, in whole or in part, and the court deems it inequitable that the insurance should be forfeited or avoided on that ground, the court may relieve against the forfeiture or avoidance on any such terms as it may deem just.

134 A (7) No such company shall issue in Canada a valued policy of automobile insurance.

Section 134 provides as follows:

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It shall be a condition of the license of every company licensed under this Act to carry on the business of accident insurance or sickness insurance, or both, whether such conditions be expressed in the license or not, for the breach of which the license may be cancelled or withdrawn by the Minister.

x x x x x x x x x x x x

(Here follow fourteen terms and provisions relative to contracts of accident insurance and six terms and provisions relative to contracts of sickness insurance). Each and every one of these conditions is similar in character to the examples given under section 134 A and is directed solely to some detail of the contract of insurance.

S.134(4) Any of the foregoing terms or provisions which are inconsistent with terms or provisions required to be contained in the policy by the law of the Province in which the policy is issued, shall not, to the extent to which they are so inconsistent, be required to be contained in the policy.

It thus appears that the legislation in question is limited to three classes of persons (including companies) First Dominion companies; Second, British companies and individuals; Third, Foreign or alien companies and individuals. The effect of the legislation is that these persons are prohibited from carrying on in Canada the business of insurance without a license, and it is provided that it shall be a condition of such license whether expressed on the face of it or not that every policy issued by the license shall contain the statutory provisions in question, and the license may be forfeited if the licensee commits a breach of this or any other condition.

The constitutional question remains the same in relation to each of the three classes of insurance (automobile, accident and sickness); but as applied to Dominion companies the considerations which govern our conclusion are in some respects different from those which relate to the power of the Dominion to license British and alien persons (including companies).

Accordingly I proceed to deal first with the questions. Does the object and purpose of this legislation relate to the incorporation of Dominion insurance companies or is it directed to the regulation of insurance business in Ontario? and in the alternative, can the legislation in question be justified as ancillary to any of the enumerated powers in Section 91?

It may be assumed that the Dominion Parliament is competent to grant to a company incorporated by it status as a Dominion corporation, to confer upon it its capacities, to endow it with powers, and to prescribe limitations on these powers. For example it might enact that no insurance company incorporated under its authority should possess power to carry on conjointly the business of Life insurance and the business of Guarantee insurance. It can prescribe the number and mode of election of its Board of Directors, and detail their powers; generally, it can legislate respecting the internal relations of the members or shareholders and the regulation of the domestic affairs of the Company. But the granting of subjective status and powers of the company are one thing, and the regulation of the objective exercise of its powers in a particular province is quite another thing.

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It seems to me self evident that the conditions which a Dominion company after it has been incorporated and organized, chooses to insert in its policies of insurance have nothing whatever to do with its prior incorporation. In other words the Dominion legislation here in question is not aimed to create or to control or limit the status, powers, or field of operation of the companies referred to in the statute, but rather to control its subsequent operations by prescribing certain minor details of the contracts into which the citizens of Ontario may enter with such companies and persons, and so to regulate the business of Insurance.

Nor can the Dominion invoke the aid of enumerated head two of section 91 (Regulation of Trade and Commerce) in support of this enactment. Notwithstanding the extension of the ambit of the legislative powers of the Dominion under that head, as indicated by the decisions of the Judicial Committee in John Deere Plough Company v. Wharton (1915) A.C.33; Board of Commerce Case (1922) 1, A.C.191; and Toronto Electric Commissioners v. Snider (1925) A.C. at 409, I think that the Parsons Case (supra), the Alberta Case (supra) and the Reciprocal Insurance Case (supra) establish firmly that the Dominion Parliament cannot by virtue of its authority to regulate trade and commerce pass an enactment in regulation of contracts of insurance and the business of insurance.

If then this legislation does not in its essence relate to the incorporation of a Dominion company and is not authorized by head 2 of section 91 it can be pronounced valid only if it is ancillary to legislation under one of these heads. I pause here to observe that the power to incorporate Dominion companies does not arise under any enumerated head of section 91 and that under the decision in the Liquor Prohibition Appeal (1896) A.C.348, at 360 and 361, the power to pass ancillary legislation infringing on civil rights will in such a case be inferred less readily than if the original power of the arises under an enumerated head.

I proceed to deal with the questions whether the legislation in question is ancillary to the incorporation of Dominion companies.

In the case of British Columbia Electric Railway Company v. Vancouver, Victoria & Eastern Railway et al (1913) 48, S.C.R. at page 120, Duff J. suggests a test of what is truly ancillary which seems to me to be applicable and appropriate in the present case. He says:

> "In every case in which a conflict arises the point for determination must be whether there exists such a necessity for the power to pass the particular enactment in question as to be essential to the effective exercise of the Dominion authority, as to justify the inference that the power has been conferred."

citing, the City of Montreal v. The Montreal Street Railway Company (1912) A.C.333 at pages 342, 345.

It follows that the answer to the question when and to what extent the Dominion Parliament can by legislation ancillary to its powers under section 91 intrude on the domain of Civil Rights depends on the surrounding circumstances. The principle is readily stated - the difficulty is in applying it to the facts of each particular case.

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Reported cases are of value only so far as they explain and elaborate the principle and afford examples and illustrations of the way in which that principle has been applied in particular cases by eminent judges, and to that end I refer to a few only of the many cases in which the question has arisen.

In Cushing v. Dupuy (1880) L.R. 5,A.C.409, the Dominion Parliament had passed legislation enacting that the judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench in matters of solvency should be final so that no appeal to the Privy Council lay as of right. The legislation was held to be competent as a general law relating to bankruptcy though affecting a civil right because procedure must necessarily form an essential part of any law dealing with insolvency.

In the Parsons Case (supra), one company was incorporated by the Dominion and the other by the Imperial Parliament and the argument for the Dominion was that the Dominion Act, 38 Vic. Cap.30) had imposed certain conditions on companies of this kind upon the performance of which the right to carry on business resulted and which therefore could not afterwards be hampered or restricted however locally by a provincial legislature.

In dealing with this argument their Lordships' of the Judicial Committee say:

> "It is enough for the decision of the present case to say that in their view its authority to legislate for the regulation of trade and commerce does not comprehend the power to regulate by legislation the contracts of a particular business or trade such as the business of fire insurance in a single province and therefore that its legislative authority does not in the present case conflict or compete with the power over property and civil rights assigned to the Legislature of Ontario by No.13 of Section 92."

The essential quality of such legislation is described in the Liquor Prohibition Appeal (1896) A.C. at 344-5, as "Necessarily essential."

In the case of City of Toronto v. Canadian Pacific Railway Company (1908) A.C.54 at page 58, indicates that the power in such circumstances does not extend further than is reasonably necessary to enable the Dominion Parliament to legislate effectively on the enumerated subjects committed to its jurisdiction by the British North America Act. In that case Toronto was ordered by the Dominion Railway Commission to pay a certain proportion of the expense of maintaining gates and guards at a point in the City where the Canadian Pacific Railway crossed a highway at the level. The Dominion Railway Act authorized the Railway Committee of the Privy Council of Canada to assess a proportion of the cost against the municipal corporation. The city contended that it was ultra vires the Dominion to enact legislation under which they could be charged for work either for a railway or a municipal purpose. For the railway it was contended that the provisions in question were intra vires of the Dominion Parliament as being ancillary to through railway legislation, notwithstanding that they effected civil rights.

Lord Collins in delivering the judgment of the Judicial Committee said:-

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"If the precautions ordered are reasonably necessary it is obvious that they must be paid for and in the view of their Lordships' there is nothing ultra vires in the ancillary power conferred by the sections on the committee to make an equitable adjustment of the expenses among the persons interviewed."

In Montreal Street Railway Company v. City of Montreal, 1912, A.C. at page 344, their Lordships' say that:

"the Act and Order (of the Railway Commission) if justified at all must be justified on the ground that they are necessarily indidental to the exercise by the Dominion Parliament of the powers conferred upon it by the enumerated heads of S.91."

and it must be shown that

"it is necessarily incidental to the exercise of control over the traffic of a federal railway in respect of its giving an unjust preference to certain classes of its passengers or otherwise that it should also have power to exercise control over the "through" traffic of such a purely local thing as a provincial railway property so called if only it be connected with a federal railway."

It was held that such power was not "necessarily incidental."

In the latest decision of the Supreme Court of Canada, King v. Eastern Terminal Elevator Company (1925) S.C.R. 454, the question was on the power of the Dominion parliament as a part of an Act to control and regulate the trade in grain, to enact that if at the end of any crop year, in any terminal elevator

"The total surplus of grain is found in excess of one-quarter of one per cent, of the gross amount of the grain received in the elevator during the crop year such surplus shall be sold for the benefit of the Board."

This provision was by a majority of the Court held to be ultra vires as an infringement on the civil rights entrusted to provincial legislature and not necessarily incidental to the control of the grain trade.

In the light of these cases, applying the test suggested by Duff, J. and quoted above, the point for determination is whether in the incprporation of Dominion Insurance companies there exists such a necessity for the power to prescribe the statutory conditions in question, as essential to the effective exercise of the Dominion authority as to justify the inference that the power has been conferred.

The absence of such conditions would not have caused the action of the Federal authority to become a dead letter when incorporating insurance companies. But further, even if such conditions were essential, the need is satisfied by Provincial legislation so that no necessity for such Dominion legislation now exists. Even assuming that formerly the nature of the business necessitated such legislation, the authority for legislation, ancillary to the incorporation of Dominion insurance companies, could not have been shown to exist unless and until the Provincial Legislature failed to exercise their own legislative powers to fill the need. That they would so fail is not to be assumed. (City of Montreal v. Montreal Street

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Railway, 1912, A.C. at 345). I therefore arrive at the conclusion that the legislation in question is not necessarily incidental to the incorporation of Dominion Insurance companies.

With respect to British insurance companies, British natural persons, alien insurance companies and alien persons seeking to carry on the business of insurance in Canada, the considerations to be observed in reaching a conclusion are for the most part similar to those which obtain in considering the case of Dominion Companies and need not be repeated. Some further points, however, present themselves in that connection. The decision of the Judicial Committee in the case of Attorney-General for Canada vs. Attorney-General for Alberta (supra), determines that the power of restricting in Canada by a system of licensing the business of foreign insurance companies is given to the Dominion by the heads in section 91 which refer to the regulation of trade and commerce and to aliens.

It may, therefore, be assumed that if a foreign insurance company, empowered by its constating instruments to carry on the business of both life and guarantee insurance, were to apply for a Dominion license to carry on its business in Canada, the Dominion parliament might permit it to carry on life insurance and decline permission to carry on concurrently guarantee insurance or might impose a condition that it deposit so many thousand of dollars with the Insurance Department of Canada as a guarantee to its policyholders. It may also be assumed that any alien, whether a foreign company or a natural person, coming to Canada to carry on the business of insurance must be licensed by Dominion authority and only to the extent to which such alien is so licensed and on the conditions prescribed by the Dominion will he or it be legally entitled to commence business; but when the alien has complied with the conditions prescribed and the license issues, the functions of the Dominion authority are exhausted and the details of the contracts of insurance which it subsequently makes with the citizens of Ontario does not fall under the head of licensing (though it may be a consequence of the licensing) but under the head of civil rights in whatever Province the licensee carries on business. The view just expressed accords with the decision of the Judicial Committee in the case of Cunningham v. Tomey Homma, 1903, A.C. 151, and an observation of Lord Halsbury in delivering the judgment of the Committee is pertinent to the present question. The subject thereunder consideration related to the validity of an Act of the Legislature of British Columbia excluding all Japanese, whether naturalized or not, from exercising the franchise at provincial elections.. The contention of the Dominion was that the British Columbia Act was ultra vires because it trenched on the exclusive authority of the Dominion Parliament to legislate respecting aliens and naturalization. At page 156, Lord Halsbury in discussing section 91, head 25, says:

"The truth is that the language of that section does not purport to deal with the consequences of either alienage or naturalization. It undoubtedly reserves these subjects for the exclusive jurisdiction of the Dominion - that is to say, it is for the Dominion to determine what shall constitute either the one or the other, but the question as to what consequences shall follow from either is not touched.. The right of protection and the obligations of allegiance are necessarily involved in the nationality conferred by naturalization; but

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the privileges attached to it, where those depend upon residence, are quite independent of nationality."

In the result the Judicial Committee negatived the contention of the Dominion.

Nor, in my opinion, is this enactment "ancillary" in the sense of "necessarily essential" to Dominion Legislation respecting aliens or trade and commerce.

The fact that automobile insurance in all its branches and the business of Accident and Sickness Insurance were carried on fairly to the public and with success to the companies for many years before Statutory conditions were prescribed by any authority, federal or provincial, seems to establish conclusively that Statutory conditions are not "necessarily essential" to the conduct of such insurance business. The conditions seem in the main to be devised rather for the purpose of affording adequate protection to the insured than to facilitate the fulfilment by the company of its functions and are in no sense essential to the esercise by the insurance company of its powers. The same reasoning applies, I think, to the licensing of British insurance companies and natural persons, and need not be separately discussed.

With respect to questions two and three there is, however, suggested a further question which may be stated as follows:- The Dominion Parliament has power to prohibit the entry into Canada for insurance purposes of British companies and persons and alien companies and persons unless and until they secure from the Dominion a license so to do. It follows that it may condition its grant of a license on any terms whatsoever which it may see fit to impose and to revoke the license on breach of a condition on which it was granted. The applicant is under no compulsion to accept the license on the terms prescribed. He may refuse and stay out of Canada, but if he accepts the license on the conditions and terms prescribed by the Dominion, he is bound by such acceptance, and the incorporation of the Dominion statutory conditions in the policies he issues arises from such acceptance and are not imposed by the Dominion Statute. Hence it is argued that the legislation in question does not trench on civil rights in Ontario but is directed solely to legislation respecting British and alien persons (including companies) and the conditions of their entry into Canada, and that consequently the discretion of the Dominion regarding the conditions it chooses to impose on applicants for licenses cannot be in any way questioned or controlled.

I agree, subject to one exception, viz. that where the condition sought to be imposed by the Dominion has the effect of trenching on any of the enumerated powers which are exclusively entrusted to the Provincial Legislature by section 92, the right to impose and enforce such a legislative condition must as to its constitutional validity be considered and tested by the same principles as those which are applicable to direct legislation for it is well established that the Dominion Parliament cannot do indirectly what it cannot do directly.

Considering the history of the constitutional controversy between the Dominion and Provincial authorities respecting insurance legislation, I am driven to the conclusion that the legislation in question is an attempt by this indirect method to regulate the business of insurance

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In the Provinces of Canada so far as it is conducted by the classes of companies and persons above named and that its form is adopted under the guise of legislation respecting Trade and Commerce and respecting aliens in order to cloak a regulation of the business of insurance.

"A statute must be judged by its natural and reasonable effect." This statement was made by the Supreme Court of the United States in adjudicating upon the Constitutionality of an Act of Congress and is reported in Hammer v. Dagenhat (1918) 247 U.S. 251. It is quoted with approval in the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the case respecting reciprocal insurers 1924, A.C. at page 339.

Now the natural and reasonable effect of the legislation in question is to deprive the Citizens of Ontario of the civil rights which they previously enjoyed.
A

Apart from such legislation as is here in question, any insurance company, foreign or domestic and any natural person (not an enemy) might under the rules of comity enter Canada and carry on the business of insurance. Apart from this legislation, the citizens of Ontario could contract with British and with alien insurance companies without let or hindrance and their contracts would be valid an enforceable in accordance with the statutory conditions prescribed by Ontario law, but if and so far as the legislation in question has validity, the citizens of Ontario cannot any longer contract policies of insurance with British or alien companies on the conditions and terms prescribed by the laws of Ontario, but only on the terms prescribed by this legislation. Thus the natural and reasonable effect of the legislation in question is to interfere with civil rights of the citizens of Ontario.

I, therefore, conclude that the legislation in question is not only in substance but also in form directed to the regulation of the conduct in Ontario of the business of insurance and that in its ogject and scope it fails to come within any power or combination of powers confided to the Dominion Parliament by Section 91.

For these reasons I am of opinion that the legislation in question is not properly framed so as to come within the competence of the Dominion Parliament.

I would answer the first question "Yes" and the second and third questions "No."

Middleton, J.A. I concur.

Riddell, J.A. While I am not wholly free from doubt the inclination of my opinion is to agree with my brother Masten. In view of the probability that the case will go further, I do not think I should be justified in holding up the judgment in the expectation of increasing or wholly removing any doubt. I concur.

Latchford C.J. I have had the advantage of perusing the opinion written in this case by my learned brother Masten, and desire to express my concurrence in his answer to the first question. The Parsons Case (supra) seems to me conclusive on this point.

The second and third questions are not so easily answered.

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Counsel for the Province of Ontario contend that if the answer to the first question is in the affirmative sections 134 of the Dominion Insurance Act of 1917, and 134(a) of the Act of 1923 are ultra vires of the Parliament of Canada.

These sections are sufficiently quoted in the opinion of my learned brother, and it is unnecessary to repeat them. They purport to affect certain companies licensed or seeking a license under section 4 of the Act of 1917, which empowers the Minister to grant a license to any company which shall have complied with the requirements of the Act, which include inter alia conditions to be inserted in the policies differing in certain respects from conditions imposed by The Ontario Insurance Act. They do not affect the business of insurance carried on in Ontario or any particular province by other than such licensees. The companies affected are any Canadian company or any foreign company intending to carry on the business of insurance throughout Canada or in any part of Canada which may be specified in the license and any other company carrying on such business throughout Canada or in more than one province. British companies can stand in no higher position than "foreign" companies with regard to licensing.

For nonconformity with the conditions so imposed a Dominion license may be withheld by the Minister, or, if issued, withdrawn or cancelled.

Section 69 of The Ontario Companies Act provides for the registration under that Act of a company so licensed and for the suspension or cancellation of the registry of a company, the license of which has been suspended or cancelled under the provisions of the Dominion Insurance Act.

The power of the Canadian Parliament to enact laws for the incorporation of companies to carry on the business of insurance in more than one Province of the Dominion, and for the licensing of such companies and of British and foreign companies and persons, is not, in my opinion, open to question. Each province has the exclusive power under Head II of Section 92 of the British North America Act to make laws in relation to the incorporation of "companies with merely Provincial objects". It follows, said Sir Montague Smith in the Parsons case (supra) at page 217 "that the incorporation of companies for objects other than provincial falls within the general powers of the Parliament of Canada". The John Deere Plow Company case (supra) also determines that the power of legislating with reference to the incorporation of companies with other than provincial objects belongs exclusively to the Dominion, as a matter "not coming exclusively within the classes of subjects" "assigned to the legislatures of the provinces". The Board at the same time was careful to declare that because the status of a Dominion company confers on it civil rights to some extent, the power does not enable it to trench on the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature for civil rights in general. The expression 'civil rights' must be construed consistently with various powers conferred by Sections 91 and 92 which restrict its literal scope.

The Province of British Columbia was declared in that case incompetent to "legislate so as to deprive a Dominion Company of its status and powers". Per Haldane, L.J. p.341. In so far as the status and corporate capacity of a Dominion company carries with it powers conferred by the Parliament of Canada to do business in every part of the Dominion, the Provincial Legislature cannot interfere.

This decision is far reaching in its consequences. As I understand it, while the Dominion cannot interfere generally

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with civil rights, it may do so in particular cases.

In the Great West Saddlery Company vs. The King (1921) 2 A.C.91, the implications in the John Deere Plow Company Case were invoked to determine that a Provincial Legislature cannot validly enact sections which would sterilize and destroy the capacities and powers validly conferred by the Dominion Parliament.

In Attorney-General for Canada vs. Attorney-General for Alberta (1916) A.C.588, it was held to be competent for the Parliament of Canada under section 91, heads 2 and 25 to prohibit by legislation properly framed, a foreign insurance company from carrying on business even in a single province of Canada without a license from the Minister in charge of the Department of Insurance.

In Attorney-General of Ontario v. Reciprocal Insurers (1924) A.C.328, at 347, their Lordships while declining to express an opinion on the competency of the Dominion Parliament to legislate by virtue of its authority in relation to aliens and to trade and commerce, "recalls" the observation of Lord Haldane in Attorney-General for Canada vs. The Attorney-General for Alberta (supra) "to the effect that properly framed legislation requiring aliens, whether natural persons or foreign corporations, to become licensed might be competently enacted by Parliament (an observation which, it may be added, applies also to Dominion Companies".) No dissent is expressed from the observation so recalled, though the Board refrained from giving its opinion on the point. The statement of Lord Haldane, even if obiter, is of great weight, and must, in my opinion be regarded as expressing the law.

The legislation requiring Dominion Corporations and aliens, whether persons or corporations, intending to do business in more than one Province, to become licensed, was, I think, properly framed and within the competence of the Dominion Parliament. It is not general in its application but is confined - section 11 - to "any Canadian Company or any alien, whether a natural person or a foreign company".

As the Parliament of Canada has the power to create corporations with other than provincial objects and possesses also the power of licensing such corporations and aliens and foreign persons for the purpose of doing business in Canada, it seems to me to follow as necessarily ancillary to the exercise of such a power that the Dominion could validly prescribe the conditions under which that particular business should be carried on. I am not deterred from this conclusion by a full realization of the principles laid down recently in the Privy Council by Duff, J., when he said that the true nature of an enactment in question must be considered its pith and character and its substance rather than its form. It is obviously desirable that all persons or companies authorized to carry on the business of insurance under The Insurance Act of 1917 should conform to identical conditions and that is in substance and effect that the legislation now in question purports to do.

I therefore think questions 2 and 2 should be answered in the affirmative.

Smith J.A.: I agree with my brother Masten in answering the first question in the affirmative for the reasons stated by him.

As to the remaining questions while I am in general agreement with my brother Masten, I am of opinion that as to natural persons and companies that the Dominion Parliament has authority to prohibit from carrying on business without a license the Parliament has the power to grant and revoke such license on any condition it sees fit to impose, and therefore has power to enact that there shall be conditions as provided in section 134 ss.1,2,3,4. If the form of policy submitted does not conform to the requirements

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there would be the right to refuse a license. If after the issue of the license the licensee refuses or neglects to comply with the requirements by putting the stipulated terms and conditions in its policies the license may be cancelled. As to this I am at variance with my brother Masten where he says that "when the alien has complied with the conditions prescribed and the license issues, the functions of the Dominion authority are exhausted." In my view the license may be for a limited time and renewable and may be made revocable on failure to comply with certain conditions.

Complying with the conditions by the licensee is not an interference with civil rights because when these terms and provisions are insrted in a policy they effect civil rights not by virtue of the Dominion Act but by virtue of their having become part of the contract between the parties. Any province may enact that all or part of such terms and conditions shall have no effect within the Province. They have effect on civil rights within each Province as terms of the contract only to the extent to which they are not in conflict with the law of the Province. Sub.section 4 of Section 134 so provides though in my view this would be the case without this subsection.

I would therefore to the extent indicated answer questions 2 and 3 in the affirmative.

Parliament Buildings,
Toronto, Ont.
Feb.22.1926.

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Ottawa, March 22, 1926.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th March, embodying resolution passed by the Municipal Council of the City of Nanaimo, with regard to the necessity of enacting an Unemployment Insurance Act, and to say in reply that should the matter come before the House of Commons you may rest assured that the representations set forth in this resolution will have his careful and earnest consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

H. Hackwood, Esq.,
P.O. Drawer 8,
Nanaimo, B.C.

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Corporation of the City of Nanaimo

OFFICE OF THE CITY CLERK

P. O. DRAWER S

Nanaimo, B. C.

49.

MARCH 16, 1926.

RIGHT HON. ARTHUR MEIGHAN,

OTTAWA, ONT.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Municipal Council of this City to convey to you the following resolution which was adopted by them last evening, viz:

"That in the opinion of this Council, the interest of the Dominion of Canada require an early enactment of an Unemployment Insurance Act and that the Dominion Government be urged to enact such an act during the present session."

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J H Hackwood

CITY CLERK.

MH/O.

MADE IN CANADA
WARNING

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filed 19.6.26

A PLEA FOR JUSTICE!

Seattle, Wash., May 6, 1926.

Honorable Members of Dominion House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.:

I am sending you copies of correspondence in regards to a policy for Life Insurance which I took out at Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, May, 1891, for $3,000 in the INDEPENDENT ORDER OF FORESTERS, for which I have been paying for 35 years, and if I live for about 7 years longer, paying same rate, I will not receive a cent after paying for 41 years.

Mr. Dunlap, in his letter to me, dated Nov. 15, 1925, throws the onus on the Parliament of Canada. His letter was a reply to my letter of Nov. 4, 1925, to the **Supreme Chief Ranger** who ignored answering my letter direct, but turned it over to Mr. Dunlop to reply to. I was born in Montreal, Province of Quebec, 28th day of May, 1855. I will be 71 years old on 28th day of May, 1926.

I now appeal to you gentlemen, having every confidence in your ability and integrity to handle this matter in a business-like manner, saving myself and others similarly situated, from paying for years, to be sent over the hill to the poor house.

I remain,

Yours truly,
HAMILTON DOUGLAS.

No. 939 North 82nd St., Seattle, Wash.

THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF FORESTERS
The Independent Order of Foresters

Mr. Hamilton Douglas, Toronto, Can., Sept. 11, 1925.
939 82nd St. N., Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Enclosed please find cheque No. 52566 for $115.30, being the balance payable to you for sick benefits, after deducting $8.70 for your September, October and November premiums. I enclose herewith receipt for this amount.

I notice that you have reached your 70th birthday, therefore your membership, in the sick benefit department, automatically ceases. Also, on reaching 70 years of age you have two options. First, to accept the Old Age Benefit of 7/10 of the face value of the policy, less any liens or indebtedness, in full of all claim under your Certificate; or, if you prefer, you may continue your policy for the full value, less the indebtedness, by paying the sum of $1.71 per month.

I will find out, from the actuarial department, what amount would be paid to you, in Old Age Benefits, and when I hear from them, I will advise you.

Fraternally yours,
W. W. DUNLOP.

ENCL.
VT/ML

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COURT AT LARGE, NO. 1337
The Independent Order of Foresters

Mr. Hamilton Douglas, Toronto, Canada, Sept. 15th, 1925.
939 82nd St. N., Seattle, Washington.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I have received a letter from the Assistant Actuary in regard to the position of your policy, copy of which I herewith enclose.

You will notice that the liens against your policy, at the present time, abount to $2238.25. As you are not paying the interest on these liens, the amount of your policy is decreasing by $7.46 per month. Therefore, in order to keep your policy at its present value it would be necessary for you to pay this interest of $7.46 in addition to the $1.71, as quoted in my letter of the 11th instant.

I believe it would be to your advantage to accept the Substitute Whole Life Certificate, as offered by the Assistant Actuary, for $700, at a premium of $6.89.

If there is any further information you desire, kindly let me hear from you.

Fraternally yours,

W. W. DUNLOP.

ENCL.
VT/ML

COURT AT LARGE, NO. 1337
The Independent Order of Foresters

Mr. W. W. Dunlop, Toronto, Can., Sept. 15th, 1925.
Temple Building, Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Sir and Brother:

We have received your inquiries of the 11th of September, concerning Hamilton Douglas, of court at large, No. 1337.

This member has been borrowing $2.76 monthly from the first of October, 1908; he has also allowed the interest upon the 1913 and 1917 assessments to accumulate. The total debt against his Certificate at the present time is as follows:

1908 Borrowing and Interest	$ 786.14
1913 Assessment and Interest	1,248.80
1917 Assessment and Interest	203.31
Total debt	$2,238.25

As a death claim on the 30th of September this year, his Beneficiary would receive $3000, less the above debt, or $761.75; in addition to which there would be a refund from surplus of $30.50.

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You will see from the above figures that the amount of the debt exceeds the amount payable to him for the cash Old Age Benefit at seventy; in consequence, it will be impossible for us to advance him any money for the surrender of his Certificate as an Old Age Claim.

We would be prepared to issue this member a Substitute Whole Life Certificate for $700, payable to his beneficiary at his death, at a premium of $6.89 monthly, payable during his lifetime.

In the event of the member deciding to accept this offer, kindly have him make application to do so and forward same to Head Office, together with his old Benefit Certificate.

E. P. S. ALLEN.

Supreme Chief Ranger,
Independent Order Foresters,
Toronto, Ont.

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 4, 1925.

Dear Sir:

On the 12th of February, 1925, I was struck by an auto on a public crossing, on my way home, and seriously injured. My right leg broken in two places, my left shoulder broken, two cuts on right side of my head; also, injured on right side, which affected my kidneys. I have been laid up ever since. I was in the hospital for 5 months; most of the time I had to have two trained nurses. I was not expected to live for 5 weeks. But I am recovering now. I was in Sick and Funeral Benefit Department, for which I got settlement, and hold an Insurance Policy for $3000, taken out over 30 years ago. I am enclosing copies of letters received from Bros. Dunlop and Allen, in regard to my insurance policy.

I do not fully understand about deductions. I would like to know what I should receive *now*. I understand policy matured upon reaching 70 years. I have reached that age now. I need the money, as my expenses so far are nearly $3,000. I have the doctor's bill yet. The man who struck me has nothing, and no insurance on his auto, so I can't get a cent.

Please explain fully any amount I can get now. It will be impossible for me to pay amount asked for Paid-up Policy.

I remain yours in L. B. C.,

HAMILTON DOUGLAS.

No. 939 North 82nd St.,
Seattle, Wash.

COURT AT LARGE, NO. 1337
The Independent Order of Foresters

Mr. Hamilton Douglas,
939 82nd Street, N.,
Seattle, Washington.

Toronto, 2, Can., Nov. 13th, 1925.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Referring to your letter of November 4th, 1925, you became a member of the Order in May 1891, at 36 years of age, and at that time paid a mortuary assessemnt of $2.40.

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In 1898 the Supreme Court of the Order saw that the rates charged were insufficient and put into force on the 1st of January, 1899, a new table of rates for all members who joined after that date.

In 1907 an Insurance Commission investigated life insurance in Canada, and reported that the rates charged, prior to 1899, by the Order, were insufficient and recommended that action be taken that would place the Society on solvent and actuarial basis.

At the Supreme Court of the Order, held in 1908, the Executive Council recommended a table of rates that would have put all those who joined prior to January 1st, 1899, on sound and solvent basis. The Supreme Court of the Order, however, did not carry out the recommendation of the Executive Council, but adopted a compromise rate which went into effect in October, 1908. At that time, you had the option of paying the rate, taking a reduced policy or having the amount charged up against your policy as a lien bearing interest at 4 per cent per annum. You, apparently, elected to have the amount charged up against the policy. as no increase was paid.

In 1913 the Parliament of Canada, amended the Act of Incorporation of the Society, whereby it was enabled to levy a bulk assessment on that group that were not paying a sufficient rate and which, if not paid, was to bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum. The Act also compelled the Society to maintain, at all times, its reserves intact.

In 1914 the war broke out. When the Supreme Court of the Order met, in 1917, it was found that, owing to the excessive mortality, as a result of the war, also as a result of the influenza epidemic and general depreciation of securities that the Society, in order to maintain its reserves intact, was compelled to levy a further assessment of $50.00 per $1000.00, and which assessment was to bear interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum.

This will explain to you the various charges against your policy mentioned in the copy of the Actuary's letter, which I sent to you on September 15th.

Under the Constitution of the Order a member at age of 70 has the right of taking out the Old Age Benefit, which is 7/10 of the face of the policy, less any charges or assessments that may be against it.

The amount of the Old Age Benefit, in your case, would have been $2100.00, but already the debt is $2238.25, so that there would be nothing coming to you as an Old Age Benefit.

The amount payable, at the present time, in case of death, would be $3000.00 less the $2238.25. These figures, of course, are as of September 14th.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of your accident. You certainly have been unfortunate, especially as you have no redress against the owner of the car that caused the injuries.

Fraternally yours,

W. W. DUNLOP.

WD/LM

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PRIVY COUNCIL
CANADA

Ottawa, 27th May, 1924.

A.W.Merriam, Esq.,
Private Secretary to
The Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons.

Dear Mr. Merriam,-

I have your note of the 26th instant, and am sending you herewith a certified copy of Order in Council, P.C. 1861, authorizing Sir George Perley to sign certain Treaties.

Yours sincerely,

E.J.Lemaire,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

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P.C. 1861

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AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA.

Saturday the 6th day of September, 1919.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on a report from the Secretary of State for External Affairs, stating that it is expedient, in connection with the Peace Congress, to invest fit persons with full powers to treat on the part of His Majesty the King in respect of the Dominion of Canada with persons similarly empowered on the part of other States, is pleased to order and doth hereby order that His Majesty the King be humbly moved to issue letters patent to each of the following named persons:

The Honourable Sir George Halsey Perley, K.C.M.G., High Commissioner for Canada in London;

The Honourable Sir Albert Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G., M.P., Minister of Overseas Military Forces of Canada in The United Kingdom;

naming and appointing him as Commissioner and Plenipotentiary in respect of the Dominion of Canada, with full power and authority as from the first day of January, 1919, to conclude with such plenipotentiaries as may be vested with similar power and authority on the part of any powers or states, any treaties, conventions or agreements in connection with the said Peace Congress, and to sign for and in the name of His Majesty the King in respect of the Dominion of Canada everything so agreed upon and concluded and to transact all such other matters as may appertain thereto.

E. J. Lemaire

Clerk of the Privy Council.

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Gazette Montreal June 26/24 056275

KELLOGG TO ATTEND PREMIERS' MEETING

To Guard U.S. Interests and Keep Informed—Col. Logan Will Assist

Washington, June 25.—United States Ambassador Kellogg, at London, was instructed today to attend the forthcoming premiers' conference to discuss execution of the experts' plan. His plan was announced in a White House statement which said that Mr. Kellogg would attend the conference "for the purpose of dealing with such matters as affect the interests of the United States and otherwise for purposes of information."

This action was determined upon after the State Department had been advised by the ambassador that an invitation for the United States to participate had been handed the United States Embassy in London. The White House statement declared that it was the desire of the administration that the experts' plan should be put into effect as speedily as possible. Col. James A. Logan, who has been United States observer with the Reparations Commission at Paris, will also go to London to assist the ambassador at the conference.

The fact that the White House statement did not specifically state that Mr. Kellogg was to be merely an observer, immediately aroused comment in some quarters as indicating a possible broadening of the hitherto maintained policy toward European questions. It was explained by officials, however, that the ambassador's mission could be compared generally to that of Ambassador Harvey with the Allied Supreme Council in 1921. There would be the difference, however, that Mr. Harvey's instructions directed him to take part as the representative of the President in the deliberations of the council, now non-existent, whereas Mr. Kellogg is to "attend" the premier's meeting "for the purpose of dealing with such matters as affect the interests of the United States and otherwise for purposes of information."

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Mail & Empire Toronto June 0257/247 6

Intl affairs

Allied Conference in London to be Confined to Dawes Report

Premier MacDonald Has so Informed U.S. Ambassador Kellogg—Allies Said to Have Agreed That Inter-allied Debts Will Not be Considered.

Associated Press.

LONDON, June 26.—Premier MacDonald has informed United States Ambassador Kellogg that the forthcoming Allied conference in London will be confined to the Dawes report, it is understood, and Great Britain has obtained an agreement of the Allies that the question of Inter-Allied debts will not be raised.

It is stated in well-informed quarters that Germany will be invited to be represented at the conference, but whether officially or through observers only, has not yet been made known.

Ambassador Kellogg, who, it is understood, will represent the United States, probably in the capacity of official observer at the conference, must await the official invitation from the British Government before taking further steps. It is expected, however, he will meet Premier MacDonald after the arrival in London of Colonel James A. Logan, American observer with the Reparations Commission, when they will discuss the position of the United States, both as to the part it would take in the conference and its share in supporting the Dawes report.

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The Gazette

FOUNDED JUNE 3, 1778.

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MONTREAL, FRIDAY, JULY 4.

AMONG THOSE PRESENT.

Canada has received and accepted an invitation to be represented at the Inter-Allied Conference on the Dawes reparations report, and one or more members of the Canadian Government will therefore be among those present when this latest, though not necessarily the final, solution of the reparations problem is taken up. The procedure differs from that which was followed respecting the Lausanne Conference and the treaty which resulted from that conference, but the conditions also are different. Canada had no very direct interest in the issues which were determined at Lausanne, and the Imperial Government had a very cogent reason for limiting the British delegation; the circumstances, as disclosed in official correspondence, supplemented in one very important particular by unofficial statements, were such as to amply justify the policy adopted at that time by the Government of Great Britain, and the Government of Canada would have lost no prestige and the autonomy of the Dominion would have been in no sense impaired had Mr. Mackenzie King accepted gracefully the position as outlined to him by the Colonial Secretary—instead of making a meaningless and futile fuss about it.

The projected Inter-Allied Conference is upon quite another footing, and so, in relation to it, is the Canadian Government. This conference arises out of the Versailles Treaty, to which the Dominion was a signatory, and it will deal with matters in which Canada is directly interested. The Dominion is a creditor of Germany under the reparations clauses of the treaty, and is concerned with the means and methods whereby its claims are to be satisfied; it is entitled to a voice in any decision which may have the effect of reducing Germany's financial obligations to the Allied nations or of extending, definitely or indefinitely, the period within which those obligations are to be discharged. The extent to which a new agreement may involve military action as a means of enforcement is another question, but it is one over which the Dominion need not worry; Canada has had no responsibility in connection with the military operations hitherto undertaken under the treaty for the purpose of compelling the Germans to disgorge, and the measures employed by France have not furnished a convincing object lesson respecting the efficacy of military occupation. It is probable that a new plan, if adopted, will be less rather than more dependent upon the display of military force for its execution, but, in any event, Canada's position of detachment will not be altered. In the meantime, it is proper that the Dominion should share in the approaching conference, and if its participation will result in hastening the day of payment, so much the better.

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Manitoba Free Press July 25/24

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The Hitch in the London Conference

The nature of the difficulty which threatens to bring the conference in London on the Dawes report to naught is revealed by the naive complaint by the French, recorded in yesterday's despatches, that the international bankers were "butting in" and insisting upon having something to say about decisions which should be reached—so the French representatives consider—upon purely political grounds.

This, of course, has been the trouble in the matter of reparations from the beginning. The question is one of business and economics; but it has never been dealt with on that plane. Everything that has been done has been done with an eye to political effect—would it keep somebody in office and somebody else out? and such little matters as the practicability of plans embodied in these decisions have been waved aside as of no consequence whatever. From the revelations of the inside workings of the Paris conference, due to the calculated indiscretion of President Wilson, it is learned that, when the question of reparations was before the Conference the wise men entrusted with the making of peace decided that they were not concerned with what amount Germany could pay, but only with what Germany ought to pay. It was in that spirit of levity and unreality that the question was dealt with until the Dawes Commission took the matter in hand; and the report of that commission, which promised to bring peace to Europe, is now in danger because the politicians are again insisting upon political considerations being put in the forefront.

The political difficulty has to do with the internal politics of France. M. Herriot's hold on the premiership of France is very precarious and the Nationalist "bloc," with its allies in the press and in the French Foreign office, see in the conference an opportunity to put the implacable M. Poincare back in power. If M. Herriot yields to the economic necessities of the situation out he goes and M. Poincare comes in; if he maintains a position in the conference which gives the Nationalists no handle for attacking him there will be deadlock followed by breakdown with the last state of Europe worse than the first.

The heart of the difficulty is in the provision of machinery for determining what shall constitute default by Germany towards the obligations imposed by the Dawes report. Following the conversations between Premier MacDonald and Premier Herriot at Chequers the British Government issued a memorandum outlining the objects which the conference at London would seek to attain. One paragraph in the memorandum reads thus:

> "An undertaking that these sanctions will not be reimposed except in the circumstances contemplated in the report, some authority other than the Reparation Commission being invested with the power to declare whether those circumstances have at a given moment arisen. In this connection resort might be had in some form to the League of Nations or its financial committee."

The point was put with still greater plainness in the despatch sent out to the Dominions by the British prime minister which has been published at Ottawa. It is stated in the despatch:

> "Dawes report lays down that sanctions shall not be reimposed, except in the case of flagrant failure to fulfil conditions embodied in the report itself. A stipulation to this effect will accordingly have to find a place in the protocol and the question will have to be decided who is to be the authority to declare there has been flagrant failure. That duty cannot properly be entrusted to the Reparation Commission, whose functions are strictly determined by the Treaty of Versailles, since the engagements to be undertaken by Germany under the Dawes scheme go altogether beyond those imposed by the treaty. A suggestion has been made that the Financial Committee of the League of Nations might be brought in for the purpose, but the matter is still open for discussion."

This announcement of the British intention of appointing a new body to pass on the question of default gave rise to the formidable movement against Herriot, engineered, from all accounts, by the officials of the Foreign office. The French want the Reparation Commission to be the judge in this matter. Now, for the past two years, the Reparation Commission has simply been the French Foreign office in the thinnest of disguises. Under the treaty the Reparation Commission consists of representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and the United States. When the U.S. defaulted the Commission was reduced to four members; and to avoid deadlock France proposed and Lloyd George agreed that the Chairman, who is the representative of France, should have a casting vote in the event of a tie. France, with the support of Belgium, thus absolutely controls the Commission. France also claims and has exercised the right to take individual action against Germany in the case of default.

Following the outcry in Paris, the British Government, for the purpose of saving Herriot from his enemies, agreed that the Reparations Commission should be the judge as to default; it was further agreed that the United States should be asked to have an official representative on the Commission in the hope, apparently, that he would act as an umpire. This compromise, or surrender, by the British Government may have temporarily saved the political situation in France; but it has put the whole Dawes settlement in jeopardy. For the simple reason that the Anglo-American bankers will not put up the money necessary to put the Dawes scheme into operation if the Reparation Commission remains in control. A loan of two hundred million dollars must be raised and English and American bankers decline to take part in it if the whole arrangement can be blown up at any time by the French Government. Hence the deadlock and the angry complaints by the French that the bankers are interfering and preventing another "political" settlement.

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The Gazette

FOUNDED JUNE 3, 1778.

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MONTREAL, TUESDAY, JULY 29.

SANCTIONS AND THE LOAN.

Each day makes it more and more evident that the London Conference faces a stupendous task, one in which the mountainous difficulties uprising to view and blocking the road might well dismay men less resolute or less conscious of the vast interests at stake and the tragic consequences should negotiations fail of their objective. It would almost seem as though the grim genius of dilemma presides at their deliberations, as if by some irony of fate every new factor introduced with a view to easing the situation runs up into an ugly snarl. Emphasis shifts hither and thither with bewildering rapidity, but just at present it is upon the interlocking interests of the financiers and the political diplomats, and the knotty problem to be solved is how to frame out a scheme of "sanctions" such as shall function along with the Allied proposal to hand the Germans a loan. All are agreed upon the point that the Germans must be given a loan as a means of putting the Dawes programme into operation, and without a loan the prospect of reparations being paid is extremely remote. But the delegates are by no means agreed that the "sanctions"—euphemistic term for punitive measures—France proposes to apply in event of German default, are needful; or that such a course is compatible with loan security. A militant demonstration, discipline, seizure, penalty—whatever term we choose to use—would invalidate the loan and make havoc of the lenders' claims. This is the bankers' view. They have to furnish the cash and are entitled to their opinion as to securities.

But it is precisely such "sanctions" France intends to use; says she must keep for use; and will be ruined unless she does use; and only in the use thereof sees her guarantee for getting her share of the reparations Germany is obligated to hand over to the Allies. France, therefore, claims her right to take "direct action" in an emergency, and in this matter France and the American bankers are at loggerheads. As regards the British view, it also differs from the policy to which Herriot by the French Government is pledged. And Herriot refuses to budge. Indeed it is said he dare not do so. To compromise on his part would mean the downfall of his Ministry. The French Premier is in a tight corner. He seems to have the choice of going back to Paris and reporting that his fixed programme in London failed or of compromising to succeed at Councils and meet disaster on return across the Channel. For Herriot the outlook is none too cheerful.

The point to observe is that France both fears and distrusts Germany and the French people are convinced that sooner or later Germany will default; that sooner or later, nothing but force or show of force will compel the Reich to honor the terms of the Versailles Treaty and the Dawes plan for reparations. This is quite understandable. Its significance is granted. Nobody doubts that France has tremendous interests at stake, nor doubts that her contiguity to Germany, her dependence upon reparations to save her from fiscal disaster, renders her position at once critical and peculiar. All this is clear enough. But it is no reason why the bankers should subscribe to the French views; none they should open the purse-strings under such risky conditions; and certainly they do not deserve the petulant tempest of abuse launched against them by the organs of the French Press. "That way madness lies." To say that the "Bankers have blackmailed the Conference"; that they wish to dominate or wreck the proceedings; to allege that their only concern is to subordinate European politics to moneyed men, and to make a profitable deal; to talk of the bankers as interlopers and of the loan proposition as a pre-arranged scheme for American financiers to effect their sinister ends—is language as mischievous as it is foolish, and unpardonable as it is perilous. The French people have a perfect right to state that they would rather the loan business die out altogether than allow the bankers' claims for security to alter in any degree or shape the provisions of the Versailles Treaty or the Reparations Commission. They have no right and no justification for saying, as does "Petrinax," that the role of the bankers is "a mark of great perfidy." This is hysteria. It is not statesmanship. The sooner such undignified outbreaks are forgotten, the better for all concerned.

It behoves the French Government to recognize that there is another side to the story, belonging the no less vital interests of other partners in the London Conference. One angle of the situation is that England cannot be landed in a commitment of practical warfare such as involves her Dominions, would embroil all Europe, and most assuredly would give the German monarchists their greatest chance of stepping into the political arena and boggling the entire proceedings. And as much in the real interests of France as in behalf of all-round peace, something is to be said for this version of the reparations problem. If the delegates cannot meet it with sanguine hope, and the atmosphere at present so drizzly hardly makes for jaunty optimism, they can at least confront the situation with coherent patience and unflinching fortitude. It requires faith, courage, vigilance, and invincible resolution to carry on and come over the top. Only the give-and-take principle, which after all is the basic maxim of all political overtures and success, can oil the diplomatic machinery. Only the stubborn and hurtful refusal to do this meliorating principle homage can put a clink in the differential and cause its breakdown. The delegates need above all things to sharply focus their attention upon the main issue, and refuse to be drawn into the hullaballoo of irrelevant and mischievous propaganda going on outside the Council chamber itself. It is fervently to be hoped they will find a way out of the impasse which whilst its awkward suspense lasts gives no sanctions to the prospect of peace and makes no loan unto the well-being of nations. It must never be forgotten that this scheme for all-round pacification is the one comprehensive and supreme desideratum of the Conference.

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Ottawa, August 3, 1924.

Dear Mr. Daly:

Thanks very much indeed for sending me a copy of Dawes Report. I am sure this will prove of real service.

Yours very truly,

R.A. Daly, Esq.,
R.A. Daly & Co.,
Bank of Toronto Bldg.,
Toronto, Ont.

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TORONTO

July 25th, 1924.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

As the Dawes Report has been universally commended as one of the most important documents of modern times, and as the document will have a permanent value as a contribution to the study of international finance, we are taking the liberty of sending a copy to you, under separate cover, in the hope that it may prove of service.

Yours very truly,

RAD/FS.

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REPORT

OF

COMMITTEES OF EXPERTS TO REPARATION COMMISSION

Complete Official English Text with Annexes

Compliments of

R. A. DALY & CO.
Toronto

From FEDERAL RESERVE BULLETIN, May, 1924

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1924

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RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE REPARATION COMMISSION ON NOVEMBER 30, 1923

In order to consider, in accordance with the provisions of article 234 of the treaty of Versailles, the resources and capacity of Germany, and after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, the Reparation Commission decides to create two committees of experts belonging to the allied and associated countries.

One of these committees would be entrusted with considering the means of balancing the budget and the measures to be taken to stabilize the currency.

The other would consider the means of estimating the amount of exported capital and of bringing it back to Germany.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMITTEES

First committee

UNITED STATES:
Charles G. Dawes, Chairman.
Owen D. Young.

GREAT BRITAIN:
Sir Robert Molesworth Kindersley.
Sir Josiah Charles Stamp.

FRANCE:
Jean Parmentier.
Edgard Allix.

ITALY:
Alberto Pirelli.
Federico Flora.

BELGIUM:
Emile Francqui.
Baron Maurice Houtart.

Second committee

UNITED STATES:
Henry M. Robinson.

GREAT BRITAIN:
Reginald McKenna, Chairman.

FRANCE:
André Laurent-Atthalin.

ITALY:
Mario Alberti.

BELGIUM:
Albert-Edouard Janssen.

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REPORT OF COMMITTEES OF EXPERTS TO REPARATION COMMISSION

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN TO THE REPARATION COMMISSION

APRIL 9, 1924.

Your Committee of Experts has unanimously adopted a report upon the means of balancing the budget of Germany and the measures to be taken to stabilize its currency, which I now have the honor to submit.

Deeply impressed by a sense of its responsibility to your commission and to the universal conscience, the committee bases its plan upon those principles of justice, fairness, and mutual interest, in the supremacy of which not only the creditors of Germany and Germany herself, but the world, has a vital and enduring concern.

With these principles fixed and accepted in that common good faith which is the foundation of all business and the best safeguard for universal peace, the recommendations of the committee must be considered not as inflicting penalties, but as suggesting means for assisting the economic recovery of all the European peoples, and the entry upon a new period of happiness and prosperity unmenaced by war.

Since, as a result of the war, the creditors of Germany are paying taxes to the limit of their capacity, so also must Germany pay taxes from year to year to the limit of her capacity. This is in accord with that just and underlying principle of the Treaty of Versailles, reaffirmed by Germany in her note of May 29, 1919, that the German scheme of taxation must be "fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission." More than this limit could not be expected, and less than this would relieve Germany from the common hardship and give her an unfair advantage in the industrial competition of the future. This principle the plan embodies.

The plan has been made to include flexible adjustments which, from the very beginning, tend to produce the maximum of contributions consistent with the continued and increasing productivity of Germany. The conservative estimates of payments to be made in the near future are dictated by business prudence in outlining the basis of a loan, and should not destroy perspective as to the effects to be registered in the aggregate of eventual payments, which will annually increase. With normal economic conditions and productivity restored in Germany, most hopeful estimates of amounts eventually receivable will be found to be justified. Without such restoration, such payments as can be obtained will be of little value in meeting the urgent needs of creditor nations.

To insure the permanence of a new economic peace between the Allied Governments and Germany, which involves the economic readjustments presented by the plan, there are provided the counterparts of those usual economic precautions against default recognized as essential in all business relations involving expressed obligations. The existence of safeguards in no way hampers or embarrasses the carrying out of ordinary business contracts. The thorough effectiveness of these safeguards should not embarrass the normal economic functioning of Germany, and is of fundamental importance to her creditors and to Germany.

Great care has been taken in fixing conditions of supervision over Germany's internal organization so as to impose the minimum of interference consistent with proper protection. This general plan, fair and reasonable in its nature, if accepted, leads to an ultimate and lasting peace. The rejection of these proposals by the German Government means the deliberate choice of a continuance of economic demoralization, eventually involving her people in hopeless misery.

In the preparation of this report, the committee has carefully and laboriously covered the broad field of investigation. It has had the constant cooperation of able staffs of experts, gathering information, digesting it and presenting it. It conducted, on the ground, an examination of the officials of the German Government and representatives of its labor, agriculture, and industry. It received from the German Government and its representatives voluminous and satisfactory answers in response to its written inquiries. In connection with various features of its report, both for gathering information and for advice, it has called to its assistance outside experts of international reputation. The published reports and statements of economists of world-wide standing have been in its hands. It has had the benefit of the accumulated information heretofore gathered by your commission.

In its work, the full committee has held, since January 14, 1924, 54 meetings; the subcommittee on the stabilization of the currency, composed of Monsieur Parmentier, Sir Robert Kindersley, Monsieur Francqui, and Professor Flora, assisted by Mr. H. M. Robinson, under the chairmanship of Mr. Owen D.

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Young, has held 81 meetings; and the subcommittee on the balancing of the budget, composed of Professor Allix, Baron Houtart, and Monsieur Pirelli, under the chairmanship of Sir Josiah Stamp, has held 63 meetings. They have had the assistance of Mr. Andrew McFadyean, the general secretary. Again, the time of the committee, outside of that consumed by the meetings, has been given largely to investigation and study.

In speaking of my colleagues and as bearing upon the value of this report, I feel that I should make it known to your commission and to the world, that their governments have in no case limited their complete independence of judgment and action, either before or after their appointment by you. Limited only by the powers granted by your commission, each has performed his arduous and responsible work as a free agent. These men, searching for truth and advice thereon, were answerable only to conscience. In granting this freedom, the governments have but followed your own spirit and intent in constituting the committee, but in so doing, they have paid the highest tribute which governments can bestow—complete confidence in a time of crisis in human affairs. In their vision, in their independence of thought, and above all, in their spirit of high and sincere purpose, which rises above the small things over which the small so often stumble, my colleagues have shown themselves worthy of this trust. That their work, which I now place in your hands, may assist you in the discharge of your great responsibilities, is their prayer, and the knowledge hereafter, that it has done so, will be their full reward.

CHARLES G. DAWES, *Chairman.*

SUMMARY OF PART I[1]

I. The attitude of the committee

(*a*) The standpoint adopted has been that of business and not politics.

(*b*) Political factors have been considered only in so far as they affect the practicability of the plan.

(*c*) The recovery of debt, not the imposition of penalties, has been sought.

(*d*) The payment of that debt by Germany is her necessary contribution to repairing the damage of the war.

(*e*) It is in the interest of all parties to carry out this plan in that good faith which is the fundamental of all business. Our plan is based upon this principle.

(*f*) The reconstruction of Germany is not an end in itself; it is only part of the larger problem of the reconstruction of Europe.

(*g*) Guaranties proposed are economic, not political.

[1] The summary is furnished only for the convenience of the readers. Parts I and II and the Annexes are the only authoritative statement of the plan.

II. German economic unity

For success in stabilizing currency and balancing budgets, Germany needs the resources of German territory as defined by the treaty of Versailles, and free economic activity therein.

III Military aspects; contingent sanctions and guaranties

(*a*) Political guaranties and penalties are outside our jurisdiction.

(*b*) The military aspect of this problem is beyond our terms of reference.

(*c*) Within the unified territory, the plan requires that, when it is in effective operation:

1. If any military organization exists, it must not impede the free exercise of economic activities;
2. There shall be no foreign economic control or interference other than that proposed by the plan.

(*d*) But adequate and productive guaranties are provided.

IV. The committee's task

(*a*) Stabilization of currency and the balancing of budgets are interdependent, though they are provisionally separable for examination.

(*b*) Currency stability can only be maintained if the budget is normally balanced; the budget can only be balanced if a stable and reliable currency exists.

(*c*) Both are needed to enable Germany to meet her internal requirements and treaty payments.

V. Economic future of Germany

(*a*) Productivity is expected from increasing population, technical skill, material resources, and eminence in industrial science.

(*b*) Plant capacity has been increased and improved since the war.

VI. Currency and a bank of issue

(*a*) All classes will benefit from stabilized currency, especially labor.

(*b*) Under present conditions rentenmark stability is only temporary.

(*c*) A new bank is set up or the Reichsbank reorganized.

(*d*) The main characteristics of the bank will be:

1. To issue notes on a basis stable in relation to gold, with an exclusive privilege;
2. To serve as a bankers' bank, establishing the official rate of discount;
3. To act as the Government banker, but free of Government control;
4. Advances to Government to be strictly limited;
5. To hold on deposit reparation payments;

(*d*) The main characteristics of the bank will be—Continued.

6. The capital of the bank will be 400,000,000 gold marks;
7. It will be directed by a German president and managing board, who can be assisted by a German consultative committee;
8. The due observance of its statutes will be further safeguarded by a general board, of which half of the members, including a commissioner, will be foreign.

VII. Budget and temporary reparation relief

Balancing the German budget requires:

(*a*) Full economic and fiscal sovereignty, subject to the supervision provided for in this report;

(*b*) A stable currency;

(*c*) Temporary relief from charges on the budget for treaty obligations;

(*d*) Such relief not to suspend essential deliveries in kind.

VIII. The basic principles of Germany's annual burden

(*a*) Treaty obligations and continuity of balanced budgets.

1. Balancing the budget does not entail merely provision for internal administrative expenditure.
2. Germany must also provide within the utmost limit of her capacity for her external treaty obligations.
3. The budget can be balanced without necessarily dealing with the total capital debt of Germany.
4. It can not be continuously balanced unless the annual charge is fixed for a considerable period, on a basis clearly prescribed in advance.

(*b*) Commensurate taxation:

1. Government internal debt has been practically extinguished by the depreciation of the currency.
2. New debt charge ought to be met commensurate with the burden of the French, English, Italian, and Belgian taxpayer.
3. The treaty recognizes this principle.
4. It is morally sound.
5. It is economically just in its influence on costs of production.
6. This principle has been applied to the full limit of practicability.

(*c*) Allies' share in Germany's prosperity.

1. Germany's creditors must share in the improvement in Germany's prosperity.
2. This will be secured by an index of prosperity.

(*d*) There is an important difference between the German's capacity to pay taxes and Germany's capacity to transfer wealth abroad.

IX. Normal resources from which payments are made

Germany will pay treaty charges from three sources: (A) Taxes; (B) Railways; (C) Industrial debentures.

(A) From her ordinary budget:

1924–25 budget may be balanced if it is free from peace treaty charges.

1925–26 budget receiving 500,000,000 gold marks from special sources, may pay that sum for reparation.

	Gold marks
1926–27	[2] 110, 000, 000
1927–28	[2] 500, 000, 000
1928–29	1, 250, 000, 000

This is considered a normal year and a standard payment; thereafter additional payments will be made, depending on prosperity.

(B) From railways:

1. Railway bonds—

(*a*) Eleven milliards of first mortgage railway bonds against a capital cost of twenty-six milliards will be created for reparations;

(*b*) These bonds bear 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent sinking fund per annum;

(*c*) In view of reorganization, interest is accepted as follows:

	Gold marks
1924–25	330, 000, 000
1925–26	465, 000, 000
1926–27	550, 000, 000
1927–28 and thereafter	660, 000, 000

Behind the bonds there will be created 2 milliards of preference shares to be reserved for sale to the public, and 13 milliards of common stock; three-fourths of the proceeds of the preference shares will be applied, as required, to the payment of debt and for capital expenditure of the railways. The remaining 500 millions of preference shares and all the common shares go to the German Government.

2. Transport tax—

After 1925–26, 290,000,000 gold marks per annum for reparation and balance to German Government.

(C) Industrial debentures.

1. Five milliards of industrial debentures are provided for reparation.
2. The resulting charge on industry is less than that existing before the war and now wiped out by depreciation.
3. These bonds bear 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent sinking fund, i. e., 300,000,000 gold marks per annum.
4. Pending economic restoration, interest and sinking fund are accepted as follows:
   First year: Nothing.
   Second year: 125,000,000 gold marks.
   Third year: 250,000,000 gold marks.
   Thereafter: 300,000,000 gold marks.

[2] Subject to addition or reduction in certain contingencies.

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X. Summary of provision for treaty payments

(*a*) *1. Budget moratorium period.*

First year: From foreign loans and part interest on railway bonds:

	Gold marks
Total	1, 000, 000, 000

Second year: From part interest on railway bonds and on industrial debentures, budget contribution, through sale of 500,000,000 gold mark railway shares:

	Gold marks
Total	1, 220, 000, 000

2. Transition period.

Third year: From interest on railway bonds and on industrial debentures, from transport tax, and from budget:

	Gold marks
Total	1, 200, 000, 000

subject to contingent addition or reductions of 250,000,000 gold marks.

Fourth year: From interest on railway bonds and on industrial debentures, from transport tax, and from budget.

	Gold marks
Total	1, 750, 000, 000

subject to contingent addition or reduction of 250,000,000 gold marks.

3. Standard year.

Fifth year: From interest on railway bonds and on industrial debentures, from transport tax, and from budget:

	Gold marks
Total	2, 500, 000, 000

Thereafter, 2,500,000,000 plus a supplement computed on the index of prosperity. Interest on the securities, but not the proceeds of their sale, is included in these figures.

(*b*) The first year will begin to run from the date when the plan shall have been accepted and put into effective execution.

XI. Inclusive amounts and deliveries in kind

(*a*) The above sums cover all amounts for which Germany may be liable to the Allied and Associated Powers.

(*b*) Deliveries in kind are to be continued, but are paid for out of balances in the bank.

XII. How the annual payments are made by Germany

(*a*) The amounts will be raised in gold marks and paid into the bank.

(*b*) These payments cover Germany's annual obligation.

XIII. How the payments are received by the creditors

(*a*) Germany's creditors will use these moneys in Germany or convert them into foreign currencies.

(*b*) Experience will show the rate and extent to which the conversion can safely take place.

(*c*) Danger to stability through excessive remit tances is obviated by a transfer committee.

(*d*) Sums not remitted accumulate, but with a limitation of amount.

XIV. Guaranties, in addition to railway and industrial bonds

(*a*) The following revenues are pledged as collateral security for budget contributions and other payments: Alcohol, tobacco, beer, sugar, customs.

(*b*) The yield of these revenues is estimated to be substantially in excess of required payments.

(*c*) The excess is returned to the German Government.

XV. External loan—its conditions and purpose

Foreign loan of 800,000,000 gold marks meets a double purpose.

(*a*) Requirements of gold reserve of the new bank.

(*b*) Internal payments for essential treaty purposes in 1924–25.

XVI. Organization

The organization consists of:

(*a*) A trustee for railway and industrial bonds;

(*b*) Three commissioners of (1) railways, (2) the bank, (3) controlled revenues;

(*c*) An agent for reparation payments, who will coordinate the activities of the above and will preside over the transfer committee.

XVII. The nature of the plan

(*a*) The plan is an indivisible unit.

(*b*) The aim of the plan is: (1) To set up machinery to provide the largest annual payments from Germany; (2) To enable maximum transfers to be made to Germany's creditors; (3) To take the question of "what Germany can pay" out of the field of speculation and put in it the field of practical demonstration; (4) To facilitate a final and comprehensive agreement upon all the problems of reparations and connected questions, as soon as circumstances make this possible.

TEXT OF THE REPORT

We were invited by the Reparation Commission, by decision of November 30, 1923, to "Consider the means of balancing the budget and the measures to be taken to stabilize the currency" of Germany.

We have been in continuous session since January 14, 1924, in Paris, except for one fortnight spent in Berlin.

We have called in to assist us eminent technical advisers on the various questions which have been under consideration, and have been in touch with representative German opinion.

We have the honor to present the following report which states the unanimous conclusions formed as a result of our studies and inquiries.

Part I of this report states our conception of our task, our conclusions, and the broad outline of our plan.

Part II indicates the considerations which guided us to our conclusions, in particular so far as they result from certain aspects of the present financial and economic condition of Germany, which is here described.

Part III consists of a series of annexes which give the technical detail of our several proposals, and should be read as a supplement to the respective portions of Part I.

PART I.—THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS AND SCHEME

I. The Attitude of the Committee

We have approached our task as business men anxious to obtain effective results. We have been concerned with the technical and not the political aspects of the problem presented to us. We have recognized indeed that political considerations necessarily set certain limits within which a solution must be found if it is to have any chance of acceptance. To this extent, and to this extent only, we have borne them in mind.

The dominating feature of the German Budget is Germany's obligation to the Allies under the Treaty of Versailles. We have been concerned with the practical means of recovering this debt, not with the imposition of penalties and the guarantees which we propose are economic and not political. At the same time it is no ordinary debt with which we deal, for Germany suffered no appreciable devastation, and her primary moral obligation is toward those who have suffered so severely through the war.

As regards past history, it has not seemed necessary to establish the causes, nor the responsibility for those causes, which have operated to produce the present state of German finances and currency, except in so far as a recognition of their character is required for the prescription of remedies.

Finally, convinced as we are, that it is hopeless to build any constructive scheme unless this finds its own guarantee in the fact that it is to the interest of all the parties to carry it out in good faith, we put forward our plan relying upon this interest. We hope the character of our plan will itself assist in securing this guarantee, which is essential for its execution; but in the main, of course, it must be for others to take such measures as are necessary to maintain or assure it.

II. German Economic Unity

The committee has had to consider to what extent the balancing of the budget and the stabilization of the currency could be reestablished permanently in Germany as she actually is at the present moment, with limitations as to her fiscal and economic rights over part of her area.

We should say at the outset that we have been unable to find any practical means of ensuring permanent stability in budget and currency under these conditions, and we think it unlikely that such means exist. The solution of the double problem submitted to us implies indeed the restoration of Germany's credit both externally and internally, and it has appeared to us impossible to provide for this restoration under the conditions mentioned. We have, therefore, been compelled to make the assumption that the fiscal and economic unity of the Reich will be restored and our whole report is based on this hypothesis.

III. Military Aspects—Contingent Sanctions and Guarantees

If political guarantees and penalties intended to insure the execution of the plan proposed are considered desirable, they fall outside the committee's jurisdiction.

Questions of military occupation are also not within our terms of reference.

It is, however, our duty to point out clearly that our forecasts are based on the assumption that economic activity will be unhampered and unaffected by any foreign organization other than the controls herein provided. Consequently, our plan is based upon the assumption that existing measures, in so far as they hamper that activity, will be withdrawn or sufficiently

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modified so soon as Germany has put into execution the plan recommended, and that they will not be reimposed except in the case of flagrant failure to fulfill the conditions accepted by common agreement. In case of such failure it is plainly for the creditor Governments, acting with the consciousness of joint trusteeship for the financial interests of themselves and of others who will have advanced money upon the lines of the plan, then to determine the nature of sanctions to be applied and the method of their rapid and effective application.

In saying this we wish to add at once that if the economic system now in operation in occupied territory is modified, we are unanimously of the opinion that a settlement of reparation must be reinforced by adequate and productive securities. We propose for this purpose a system of control which we believe will be effective, and at the same time such as not to impede the return to financial stability (see XIV below).

IV. The Committee's Task

As the terms of reference indicate, two principal problems were submitted to us for inquiry—the stabilization of German currency and the balancing of the German budget. It is self-evident that these problems are interdependent. The currency of a country can not remain stable unless its budget is normally balanced, for if expenditure continually exceeds receipts there will in time be no alternative to the printing of new notes to meet the excess; and the inflation will inevitably involve depreciation. On the other hand, the task of balancing a budget, unless the currency is relatively stable, is an impossible one, for a falling currency makes calculations both of receipts and expenses unreliable, and in particular causes a continual loss to the taxing authority through the necessary interval of time between assessment and collection. While, therefore, in the nature of things it is necessary that the two problems should in the first instance be studied separately—their interdependence must be consistently borne in mind, In examining each of them separately, we have assumed for the minute that the other has been solved, without ever losing sight of the fact that the stabilization of the currency and the balancing of the budget are means designed to enable Germany to satisfy her own essential requirements and to meet her Treaty commitments, the fulfillment of which is so vital to the reconstruction of Western Europe. It must not be forgotten that the performance of these commitments is of vital importance, not only for the countries having a claim on Germany, but also for Germany herself. It is, indeed, clear that a Germany whose economy had again become flourishing could not long resist a financial and economic crisis in the nations surrounding her. In order that the restoration of Germany may be definitive, the other nations must also return to the conditions requisite for their financial and economic existence and must likewise be enabled to carry on the normal exchange of goods on which the general prosperity depends.

V. The Economic Potentialities of Germany

The task would be hopeless if the present situation of Germany accurately reflected her potential capacity; the proceeds from Germany's national production could not in that case enable her both to meet the national needs and to insure the payment of her foreign debts.

But Germany's growing and industrious population; her great technical skill; the wealth of her material resources; the development of her agriculture on progressive lines; her eminence in industrial science; all these factors enable us to be hopeful with regard to her future production.

Further, ever since 1919 the country has been improving its plant and equipment; the experts specially appointed to examine the railways have shown in their report that expense has not been spared in improving the German railway system; telephone and telegraph communications have been assured with the help of the most modern appliances; harbors and canals have likewise been developed; lastly, the industrialists have been enabled further to increase an entirely modern plant which is now adapted in many industries to produce a greater output than before the war.

Germany is therefore well equipped with resources; she possesses the means for exploiting them on a large scale; when the present credit shortage has been overcome, she will be able to resume a favored position in the activity of a world where normal conditions of exchange are gradually being restored.

Without undue optimism, it may be anticipated that Germany's production will enable her to satisfy her own requirements and raise the amounts contemplated in this plan for reparation obligations. The restoration of her financial situation and of her currency, as well as the world's return to a sound economic position, seem to us essential but adequate conditions for obtaining this result.

VI. Stability of the Currency—A New Bank of Issue

We propose to deal in the first place with the currency problem.

The present financial and currency position in Germany is stated in Part II. It will be seen that by means of the Rentenmark, stability has been attained for a few months, but on a basis which, in the absence of other measures, can only be temporary.

The committee proposes the establishment of a new bank of issue in Germany, or, alternatively, a reorganization of the Reichsbank, as an essential agency for creating in Germany a unified and stable currency. Such a currency, the committee believes, is necessary

for the rehabilitation of Germany's finances, the balancing of her budget, and the restoration of her foreign credit. The principal features of the bank plan, which is printed in Annex 1, are as follows:

The bank is to have the exclusive right (with certain minor qualifications) to issue paper money in Germany for the period of its charter, 50 years. All of the many kinds of paper money now circulating in Germany (except limited note issues of certain State banks) are to be gradually withdrawn from circulation, giving place to a single uniform paper currency, the bank notes of the new bank. These bank notes will be protected by a normal legal reserve of 33⅓ per cent, and by other liquid assets. The reserve will be held largely in the form of deposits in foreign banks.

The plan contemplates that as a permanent policy the notes of the bank shall be redeemable in gold, but the committee is of the opinion that at the time of the inception of the bank the situation will temporarily not allow of the application of the rule of convertibility. It, therefore, suggests that a currency should be created which will be kept stable in relation to gold and as soon as conditions permit be placed on a convertible basis.

Like the present Reichsbank, the new bank will serve as a bankers' bank, rediscounting the safest category of short-term bills, etc., and so establishing the official rate of discount. It will also handle for the other banks the giro system for the transfer of bank credits.

The bank will deal with the public, making short-time commercial loans and discounts, effecting transfers, and receiving deposits.

It will be the depository and the fiscal agent of the German Government. It may make short-term loans to the Government, but the amount and character of these loans are strictly limited, and the granting of such loans is carefully safeguarded. The German Government is to participate in the profits of the bank but the bank is to be entirely free from governmental control or interference.

Treaty funds collected in Germany are all to be deposited in the new bank to the credit of a special account and are only to be withdrawn by the creditor nations under conditions and safeguards which will adequately protect the German exchange market and the interests of the creditor nations and the German economy.

The new bank will have a capital of 400,000,000 gold marks, part to be subscribed in Germany and part abroad. It is to be administered by a German president and a German managing board, which can have the assistance, as in the case of the Reichsbank, of a consultative committee. Alongside of this German managing board there is to be another board, called the general board, which will consist of seven Germans and seven foreigners, one each of the following nationalities: British, French, Italian, Belgian, American, Dutch, and Swiss. This general board is given broad powers in such matters of bank organization and operation as might affect the interests of the creditor nations. One of the foreign members of the general board will be known as the "commissioner." He will be responsible for seeing that there is no infringement of the provisions relative to the issuance of notes and the maintenance of the bank's reserves. Decisions of the general board will require a majority vote of 10 of the 14 members, unless both the president and the commissioner are included in the majority, in which case a simple majority will be sufficient. Thus, cooperation by members of both groups is necessary for action.

It has been suggested in various quarters that to insure the bank's independence of the Government, an issue department, which could be under the direction of the commissioner and which would be responsible for the reserve and for the issue of notes, should be established abroad. Such a guarantee is political rather than technical in character, and to propose it is outside the jurisdiction of the committee.

A study of the annex is essential to a thorough comprehension of the committee's recommendations, and it has contented itself with drawing attention here to the main features to which it attaches importance.

Still assuming for the minute that the budget problem has been successfully surmounted, we believe that our recommendations furnish a practical method, not only of stabilizing the German exchange, but of securing to German economy those credits in stable value which are essential to its reinvigoration and to the payment of reparation.

Labor also will benefit, for its interests above all are dependent upon stability. Some classes of the community may have compensations in the amazing overturn of fortunes which inflation brings—some benefit and others suffer. But for the working classes instability is wholly evil; it has no compensations whatever. In this connection, we may refer to the views expressed by the representative of labor who appeared before us in Berlin: "Speaking not for the whole of the German people, but merely for the class which he represented, Herr Grassmann stated that the German working classes could not stand another period of inflation. They must appeal to the world for a stable currency which would render it possible for them to buy something with their wages even four weeks after they had received them." It is clear that if the statutes of the bank are strictly observed there can be little danger of future inflation. One of the advantages to be expected is that foreign currencies immobilized in Germany, which are at present economically sterile, will be mobilized in the form of subscriptions or deposits to the bank and return to economic uses.

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VII. The Budget and Temporary Reparation Relief

Attention may now be directed to the other main aspect of our problem, the balancing of the budget. We propose to deal first with the general budget of the Reich, and secondly and separately with the railways, which, at present are contributing nothing to the general budget.

In addition to a stable currency and the economic unity defined above, the budget requires certain relief from immediate charges for treaty purposes, which, while securing the budgetary position, will not imply the cessation of the payments indispensable to the Allies in the form of deliveries in kind.

VIII. The Basic Principles of Germany's Annual Burden

(a) Treaty Obligations and Their Bearing Upon the Continuity of Balanced Budgets

It will be obvious that the balancing of the budget is, like the stabilization of the currency, of little value unless it can be maintained. It is not enough to be satisfied that one or even several budgets will be balanced. It is necessary to consider under what conditions, assuming sound administration, financial as well as currency stability can be continuously insured, or rather under what conditions such stability once gained is likely to be endangered. It is inevitable, therefore, that we should look forward, not indeed in the same detail but with proper regard to the chief determining factors, to those later years during which Germany will have gradually to liquidate her external treaty obligations.

We repudiate, of course, the view that Germany's full domestic demands constitute a first charge on her resources and that what is available for her treaty obligations is merely the surplus revenue that she may be willing to realize. But at the same time, if the prior obligation for reparation that is fixed for Germany to pay, together with an irreducible minimum for her own domestic expenditure, make up in a given year a sum beyond her taxable capacity, then budget instability at once ensues and currency stability is also probably involved. In that event, an adjustment of the treaty obligations of the year is obviously the only course possible. The amount that can safely be fixed for reparation purposes tends therefore to be the difference between the maximum revenue and minimum expenditure for Germany's own needs. We shall naturally and inevitably be led to discuss later the amount of reparation payments which can be made out of budget resources and the method by which they can be effected, if the postulates of a stable currency and of a balanced budget are accepted. It would be to ignore both the plain dictates of justice, the practical conditions which must determine the acceptance or rejection of our proposals, and the context and obvious purpose of our terms of reference, if we approached our task from any other angle.

It might, indeed, be thought that if we have thus been involved in a consideration of reparation payments, it is only of such payments as are to be made during the reconstruction period of the next few years. Our task, it may be said, is to advise as to the way to attain stabilization and a balanced budget, not as to the sums to be demanded from Germany when that aim has been achieved. But no such sharp division of periods is possible, for the following reasons:

1. The basis on which the budget is balanced at the end of the reconstruction period, and the sum it includes for reparation, must obviously determine to a large extent the sums payable in the following years. Otherwise, as we have said, an equilibrium, though once attained, might be rapidly lost. The effort would have been in vain and the same problem would again present itself.

2. More important still is the fact that the success of our proposals to attain financial stabilization depends essentially upon the return of confidence. Without this the return of German capital invested abroad, the attraction of foreign capital for the purposes mentioned in the scheme and of foreign credits for the current conduct of business, and even the proper collection of taxes, will alike be impossible.

Such confidence can not be attained unless a settlement is now made which both Germany and the outside world believe will give an assurance that for a considerable period neither its finances nor its foreign relations will be endangered by renewed disputes. Such an assurance, as we shall see, does not mean making the charge on Germany a uniform one over a period of years, nor even deciding beforehand what the charge shall be in each of these years. But it does mean settling beforehand the method by which increases shall be determined.

When we speak of the adoption of such a method for "a considerable period," we are thinking primarily of the period which lenders and investors whose money is required as a part of our scheme will have in mind. As we shall see, our scheme needs both foreign and internal subscrptions to a bank of issue, and in particular an external loan as an essential condition of enabling and assuring reparation payments. We fully recognize both the necessity and the justice of maintaining the principle embodied in the treaty that Germany's payments should increase with what may prove to be the increase in her future capacity.

We also recognize that an estimate now made once for all might well underestimate this, and that it is both just and practicable that the Allies should share in any increased prosperity. All that we regard as essential as a condition of stabilization is that any such increased demands to correspond with increasing capacity should be determined by a method which is clearly defined in the original settlement, and which is

capable of automatic, or at least professional, impartial, and practically indisputable application.

This requirement we have tried to meet, as will be seen, by providing that in addition to a fixed annual payment, there shall be a variable addition dependent upon a composite index figure designed to reflect Germany's increasing capacity.

It is outside the competence of the committee to establish a limit of years or of amount for the working of the index, nor is it within their competence to fix the number of annuities which Germany will have to pay, as this would practically mean the fixation of a new German capital debt. In any new arrangements made for a definite settlement of the various international financial obligations arising out of the war it would be easy as regards the German debt to apply our plan to those new conditions.

(b) Commensurate Taxation

We have done our utmost to apply the principle of commensurate taxation.

It is not open to dispute, as a simple principle of justice, and it is contemplated by the treaty, that the German people should be placed under a burden of taxation at least as heavy as that borne by the peoples of the Allied countries. No single person in Germany, whether speaking as an individual or representing any section of the nation, has failed to accept that principle when it has been squarely put to him. Any limitation upon it, if there is one, must be a limitation of practicability and general economic expediency in the interest of the Allies themselves. Obviously it is morally sound; and it would be clearly repugnant to all sense of natural justice that the taxpayers of countries with large and important regions devastated by the war should bear the burden of restoring them, while the taxpayer of Germany, on whose territory the war caused no comparable devastation, escaped with a lighter burden. The principle is, at the same time, economically just, for it is obviously unfair and in every way undesirable that the allied taxpayer should be penalized by the fact either that taxes resulting from the war weigh more heavily upon him as a consumer, or that in competition in his business he should be handicapped by greater burdens on the costs of production, including wages, than his German competitor bears.

We have borne in mind both the importance of the virtual extinction of debt in Germany and the general burden of taxation in allied countries. As we indicate more fully in Part II, there are many difficulties in theory and practice, but in spite of them we have done our utmost to secure that the proposals we make should involve a "commensurate burden" in the fairest interpretation and application of that principle which is practicable. We are satisfied that in what we propose we are not imposing a heavier burden; we are also satisfied that we have applied the principle as far as it is is practicable in the interests no less of the Allies than of Germany.

(c) An Index of Prosperity is Necessary to Enable the Allies to Share in the Increased Prosperity of Germany

After a short period of recovery we believe that the financial and economic situation of Germany will have returned to a normal state, after which time the index will begin to operate.

The system of a variable annuity has the sanction of usage in the schedule of payments. But we venture to suggest for most careful consideration the advisability of altering the existing index, constituted by the value of exports. This index appears to us to be imperfect.

We are aware that there are cogent reasons both for and against any test which may be suggested, and we do not propose to examine them in detail. We are of opinion that the undoubted shortcomings of particular indices are neutralized to a large extent if a composite index is chosen, and we have a reasonable assurance that a fair measure of Germany's increasing prosperity will be obtained. Our suggestions, after considering many various alternatives for such an index, are given in Annex 2.

We take upon ourselves to recommend these suggestions, as an indication, to the attention of the Reparation Commission.

We are of opinion that at least during the period within which the loan which we propose is being amortized, the annual charge upon Germany should not be heavier than that which would result from the application of this index; nor would the committee accept any responsibility for the balancing of the budget even in later years if heavier payments than the above were called for.

We propose that an average of years (chiefly 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929) should be taken as the base; that the percentage increase shown by each of six sets of representative statistics (railway traffic, population, foreign trade, consumption of tobacco, etc., budget expenditure, and consumption of coal) should be ascertained; and that the average of these six percentages should be taken as indicating the proportionate increase to be added to the treaty sums demanded in a given future year.

Under this system Germany will retain her incentive to develop, as she retains the major part of the advantage of any increase in prosperity. while the Allies obtain a reasonable share in this increase and avoid the risk of losing through a premature estimate of future capacity.

At the same time, the adoption of a method involving not discretionary but automatic application gives the necessary assurance from the commencement both to Germany and the world that treaty demands will not, in the period to which the settlement relates, be again the subject of negotiation and dispute.

We propose, however, one further correcting factor of quite a different character which is only a precau-

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tionary measure and may never be actually involved. The treaty prescribes Germany's obligations in terms of gold, and for convenience we have expressed our estimate in the same terms. But both the burden on Germany, and the advantage to the Allies of treaty payments, consist of goods and services. Gold is only a measure of value, and over a long period of years may be an uncertain and defective one. It is only in the case of really important changes that any action is necessary and we therefore propose that a reduction or increase of the figures both as regards the standard and the supplementary payments should be made automatically in correspondence with changes in the general purchasing power of gold, whenever, by the decision of an impartial authority, such changes amount to more than 10 per cent.

(*d*) THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TAXPAYERS' "CAPACITY TO PAY" IN GERMANY AND GERMANY'S CAPACITY TO PAY THE ALLIES

There has been a tendency in the past to confuse two distinct though related questions; i. e., first, the amount of revenue which Germany can raise available for reparation account, and, second, the amount which can be transferred to foreign countries. The funds raised and transferred to the Allies on reparation account can not, in the long run, exceed the sums which the balance of payments makes it possible to transfer, without currency and budget instability ensuing. But it is quite obvious that the amount of budget surplus which can be raised by taxation is not limited by the entirely distinct question of the conditions of external transfer. We propose to distinguish sharply between the two problems, and first deal with the problem of the maximum budget surplus and afterwards with the problem of payment to the Allies. In the past the varying conclusions formed as to Germany's "capacity" have often depended upon which of these two methods has been chosen.

As a first method of approach the budgetary criterion has obvious advantages and attractions. Reparation must first be provided for as an item in the budget.

The budget itself is the sum of decisions taken by a single authority. It is capable of expert judgment and, within narrower limits of error, of calculation and analysis.

By comparison a country's "economic balance" defies exact calculation. The balance, even at a given moment, can only be estimated approximately, for the invisible exports and imports which constitute an important part of it can not be known exactly. And a *potential* economic balance is much more uncertain. It depends not on the decisions of a single authority, but on the enterprise of individual merchants and manufacturers. Reparation demands themselves will increase it. The extent to which economic adaptation is possible over a long period of years, under the pressure of external obligations, is a matter of conjecture; an existing economic balance, before such obligations have been in operation long enough to have their effect on the economy of the country, gives a very uncertain criterion. The economic balance is, therefore, by comparison with the budget, incapable of close calculation, "unmanageable," and too elastic.

But the limits set by the economic balance, if impossible of exact determination, are real. For the stability of a country's currency to be permanently maintained, not only must her budget be balanced, but her earnings from abroad must be equal to the payments she must make abroad, including not only payments for the goods she imports, but the sums paid in reparation. Nor can the balance of the budget itself be permanently maintained except on the same conditions. Loan operations may disguise the position—or postpone its practical results—but they can not alter it. If reparation can, and must, be provided by means of the inclusion of an item in the budget, i. e., by the collection of taxes in excess of internal expenditure, it can only be paid abroad by means of an economic surplus in the country's activities.

We have, it will be seen, attempted to give effect to both these sets of considerations by a method we believe to be both logical and practical. We estimate the amount which we think Germany can pay in gold marks by consideration of her budget possibilities; but we propose safeguards against such transfers of these mark payments into foreign exchange as would destroy stabilization and thereby endanger future reparation.

By comparison with a system which reduced the sums considered possible on budget grounds because of considerations based upon estimates of the possible economic balance, this has the following advantages:

(*a*) It enables the maximum sums to be obtained and paid to the Allies' account.

(*b*) Any limitation upon transfers into foreign currencies will depend upon the exact economic position as it develops in fact and not upon a necessarily problematical estimate of it; and the limitation will only apply so far as it actually proves necessary.

(*c*) Even so far as the sums paid in reparation can not be completely transferred, they can, under certain conditions, be used by the Allies for internal investment in Germany.

Above all, we recommend our proposal for these reasons: It adjusts itself automatically to realities; the burden which should rest upon the German taxpayer should, in justice, so obviously be commensurate with that borne by the Allied taxpayer that, in our view, nothing but the most compelling and proved necessity should operate to make it lighter. It would be both speculative and unjust to attempt to forecast the possibilities of the future exchange position and to determine Germany's burden in advance with reference to a problematic estimate of it. Experience, and experience alone, can show what transfer into foreign currencies can in practice be made. Our system provides in the meantime for a proper charge upon the German taxpayer, and a corresponding deposit in gold marks to the Allies' account; and then secures the maximum conversion of these mark deposits into foreign currencies which the actual capacity of the exchange position at any given time renders possible.

IX. The Normal Resources from which Germany Should Make Payments

With these principles in mind, we recommend that Germany should make payment from the following sources:

(*a*) From her ordinary budget.
(*b*) From railway bonds and transport tax.
(*c*) From industrial debentures.

We proceed to consider each of these in turn.

(*a*) PROVISION FROM THE BUDGET FOR TREATY PAYMENTS; BUDGET EQUILIBRIUM

To recommend what payments Germany can make from her ordinary budget, and from what dates, is in effect to answer the first of the two specific questions put to us; i. e., how to "balance the German budget." For in our view, if the economic and fiscal unity of the Reich is restored, if a stable currency is established, and if the budget is given temporary relief from treaty payments, Germany should balance her budget from her own resources by a vigorous internal effort supported by the confidence which a general and stable settlement may be expected to give, and she should thereafter be able to maintain it in equilibrium, if the future charge for treaty payments is determined by a method which assures that it will not exceed her capacity.

In other words, we do not consider that an external loan is needed—as in the case of Austria and Hungary—to be devoted specifically to meeting ordinary deficits during a transition period. External money is indeed an essential part of our scheme, in part for the establishment of a new bank of issue; in part to prevent an interruption of deliveries in kind during the transition period; and essentially to create the confidence upon which the whole success of the scheme depends. But we do not propose that it should be confined or devoted specially to meeting deficits on ordinary expenditure even during a transition period. On the contrary, as will be seen, we think that from the beginning internal resources should meet internal ordinary expenditure, and at a very early date should suffice in addition to make substantial contributions toward the external debt.

The present budget position is described in some detail in Part II, which includes our criticisms and recommendations as to the measures we think practicable for economizing in expenditure and increasing taxation.

We confine ourselves here to our conclusions as to the provision that can be made for meeting treaty payments.

1924–25 budget.—In the first year (1924–25) we consider that the ordinary budget may balance. Even if there is a deficit we are confident that it should not be such as to endanger the stability of the currency, and that at the worst the Government can meet it by the orthodox expedients—increases of existing taxation, further emergency taxes, and internal loans.

Even if energetic measures are taken to obviate any deficit in 1924–25, we are satisfied that neither by reduction of expenditure nor by an increase in receipts can Germany be expected to provide out of budget resources for any peace treaty payments to the Allies, and that any demand for their payment would imperil both the structure of the budget and the stability of the currency. How relief can be otherwise provided for the reparation creditors will be considered separately.

The fundamental importance of the effect upon the stability of the Reich budget of the finances of the States (Prussia, Bavaria, etc.) and of the communes has greatly exercised us, and we have stated our views on the system of subsidies and local expenditure in Part II.

1925–26 budget.—On passing to the budget for 1925–26, it is obvious that the existing data are insufficient for a precise judgment on its detailed prospects. Certain general conclusions are, however, possible.

On the revenue side, the lapse of a whole year of currency stability and readjustment should of itself increase receipts. The period of recuperation will not have been long enough completely to restore the yield of the income tax, but there will at least be gold mark profits of 1924–25 on which to frame a reasonable assessment. Consumption taxes should be directly affected by returning prosperity.

On the expenditure side it may be hoped with some degree of confidence that expenditure on unemployment will exhibit a notable decrease. The expenditure on the army is capable of reduction. An automatic decrease will make itself felt in the pension charge. It is not to be expected, on the other hand, that sums thus saved on these or other heads will represent a net benefit to the budget. In particular, and this remark applies also to the budgets of the immediately succeeding years, increases in the salary charges of the Reich which can probably not be entirely off-set by decreases in personnel must be anticipated.

Some increase of expenditure must therefore be expected. On balance, however, we are of opinion that the growth in receipts should be more than sufficient to counterbalance any increase in expenditure. Whatever views may be held about the eventual outcome of the 1924–25 budget, we are clear that the second year should show a substantial improvement upon it. The result of the first year therefore affects our view as to whether the result of the following year will be actually an appreciable surplus. If it should prove

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that the 1924–25 budget can not be balanced by taxation alone, the improvement to be expected in the following year might not be more than sufficient to secure the balance desired. If, on the other hand, no loans were necessary in 1924–25, any improvement in the following year would be net surplus and entirely available for meeting peace treaty charges.

We are clearly of the view that, if the two years are taken together, receipts should be sufficient to cover ordinary expenditure, and we do not exclude the possibility of a small surplus. On the other hand it can not be stated with certainty that the inclusion of a compulsory liability for peace treaty charges will not destroy the whole balance, and it is obviously vital that the mistake should not be made of fixing as a first payment during recovery a sum which the circumstances may not justify.

The stability of future reparation payments and German credit in general might thus be endangered.

There is another factor that must be taken into account. For the successful operation of the scheme for dealing with the railways, to which we shall refer later, it is necessary that the proceeds of the transport tax to the extent of 250,000,000 gold marks should be withdrawn for this year from the revenue side of the budget and devoted to the payment of treaty charges.

On the other hand that scheme also provides for the sale by the railway company of preference shares to the nominal value of 2,000,000,000 gold marks, one-quarter of the proceeds accruing to the profit of the German budget and the balance providing for past and future capital expenditure of the railways. For the successful execution of the railway scheme we attach great importance to the sale to the public of these preference shares and we feel justified in assuming that before the end of the year 1925–26 the German Government will be in effective possession of 500,000,000 gold marks as a result of this transaction. The budget can therefore be reinforced to that extent and after making allowance for the withdrawal of 250,000,000 gold marks in respect of the transport tax there will be a balance of 250,000,000 gold marks which should be available for meeting peace treaty charges.

By the procedure we have indicated any danger of hampering future stability by a premature call upon the ordinary resources of the German budget will be obviated and there will be an additional inducement to transfer the preference shares to private ownership.

We, therefore, recommend that in the year 1925–26 Germany should be required to meet peace treaty charges out of her budget to the extent of 250,000,000 gold marks. If, contrary to our expectation, the budget fails to realize 500,000,000 gold marks from the sale of preference shares, we consider that any resultant deficit could be met by an internal loan.

The proceeds of the transport tax should thenceforth not figure in the revenue side of the budget except to the extent to which they exceed 250,000,000 gold marks in 1925–26 and 290,000,000 gold marks in subsequent years.

We once more reserve the question of providing for further reparation payments by other means.

The budget of later years.—As we have said already, Germany's credit can not rest upon the mere establishment of budget equilibrium. It must be clear that it can be permanently maintained. It is, therefore, necessary for us to consider what burden Germany can bear in the near future without danger to that equilibrium. In this connection, certain assumptions have necessarily been made. It has been considered that if for two years the budget is relieved from peace treaty charges and a stable currency is reestablished, Germany ought in 1926 to be making rapid strides toward complete recovery, and should in three years, by 1928, reach a normal economic condition. We have taken into account the probable yield of her several taxes and her taxable capacity as a whole and the probable changes in expenditure under these improving conditions, and after making full allowance for error we have reached definite conclusions as to the sums which can be fixed for peace treaty charges without endangering the stability of the budget. These results we have considered in relation to the maximum probable rate at which the national income can be expected to grow from its present point and the maximum proportion of that growth which can successfully be absorbed in taxation.

We draw the conclusion that, allowance being made for some inevitable growth in expenditure, the budgets for the three subsequent years can safely provide for the following maximum sums:

	Gold marks
1926–27	110, 000, 000
1927–28	500, 000, 000
1928–29	1, 250, 000, 000

On the other hand, regard being had to the fact that it is difficult to estimate the recuperative power of Germany in 1926–27 and 1927–28, we would propose that these amounts should be regarded as subject to modification by a sum not exceeding 250,000,000 gold marks on the following plan: If the aggregate controlled revenues as defined in Section XIV exceed 1 milliard in 1926–27 or 1,250,000,000 in 1927–28, an addition shall be made to the above contributions equal to one-third of such excess. Conversely, if those aggregate revenues fall short of 1 milliard in 1926–27 or 1,250,000,000 in 1927–28, the total contributions shall be diminished by an amount equal to one-third of the deficiency.

We believe that at the end of the fiscal year 1928–29 the financial and economic situation of Germany will have returned to a normal state, and that in this and subsequent years the ordinary budget should support the inclusion of a sum of 1,250,000,000 gold marks. The total sums, therefore, to be provided from *ordinary budget resources* would be the standard payment of

of 1,250,000,000 plus the additional sum (already referred to) computed upon the index of prosperity, as from 1929–30 onward.

We have considered carefully the question of the amount to which the index should be applied and, as we are desirous that in the earlier years of her recovery German progress shall not be unduly handicapped by shortage of new capital, we think that it will be desirable to apply it to the purely budget contribution 1,250,000,000 (or one-half of the total standard payment) for the first five years of the application of the index, viz, 1929–30 to 1933–34. After that date, 1934–35, the index should apply on the full amount of the contribution, namely, 2,500,000,000 gold marks.

(*b*) RAILWAYS

We have conducted, with the assistance of two eminent railway experts, a close examination of the situation of the German railways. The subject is an important one, for the railways have been operated since the armistice at a constantly increasing loss, which has involved heavy burdens upon the German budget.

Most, if not all, railway systems have passed through a period of great difficulty since the war from causes which were largely beyond their control. It is clear, however, from a study of the report drawn up by the experts, which will be found in Annex 3, that the greatest difficulties were of the Germans' own making. The German railway administration can not but plead guilty to two serious charges. In the first place, as is proved by the reduction which it is now possible to make, they have been enormously overstaffed, even when all account is taken of the introduction of an eight-hour day and of peace-treaty charges justifying temporary disorganization. In the second place, the administration has indulged in extravagant capital expenditure for which the official excuse is that construction was largely undertaken to ward off unemployment.

It is only just to observe that the situation has now improved out of recognition, though more remains to be done. The German Government have separated the railways from the ordinary administration and assimilated them in form, so far as is possible, to a business concern. Capital construction has been slackened and fares have at any rate been raised to a point where the railways are not only self-supporting, but can provide some profit.

These measures are, however, insufficient. The capital value of the railways is estimated by the experts on a conservative basis at 26 milliards. They are unencumbered with old debts, for their prior charges were extinguished by the depreciation of the mark, and these prior charges absorbed half the gross profits in the pre-war period, which amounted to approximately 1 milliard gold marks, in spite of the fact that it was the custom to include in operating and maintenance charges large expenditures which might properly have been charged to capital account.

The railway experts are convinced, and we share their conviction, that under proper management, under unified control, and with a proper tariff policy, the railways can without difficulty earn a fair return upon their present capital value.

Nor need it be thought that this improvement in profits will be made at the expense of the German people by increasing their fares and the cost of all goods transported by rail. It can be substantially provided by the more economical administration of the railways themselves.

In saying this we have not in mind inadequate wages, but rather the elimination from operating and maintenance charges of certain elements of waste and also expenditure more properly chargeable to capital account.

The railway experts arrived, however, with considerable reluctance at the conclusion that it would be useless to expect anything approaching the full measure of improvement which is possible, so long as the railways remain in the control of the Government. The whole spirit of the Government's ownership in the past has been directed to running the railways primarily in the interest of German industry, and only secondarily as a revenue-producing concern, and in their opinion a complete break with old traditions is essential.

We accept their conclusions and we recommend the conversion of the German railways into a joint stock company. It is not our intention thus to deprive Germany of the administration of her railways in favor of the Allies; on the contrary, our plan demands only a modest return on the capital cost, and so long as this return is forthcoming we do not anticipate any interference in the German management of the undertaking.

We would add that if, as the German Government has itself proposed, the exploitation of the railways is divided into several systems, this division should not affect detrimentally their financial unity.

The details of our proposals will be found in Annex 4, and we will content ourselves with giving only a broad outline at this point.

The committee recommends that there should be paid from the German railways 11 milliard gold marks to be represented by first mortgage bonds bearing 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent sinking fund per annum. The capital cost of the German railways computed on a gold mark basis is estimated by our experts at 26 milliards. The net earnings of these railways before the war, after liberal and indeed exaggerated charges to operating and maintenance, were as high as 1 milliard. The interest and sinking fund on these debentures represents less than 3 per cent of the capital cost, which is a very modest charge on the capital investment compared with that required in many other countries of the world.

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that the 1924–25 budget can not be balanced by taxation alone, the improvement to be expected in the following year might not be more than sufficient to secure the balance desired. If, on the other hand, no loans were necessary in 1924–25, any improvement in the following year would be net surplus and entirely available for meeting peace treaty charges.

We are clearly of the view that, if the two years are taken together, receipts should be sufficient to cover ordinary expenditure, and we do not exclude the possibility of a small surplus. On the other hand it can not be stated with certainty that the inclusion of a compulsory liability for peace treaty charges will not destroy the whole balance, and it is obviously vital that the mistake should not be made of fixing as a first payment during recovery a sum which the circumstances may not justify.

The stability of future reparation payments and German credit in general might thus be endangered.

There is another factor that must be taken into account. For the successful operation of the scheme for dealing with the railways, to which we shall refer later, it is necessary that the proceeds of the transport tax to the extent of 250,000,000 gold marks should be withdrawn for this year from the revenue side of the budget and devoted to the payment of treaty charges.

On the other hand that scheme also provides for the sale by the railway company of preference shares to the nominal value of 2,000,000,000 gold marks, one-quarter of the proceeds accruing to the profit of the German budget and the balance providing for past and future capital expenditure of the railways. For the successful execution of the railway scheme we attach great importance to the sale to the public of these preference shares and we feel justified in assuming that before the end of the year 1925–26 the German Government will be in effective possession of 500,000,000 gold marks as a result of this transaction. The budget can therefore be reinforced to that extent and after making allowance for the withdrawal of 250,000,000 gold marks in respect of the transport tax there will be a balance of 250,000,000 gold marks which should be available for meeting peace treaty charges.

By the procedure we have indicated any danger of hampering future stability by a premature call upon the ordinary resources of the German budget will be obviated and there will be an additional inducement to transfer the preference shares to private ownership.

We, therefore, recommend that in the year 1925–26 Germany should be required to meet peace treaty charges out of her budget to the extent of 250,000,000 gold marks. If, contrary to our expectation, the budget fails to realize 500,000,000 gold marks from the sale of preference shares, we consider that any resultant deficit could be met by an internal loan.

The proceeds of the transport tax should thenceforth not figure in the revenue side of the budget except to the extent to which they exceed 250,000,000 gold marks in 1925–26 and 290,000,000 gold marks in subsequent years.

We once more reserve the question of providing for further reparation payments by other means.

The budget of later years.—As we have said already, Germany's credit can not rest upon the mere establishment of budget equilibrium. It must be clear that it can be permanently maintained. It is, therefore, necessary for us to consider what burden Germany can bear in the near future without danger to that equilibrium. In this connection, certain assumptions have necessarily been made. It has been considered that if for two years the budget is relieved from peace treaty charges and a stable currency is reestablished, Germany ought in 1926 to be making rapid strides toward complete recovery, and should in three years, by 1928, reach a normal economic condition. We have taken into account the probable yield of her several taxes and her taxable capacity as a whole and the probable changes in expenditure under these improving conditions, and after making full allowance for error we have reached definite conclusions as to the sums which can be fixed for peace treaty charges without endangering the stability of the budget. These results we have considered in relation to the maximum probable rate at which the national income can be expected to grow from its present point and the maximum proportion of that growth which can successfully be absorbed in taxation.

We draw the conclusion that, allowance being made for some inevitable growth in expenditure, the budgets for the three subsequent years can safely provide for the following maximum sums:

	Gold marks
1926–27	110, 000, 000
1927–28	500, 000, 000
1928–29	1, 250, 000, 000

On the other hand, regard being had to the fact that it is difficult to estimate the recuperative power of Germany in 1926–27 and 1927–28, we would propose that these amounts should be regarded as subject to modification by a sum not exceeding 250,000,000 gold marks on the following plan: If the aggregate controlled revenues as defined in Section XIV exceed 1 milliard in 1926–27 or 1,250,000,000 in 1927–28, an addition shall be made to the above contributions equal to one-third of such excess. Conversely, if those aggregate revenues fall short of 1 milliard in 1926–27 or 1,250,000,000 in 1927–28, the total contributions shall be diminished by an amount equal to one-third of the deficiency.

We believe that at the end of the fiscal year 1928–29 the financial and economic situation of Germany will have returned to a normal state, and that in this and subsequent years the ordinary budget should support the inclusion of a sum of 1,250,000,000 gold marks. The total sums, therefore, to be provided from *ordinary budget resources* would be the standard payment of

of 1,250,000,000 plus the additional sum (already referred to) computed upon the index of prosperity, as from 1929–30 onward.

We have considered carefully the question of the amount to which the index should be applied and, as we are desirous that in the earlier years of her recovery German progress shall not be unduly handicapped by shortage of new capital, we think that it will be desirable to apply it to the purely budget contribution 1,250,000,000 (or one-half of the total standard payment) for the first five years of the application of the index, viz, 1929–30 to 1933–34. After that date, 1934–35, the index should apply on the full amount of the contribution, namely, 2,500,000,000 gold marks.

(b) RAILWAYS

We have conducted, with the assistance of two eminent railway experts, a close examination of the situation of the German railways. The subject is an important one, for the railways have been operated since the armistice at a constantly increasing loss, which has involved heavy burdens upon the German budget.

Most, if not all, railway systems have passed through a period of great difficulty since the war from causes which were largely beyond their control. It is clear, however, from a study of the report drawn up by the experts, which will be found in Annex 3, that the greatest difficulties were of the Germans' own making. The German railway administration can not but plead guilty to two serious charges. In the first place, as is proved by the reduction which it is now possible to make, they have been enormously overstaffed, even when all account is taken of the introduction of an eight-hour day and of peace-treaty charges justifying temporary disorganization. In the second place, the administration has indulged in extravagant capital expenditure for which the official excuse is that construction was largely undertaken to ward off unemployment.

It is only just to observe that the situation has now improved out of recognition, though more remains to be done. The German Government have separated the railways from the ordinary administration and assimilated them in form, so far as is possible, to a business concern. Capital construction has been slackened and fares have at any rate been raised to a point where the railways are not only self-supporting, but can provide some profit.

These measures are, however, insufficient. The capital value of the railways is estimated by the experts on a conservative basis at 26 milliards. They are unencumbered with old debts, for their prior charges were extinguished by the depreciation of the mark, and these prior charges absorbed half the gross profits in the pre-war period, which amounted to approximately 1 milliard gold marks, in spite of the fact that it was the custom to include in operating and maintenance charges large expenditures which might properly have been charged to capital account.

The railway experts are convinced, and we share their conviction, that under proper management, under unified control, and with a proper tariff policy, the railways can without difficulty earn a fair return upon their present capital value.

Nor need it be thought that this improvement in profits will be made at the expense of the German people by increasing their fares and the cost of all goods transported by rail. It can be substantially provided by the more economical administration of the railways themselves.

In saying this we have not in mind inadequate wages, but rather the elimination from operating and maintenance charges of certain elements of waste and also expenditure more properly chargeable to capital account.

The railway experts arrived, however, with considerable reluctance at the conclusion that it would be useless to expect anything approaching the full measure of improvement which is possible, so long as the railways remain in the control of the Government. The whole spirit of the Government's ownership in the past has been directed to running the railways primarily in the interest of German industry, and only secondarily as a revenue-producing concern, and in their opinion a complete break with old traditions is essential.

We accept their conclusions and we recommend the conversion of the German railways into a joint stock company. It is not our intention thus to deprive Germany of the administration of her railways in favor of the Allies; on the contrary, our plan demands only a modest return on the capital cost, and so long as this return is forthcoming we do not anticipate any interference in the German management of the undertaking.

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Realizing that during the period of reorganization of the railways, full interest and sinking fund charges should not be required, we think payments on account of interest should be as follows:

	Gold marks
1924–25	330, 000, 000
1925–26	465, 000, 000
1926–27	550, 000, 000
1927–28 and thereafter	660, 000, 000

This is regarded as a normal year.

In addition to the 11 milliards of bonds, the new railway company is to have a capital of 2 milliards of preference shares and the remainder of its capital cost, namely 13 milliards, is to be represented by common stock; 1½ milliards of preference shares are to be set aside in the treasury of the company, for sale to private persons to provide funds for the payment of existing indebtedness and future capital expenditures. The proceeds of the sale of the other 500,000,000 of preference shares and all of the common shares are to go to the German Government.

The railways are to be managed by a board of 18 directors of whom 9 will be chosen by the German Government and the private holders of preference shares, and the other 9 will be named by the trustee of the bonds, 5 of whom may be German. It is therefore contemplated that the board will have 14 German members. The chairman of the board and the general manager of the railways will be German.

It is contemplated that the railway company will be free to conduct its business in such manner as it may think proper, provided always, however, that the German Government will have such control over its tariffs and service as may be necessary to prevent discrimination and to protect the public. Such government control, however, is never to be exercised so as to impair the ability of the railway company to earn a fair and reasonable return on its capital cost.

The railway commissioner represents the interests of the bondholders. His principal duty will be, in the absence of default in interest, to receive reports, statistical and financial returns, and generally to see that the interests of the bondholders are not menaced.

(c) INDUSTRIAL DEBENTURES

The committee has been impressed with the fairness and desirability of requiring as a contribution to reparation payments from German industry, a sum of not less than 5 milliards of gold marks, to be represented by first-mortgage bonds bearing 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent sinking fund per annum. This amount of bonds is less than the total debt of industrial undertakings in Germany before the war. Such indebtedness has for the most part been discharged by nominal payments in depreciated currency, or practically extinguished. In addition the industrial concerns have profited in many ways through the depreciated currency, such as the long delayed payment of taxes, by subsidies granted and advances made by the German Government, and by depreciation of emergency money which they have issued. On the other hand it is incontestably true that there have also in many instances resulted losses, through the depreciation of currency, from the sale of output at fixed prices, and in other ways.

It is unnecessary for the committee to make an estimate of the total amount of such profits and losses; it is sufficient to say that the committee is satisfied that a burden of mortgage debt of the amount of 5 milliard gold marks on the industries of Germany, fairly apportioned, bearing a moderate rate of interest, and payable on long maturity, does not create a burden greater than that which would have existed had there been no depreciation of currency.

In fact the fairness of such a proposal has been recognized by the German Government itself in a proposal submitted on June 7, 1923, to all the allied and associated governments.

This proposal was later confirmed by persons in high authority in the subsequent and present German Governments.

The offer referred to above was of 10 milliard gold marks, covering business, industry, banking, trade, traffic, and agriculture. The request of the committee is for 5 milliards only and it suggests the exemption of agriculture from the obligations of the mortgage.

Realizing the importance of agriculture to a nation unable to provide its entire food supply, we feel more reserved in making a recommendation as to the burdens which should fairly be put on it, though we can not close our eyes to the fact that a very large amount of agricultural indebtedness has been discharged at merely nominal figures and the owners of equity in land have realized substantial profits at the expense of their former creditors.

We desire to make it clear that the committee in asking for mortgage bonds on industries does not recommend in any sense an unfair or discriminating burden against them, and so we do recommend that equalization be properly and fairly made by the German Government for the benefit of its own budget. If, in the opinion of the German Government, a burden on other property should be imposed in order to equalize the burden of reparation payments on property other than industrial property, we recommend that it be done in favor of the German budget either by a further valorization tax or by a specific lien or otherwise. If this course be followed and a fair and accurate system of direct taxation be adopted the committee believes that all classes in Germany will be called upon to make their fair and reasonable contribution to peace treaty charges either through direct or indirect taxation.

Realizing the depletion of the liquid capital supply in Germany, and that a period should be provided for

its recuperation, we recommend that the interest on the 5 milliards of debentures above referred to be waived entirely during the first year; that the interest during the second year be 2½ per cent; during the third year 5 per cent; and thereafter 5 per cent plus 1 per cent sinking fund. In the event of default in the payment of interest, sinking fund, or principal on any of the said debentures, provision has been made for recovery from the German Government through the commissioner of controlled revenues.

The plan will be found in Annex 5.

X. SUMMARY OF PROVISION FOR TREATY PAYMENTS

We are now in a position to summarize the full provision we contemplate for treaty payments:

	Gold marks
Budget moratorium period—	
First year. From foreign loan and part interest (200,000,000) on railway bonds	1, 000, 000, 000
Second year. From interest on railway bonds (including 130,000,000 balance from first year) and interest on industrial debentures and budget contribution, including sale of railway shares	1, 220, 000, 000
Transition period—	
Third year. From interest on railway bonds and industrial debentures, from transport tax and from budget (subject to contingent addition or reduction not exceeding 250,000,000 gold marks)	1, 200, 000, 000
Fourth year. From interest on railway bonds and industrial debentures, from transport tax and from budget (subject to contingent addition or reduction not exceeding 250,000,000 gold marks)	1, 750, 000, 000
Standard year—	
Fifth year. From interest on railway bonds and industrial debentures, from transport tax and from budget	2, 500, 000, 000

The first year will begin to run from the date when the plan shall have been accepted and made effective.

We must point out that the total figures indicated for each year must include the sums paid by the German budget, the railway company, or the debtors on industrial debentures, whoever may be the actual recipients of these sums, the Reparation Commission, the capitalists who purchased securities, or even the debtors themselves if they have repurchased their bonds.

These figures clearly do not include the proceeds from the sale of capital assets which may be effected by the creditor governments. As soon as the plan is put into execution, the Reparation Commission will be in possession of bonds for 16 milliard marks, which may be sold to the extent to which the financial markets are capable of absorbing them. Subsequently, bonds representing the transport tax and the contribution from the budget may be issued, and will enable the governments to realize the capital of their claims.

XI. INCLUSIVE AMOUNTS.—DELIVERIES IN KIND

THE INCLUSIVE NATURE OF THE PAYMENT

Before passing from this part of our report we desire to make it quite clear that the sums denoted above in our examination of the successive years comprise all amounts for which Germany may be liable to the allied and associated powers for the costs arising out of the war, including reparation, restitution, all costs of all armies of occupation, clearing-house operations to the extent of those balances which the Reparation Commission decide must legitimately remain a definitive charge on the German Government, commissions of control and supervision, etc. Wherever in any part of this report or its annexes we refer to treaty payments, reparation, amounts payable to the Allies, etc., we use these terms to include all charges payable by Germany to the allied and associated powers for these war costs. They include also special payments such as those due under articles 58, 124, and 125 of the treaty of Versailles.

The funds to be deposited in the special account in the bank are to be available for the foregoing purposes, notwithstanding anything in this report which may be interpreted to the contrary, though in saying this we are not to be read as prejudicing questions of distribution or questions of priority between the various categories of charges.

We venture to emphasize the fact that from the point of view from which we are called upon to regard the question these obligations of Germany are one, and that any addition to one category of charges can only be made at the expense of another.

The committee have noted the important fact that Germany is not in a position to ascertain her liabilities out of the peace treaty as demands are made upon her from time to time during the year, which can not be calculated beforehand. It appears to us a matter of impossibility for any budget to be scientifically compiled and satisfactorily balanced under such an arrangement, and that, therefore, means should be found to bring this system to an end. The difficulty will be satisfactorily met if Germany's liabilities for any particular year are absolutely limited according to our plan and, as suggested above, made inclusive of all possible charges whether in or outside Germany, including the costs of the administrative controls which are set up by our plan.

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DELIVERIES IN KIND

We have given special attention to the question of deliveries in kind; in their financial effects, deliveries in kind are not really distinguishable from cash payments and they can not in the long run exceed the true surplus of German production over consumption available for export without either upsetting the exchange or rendering foreign loans necessary.

Having made this clear, we have to remember that:

1. Deliveries in kind are dealt with in the treaty.

2. They are now an inevitable part of the economic conditions of several of the Allies and can not be wholly removed without considerable dislocation.

3. If the principle is not carried too far, they may represent a stimulus to German productivity and therefore the creation of a greater export surplus.

4. They may help in avoiding such surplus being absorbed by the prior action of private German investment abroad. In this connection, the maintenance of the system of deliveries in kind, if not carried too far, may act in a manner to keep the transfer as large as possible and to give the Allies priority.

While, therefore, we recognize the necessity for the continuance of deliveries in kind, we think that unless they can be confined to natural products of Germany, such as those specifically dealt with in the treaty (coal, coke, dyestuffs, etc.) and in the second place to exports which do not entail the previous importation into Germany of a large percentage of their value, they tend to be uneconomic in character.

In the first two years of the operation of the plan the available finance is so restricted that there will be an automatic limitation of deliveries, but in the later period the program must be carefully and periodically considered in advance by the Reparation Commission in conjunction with the committee referred to in Section XIII if exchange difficulties are to be avoided.

We refer below to the necessity of expending almost exclusively within Germany the sums available for treaty payments in 1924–25 and 1925–26. In these circumstances, the Allied Governments will doubtless consider whether it is not advisable to continue the system whereby the costs of armies of occupation were a first charge upon the proceeds of deliveries in kind made to the Governments which maintain the armies.

Where we have referred to payments for deliveries in kind in this report we have intended to include therein payments in Germany arising through the operation of the reparation recovery acts.

XII. How the Payments are to be Made

All payments for the account of reparations (whether from interest and sinking fund on railways or industrial debentures, the transport tax, or from the budget contribution) will be paid in gold marks or their equivalent in German currency into the bank of issue to the credit of the "Agent for reparation payments." This payment is the definitive act of the German Government in meeting its financial obligations under the plan. It is easier to estimate the burden that Germany's economic and fiscal resources can bear than the amount of her wealth that can be safely transferred abroad, and it is the former and not the latter that has formed the first objective of the committee.

XIII. How the Payments are to be Received

The use and withdrawal of the moneys so deposited will be controlled by a committee, consisting of the agent for reparation payments (a coordinating official under the Reparation Commission, whose position and duties are defined later in this report) and five persons skilled in matters relating to foreign exchange and finance, representing five of the allied and associated powers. This committee will regulate the execution of the program for deliveries in kind and the payments under the reparation recovery act, in such a manner as to prevent difficulties arising with the foreign exchange.

They will also control the transfer of cash to the Allies by purchase of foreign exchange and generally so act as to secure the maximum transfers, without bringing about instability of currency. Fuller details as to their functions will be found in Annex 6. If the payments by Germany on reparation account, in the long run, exceed the sums that can be thus transferred by deliveries or by purchase of foreign currencies, they will of course begin to accumulate in the bank. Up to a certain point, in normal circumstances not exceeding two milliards, these accumulations will form part of the short money operations of the bank.

Beyond this point, the committee will find employment for such funds in bonds or loans in Germany under the conditions laid down in the annex, but, for economic and political reasons, an unlimited accumulation in this form is not contemplated. We recommend that a limit of five milliards be placed upon all funds accumulating in the hands of the reparation creditors in Germany. If this limit is reached, the contributions from the budget are to be reduced below the standards set out in our plan, so that they are not in excess of the withdrawals from the account and the accumulation is not further increased. In this contingency, the payments by Germany out of the budget and the transport tax would be reduced until such time as the transfers to the Allies can be increased and the accumulation be reduced below the limit named.

We do not deny that this part of our proposal will present difficulties of a novel character which can only be solved by experience. But what are the alternatives?

In order that no difficulties with exchange or stability can possibly arise, the sum payable for reparation may be definitely fixed at such a figure as is certain beyond all doubt to be within Germany's capacity to

export in excess of her imports. In this case the attainment of such certainty would involve so low a figure as to be quite unacceptible to her creditors and unwarrantably favorable to Germany.

On the other hand, the liability may be fixed without regard to that excess of exports at all, and the discharge of the liability left to uncontrolled events without any possible regard to exchange difficulties. That way lies future instability and disaster.

We are convinced that some kind of coordinated policy, with continuous expert administration in regard to the exchange, lies at the root of the reparation problem and is essential to any practicable scheme in obtaining the maximum sums from Germany for the benefit of the Allies.

XIV. Guarantees in Addition to Railway and Industrial Bonds

It is plainly not enough to demonstrate the feasibility of raising the sums under consideration. It is desirable, in the common interest, that means should be devised for securing that the possible surplus is actually established. The greater the extent to which payment may be rendered automatic and a matter of habit and independent of fluctuating political attitude toward reparation, the less will be the friction and the greater will be the real stability of the German budget. In the last resort the best security is the interest of the German Government and people to accept in good faith a burden which the world is satisfied to be within their capacity, and to liquidate as speedily as possible a burden which is and should be onerous.

Creditors, however, are not usually satisfied with a moral security, and experience and the present condition of Germany's finances are such as to reinforce their natural desire for tangible and productive guarantees.

These are no less vital in the interest of Germany herself, who will be relieved of a large part of her political troubles if the main source of political controversy is removed by a system which no longer makes the payment of reparation depend upon the constant maintenance or renewal of Governmental decisions. In particular, it is vital in the interests of our scheme, which depends for its success on the assured belief of the whole world in the regular observance of a settlement once made.

On the other hand, we do not hesitate to reject as undesirable, for the purpose which all have in view, save in certain extreme events, any system which would involve directly or indirectly the virtual control of all Germany's revenue and expenditure. It would involve the controlling authority in responsibility for all financial troubles, and it might be a pretext for them.

The use of this safeguard general budgetary control should be reserved for the case of Germany's willful failure to meet the obligations now laid upon her.

If, as we believe, the payments which we have suggested can be made without compromising budget stability, it is in our opinion not impossible to establish a system under which a combination of self-interest and latent pressure will suffice to assure sound financial administration. We believe that the object can be attained if, without in any way impairing the first charge which now exists in favor of reparation on all Germany's assets, certain specific revenues are assigned to, and under the control of, Germany's creditors. These revenues will furnish a collateral, but not a primary, security and we suggest that they should be the taxes on customs, alcohol, tobacco, beer, and sugar. We propose for this purpose that they should pass directly into the hands of an impartial and effective control; that the treaty payments should first be deducted by the controlling authority for the account of the Allies; and that Germany should only have the use for her own purposes of such balance as may remain.

We believe that this system contains the greatest degree of effectiveness without involving the Allies in the onus of responsibility for any breakdown in the execution of the plan.

We recommend that the control should be instituted forthwith in spite of the fact that the budget supports no peace treaty charge in the year 1924–25.

We make this recommendation for two reasons: Germany, by instituting this control, puts this part of the plan into execution in a definite and public manner, and in the second place early action will insure that control is in effective operation at the moment when part of the revenues is retained by Germany's creditors.

We would add that while leaving untouched the existing alcohol monopoly, we do not, in view of reports received from technical experts, propose the transformation of consumption duties into new monopolies, though we recommend certain important new regulations with regard to the sale of tobacco.

CONTROLLED REVENUES—THEIR YIELD

The estimate made by the German officials of these revenues for the year 1928–29, exclusive of customs, was 1,700,000,000 gold marks.

The technical advisors specially consulted by the committee have estimated the yield at 2,146,000,000 gold marks.

There is every prospect, therefore, that the assigned and controlled revenues will give a large margin over the treaty charge payments, even in the standard year, of 1,250,000,000 gold marks. The revenues are a security for a payment otherwise fixed. This principle renders possible a system of control which, while equally effective, is much more simple in operation, and is strengthened by the association of Germany's self-

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interest. Once the treaty charges are met she is entitled to the whole balance and therefore she has the fullest inducement to increase the yield. But she can touch no part of the revenues in a given period until the treaty charges are fully met; so that every increase operates in the first instance to increase the Allies' security.

We have suggested above that in the years 1926–27 and 1927–28 the amount of reparation to be paid should be dependent to some extent on the yield of these particular revenues. In order that there may be no misunderstanding, we desire to state clearly that in our opinion this arrangement should be strictly confined to the two years in question and be regarded as exceptional.

We believe it to be of the greatest importance that the revenues should normally be regarded strictly as security, and should not be relied upon in the ordinary course as the determinant of the actual sum to be paid as reparation. In particular, if the yield of the revenues exceeds the amount to be secured, the excess should accrue to the German Government. Our reasons for holding these opinions are more fully stated in Part II.

XV. External Loan—Its Conditions and Purpose

An integral part of our scheme is the issue by Germany of a foreign loan of 800,000,000 gold marks; this loan is primarily essential for the successful establishment of the new bank and to ensure the stabilization of the currency. The deposit of this amount in the new bank will be an important and necessary contribution to its gold reserves and enlarge the basis of its currency issues. It will thus be enabled in the second place, without impairing its usefulness for the above, to play an important part in solving the problem created by Germany's immediate and more urgent obligations to the Allies which do not necessitate the transfer of money abroad.

We have already stated our conclusion that Germany should not be called upon in the years 1924–25 and 1925–26 to provide for any treaty charges out of ordinary budget resources, and we have deferred to this point indication of means by which a complete suspension of payments may be avoided.

The current liabilities of Germany under the treaty other than liabilities for cash payments in foreign currencies, comprising the most essential deliveries in kind, and costs under a number of other heads, are known to be considerable. Although their precise amount is not easily determinable, they aggregate to a large amount and if no arrangement is made for meeting or reducing them they form a formidable obstacle in the way of a complete solution.

In the year 1924–25, the extra-budgetary resources can be relied upon to provide 200,000,000 gold marks, being interest on railway bonds. The question arises whether a further sum can be provided.

We first considered whether Germany would have sufficient credit at the outset to meet the full amount of her charges by loans or capital assets. In our view, it is impossible to say that she could obtain funds, until her position is well established, adequate to discharge them. But it does not follow that the most pressing of the demands can not be met, for a considerable sum can certainly be raised upon the good security that the plan provides, with a clear prospect of improved international political position and of stability. The question is, therefore, whether the claims upon Germany can be so reduced by agreement among the Allied creditors as to come within this potential credit. If they can, then obviously the greater the reduction, the more moderate the sum to be raised and the greater the probability of Germany successfully raising a loan. If not, then the loan will not be forthcoming, stability can not be insured, and neither this plan nor any other can come into being. The successful launching of the scheme depends therefore upon three main factors:

(*a*) Limitation of payments for all purposes, to 1,000,000,000 gold marks of which at least 800,000,000 must be spent in Germany for the first year, and thereafter to such sums as are available under the plan during the succeeding years;

(*b*) Cooperation between the Allies and Germany in securing political conditions which will incline the investors of the world favorably toward the German loan upon good security; and

(*c*) A loan of 800,000,000 gold marks which will serve the double purpose of assuring currency stability and financing essential deliveries in kind during the preliminary period of economic rehabilitation.

It will be seen that under the plan, among the different revenues available, ample and sufficient security could be found to form the basis of such a loan, both as to interest and sinking fund.

Obviously, the first loan should be fully secured, but it is equally true, that it is neither in the interest of a first loan nor of the Reparation Commission to create a situation which would prejudice the flotation of subsequent German loans or the realization of the capital assets provided for in the plan.

The amount required for the service of this first and any subsequent loans must be deducted from the sums which in subsequent years can, in accordance with our plan, be placed at the disposal of Germany's creditors. In effect the loan is only an anticipation of the sums subsequently available which, it is necessary to emphasize, represent in our opinion the maximum burden and therefore one not capable of increase.

It is not for us to offer suggestions as to the priority of claims or how the sums should be distributed. On this aspect of the matter we confine ourselves to stating that in the interest of currency stability and to aid the successful inauguration of the new bank, the proceeds of the loan should be used exclusively for

financing internal payments, such as deliveries in kind (whether direct or by the operation of the reparation recovery act), and that part of the costs of the armies of occupation which represents expenditure in Germany by or on behalf of these armies. But we do assert that, if as we believe, Germany's credit will be good enough to float such a loan, it is natural and necessary that her credit should be employed to ease the burden on her creditors during the period of her own recovery.

In the year 1925–26, the problem is somewhat different in character. The reasons which make a foreign loan essential in the first year should have disappeared. If confidence is in process of reestablishment a large reflux of capital to Germany is to be expected. People, whose object in transferring money abroad or in hoarding foreign notes within Germany has been simply to insure against further loss, will, to a great extent, reconvert this capital into German currency. Other things being equal, the German currency and exchange situation will continue to improve, a phenomenon which has been clearly exhibited in the last 12 months in Austria.

The exchange position of Germany will, therefore, be relatively strong and her budget position relatively weak. In the few succeeding years the position will be exactly reversed; the exchange will become normal, but weaker than during the abnormal period of reconstruction, while budget resources should be enormously strengthened.

In view of these facts, we see no danger, and perhaps positive advantage, in requiring that during 1925–26 deliveries in kind and that part of the costs of the armies of occupation spent in Germany by or on behalf of the armies should be financed up to 1,220,000,000 gold marks by sums raised in Germany itself.

The above sum is made up of (1) railway interest, partly carried over from the first year, amounting to 595,000,000 gold marks; (2) the transport tax to the amount of 250,000,000 gold marks; (3) interest on industrial debentures amounting to 125,000,000 gold marks; and (4) 250,000,000 gold marks from the budget provided by the sale of railway preference shares belonging to the German Government. If for any reason the whole of the above sums are not provided, the balance should be raised by a German internal loan.

XVI. Organization

The committee's plan provides for a commissioner of the bank of issue, a commissioner of railways, a commissioner of controlled revenues, the last-named to have under his control a certain number of subcommissioners severally intrusted with the special revenues under consideration and, if the need arise, for a commissioner of industrial debenture.

The plan also provides for an agent for reparation payments.

In order that the machinery thus set up by our plan may function properly, both in relation to the Reparation Commission and in its German environments, there must be an agency between the Reparation Commission and the various commissioners. We suggest that this coordinating agency devolve upon the agent for reparation payments.

The commissioners would retain all responsibility for the carrying out of the task intrusted to each, only subject to such coordinating policies as may prove necessary in order to avoid any duplication of effort, overlapping of functions, unnecessary friction, and generally all interference with the harmonious working of our plan.

In case of a difference of opinion between one commissioner and the "Agent General for Reparation Payments" in his capacity as coordinator, the commissioner can appeal to the Reparation Commission. The existence of this right of appeal will have a salutary effect upon the relations of the coordinating agency and the different commissioners.

To facilitate the interchange of information which will develop a situation in its entirety for appropriate action a general coordinating board is also suggested in which the various commissioners or representatives named by them will participate together with the "Agent for Reparation Payments" and the trustee. The coordinating board is to have advisory powers only and is for the purpose of giving information to the agent general to assist him in preparing coordinating orders.

These suggestions are naturally far from exhausting this important subject, one of the most important of our plan. They are laid down simply as an indication, as the drafting of the rules for such a coordination will devolve upon the Reparation Commission so far as they have power, and upon the various Governments.

Rules should be laid down for the rendering of periodical reports and for the publication of such as the public interest may require.

We desire, however, to record in this connection that the expense of the new machinery provided for by the plan can and should be contained within limited amounts and in any case be included in the annuities already contemplated.

Trustee.—The plan also provides for the appointment of a trustee with the following duties:

He will receive and administer the railway and industrial bonds and will be accountable to the Reparation Commission for these and all other securities.

He will insure the service (interest and amortization) of the railway and industrial bonds by means of funds remitted to him for this purpose by the agent for reparation payments.

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He will fix the conditions of the amortization of the bonds and if necessary the redemption at par of all or a part of the bonds not yet amortized, by means of any supplementary payments which may be made by the German Government, the railway company or industry.

With the authorization of the Reparation Commission and for its benefit, the trustee may sell the bonds which he holds, and may use the mortage bonds and deeds which he holds to secure new securities which he may himself issue.

Both the agent and the trustee should be appointed by the Reparation Commission.

In framing the organization of control, the committee has adopted as fundamental the principle that, if the plan is to yield the best financial results, it is desirable that control should be of such a nature as not to involve the assumption of responsibility by the commissioner for German administration, though the committee recognize that this principle can not be adhered to in case default under the plan arises.

XVII. The Nature of the Plan

In concluding this part of our report, there are several points which we desire to emphasize.

In the first place we regard our report as an indivisible whole. It is not possible, in our opinion, to achieve any success by selecting certain of our recommendations for adoption and rejecting the others, and we would desire to accept no responsibility for the results of such a procedure nor for undue delay in giving execution to our plan.

In the second place, as we have remarked earlier, our plan is strictly dependent upon the restoration of Germany's economic sovereignty, and it is important to observe that the operation of the plan will be proportionately postponed if there is a delay in effecting that restoration. The various dates which we mention in the report must be interpreted in the light of the above remark.

From the standpoint of the taxpayer in creditor countries the plan means in due course an annual relief to the extent of 2½ milliards, plus such additional amount as the index of prosperity may provide.

On the other hand from the standpoint of the taxpayer in Germany the plan means a direct burden of only one-half this sum, viz, 1¼ milliards per year, and the transport tax, plus such additional amount as may represent only a relatively small share in increased prosperity. The German taxpayer can look without anxiety upon the remainder of the payment of 2½ milliards, for it represents a relatively small burden on German industry, which has been the beneficiary of substantial special profits and only a modest return on a large capital invested in railroads which are yielding him no relief in taxation in his budget at present, such capital having been accumulated prior to the war. We are satisfied that the contributions from railway and industrial debentures will not be reflected to any substantial degree in a burden to the individual German taxpayer; as regards the railways it will only require the same kind of return as exists in similar enterprises in many countries.

Our purpose has been to set up a machinery which will secure the maximum payment which Germany can make in each year in her own currency. We do not speculate on the amount which can annually be paid in foreign currency or on Germany's capacity to make a total payment.

The committee is confident that it lies within the power of the German people to respond to the burdens imposed by the plan, without impairing a standard of living comparable to that of the Allied countries and their neighbors in Europe, who are likewise subject to heavy burdens, largely resulting from the catastrophe of the war.

We have not concealed from ourselves the fact that the reconstruction of Germany is not an end in itself. It is only part of the larger problem of the reconstruction of Europe.

We would point out finally that while our plan does not, as it could not properly, attempt a solution of the whole reparation problem, it foreshadows a settlement extending in its application for a sufficient time to restore confidence, and at the same time is so framed as to facilitate a final and comprehensive agreement as to all the problems of reparation and connected questions as soon as circumstances make this possible.

PART II

I. The Currency Position

The conditions at the outset of our inquiry.—When we started our investigations the value of German currency had been stable for some two months. It would not have been pretended, however, by any authority that German currency had been stabilized. It would perhaps be juster to apply the term "unstable equilibrium" than the term "stability" to this transition period, which has fortunately continued to the present day. The elements of permanent stability, even if the repercussions of the budget situation are momentarily left out of account, were then and are still wanting.

One of the first steps which the committee took was to request Doctor Schacht, the governor of the Reichsbank and the currency commissioner of the Reich, to give evidence before them with a view to their being fully informed of the existing currency situation.

Quantity of currency.—The total circulation, although so enormous in nominal values, was, when reduced to its gold equivalent at that date, something over 3 milliard gold marks only, whereas the pre-war circulation in Germany had amounted to 6 milliard gold marks. Prima facie, therefore, the amount of currency seemed deficient rather than excessive, and not likely in itself to be a cause of further depreciation. In proportion as the German mark dwindled in value and became less and less utilizable for the threefold function of standard of value, instrument of payment and medium of saving, foreign currencies naturally became by force of circumstances, more and more sought after in Germany. The Germans resorted increasingly to the currencies of countries with a comparatively stable exchange, not only to invest their savings, but also to define and even settle their transactions, and the presence of such currencies in Germany increased ever more as the mark depreciated further.

In spite of this extended use of foreign currencies in Germany, the shortage of purchasing power made itself increasingly felt, leading first the German Government, then the States and municipalities, and finally the great industrial and agricultural organizations and even private firms to supplement the currency shortage by new instruments of payment. These token currencies, expressed in gold or paper marks, sprang up in Germany in the summer of 1922, at a moment when the need became urgent to find new means to meet the requirements of current transactions, the old mark on the verge of its collapse no longer answering such requirements.

At the end of 1923, we find in Germany an absolutely hetrogeneous monetary circulation, which included—besides the foreign money in circulation or hoarded (dollars, pounds, florins, gulden, Swiss francs, French francs, Scandinavian crowns, etc.)—the old paper marks, dollar treasury bonds (Dollarschatsanweisungen), bonds of the gold loan (Wertbeständige Anleihe), 6 per cent Treasury bonds (6 per cent Schatzanweisugen), rentenmarks, and, lastly, a whole set of odd emergency currencies (Notgeld) expressed either in gold or in paper marks.

Backing.—The security of the rentenmarks is a mortgage on real and to some extent on personal property. The so-called gold loan is repayable in legal tender on a gold basis but has no gold backing. The various forms of emergency money were for the most part based on no security at all. The gold reserve of the Reichsbank amounted to some 467,000,000, but 200,000,000 thereof was specifically earmarked as security for the dollar loan issued by the Reich in 1923.

Taken as a whole therefore the liquid backing of the currency is wholly inadequate for a permanent system.

Interchangeability.—The rentenmark is not actually legal currency within the country nor available for any purposes of foreign trade. The old currencies with their vast denominations remain the legal currency, but prices are everywhere expressed in rentenmarks. It is therefore obviously necessary that payments should be made indifferently either in Reichmarks or in rentenmarks at a fixed relation between them. The Reichsbank accordingly accepts rentenmarks at the rate of 1 rentenmark for 1,000,000,000,000 paper marks, and rentenmarks are also accepted in payment of taxes at the same rate.

Annex 7 to the present report shows in some detail the curious monetary situation in Germany at the end of January last.

The present tranquillity.—As the committee have remarked, the elements of currency stability were not to be found in such a situation. The temporary equilibrium of the German exchange has been ascribed to various causes by different authorities; some lay stress upon psychological factors, and in particular a renewal of confidence, the exact basis of which it would be difficult to determine, but which took account of the efforts being made by the German Government to balance its budget, and of the appointment of the Committees of Experts by the Reparation Commission; others refer to a decrease in internal consumption which with the lack of credit, accompanied by what was probably an excessive restriction in importation, reduced the demands both for the circulating medium and for foreign currencies.

Credit facilities.—The exportation of the rentenmark is prohibited. Its existence was of no assistance in the

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maintenance of foreign trade. The reichsmark was too discredited to be any longer available for the purpose of meeting foreign obligations. Credit was only obtainable abroad at dangerously high rates of interest.

At the same time, the currency depreciation and its secondary effect had produced a serious dearth of liquid capital in Germany itself. The stringency may be indicated by the fact that (according to figures furnished to us) the savings bank deposits had fallen from 10,700,000,000 at the end of 1913 to 760 gold marks at the end of 1922; the credit accounts in the eight large Berlin banks amounted to 7,400,000,000 at the end of 1913 and to about 1,000,000,000 at the end of 1922. The figures for 1923 are not yet available but can scarcely exhibit an improvement. Leaving for the moment out of account capital which in one form or another had been exported, liquid capital in monetary forms liable to depreciation had been steadily converted into fixed assets with a permanent intrinsic value. The private individual had purchased consumable commodities, while industrial enterprises had largely extended their plant and equipment. The motor was in good, perhaps in unusually good, condition, but the motive power and lubrication were apparently lacking.

Immobile credit resources.—On the other hand, there was general agreement that not inconsiderable resources were available in the shape of German balances abroad and foreign currencies in the pockets of the population in Germany itself. This latter item alone has been estimated at 1.2 milliard gold marks by the committee appointed to consider the means of estimating the amount of German exported capital. It was reasonable to suppose that a large proportion of these resources would be available if complete confidence in the stability of German currency could be restored and maintained.

As stated in Part I, the committee consider that this end can best be secured by the institution under proper safeguards of a new bank which should absorb the existing currencies, liquidate the rentenbank, and transform the Reichsbank, and provide, against recognized banking, cover the foreign currencies necessary for the revival of Germany's languishing trade. The plan for this bank is given in Annex 1.

Psychological considerations seem imperatively to require an institution which should be so far new in its policy and its administration as to detach it entirely from the errors of the recent past and restore the older traditions of German banking.

The interim bank.—While coming to this conclusion and while reducing the general plan to details, the committee had to deal with an actual change in the tuation as it originally presented itself. The committee were informed that a scheme for a gold bank was in preparation. It was expressly and admittedly limited to providing the means of carrying on foreign trade. When first submitted it contained some features which the committee would not have recommended, and it omitted others which seemed to the committee to be essential to any permanent settlement of the problem as a whole. Moreover, an attempt to settle particular difficulties in isolation and without reference to other essential requirements appeared to the committee to involve certain risks.

The committee, therefore, without expressing any opinion on the plan as given to them in outline, assured themselves in consultation with the authorities responsible for Germany's monetary policy that the bank would be so organized as to facilitate its absorption into a new bank of issue which might be set up in accordance with the recommendations of the committee.

II. Considerations Regarding the Measurement of Germany's Burden

(a) Commensurate Taxation

In Part I we refer to the fact that we have taken full account of this principle. But it is necessary for us to make some further observations thereon.

The principle of the "commensurate burden," as it has been called, unimpeachable in abstract statement, is exceedingly difficult to translate into quantitative measurement as a basis for practical action. While obviously sound and just, it does not easily admit of precise and arithmetical calculation. What at first sight seems to be a simple conception, on examination is found to be complex and in some respects not reducible to exact definition.

Now the ordinary expenditure which has to be provided for in the German budget is reduced, in part by the restriction upon her military preparations but above all by the practical extinction of her internal debt.

If Germany had sustained the burden of her own debt, as the Allies have done, and not obliterated it by inflation, she would have had to raise 4½ to 5 milliards per annum in addition to her domestic expenditure.

This would make it both just and practicable to add a provision in her budget which should bear some correspondence to the provision made in the Allies' budgets for their war expenditure.

But the raising of any particular sum from one section of her inhabitants, to be paid back to another section within her borders, is a "burden" in a different sense from the payment of such a sum by the whole population to people abroad—different in more than the economic sense—and it is difficult to bring such a task into direct relation with the problem of reparations. It is a measure of what individual taxpayers, rather than a nation, may be capable of bearing.

In the first case the interest paid forms a part of the national income, as it is expended it provides profits and a stimulus for internal trade and so increases further the income of the country, and in particular it is itself an important source of internal taxation.

A payment in respect of a debt to foreigners has no comparable advantages to the country making it. The extinction of the German debt has after all been at the expense of her own nationals, who are her taxpayers; they have sustained as holders of German bonds, not only the burden which they have already escaped as taxpayers, but that which they would have borne in future years to meet the service of the internal debt if its value had not been destroyed by depreciation. The process of extinction has indeed (except in its incidence as between different individuals and classes) had the same results both to the treasury and to the German taxpayer regarded collectively with a capital levy devoted to debt extinction.

The loss incurred by individual holders of debt is exactly offset by a corresponding profit accruing to the taxpayers as a whole.

It renders both practicable and just a greater charge for other war debts than would otherwise have been possible. A large proportion of the richest taxpayers of the country have obtained the relief without themselves sustaining the cost. They are a proper source of taxation commensurate with that weighing upon the corresponding classes in allied countries and in particular upon the industrial classes. To them as individual taxpayers a tax is a tax whether its ultimate destination is the payment of a war debt due to fellow citizens or to foreigners. And under the system we propose it may be regarded as a tax in internal currency without the complications which result from the question of how sums so received can be converted into foreign exchange. For this special problem we provide special safeguards. The German taxpayer should regard a payment in respect of war debt exactly as an allied taxpayer regards a similar payment. Its ultimate destination need not concern him, and is certainly no justification for him to attempt to evade it.

The facts as to the burden actually being borne by the Allies for debt service are perhaps a better approach to the actual problem. If the German burden per head for debt were as onerous as the burden for debt existing upon the inhabitants of Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy taken together, then the German debt charge would approximate to 6 milliards. But in this case, again, the charge is to a considerable extent in the nature of a redistribution of annual wealth among the members of each nation and has little relation to the problem of a national burden in the collective sense.

In the third place, it may be said that if the German people were burdened as heavily as the members of the most heavily taxed of the allied countries are taxed for all purposes, *excluding debt charge*, we should have an expression of the commensurate burden principle in a limited and strictly defensible sense. But even here theoretical and practical difficulties prevent exactness.

In the search for the "commensurate" it is not enough to compute the burden as a per capita charge, it must be related to per capita wealth or income; it is considered by many that justice requires a "minimum of subsistence" to be first deducted from such per capita income; the amount of the minimum is not exactly determinable and it seems to vary as between different countries of different climates, different economic development, and different customs, e. g., as between Spain and the United States; it may even vary between different periods in the same country. As a rough working assumption, such a minimum may be regarded as varying in proportion to the per capita income of different countries. Furthermore, over any period of time this burden per head in the allied countries must change and what might be a valid comparison to-day in taxation in those countries may be quite different in 10 years' time. The comparison of statistics of total taxation, national and local, in each country presents many technical difficulties. Moreover, statistics of total national income and income per head are at present either very defective or wholly lacking. Notwithstanding these difficulties it is possible to compute roughly what total budget charge would be borne by the German people if they were subject to taxation (central and local) on the same scale per unit of income as in Great Britain, and by deducting from the result the necessary domestic expenditure to derive an arithmetical balance which could be, theoretically at any rate, assigned to the payment of reparation.

Combining these various aspects, we have reached the view that the "commensurate burden" principle for Germany, when she is fully restored to economic prosperity, would more than justify all the practical conclusions we have set down and that they are in every way morally defensible.

There are, of course, good reasons of a political, economic, and psychological character for confining the actual requirements of budget accumulation within Germany to limits well below the figure that would be arrived at from the consideration of this principle by itself. Different individuals will differ in the degree of importance they assign to such reasons. It is perhaps unnecessary to state these aspects in detail and sufficient to register our united conviction that all our recommendations and suggestions are well within what can be morally justified on the principle of "commensurate burden," whatever limitations may be placed upon that principle. In this sense, therefore, the justice and moderation of our proposals ought to be fully recognized by the German people themselves.

In the above discussion we have disregarded the question of railway profits. Inasmuch as budget revenue is not derived from profits on railways elsewhere, no question arises as to whether railway profits are a burden (in the sense of a tax). Such profits in

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other countries form a part of the ordinary profits of private concerns accruing to individuals, and it may be said therefore that in Germany the position of the taxpayer is the same, whether such profits go to individuals or to the Allies as reparation.

On the other hand, the German railway profits might go in relief of taxation burdens if they were not applied to reparations. Moreover, it is difficult to say that the abstraction of the profits of so important an undertaking as the railways of a country from that country, instead of leaving them there to be enjoyed individually or collectively by the inhabitants, is not a "burden" in the international sense, even if it is not a part of the individual *commensurate burden of taxation.*

(*b*) EXPORT STATISTICS AS AN INDEX OF PROSPERITY

In Part I we have suggested an index of prosperity and indicated that in our opinion it was a fairer test than the existing index, namely, export statistics. The use of the latter in isolation has certain definite defects, to some of which we desire to draw attention.

1. Foreign trade only covers part of the area of total trade, and if foreign trade at a given moment only covers a small part of the area, total trade may be moving in a direction opposed to that of foreign trade.

2. Artificial conditions, such as alterations in transport charges, may affect the trade figure in the absence of any real change in the value or volume of exports.

3. The export statistics, more especially when no export duty is in force, may be subject to changes in presentation and frequently furnish material for controversy.

4. Reparation payments themselves are, and can only be, financed by an excess of exports. It follows that an increased reparation payment in one year furnishes an increased base for the following year. This process is cumulative, and the basis for the index is continuously raised, so to speak, at compound interest, even though actual prosperity may be stationary.

5. In a country with an economic life such as that of Germany invisible exports may increase more rapidly than physical exports, and there may be a growing prosperity which is not reflected in export statistics.

(*c*) MEASUREMENT BY YIELD OF PARTICULAR TAXES

We have laid some stress in Part I on the fact that certain revenues were chosen strictly as guarantees and that fluctuations in their yield were not to be regarded (save in 1926–27 and 1927–28 exceptionally) as determining the payments due by Germany. The following are the broad principles justifying this standpoint:

1. It is desirable that the German Government and the German people should be themselves interested in increasing the yield of the controlled revenues, and should be under no temptation to discriminate against these taxes in favor of others.

2. The year's liability, which under our plan include an allowance for increased prosperity, will already have been established by one test, in which, moreover, the yield of the controlled revenues indirectly forms one element. Having applied one test, it would be unfair to apply a second and to choose whichever gives the higher result.

3. The year's liability ought not to vary with the fortuitous yield of particular taxes. The character and level of these taxes should be chosen with a view to their suitability as security and not with a view to their appropriateness for fixing obligations.

Unless the liability of the year is definitely fixed and unless the German Government can proceed to estimate its resources by reference to the whole and not part of the taxable field, the difficulties of forming a satisfactory budget are aggravated and German credit is affected.

4. Common sense requires that the reparation liability ought not to rest even indirectly upon the rate of particular taxes, or otherwise every change in rates or methods of collection, even when thoroughly justified by social or political reasons, must be scrutinized with such a degree of care and perhaps suspicion that it becomes a fruitful source of friction and dispute.

III. THE GERMAN BUDGET FOR 1924–25, AND THE FISCAL SYSTEM

The 1924–25 budget.—The German Government prepared and submitted to us the outline of a provisional budget for 1924–25 which estimates a small excess of receipts over the ordinary administrative charges of the country. (Annex 8.)

While the committee have spent a great deal of time upon the details of this budget, and have put many questions in writing to the Government and in oral cross-examination of the officials upon its chief features, the subject is so vast in its ultimate implications, especially having regard to the constitution of the Reich, that no finality could possibly be reached, especially in a matter which to the Germans themselves is full of difficulty and doubt. Nevertheless, we believe that the ground has been explored to a sufficient extent to justify us in feeling that even a prolonged examination could not substantially alter our conclusions. To some of the more salient points we shall make particular reference.

The conditions under which the budget estimates were made.—It should, however, be first remarked that in general the budget must necessarily be in the nature of an experiment and the individual items in it somewhat arbitrary estimates. At the time of our investigation Germany was passing through an acute economic crisis, the direct result and the culminating point of a depreciation of the currency so catastrophic as practically to destroy the currency and reduce the budget to all but a shadow. The habit of saving has been destroyed, and it will require time and the restoration of confidence to reestablish it. The existing wealth is maldistributed in an almost unparalleled degree. The cessation of depreciation, with the consequent removal of the premium on export and the stabilization of prices at a level which is momentarily at any rate above that of the world level, has had important reactions. Finally, the state of employment and the fiscal and economic machinery of Germany have been violently deranged by the events of 1923; a return to normal conditions in this respect can not be effected overnight.

Assumption underlying the budget.—It should be most carefully noted that the budget is not made up to represent the financial expectations of actual existing conditions. As we have remarked above, the general budget as presented anticipates a credit balance, and the German Finance Minister appeared to be reasonably confident of his ability to live up to these estimates, provided three essential conditions were fulfilled:

1. That the bank of issue which would serve as a basis for the grant of credits would be established.

2. That the full development of German economic life should not be restricted by the severance of the Ruhr and the Rhineland.

3. That Germany enjoyed complete freedom in her economic relations with other countries.

The first and second of these conditions will be fulfilled if our recommendations are accepted, and they appear to us to be essential to budget equilibrium. As regards the third, we understand that Germany's commercial freedom is restored under the terms of the treaty in less than 12 months' time.

We are not, however, satisfied that the budget as framed is not exposed to a real risk of deficit. The German fiscal year begins on the 1st of April and even if our recommendations are accepted a certain lapse of time will be necessary before an absolutely normal administrative situation can be reestablished.

For this, if for no other reason, we conclude that on the existing basis of taxation the estimated revenue may not be realized, even allowing for certain possible under-estimates under particular headings.

On the expenditure side, the only item on which a saving may emerge of any great significance relatively to the possible deficit is the provision of relief for unemployed. The sum allocated to this purpose (500,000,000 gold marks) is estimated on the assumption that the existing amount of unemployment will continue throughout the year. It appears to us that this is unduly pessimistic and any reduction in the number will both relieve the expenditure and the revenue side of the budget, inasmuch as the wages earned by a laborer are subject to direct, and through the medium of his expenditure, to indirect, taxation.

Taking one item with another, however, we can not justifiably state that the results are likely to be any better than have been indicated in their estimate. But if, for this year 1924, there was a deficit (we have just seen that this possibility can not be absolutely disregarded) we can assert that it would not be of an extent to endanger the stability of the currency, or force the German Government to have recourse to other than the conventionally authorized expedients for meeting it, such as increases of existing taxation, further emergency taxes, or small internal loans.

Moreover, so many of the settlements due in the year 1924 will fall to be made in the year 1925–26, that fiscally these two years tend to be merged into one period, and, as will be seen later, we have no doubt that in that period ordinary budget receipts will fully equal ordinary budget expenditure.

Special features in the fiscal system.—The Income Tax.—We do not propose to comment in any detail on the existing taxes, but there are certain broad features which call for notice.

We have been unable to escape the conclusion that the wealthier classes of Germany have, in recent years not been reached properly by the system of taxation in force, either to an extent which the taxation of the working classes would justify, or to an extent comparable with the burden upon the wealthier classes in other countries.

It is, of course, common knowledge that, with a continually depreciating currency, many classes of business men tend to obtain as profit a larger share than is normal of the total produce of industry. Many of their expenses are in the nature of fixed charges; moreover, generally speaking, paper-mark wages have not advanced as rapidly as paper-mark prices have increased, so that the share of the business proprietor in the total produce of industry, altogether apart from the special profits made by him on redeeming debentures or mortgages at nominal figures, has tended to be greater than is normal.

Direct taxes, such as income tax, are necessarily assessed for completed periods and during a time of rapidly rising prices the burden of any particular year, based on the profits of previous years, is small relatively to the profits of the year itself. Moreover, the process of return, assessment, and appeal for such a tax, necessarily occupies further time and by the date when substantive liability is fixed in paper marks its real burden is far less than was originally intended. Further delay in payment of that liability intensifies this effect. It was not until the inflation movement was well advanced in Germany that any serious effort was made to combat this evil. Although the rates of income tax according to the nominal scales rose to nearly 60 per cent on the highest incomes, statistics of cases furnished to us by the German Government show that in effect, even in the year 1920, the burden

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of actual tax (measured in gold) on the higher incomes, instead of being 50 to 60 per cent, was only half those rates upon the income of the year (measured in gold). This was undoubtedly one of the primary causes for the budgetary difficulties of Germany, and the disparity was very much greater in the later periods. It can be said with confidence that the wealthier classes have escaped with far less than their proper share of the national burden, and we have put it as a matter for the serious consideration of the German Government whether they should not, facing even the admitted administrative difficulties, review the assessments of recent years in the case of these particular classes of taxpayer and reassess their liability upon a gold basis.

The whole system of direct taxation went to pieces in 1923 and, for 1924, the income tax, as is easily understood, is in abeyance. The profits of industry in 1923 expressed in nominal figures of paper marks have no meaning unless they can be resolved into the profits of the particular dates on which they were made and then reduced to a common denominator of gold values. A profit of 1,000 marks made in January, 1923, is obviously quite a different amount from 1,000 marks made in September. We can well believe the German Government finds it impossible to use the year 1923 as a basis for income-tax assessment in 1924.

They have been driven to temporary expedients of a very makeshift character, not rising to a higher normal burden than 25 per cent, with the intention of rescheming and reassessing the income tax proper in 1925.

These expedients do not reassure us upon the general question as to the taxation of the wealthy classes, and, in our judgment, if they desire the Allies and their own working classes to realize their good faith in this matter, the German Government should publish at an early date their definite intentions with regard to the scales of income taxation that are to be applied during 1925–26 to the actual profits of 1924–25 for the final adjustment of the fiscal year 1924–25.

The 1924–25 budget estimates 1,344,000,000 gold marks as the income tax yield, of which all but 480,000,000 gold marks is estimated to be assessed on wages.

We have drawn the German Government's attention to the absence in the temporary measures of any proper provision at present for dealing with income from abroad. They were asked to furnish us with details of the comparative position of different incomes drawn from dividends in the years 1920–21, 1923–24, and 1924–25. The reply is given in Annex 9 as indicating the present position of direct taxation in Germany.

Special taxation on those who have specially profited by depreciation of currency.—Currency depreciation, on the scale it has occurred in Germany, has brought into existence a new and special type of "windfall" wealth which is a suitable subject for taxation in an emergency.

The ultimate profit or loss to industry and agriculture as a whole of the depreciation era may be difficult to calculate. There are many cases, however, of industrial and other undertakings which were not only able to make large profits but succeeded in paying off prior charges at a trifling fraction of their value when incurred.

If a mortgage or debenture of 10,000 marks has been paid off for practically nothing, a "windfall" profit to the debtor (at the expense of the impoverished creditor) has been made to that extent. If it has not yet been paid off, but the debt can in due course be discharged by worthless paper marks, the "windfall" is a potential one. In this last case, it has been decided by the German Government to "valorize" the debt at 15 per cent and the windfall to the creditor is to be restricted to 85 per cent. On this remarkable improvement in his position, the Government proposes to levy a tax of 2 per cent, or 1.7 on the whole debt. In the case where the debt has been paid off, the Government will take the actual difference between the gold price paid and 16.7 per cent. In our view, such special taxation, if justified in principle at all, as we believe it to be, is justified at much higher rates. But certain rights of taxation are being given to the Federal States which encroach upon this area of taxation, and, for the rest, our proposals (Section IX (c) of Part I) in regard to industrial debentures cover what might otherwise have been independent recommendations under the head of taxation.

Similar extraordinary profits have been made through State subventions and through the repayment in depreciated currency of bank loans, State advances, and other similar obligations.

The Reich and the States.—The third special feature to which we would refer is the financial relation between the Reich and the States and communes.

The more complete financial centralization that took place after the war in accordance with the Weimar constitution has not fundamentally changed the character of the relations between the Reich and the States. Although the Reich is charged with the administration of taxes formerly undertaken by the States, it is under obligation to cede the major part of the proceeds of the income tax, for example, to them. The States discharge wholly or in part many of the functions of Government, and there is no clear principle connecting their resources with their obligations. When in difficulties, they press the Reich for larger subventions (as percentage of the yield of taxation), just as in turn the needy communes press the States for greater financial aid.

The situation has hitherto been governed by merely political or administrative opportunism rather than by clear financial principle. The Reich can either yield to the pressure for higher percentages in subvention or they can confer upon the States the right to exploit particular fields of taxation for themselves.

The check by the States upon the communes is equally unsatisfactory. It is almost impossible to ascertain the true cost of any of the single functions of government in view of its division between these three constitutional entities, and in the absence of proper aggregated financial statistics of the States and still more of the communes.

The changes that have taken place completely falsify any comparison which could be established between the pre-war Reich budget and that for 1924–25.

Moreover, these relations are once more under review. During the period of rapid depreciation the resources of the States and communes, together with regular allocations from the revenues of the Reich, were inadequate to their needs. Their financial situation was similar to that of the Reich itself.

The expedient adopted by the Reich of multiplying the issue of notes was not open to the States and communes, who had necessarily to be supplied with continuously increased subsidies from the Reich, and this proceeding was one of the principal causes of the utter breakdown of the German finances.

The resultant chaos has been such that no up-to-date statistics are available, and the States have not yet framed their budget on a gold basis. It is in our opinion essential that at the earliest possible moment the preparation of complete statistics of the receipts and expenditure of the States and communes should be resumed.

The importance of the question may be seen if it is realized that the Reich budget, after allowing for the subsidies, contains little more than one-third of the total expenditure, one-third being met by the States and one-third by the communes. It would be quite possible for the communal budgets to be enjoying considerable prosperity at the same time that the Reich budget is in serious difficulties.

We do not pretend to be in a position to make detailed recommendations; the subject is a complicated one and involves the consideration of social and political factors, many of which have deep roots in historic traditions.

Moreover, if our recommendations are accepted in their entirety, self-interest alone may almost confidently be relied upon to force the German Government to make provident arrangements with the States, and it has already given us an assurance that the régime of increased subsidies has come to an end and will not be revived.

It is clear, however, that in the near future the German Government must take steps to put the relations between the Reich and its component parts on a regular basis which shall insure that the latter are not a constant drain upon Federal resources; the existing hole in the budget must be plugged.

It does not suffice, in our judgment, for the Reich to remain in supine contentment with the present situation merely because it has been the result of constitutional evolution. Germany waged war as an undivided whole and the financial responsibility of the Reich to the Allies can not be qualified or weakened by an attitude of passive acquiescence in the undiminished rights of subordinate areas. So long as Germany has any external obligations they must be paramount, and the resources normally to be assigned to the States and communes must be clearly defined, and care must be taken to secure that these resources are not more than adequate to legitimate needs.

Where further assistance must be given by the Federal Treasury, the amount of such assistance should again be strictly proportioned to the necessities of each case and subordinated to continually increasing central supervision by the Federal Treasury of local expenditure.

In considering the budget as drafted in 1924–25, we have felt compelled to assume that the assignment to the States amounting to 1,800,000,000 gold marks is an irreducible figure, and that if the States themselves have budgeted for the receipt of this sum the Reich will be unable to escape the liability in one form or another. This is the most probable assumption which we can make in a matter which bristles with political difficulties, and it is supported by the estimates submitted to us of the revenue and expenditure in 1924–25 of Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria; in each case deficits are disclosed.

FURTHER COMMENTS UPON PARTICULAR TAXES

1. The committee recognize that the taxation of each large nation to-day is the product of many factors, including its historical evolution, its economic conditions, its political ideas, its constitutional framework, and its social psychology. What is a good system for one country may be quite unacceptable for another. Even though the same elements may exist in two systems, the importance played by those several elements in the whole may be quite different. If a similar total burden is being raised in two countries, it is almost certain that the manner in which it is being spread over the community and the particular devices adopted to raise it will be very different.

2. For these and other similar reasons we do not regard it as particularly profitable to pass the German budget in detailed review merely to suggest that each particular tax can be raised to a rate or level found in some allied country for that tax, and thus to impose upon Germany the maximum burden borne under each head in any of the creditor countries. To do this would be to lose sight of the principle we have referred to above, and also to ignore the question of the total burden. For example, to state that Germany could stand increases in the rates on tobacco, beer, spirits, etc., to the level of those in England, while ignoring the existence of her high turnover tax, which England does not impose; or to state that Germany could bear

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increased rates of death duties, while wholly ignoring the existence of her capital taxes, would be to destroy the balance of her system and be oblivious to the total burden thus accumulated. The committee would desire to avoid being dogmatic as to the way in which a given sum shall be raised by the German Government. Having come to the conclusion that a given burden can be borne, it is for Germany to suit her own conditions in prescribing the ways in which it shall be obtained. At the same time, diverse as the systems in the allied countries themselves are, the committee offers the following suggestions as the subject of their common agreement and as suited, in their judgment, to German conditions:

1. *Tobacco*

Eminent technical experts have made the following suggestions, which we commend to the notice of the German Government:[3]

While they believe that the institution of a tobacco monopoly would entail heavy immediate expenditure, thus causing economic disorder, the technical experts recommend that the free manufacture and sale of tobacco should only be allowed to continue if subject to the regulations of the following scheme:

1. No factory, nor wholesale or retail tobacco shop may in future be established nor may any existing establishment be enlarged without the permission of the State.

2. The introduction of tobacco substitutes in manufacture is prohibited.

3. The number of existing factories must be reduced by abolishing, with a fair indemnity, those which are really not industrial in character, while all factories which have been proved by experience to be incapable of producing goods at a fair cost price must be expropriated.

4. Products manufactured in the various factories shall still be sold with their trade-mark, while the sale price to the consumer shall be indicated on each package; each box or packet to be sealed with a band representing the State guarantees.

5. Existing manufacturers shall form a consortium according to the category of goods produced. This consortium, while collectively undertaking to supply the State with the quantities required for consumption, shall have to deliver its products at its own expense and exclusively to the State warehouses indicated.

6. The products manufactured shall be bought by the State at a price to be fixed at regular intervals.

7. Prices shall be fixed in conformity with the results obtained in one or two State factories, to be run for experimental purposes and for the control of prices.

8. Importers of foreign manufactured products shall be free to continue their business on the sole condition that they sell the imported products to the State warehouses, under the same conditions of delivery as home manufacturers who deliver the goods produced in their factories.

In regard to sale organization, the technical experts make the following recommendations:

1. The State shall use the wholesale dealers' warehouses for its own purposes.

2. Retail sales must be carried out exclusively by licensed retail dealers.

3. The retail dealers must only sell State products bearing the proper guarantee band at the price fixed on the package.

4. The remuneration of retail dealers shall be fixed at regular intervals by a certain rate of commission on the sale price to the consumer, such rate not to exceed an average of 12 per cent. Bonuses within this limit of 12 per cent would encourage the most energetic retail dealers and thus develop the turnover.

5. Payment for manufactured products delivered to retail dealers shall be made to the warehouse supplying them by means of check or postal order (not in cash and without credit) minus the commission above stated.

6. A small number of State retail shops shall be instituted in order to obtain reliable estimates and to control the expenses of sale.

On the basis of this plan the technical experts make the following estimate of the profit to be obtained by the State.

	Swiss francs
Cost of manufacture	476, 160, 000
Manufacturer's profit and additional general expenses (35 per cent of the cost of manufacture)	166, 656, 000
Expenses for the warehouse service and general expenses of the sale organization (1 per cent of the gross receipts)	20, 906, 400
Cost of delivery to retailers (12 per cent of the gross receipts)	230, 876, 800
Additional expenses for transport (80,000 tons×average distance of 25 kilometers×0.25 franc)	500, 000
Annuity payment in the event of the indemnification of one-fourth of the present manufacturers	16, 975, 000
Total expenses	912, 074, 200
Gross receipts (according to Tables V and VI)	2, 090, 640, 000
Net profit for the State	1, 178, 565, 800
That is gold marks	856, 515, 000
Percentage of net profit	56. 4

The technical experts have the following observations to make on the above table:

[3] These suggestions are contained in a report drawn up by M. Mayer and M. Aliprandi, which will be put at the disposal of the Reparation Commission, together with a report on indirect taxes drawn up by M. Hulin and M. Mazzucchelli.

1. An annuity payment is provided for, which would correspond to the amounts to be allowed for the indemnification of the small factories to be closed down.

2. The cost prices of a free industry distributed amongst a large number of factories are higher than those of a monopoly. Consequently the costs of manufacture under a monopoly system are increased by 35 per cent in order to allow the manufacturer a reasonable profit.

3. With this organization, which leaves the factories and retail establishments in their present form, the taxes now collected by the German Government would no longer have to be deducted, with the sole exception of the tax on wholesale dealers to the amount of 6,000,000.

Under a system of sale, organized in conformity with this scheme the technical experts put forward the results of such a plan as under:

	Gold marks
Gross receipts (amount expended by consumers)	1, 523, 960, 000
Profit obtained by the State from which must be deducted the taxes at present collected by the Reich	856, 515, 000
Customs, tax on turnover	6, 000, 000
Net profit obtained by the State	850, 515, 000

The technical experts consider that it would be preferable to entrust the sale organization to an entirely autonomous organization, the constitution of which might well be based on the example of the Swedish monopoly. On the other hand, it is their opinion that the present fiscal organization of the German Reich should be used for the supervision of the tax.

In conclusion, the technical experts believe that during the first period, which would not exceed two years, the estimate of the guaranteed net profit might be based on the assumption that each inhabitant spends only 26 Swiss francs per annum, which is the figure now obtaining in Austria. Such a figure would yield a net profit of 657,000,000 of gold marks, on the following estimate.

	Swiss francs
Gross receipts 26 × 62 millions	1, 612, 000, 000
Total expenditure[4]	707, 917, 000
Net profit	904, 082, 000

or 657,000,000 gold marks.

To recapitulate, the guaranteed revenues for the payment of reparation which Germany might obtain by the tobacco tax would be as follows:

		Gold marks
1924–25	German estimate	498, 000, 000
1925–26	do	657, 000, 000
1926–27	do	657, 000, 000
1927–28	do	856, 000, 000

[4] Expenditure shown in the table on the previous page reduced by 36 with the exception of the expropriation annuity.

A considerably larger sum can be realized from the German duties, while decreasing the burden falling on the German consumer. The less efficient factories will be eliminated and substitutes will be abolished; surplus profits of the intermediaries will be reduced, leaving them nevertheless a reasonable margin. Without introducing the monopoly reform, standard factories will be instituted (one or two factories to control costs and few selling shops) and the sales will be strictly disciplined.

The proceeds would be paid n periodically by the "Service of assigned revenues," either:

(*a*) In the case of the adoption of the "assiette" suggested by the technical experts, on the basis of 60 per cent of the gross revenue (as the technical experts themselves have calculated that 40 per cent represents purchase price of manufactured tobacco, plus cost of distribution, etc., the remaining 60 per cent represents an absolutely net profit from the duty); or,

(*b*) Otherwise, on the basis of a sum in gold marks for every kilogram of tobacco taxed, according to the various chief qualities of the tobacco; this sum to be fixed by the technical experts.

2. *Indirect taxes generally*

The rates appear to the committee to be unduly low, and, as prosperity grows, to be susceptible of increase without diminishing consumption.

3. *Turnover tax*

It is our general opinion that this tax should at the earliest possible moment, be somewhat reduced in favor of other forms of taxation.

4. *Taxes on motor transport*

It is considered that the present total burden is too low and that a substantial further sum might be raised without detriment either by a tax on petrol or a supplementary duty on motor cars, or by a combination of these means.

5. *Death duties*

The yield from these duties is extraordinarily low judged by almost any standard. It is not satisfactorily accounted for by the temporary depreciation in capital values which is due to lack of profits and trade output. Not only is the total yield low judged by any test as to capital values, but the actual rates of duty being imposed are also, in the committee's judgment, inadequate. While not unmindful of the effect of the relation between these duties and the capital tax in general, the committee thinks that the position disclosed in the following table, compiled by the German Government, indicates that there is considerable room for increased taxation under this head.

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It will be observed that where the rate in Germany is nominally higher than that in other countries, it is in those scales where the tax may be least influential in its effect upon total yield.

Annual taxation on capital, in the committee's judgment, tends to become a part of the income tax system and to discriminate between income derived from work and that derived from investment. In this case, therefore, taxation of capital by annual payments is in a different category from ordinary succession duties.

FISCAL BURDEN CONSTITUTED BY THE DEATH DUTIES IN GERMANY, BELGIUM, GREAT BRITAIN, AND FRANCE

[Burden expressed in percentage]

Property left (in gold marks) [1]	Germany	Belgium	Great Britain	France
WIFE AND THREE CHILDREN				
20,000	1.5	2.1	3.0	3.5
200,000	2.9	2.7	5.0	6.1
2,000,000	5.9	3.8	15.9	11.5
6,000,000	7.5	4.8	22.8	14.4
BROTHER				
20,000	7.8	8.3	3.0	23.3
200,000	17.4	11.4	5.0	36.0
2,000,000	30.0	17.0	19.2	50.1
6,000,000	30.0	22.2	25.9	56.2
PERSON NEXT OF KIN				
20,000	18.2	16.7	3.0	36.8
200,000	40.6	22.8	5.0	48.3
2,000,000	70.0	34.8	23.5	61.0
6,000,000	70.0	44.5	29.8	66.5

[1] The foreign currency has been converted into gold marks on the basis of the average rates of exchange quoted for the currency at issue on the Berlin Stock Exchange in the month of January, 1924. According to these quotations 1,000 gold marks were equivalent to—55.5 pounds sterling in round numbers, or 5,000 French francs in round numbers, or 5,550 Belgian francs in round numbers.

IV. PROPOSAL FOR CONTROL OF REVENUES ASSIGNED AS SECURITY

It is necessary to elaborate in rather fuller detail the recommendations which we have made in Part I of this report for the assignment of the taxes, etc., on tobacco, alcohol, sugar, beer, and of the customs revenue as security for payment of the sums charged annually on the German budget.

As regards the year 1926–27, 1927–28, as already indicated, the assigned revenues will play a special part in our plan. They will not only serve as a guarantee to creditors, but also as a means of measuring the contingent addition to, or deduction from, the total amount of reparation payments laid down in the plan. If the yield of these revenues falls short of 1 milliard in 1926–27 or 1¼ milliards in 1927–28, the reparation payments will be diminished by an amount equal to one-third of such deficiency; on the other hand, if they exceed those limits, there will be an additional payment equal to one-third of the excess; both deduction and addition, however, are limited to an amount of 250,000,000 in each year.

In 1928–29, and subsequent years, the amount of Germany's obligation is fixed by the standard payment, plus supplementary payment (and into the computation of the latter, the increased consumption of these taxed articles will enter).

The total yield of the controlled revenues will be paid into the account of the agent for reparation payments as from the time when the plan is put into execution.

In the first year in which there is a charge on the budget and in all subsquent years, the amounts required to meet the charge will be retained and the balance will be periodically released to the German Government.

We propose that there should be one commissioner to supervise the controlled revenues and under him a subcommissioner for each of the five controlled revenues.

In order that the Reparation Commission may be in a position to secure an officer of the greatest experience and efficiency as chief commissioner, the area of selection should be as wide as possible and not confined to the allied countries.

He should have the assistance of a consultative and advisory committee on which each of the interested allied countries would be represented.

The various German services of the assigned revenues would be obliged to deposit, through the receiving offices, immediately on receipt, the amount received under the head of the revenues in question at the nearest branch of the central bank acting as treasurer.

(*A*) *Funds.*—The separate branches should pay the sums into the central bank to an account at the disposal of the commissioner, who should afterwards provide for the periodical "reversements" to the German Government of sums in excess of the proportion of the year's peace-treaty payments accrued to date.

(*B*) *Audit.*—The commissioner would impose such methods of independent audit as he might desire to ascertain that all assigned revenues—

1. Were properly obtained from the public, and
2. Flowed through the control administration.

(*C*) *Detailed responsibility for management.*—He would not be obliged to assume responsibility for detailed administration except in the case and in the manner indicated below. It would be his duty to see at all times that the administration was reasonably efficient and the accounting system honest and accurate. But since the interests of the Allies are not affected so long as the revenues are sufficient, with an adequate margin, to meet the annual charges, it would not be his duty in such circumstances to interfere with the details of control.

He would therefore not normally be obliged to insist on the exact tariffs or the exact form of administration which would, in his view, secure the utmost yield, and he would not, therefore, be obliged (unless the need arose) to assume the responsibility of detailed direction with the administrative expense on staff, etc., which that would involve nor would he be required to have such an elaborate and expensive accounting and calculating personnel as would enable him to certify that every mark was accurately accounted for (which is obviously a very different thing from seeing that the system is honest and efficient).

If the need arose, his control would become automatically more active, more responsible, more difficult and, of necessity, more expensive. For if the revenues were in danger of being insufficient, it would be his duty to take every possible measure to increase their productivity. This increase in the active character of the control would be in exact proportion to the need for it. He would thus reform and direct administration in detail only if and so far as necessary.

(*D*) *The technical control* would consist, in the ordinary course, of the right:

(*a*) To obtain all information and examine all books.

(*b*) To visit and inspect the factories subject to duties, and to ascertain that approved standards are maintained.

(*c*) To send experts to report and advise and, in case of actual necessity arising, to exercise detailed control.

(*d*) To propose higher technical standards.

(*e*) To require prior advice of all administrative regulations.

In settling the constitution of the control body, it should be borne in mind that it may be concerned with the issue of bonds guaranteed by the said assigned revenues, if it is desired to create an international bond other than the railway one.

The German Government should be asked not to reduce the rate of the assigned revenues without the consent of the commissioner, which would not be given until the consultative committee had had an opportunity of considering the proposal and approved it by a majority; on the other hand, it is considered necessary that the German Government should be encouraged, regard being had to the rates prevailing in other countries, to effect increases in the taxation of alcohol, beer, and sugar.

The above system makes it unnecessary in relation to the problem of security, to insist on an increase in any particular tax, though we suggest to the German Government that it is to their interest, especially having regard to the rates prevailing in other countries to effect increases in the taxation of alcohol, beer, and sugar. But all interference in the German Government's tariff policy is to be avoided.

To sum up this subject we would lay down the following general principles:

1. The main lines on which the control should work ought to be decided by the countries interested. These main lines establishing the principle of a control developing automatically as required, and becoming complete control as soon as the revenues appeared to be insufficient, should, therefore, be laid down in protocols signed by all the countries whose interests are mainly involved.

2. These main lines should be elaborated into detailed instructions by international experts (in practice of the nationalities of the countries interested).

3. With this safeguard, the execution of the control is intrusted to a single impartial person (with the necessary staff) so as to secure the rapid and consistent administrative decisions required for an efficient control.

4. His responsibility to the Reparation Commission should not be of a day to day order, but a periodical report should be made by him upon the condition and yield of the gage revenues.

5. In the event of the revenues for a given year proving insufficient, the whole system outlined in this scheme (working of the railways, a mortgage on industrial property, the control of the revenues assigned as security) will be prolonged as required for the purpose of making good the deficit.

The committee desires to express its high appreciation of the valuable and efficient cooperation received throughout its task from the general secretary, Mr. Andrew McFadyean, and to thank his assistant, Monsieur Denis, the interpreters, and all the staff for their ungrudging services.

CHARLES G. DAWES, *Chairman.*
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Paris, April 9, 1924.

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ANNEX NO. 1 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

Plan for the Organization of a Bank of Issue in Germany

I. Name and location

The bank, hereinafter designated as the "new bank," shall bear a new and suitable title, unless, in conformity with paragraph (*b*), Section III, below, the organization committee shall decide to use the Reichsbank for putting the present plan into operation. It shall be a private corporation, and its charter shall be for 50 years. The new bank shall have its principal office in Berlin and such branches and agencies as its managing board shall determine.

II. Capital

(*a*) The bank shall have a cash paid-up capital of 400,000,000 gold marks, which shall be in registered or bearer shares of 100 marks each. These shares shall be issued as follows:

1,000,000 shares to represent the assets of the Reichsbank;

3,000,000 shares for subscription in Germany and abroad.

(*b*) All shares shall be alike, and after the initial subscriptions have been accepted, no restriction shall be imposed upon their purchase and sale, other than such general restrictions of German law as shall apply to the purchase and sale of shares of other banks.

(*c*) Shares whether sold in Germany or abroad shall be paid for entirely in gold, and/or foreign bills, at their current gold values.

(*d*) Subject to the preceding provision of this section, the shares of the new bank shall be allotted and sold on such terms as to prices, times of payment, and other conditions, as are most advantageous to the bank.

III. Organization committee

(*a*) For the purpose of taking the preliminary steps for the bank's corporate organization, there shall be created a temporary committee, to be known as "the organization committee." This committee shall consist of two members—the president of the Reichsbank, and one person who shall have been a member of one of the committees of experts acquainted with the discussions which resulted in the drafting of the plan for the bank.

(*b*) The organization committee shall have power generally to interpret any ambiguities appearing in the plan, provided always such interpretation shall not interfere with the principles involved. It shall also have power if it deems wise, to carry out this plan by the transformation of the Reichsbank, under suitable legislation, rather than by the organization of a new corporation. It shall frame the statutes regulating the administration of the bank. These statutes shall in particular include provisions concerning:

1. The form and character of the share certificates of the bank.
2. The formalities to be fulfilled for the transfer and pledging of the registered share certificates.
3. The cancellation of share certificates lost or destroyed.
4. The method by which the German shareholders shall elect the German members of the General Board.
5. The nature of the reports published by the bank, as well as the method and place of their publication.
6. The nature and duties of the permanent committees, of the managing board, and the officials of the bank.
7. The administrative departments to be created within the bank.
8. The date and place of the regular meetings of the managing board and of the general board.
9. The special meetings of the managing board and of the general board.

IV. Administration and management

The bank shall be administered by a managing board, under the chairmanship of a president, all of whom shall be of German nationality.

V. The president of the bank

(*a*) For the purpose of this memorandum only, the chairman of the managing board and of the general board is hereinafter called the president; he shall be the managing director of the bank. Subject to the limitations imposed by law, he shall perform such duties as are assigned to him by the bank's statutes.

(*b*) The president may be elected from among the members of the general board, or chosen from outside the board. The election by the board of a nonmember as president, shall operate to vacate automatically the seat of that German member of the general board having a term of two years or more yet to run, whose election was obtained by the smallest share vote, unless some other member of the general board, having a two years' term or more yet to run, shall resign at the time, and his resignation be accepted by the board. A president, elected from outside the general board shall, by the fact of his election, become a member of the board.

(*c*) The first president shall be the president of the Reichsbank; his term of office shall be six months. Subsequently, the president, who must be of German nationality, shall be appointed by a majority vote of not less than nine members of the general board, of which majority at least six votes shall be the votes of German members; this appointment shall be countersigned by the president of the Reich.

(*d*) The president shall direct the managing board and shall take the chair at its meetings. In case of a tie vote, he shall have the casting vote. He shall appoint the officials of the bank on the recommendation of the managing board. He shall organize the distribution of their work and duties in the bank, and shall exercise disciplinary powers over the officials and employees, these powers being provided for in a special clause of the statutes to be approved by the general board.

VI. Managing board

(*a*) The administration of the bank shall be intrusted to a managing board which shall be the administrative and executive body. This board shall be under the chairmanship of the president. It shall adopt its decisions by majority vote and in conformity with the regulations laid down in the statutes and by law. In particular it shall direct the currency, discount, and credit policy of the bank. It shall fix the rates of interest and shall draft all regulations concerning the policy of the bank.

(*b*) The members of the managing board shall be appointed by the president for a period to be fixed by the organization committee, subject to the approval of the general board, whose decision in this connection shall be adopted by a majority of nine votes, at least six of which shall be given by the German members; these appointments shall be countersigned by the president of the Reich.

(*c*) The members of the managing board shall occupy no other remunerated post, neither shall they accept any honorary post without the previous consent of the general board.

(*d*) The salaries and pensions of the members of the managing board and of the president shall be fixed by the general board, the salaries and pensions of the senior staff of the bank shall be fixed by the managing board with the approval of the president, and in case of the junior staff, by the managing board alone.

(*e*) The managing board may, if they think fit, obtain the assistance of a consultative body composed of German members chosen from agriculture, commerce, and industry.

VII. General board

(*a*) There shall be created a general board, consisting of 14 members hereinafter called the members of the general board. One-half of these members shall be of foreign and the other half of German nationality.

(*b*) Each member of the general board shall be chosen for a period of three years, except in the case of the first election or appointment. In the case of the first term of office, three German members and three foreign members shall serve for a term of one year; two German members and two foreign members shall serve for a term of two years, and two German members and two foreign members shall serve for a term of three years. At the first meeting of the general board chosen, the members shall decide, by lot, the term for which each shall serve, namely, one, two, or three years.

(*c*) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (*b*) of this section, and to the provisions of this plan that apply to all members of the general board, members of German nationality shall be chosen in such a manner and under such conditions as the stockholders of German nationality shall decide, in accordance with German law. The manner and conditions so decided upon shall be incorporated in the statutes. The manner of selecting the first group of German members shall be determined by the organization committee as provided for in Section III of this plan. No plan shall be adopted for the first selection of German members that does not meet with the approval of the president of the Reichsbank.

(*d*) The foreign members of the first general board shall be appointed by the organization committee. They shall be chosen with due regard to their professional qualifications and financial experience. In making the appointments, the organization committee may consult the principle foreign banks of issue and/or any other authorities in financial matters whose advice it may desire.

(*e*) In case of vacancy in a position of a foreign member of the general board, arising from death, resignation, or other cause, there shall be a new election of another person of the same nationality to fill the vacant place. This election shall be by the foreign members of the board who are in active membership at the time this election is held. Unanimity less one vote shall be necessary for an election. The new member shall always be chosen from among the nationals of the country of the member whose vacancy he is to fill. Before electing any foreign members of the board, the board shall consult, with reference to said election, the central bank of issue of the country whose national is to be chosen and/or any other financial authorities of that country whom it may desire to consult.

(*f*) The foreign members shall be chosen, one from each of the following nationalities, British, French, Italian, Belgian, American, Dutch, and Swiss.

(*g*) On the unanimous vote of the general board, the number of German members may be increased.

(*h*) No Government official, or other person receiving compensation from the German Government, or from any foreign government shall become a member of the general board.

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(i) Except as otherwise provided for by the bank's statutes, decisions of the board shall be by a majority vote of 10 members, or by a simple majority vote if the president and the commissioner are included in the majority. Should a member not be able to attend a meeting of the board, it will always be open to him to empower one of his colleagues, by registered letter or by telegram, to vote for him and on his behalf.

(j) At each of its meetings, and at least once every month, the general board shall examine the reports submitted to it by the president and the commissioner. It shall adopt decisions on all the proposals made to it by the president and the commissioner, provided that these decisions do not encroach upon the rights reserved to the president and the managing board as specified in Sections V and VI above.

(k) The metal reserve of the bank and the office for the printing of the notes shall be in Germany, but the general board may, by a three-quarters majority vote, decide that either or both be transferred abroad to a neutral country.

VIII. The commissioner

(a) The commissioner, who shall be a foreigner, shall be elected by a majority vote of not less than nine members of the general board, of which majority at least six votes shall be those of foreign members. The commissioner's term of office shall be fixed by the organization committee.

(b) The commissioner may be elected from among the members of the board of foreign nationality or may be chosen from outside the board, from citizens of any one of the foreign countries represented on the board. The election by the board of a nonmember to the position of commissioner shall operate to vacate automatically, the position of the citizen of the country of which the commissioner is a citizen. A commissioner elected from outside the board shall, by the fact of his election, become a member of the board.

(c) If, at the first election, the person chosen as commissioner should be a member whose term, as decided by lot, in accordance with paragraph (b) of Section VII of this scheme, should only be one year, the term of this member shall automatically be increased to two years. In this case, one of the two foreign members who have been assigned to two years' term, shall have his term reduced to one year. The decision as to which of the two foreign members shall have his term thus reduced from two years to one shall be made by lot.

(d) It shall be an essential duty of the commissioner to enforce the provisions of the law and the statutory regulations relative to the issue of notes and the maintenance of the bank's reserves which guarantee that issue. To this effect, the commissioner shall have the right to have furnished to him all statistics and documents which he may deem useful for the accomplishment of his task, and whenever it appears to him necessary, he may make any investigations either in person or through his assistants. He shall be entiled to be present at the meetings of the managing board in Berlin.

(e) The office entrusted with the custody of the reserve of notes shall only deliver notes when authorized by the commissioner so to do.

(f) The commissioner shall be bound to the greatest secrecy in regard to all information he may obtain on the commercial operations of the bank.

IX. Loans, discounts, and investments

(a) The bank shall make no loans or discounts having a maturity at the time the advance is made, in excess of three months.

(b) The bank shall discount no notes or bills bearing less than three names of known solvency, except that for one name there may be substituted collateral in the form of warrants relating to bona-fide commercial transaction or to goods. Such definiton shall not be taken as including any notes issued or bills drawn in financial transactions or secured by stocks, bonds, or other investment securities but may include treasury bills of the German Government.

(c) The bank may, with the special authorization of the general board voting in the conditions laid down in paragraph (i) of Section VII, accept the long-term bonds of the Reich as collateral for loans with maturities not exceeding three months, if the loans bear two responsible names, in addition to the collateral, one of these names being the name of a commercial bank doing business in Germany: *Provided*, That loans collaterally secured by the long-term securities of the Reich shall never exceed the amount of the bank's net paid-in capital and surplus, except by the unanimous vote of all the members of the general board save one.

(d) The bank shall make no loans nor advances on the security of real estate, mining property, oil property, or stock shares; nor on the security of Government obligations, except as otherwise provided for in this plan. The bank may, however, take mortgages or titles to such property, stock shares, and Government debt bonds as additional security for loans previously made in good faith in accordance with provisions herein made.

(e) Subject to the provisions contained in paragraph (a), the bank shall make no loans, discounts, or other advances directly or indirectly to the German Reich, any German State, communes, or other German governmental units, or to any foreign government or governmental units, nor shall it invest its funds in the bonds, debentures, or other debt of any such governmental unit, except as otherwise specifically authorized by its constitutive law. The deposit accounts and current accounts in the bank, of the German Reich, the German States, the German communes, or other German governmental units, shall never show a debit balance.

(f) The bank shall not accept time bills of exchange drawn against it.

(g) The bank may not buy or sell merchandise, produce, real estate, or stock shares of other corporations for its own account.

(h) The restrictions contained in the preceding paragraph shall not operate to prevent the bank from buying such real estate, equipment, and supplies as it needs for its own banking business, or from selling such property as may come into its possession in connection with the guarantee of statutory loans. Moreover, the bank shall not be prevented, by the above restrictions, from buying in property where it needs to do so, in order to protect itself in the collection of statutory loans previously made in good faith and not paid at maturity.

X. Service of the Reich's treasury

(a) The managing board is authorized to make advances from time to time to the Reich, but the amount outstanding at any one time shall never exceed 100,000,000 marks. Such advances shall, in no case, be for a longer period than three months and in no case shall the Reich be indebted to the bank at the end of the bank's financial year, which shall coincide with that of the Reich. In consideration of these facilities, the Reich and its treasury shall conduct all their domestic and foreign banking business through the medium of the bank.

(b) The managing board shall also be empowered to grant advances to the post office and the railways for reasonable amounts on condition that these organizations shall intrust the bank, except in so far as the bank might modify this condition, with the whole of their treasury service; but the total amount of loans outstanding to the post office and the railways together shall not exceed 200,000,000 gold marks.

XI. Service of the reparation treasury

The bank will receive on deposit sums paid for reparations, it being understood that the relationship between it and the committee intrusted with reparation receipts shall be solely those of banker and customer.

This treasury service will proceed in conformity with the provisions of Annex — to the general report. The maximum amount to be held on deposit for reparation account shall at no time exceed 2 milliards of marks in conformity with Section X (a) of this Annex, except as otherwise provided therein.

XII. Bank notes

(a) The bank shall have the exclusive right of issuing and circulating bank notes in Germany during the period of its charter.

(b) The German Government may not itself issue any kind of paper money for circulation in Germany, during the period of the bank's charter, nor shall it permit any German State, commune, city, other governmental unit, corporation, or private individual to issue or circulate paper money in Germany during the period of the bank's charter, with the exception of the banks of Baden, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg, which shall retain their charter of issue for sums not to exceed their present legal quota. The notes of the rentenbank shall be gradually withdrawn from circulation under the conditions prescribed in Section XV and the appendix hereto.

(c) During the period of the bank's charter, the Reich shall not issue any coins for circulation in Germany (except gold coins, containing approximately their full value in gold metal) of a larger denomination than 5 marks; and shall not issue coins of 5 marks or less, in excess of 20 marks per capita of her population. All coins, other than gold coins, issued by the Government, shall be issued through the bank. They shall be received by the Government in unlimited quantity at their nominal value, in payment of all taxes and other Government dues.

(d) The bank may issue notes for circulation, against gold coin or bullion, statutory discounts as defined in Section IX, demand credits in foreign banks and foreign commercial trade bills, with maturities of three months or less, taken at their present gold values at current rate of exchange.

(e) The notes of the bank, as well as metallic currency, shall be receivable in unlimited quantities for all taxes and other Government dues in Germany. The notes shall be unlimited legal tender, unless otherwise specifically provided by contract, for all debts, public and private.

(f) The notes of the bank shall be accepted at their nominal value for all payments made to the bank, both at the head office of the bank in Berlin and at all branches of the bank located in Germany.

(g) Notes shall be payable to bearer at the head office of the bank in Berlin on presentation. The notes shall also be payable on presentation at the other offices and branches of the bank to the extent permitted by their cash reserves and monetary requirements. Payments may be made in any of the following forms, at the option of the bank:

1. German gold coins of the present legal standard of weight and fineness at par.

2. Gold bars, in denominations of not less than 1,000 gold marks, and not more than 35,000 gold marks, at their pure gold equivalent in German gold coin of the present legal standard of weight and fineness.

3. Demand drafts, payable in gold or in foreign currencies at current market gold values, and drawn on funds located abroad in solvent banks to be specified by the bank's statutes, provided that the premia above the gold pars (or gold values, in the case of currencies not on a gold basis) charged by the bank for such drafts shall never exceed the amount necessary to cover shipping expenses, including interest for the time of transit, on gold bars shipped in substantial quantities

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from Berlin to the foreign financial center on which the draft is drawn.

The committee is of opinion, however, that, at the inception of the bank, conditions will be unfavorable for the application of the above rule of convertibility; in this event, this rule may therefore be temporarily modified by the affirmative vote of every member but one of each of the following groups:

1. The organization committee.
2. The managing board.
3. The general board.

In case of such modification, the bank shall make all possible efforts and use all the means at its disposal in order to maintain the rate of exchange of the mark at as near gold parity as possible. Furthermore, in case of modification of the above-mentioned rule of convertibility of notes, a return to convertibility will be permanently established as soon as possible, by a simple majority vote of the general board and of the managing board.

(*h*) While the bank shall not make reimbursement for notes that have been lost or completely destroyed, it shall replace worn or torn notes, on application, by notes in good condition, at their nominal value; provided that such replacement shall not be required in the case of any note unless the part of the note presented shall constitute more than one-half of the note.

(*i*) The notes of the bank shall bear the facsimile signature of the president and the seal of the commissioner.

XIII. Reserves

(*a*) The bank shall always carry a normal reserve of at least 33⅓ per cent of the total amount of its notes outstanding, subject to the following qualification:

In exceptional circumstances the reserve against notes may be reduced below 33⅓ per cent, on the proposal of the managing board, by a decision of the general board; but said decision of the general board shall require the affirmative vote of every member of the board save one. In case of such a reduction in the reserve, the bank shall incur the following penalties, the proceeds of which it shall pay to the Reich:

Whenever the reserve against notes shall be less than 33⅓ per cent of the notes outstanding and shall so continue for more than one week the bank shall pay the following deficiency tax upon the amount by which the said reserve is less than 33⅓ per cent of the notes outstanding.

When the reserve is below 33⅓ per cent and not below 30 per cent, a tax of 3 per cent per annum.

When the reserve is below 30 per cent and not below 27 per cent, a tax of 5 per cent per annum.

When the reserve is below 27 per cent and not below 25 per cent, a tax of 8 per cent per annum.

When the reserve is below 25 per cent, a tax of 8 per cent per annum plus 1 per cent per annum for each 1 per cent the per cent tax figure is below 25 per cent.

(*b*) No discount rate or rediscount rate shall be below 5 per cent per annum when the reserve mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall have continuously for one week or more been below 33⅓ per cent of the bank-note liabilities there mentioned.

(*c*) Whenever a deficiency tax is payable, a percentage equal to at least one-third of the percentage rate of the tax payable shall be added to the bank's discount rate and rediscount rate, in addition to any increase in the said rates required to comply with the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

(*d*) The above-mentioned legal reserve may be kept in gold bars or gold coin at any office of the bank, and or in the form of demand deposits made payable in gold or its equivalent at the rates at which the deposits were made in banks of high standing located in foreign financial centers.

(*e*) The bank shall also hold a special reserve of gold and gold deposits of the same character required to be held against its notes in circulation to the amount of 12 per cent of its deposit liabilities. Whenever the above reserve is continuously for one week or more below said 12 per cent, the bank shall pay a deficiency tax of 4 per cent per annum on the amount by which the reserve is less than 12 per cent and not less than 10 per cent; a tax of 8 per cent per annum on the amount by which it is less than 10 per cent and not less than 8 per cent; and a tax of 10 per cent per annum in addition to said 8 per cent for each 1 per cent by which the percentage figure is below 8 per cent.

(*f*) In order to assure adequate liquidity in the assets securing the bank's deposit liabilities, the bank shall at all times hold in addition to its aforementioned gold reserve of 12 per cent demand deposits in Germany and abroad, checks on other banks, and statutory notes and bills of a commercial character, payable at call or on time with maturities of less than 30 days to the amount of not less than 30 per cent of the bank's total deposit liabilities.

(*g*) The above-mentioned reserves and the liquid assets above described shall be segregated for the service of the bank's deposits.

XIV. Profits

The net profits of the bank, at the end of each financial period, shall be employed as follows:

(*a*) Twenty per cent shall be transferred to surplus or reserve until the bank's actual net paid-up capital and surplus shall amount to 12 per cent of its average liabilities on circulating notes, on the fifteenth day of the six preceding months. If the ratio shall again fall below this 12 per cent, the above-mentioned allotment of 20 per cent of the net profits to surplus or reserve shall continue. When and so long as the ratio of the bank's net capital and surplus or reserve to its average liabilities on circulating notes, as above computed, shall exceed 12 per cent, the bank may use its discretion as to the percentage of its net profits it will transfer to surplus or reserve provided that the percentage thus transferred shall never exceed 20 per cent.

(*b*) A sum shall be assigned to the payment of dividends sufficient to pay 8 per cent per annum on the bank's shares.

(*c*) The balance of the net profits shall be divided as follows:

1. One-half to the shareholders, in dividends or to a special fund to be used for the maintenance of a uniform dividend policy.

2. One-half to the Government, as a franchise tax for the bank's exclusive privilege of issuing circulating bank notes.

(*d*) The dividends of the bank and other income derived from its capital shares owned by foreigners residing abroad shall be exempt from all German income taxes, present and future; provided that this exemption shall not apply to general taxes imposed in Germany upon the real property of the banks in general. The bank, however, in consideration of the percentage of profits accruing to the Government under paragraph (*c*) 2, shall not be subject to any corporation tax or business tax levied in Germany by the Reich, the States, or any other governmental unit.

(*e*) Such privileges not inconsistent with this plan, now enjoyed by the Reichsbank, as may be specified by the organization committee as desirable and advantageous to the new bank shall be given to it.

XV. Liquidation of the rentenbank

The rentenmarks shall gradually be withdrawn from circulation by the bank in accordance with the provisions contained in the appendix attached.

XVI. Dollar-Schatzanweisungen (treasury bills in dollars)

(*a*) The German Government shall abandon all its rights to the proceeds from the liquidation of the Reichsbank (unless the present plan is put into execution by means of the transformation of the Reichsbank), in return for which the latter will give the Government an undertaking to assume responsibility for the repayment of the said bills not in excess of 210,000,000 gold marks, under conditions to be settled by the Reichsbank with the holders of these bills.

(*b*) At the same time, in order to guarantee the good faith of this operation, that is to say, in order to guarantee the Reichsbank against any loss resulting from this operation, the German Government shall hand over to the Reichsbank gold bills for an amount equal to and falling due at the same date as the dollar bills in circulation. As soon as the liquidation of these dollar bills has been completed, the Reichsbank will return to the German Government the portion (if any) of the bills which it has received, and which has not been employed in insuring the liquidation.

XVII. The Reichsbank

(*a*) If the present plan is put into execution by means of the transformation of the Reichsbank, the latter shall redeem the outstanding circulating notes in its new notes, at the rate of 1,000,000,000,000 marks to 1 gold mark. The old notes shall be immediately withdrawn from circulation and canceled.

(*b*) The Reichsbank, in case it is continued, shall meet the same reserve requirements against the outstanding notes which it undertakes to exchange, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (*a*) of this section, as are required to be held against bank notes outstanding by Section XIII of this plan.

(*c*) If the Reichsbank is to be liquidated, this operation will be carried out by the new bank which would be then set up, and which would have to assume responsibility for, or itself carry out, the exchanges provided for in paragraphs (*a*) and (*b*) above.

XVIII. Penalties

A penalty in the form of fine or imprisonment or both shall be provided for the punishment of any person or persons wilfully giving incorrect information, directly or indirectly, to the president, the general board, the commissioner or his assistants.

XIX. Measures to be taken by the German Government for the execution of the plan

All the undertakings which the German Government will have to enter into in connection with the bank, for the execution of this plan, including the assignment for the withdrawal of the rentenmark, of funds to be received from the rentenbank's mortages, shall be embodied in a special contract between the bank and the German Government. This contract as well as the statutes of the bank shall be duly approved by the German Parliament.

Appendix to Annex 1

The liquidation of the rentenbank

(Appendix provided for in Section XV of the plan for the bank.)

The Deutsche rentenbank was founded, and its operations regulated, by the decree of October 15, 1923.

The capital and the initial reserve were fixed by this decree at 3,200,000,000 rentenmarks, to be furnished half by agriculture and half by industry and commerce, including the banks.

The rentenbank holds a general mortgage, expressed in gold marks, on industrial, agricultural, and commercial property, amounting to 4 per cent of the value of this property as assessed for the Wehrbeitraggesetz.[5]

These mortgages bear 6 per cent interest for the benefit of the rentenbank.

The rentenbank is authorized to issue bank notes expressed in rentenmarks up to the amount of the capital and initial reserve (3,200,000,000 gold marks).

[5] The amount of this mortgage already amounts to 3,700,000,000 gold marks.

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The rentenbank must open credits to the Reich during the two years following its foundation up to the amount of 1,200,000,000 rentenmarks, of which 900,000,000 will bear 6 per cent interest and 300,000,000 will bear no interest. The rentenbank is authorized moreover to open credits to the Reichsbank and to the private banks up to 1,200,000,000 rentenmarks, in order to finance private economy.

Up to the present the rentenbank has placed in circulation:

1. Seven hundred million, which have been delivered to the Reichsbank in order to provide for the credits to be granted by the latter to German manufacturers and merchants. This sum is therefore guaranteed by drafts or credits redeemable in rentenmarks. If and when the rentenbank is liquidated, no attention need be paid to them.

2. One milliard one hundred million rentenmarks which have been advanced to the Reich without any security but the signature of the latter, 900,000,000 of which bear 6 per cent interest per annum and 200,000,000 bear no interest.

In so far as concerns this latter sum of 1,100,000,000 the new bank (or the Reichsbank, if it is maintained) would assume the obligation vis a-vis the holders of these notes to redeem them gradually within 10 years. To this effect the rentenbank would undertake to remit to the bank, as fast as they came in, all sums received from its debtors, whether from the property holders affected by the rentenbank mortgage or from the State, up to the sum of 1,100,000,000.

This undertaking of the rentenbank vis-a-vis the bank would be covered by all the mortgages and guarantees which it holds, as well as by the guarantee of the German Government itself.

It should, moreover, be understood that all profits accruing to the Reich in virtue of its participation in the bank would be assigned by priority to the amortization of its debt of 1,100,000,000.

As soon as the payments by the rentenbank or by the Reich itself, as stated above, reach the figure of 1,100,000,000 the German Government and the rentenbank will be released from all liability vis-a-vis the bank.

ANNEX NO. 2 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

Suggested Index of Prosperity

BASIS OF COMPARISON

1. In addition to the standard contribution referred to in paragraph 8 (*c*), there shall be paid for 1929–30 and following years a supplementary sum according to the growth in prosperity of Germany. This increase in prosperity for any year shall be measured by the extent to which the index, as defined below, on the statistics of the completed preceding year, exceeds the average statistics of the base years.

COMPONENTS OF THE INDEX

2. For the purpose of computing the index, the following statistics shall be employed:

(*a*) The total of German exports and imports taken together.

(*b*) The total of budget receipts and expenditure taken together, including those of the States of Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria (after deducting from both sides the amount of the Peace Treaty payments included in the year).

(*c*) Railroad traffic as measured by the statistics of the weight carried.

(*d*) The total money value of the consumption of sugar, tobacco, beer, and alcohol, within Germany (measured by the prices actually paid by the consumer).

(*e*) Total population of Germany (computed from the last available census data, vital statistics and emigration records).

(*f*) The consumption of coal (and lignite reduced to coal equivalent) per capita.

THE INDEX BASE

3. In computing the base, the average statistics for the three years 1927, 1928, and 1929 shall be taken for (*b*) budget receipts and expenditure; for (*e*) population, and for (*f*) coal consumption per capita, and for the six years 1912 and 1913, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929 for the other categories (after appropriate adjustments for the differences in population and the altered gold values to make the three earlier years comparable with the three later years in this respect). The percentage change for each of these six groups, compared with the base, shall be separately computed and an arithmetical average of the six percentage results taken as the index.

PAYMENT TO WHICH THE INDEX IS APPLIED

4. The index percentage shall be applied to the amount of the standard payment, viz, 2,500,000,000, to give the supplement for the year, except that for the five years 1929–30 to 1933–34 it shall apply to 1,250,000,000, or one-half of the standard payment only.

MINUTE ADJUSTMENTS IGNORED

5. The supplementary payment is to be reckoned only for each completed half per cent of the index, i. e., an index average of 11.35 per cent would be reckoned as 11 per cent.

COMPUTATION OF SUPPLEMENT

6. For the year 1929–30, the computation of the supplement shall be made after the end of that year by comparing the statistics of 1929 itself with the index base.

DEFICIENCIES

7. In the event of the index in any year producing, as the supplement, a minus quantity, the basis payment should continue to be made, but subsequent supplementary payments shall not accrue due until allowance has been made therefrom for such deficiency or "minus" payment of previous years.

DIFFICULTIES IN APPLICATION

8. Any disputed points upon the application of the statistics of this index shall be referred to the finance section of the League of Nations for arbitration.

CHANGES IN THE VALUE OF GOLD

9. The German Government and the Reparation Commission should each have the right in any future year, in case of a claim that the general purchasing power of gold as compared with 1928 has altered by not less than 10 per cent to ask for a revision on the sole and single ground of such altered gold value. The alteration to be made may apply both to the standard contribution and the supplementary payment. Failing mutual agreement, a decision should be given by an arbitral committee appointed by the League of Nations. After decision, the altered basis should stand for each succeeding year until a claim be made by either party that there has again been a change, since the year to which the alteration applied, of not less than 10 per cent.

The alterations under this paragraph should be made by reference to such generally approved index numbers of prices (German or non-German), singly or in combination as the arbitration may decide.

ANNEX NO. 3 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

Note by the First Committee of Experts

Of the assets and revenues of the German Reich and its constituent States subject to the application of article 248 of the peace treaty, the German railway system is undeniably the most important and also that which can be the most easily utilized for the purpose of reparation.

The German railway system comprises about 53,000 kilometers of lines, and the rolling stock will very shortly amount to—

Locomotive engines (excluding electric and motor engines)	30, 850
Passenger vehicles	69, 253
Wagons	748, 753

A considerable portion of this rolling stock is of recent construction. Two-thirds of the whole (18,000 locomotives and 500,000 passenger vehicles and wagons) were brought into service in the last 10 years. The rolling stock at present possessed by the German railway system is very superior both in quality and quantity to that which was in use before the war.

Speaking generally, it may be said that the equipment of the German railways is modern and fully up to the level of the latest improvements in railway technique.

The capital cost of the system amounts to not less than 26 milliard gold marks.

The experts called in the services of eminent railway specialists, and requested them to make a study of the German railways; their report is attached.

General Report on the German Railways Made to the First Expert Committee

By Sir William Acworth and M. Leverve

March 26, 1924.

In our earlier reports we described the situation of the German railways and replied to various questions asked by the committee, especially as to the amount of net revenue which we considered they could yield for reparation purposes. We have now, as requested by the committee, brought together in a single document the essential portions of these reports, together with our own conclusions.

We desire to thank the German Minister of Railways and his staff for the manner in which they have assisted our inquiry in Berlin with information both verbal and documentary. In the short time at our disposal it has naturally not been possible for us to push our investigations very far, but we trust that the report which we now present is adequate for the purposes of the committee, and we think its substantial accuracy may be relied on.

CAPITAL INVESTED IN THE GERMAN RAILWAYS

In a preliminary report we stated that the capital value of the German railways might safely be taken at not less than 20 milliard gold marks. An official publication shows that the debt of the several States specifically entered as railway debt, less that portion of it applicable to the ceded territories, amounted in 1914 to 17.93 milliard gold marks. In March, 1920, at which date the railways were transferred from the ownership of the several States to that of the German Reich, the invested capital was reckoned as 25 to 28 milliard gold marks. This large increase is explained by the fact that at the date of the transfer—

(*a*) The value of the railways of the separate States was written up to conform to the real amount of capital that had been invested in them, much of which had never been or had ceased to be represented by railway debt.

(*b*) There was added to the old capital the value of the additions made during the war. Between March, 1920, and March, 1923, the capital invested was further increased to 25.86 milliard gold marks. The expendi-

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ture for the current year and that which will still need to be incurred in payment for commitments already entered into will put the final figure well over 26 milliard gold marks.

The above figures represent capital invested, which is sometimes a very different thing from capital value. But in this case the capital value of the German railway system which comprises 53,000 kilometers, at 500,000 gold marks per kilometer, may be taken to be fully equal to the capital invested. Now, a large part of the system is double tracked; the lines, stations, yards, and buildings have been constructed to a high standard, and they are very amply equipped with up-to-date rolling stock. A comparison with the capital cost per kilometer of the railways of other important countries, taking account of all the factors on both sides, gives good grounds for saying that the German figure of investment is by no means an excessive representation of actual cost.

NET REVENUE ATTAINABLE

We think that a net annual revenue of one milliard gold marks per annum can reasonably be expected from the German railways. This is very slightly more than the net revenue earned before the war; but it was then earned very easily. No attempt was made to maximize net revenue, which was much more than sufficient to meet the interest on the railway debt.

On the one hand, the tariffs were kept low, especially for passengers. The guiding principle was, as has been recently expressed in a brochure published by Doctor Sarter, whose statement, as he is a highly placed official in the transport ministry, may be taken as authoritative: "The State railways ought primarily to have regard to the progressive development of the economic life of the country and to treat the attainment of net revenue as only of secondary importance."

On the other hand, the operating expenses were unduly high, the staff was unnecessarily large, and magnificent stations and enormous shunting yards were worked at great expense. Moreover, as is shown by the figures which we have given above, the working expenses included year by year large sums for improvements and additions which might properly have been charged to capital.

It may be thought—seeing that for some years past the gross receipts of the German railways have not covered their expenses, and that recently the expenditure was several times as great as the receipts, while even now the earnings are only equal to the expenditure—that this estimate of ours is unduly sanguine.

But it is to be remembered that since the war almost every country has gone through a similar experience. Even in the United States, where there was no currency depreciation, the net income of the railways in 1920 was almost negligible; whereas in England, where currency depreciation is quite small, the receipts in 1921 fell short of the expenses. But in both countries the situation has now completely changed, and if in other countries the railways have still not regained financial equilibrium, experience sufficiently shows that this phase is only temporary. And Germany has one special circumstance of the first importance in her favor. On the railways of England and America the wages of the railway staff are, roughly, double what they were before the war. No such advance has taken place in Germany. On the contrary, the average wage is at present, we are informed, only 75 per cent of the pre-war wage. It is proposed in the current year to increase this percentage to 93 per cent of the pre-war average. But there is no prospect of any such increase above the pre-war standard as has taken place in the two countries mentioned. And this for two reasons—the cost of living has not increased in Germany, as it has there, and, as German wages in other occupations have not risen, railway wages do not compare unfavorably.

Naturally we do not suggest that a milliard of net revenue is attainable at the outset. But we think a substantial sum can be obtained very shortly, and that the full amount should be reached within a period of three years. It should be arrived at in the manner following:

During the war there was imposed in Germany, as in other countries, a transport tax. This tax still continues to be levied. It is included in the rates charged to the public but is paid over by the railways direct to the finance ministry and forms therefore no portion of the railway revenue. It is a tax on the gross receipts, and is fixed at 7 per cent on all receipts from freight traffic other than coal, and at 10 per cent to 16 per cent, according to class, on passenger traffic. On the average it amounts to 6 per cent of the total gross receipts. It is estimated to produce in the year 1924, 227,000,000 gold marks. If in future years the traffic increases, or if the same volume of traffic is charged at a higher rate, naturally the proceeds of the tax will increase proportionately. It seems safe to assume that its yield will not fall below the present figure. Moreover, as it is levied on the gross and not on the net income, it is independent of any variations in the cost of operation. If, as we recommend, the German railways in future are required to pay over the proceeds of this tax to the Reparation Commission, the commission will have from the outset a safe and important source of revenue at their disposal.

There remains a sum of 800,000,000 gold marks in round figures to be obtained, and it can, in our judgment, be obtained as net profit on the railways, on condition that the tariffs are fixed at a reasonable level, that the number of employees is reduced to a reasonable figure, and that in all other matters curtailment of expenses is secured by econmical operation on business lines.

Before the war the German railways spent 70 marks for every 100 marks which they earned. In technical railway language the "operating ratio" was 70 per cent. This was an unusually high ratio, especially having regard to the fact that the railways paid no taxes. It was a good deal higher than the English ratio, much higher than the ratio in France. But in every country there has been since the war, a marked increase in the ratio, and we do not think that under post-war conditions the German railways can be expected to operate at a ratio so low as 70 per cent. Not only have they now to bear the transport tax, but though a great rise in wages—the main cause of the rise of the operating ratio in other countries—is not to be expected in Germany, the increased cost of materials, coal, and steel particularly, seems likely to be permanent. We think, however, that an operating ratio of 80 per cent ought to be attainable. We base this opinion in the first place on our investigation of German conditions, and especially on two facts.

1. That new rolling stock has been acquired in the last few years in such large measure that the need of repairs and renewals will be exceptionally small for some years to come, and

2. That the recent very large expenditure on fitting the freight wagons with continuous brakes should result in important operating economies.

In the second place, we think our knowledge of what has happened and is happening in other comparable countries justifies us in asserting in broad terms that, given efficient and economical management, there is no apparent reason why the operating ratio should not be brought back in a short time to 80 per cent in Germany as it has already been brought back elsewhere.

In England and America, as we have said, the wages of the staff have doubled, but the tariffs are only roughly 50 per cent above the pre-war tariffs. In the result, the operating ratio has become much higher than before and stands at present at about 80 per cent. But the remaining 20 per cent, calculated on a greatly increased gross revenue, suffices to give a return of over 4 per cent on the railway capital.

Now in Germany a gross revenue of 4,000,000,000 gold marks per annum is in sight at the present moment. With a gross revenue of 4,000,000,000 gold marks per annum and an operating ratio of 80 per cent, the net revenue would be 800,000,000 gold marks. And this sum added to the 227,000,000 gold marks of the transport tax yields a total of over 1 milliard gold marks.

And the whole of this sum can be made available for reparation. The fall of the mark has wiped out the pre-war railway debt; the plan before the committee will, we understand, relieve the railways under the new management of responsibility for the debts recently incurred; and capital has been so lavishly spent in the last few years that there can be no justification for further expenditure for some years to come. In future years we assume that, under commercial management, new capital will not be spent, unless with the assurance that the resulting profits or economies will at least suffice to meet the interest.

We shall revert to the matter of receipts and expenditure when we come to discuss the budget estimate for the year commencing April, 1924.

Meanwhile it may be useful to approach the subject from another point of view.

One milliard is less than 4 per cent on the railway capital of 26 milliards. If we deduct the transport tax, which certainly does not exceed in amount the taxation levied on railways in other countries, the German railways are only required to earn a fraction over 3 per cent on their capital. And, as already stated, we have no reason to think that the German railways are overcapitalized; 3 per cent can hardly be regarded as an excessive rate of interest.

In England the rates tribunal is required by statute to permit the railways, provided that their management is efficient and economical, to charge rates adequate to produce a net income of, roundly, 1 milliard gold marks on a capital somewhat less than that of the German railways. In America, the Interstate Commerce Commission, also acting under statutory authority, has decided that 5¾ per cent is a reasonable return on railway capital and has authorized rates regarded as sufficient to produce this return.

If the German railways are required to pay very little more than 3 per cent for reparations, they ought, under efficient and economical commercial management, to earn a substantial surplus over and above, which can be applied in relief of the general taxation of the country. At the same time, it should be understood that the profits on railways, like those of other commercial undertakings, vary from year to year. There are good times and bad times. The milliard which we have assumed as a reasonable return must be regarded as an average one year with another.

As we have already said, the full net revenue will not be attained from the outset. A period of some years will probably need to elapse, for the German traffic has been seriously affected by the occupation of the Rhine-Ruhr railways.

Time will be needed after the railways have been reorganized as a united system to bring the new system into work and to reestablish completely the old traffic. And this reorganization will mean expenditure. Further, the necessary reform of the management will take time to carry out and will not produce its full effect at once.

For all these reasons and naturally without committing ourselves to mathematical accuracy we think it reasonable to estimate that the net revenue apart from the transport tax, and after providing for building up of an adequate reserve, will increase as follows:

	Gold marks.
First year	400, 000, 000
Second year	550, 000, 000
Third and fourth years	700, 000, 000–750, 000, 000
Fifth and subsequent years	800, 000, 000

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Measures to obtain results

It is evident, in the first place, that the railways in common with every other German undertaking can only give satisfactory results if the currency is stabilized and political and social tranquillity prevails.

As for the measures to be taken to obtain the results indicated above we may repeat: The railways must be worked as a commercial enterprise—that is to say, with the determination, on the one hand, so to fix rates as to produce all the receipts that can be obtained, and, on the other hand, to reduce the expenditure to a minimum. The management of the German railways has hitherto been far from working to this standard. We shall show later that since the war the tariffs, both for passenger and freight, have been kept too low, with the object of encouraging industry and commerce, and especially of favoring German export. The tariffs are still regarded as they were before the war, primarily as a weapon in the hands of German trade, and only secondarily as a source of railway revenue.

On the other hand, the expenditure on rolling stock and works of every kind has been extravagant since the war, and the staff employed is at the same time much too large and badly paid.

It is, therefore, indispensable to make a radical change in the policy followed by the railways hitherto. But we do not believe that any German management will have the strength necessary to fight successfully against the traditional mental attitude unless there is behind it the constant pressure of an expert control, established and maintained in the interests of the Allies, to supervise the management in the matter both of tariffs and of expenditure.

We shall deal later with the question of the control in greater detail.

Further, we regard a complete change in the organization as essential. We think that the recent establishment of a separate undertaking, with a separate budget and with a certain measure of independence, though it is a move in the right direction, does not go far enough. The undertaking, though separate, still remains a Government undertaking. In our judgment it is necessary to go further and, while leaving to Germany the ownership of the railways, to intrust the management for a period of years to a commercial company, which will be German, but with a board of directors containing representatives both of the shareholders and of the creditor allied powers.

What this period of years should be, how the company should be constituted, with what powers, and with what restrictions is a matter which we understand the committee itself will deal with. We need only urge that the company and its management must have adequate freedom in the matter both of tariffs and operation. And if we may vary the phrase of Doctor Sarter, we think that a commercially managed railway company ought to treat the attainment of an adequate net revenue as of primary importance, while at the same time having regard to the progressive development of the economic life of the country and being careful not to kill or even impair the productive capacity of the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Moreover, as we have already said, the financial result which we have mentioned can only be attained on condition that the entire German railways are either united in one system under a single management or divided in a reasonable manner into several systems working in harmony, with the same tariffs and under the same general regulations. If we had to contemplate separate systems wholly out of harmony with each other, the results obtained would certainly not correspond to our estimate of the net revenue obtainable.

Though that estimate assumes the existence of an undivided German railway system, it will of course be understood that, in making this assumption we do not express any opinion as to the course of action which the allied Governments may think it desirable to adopt or on the general question of military or economic guarantees for reparation and security.

Finally our estimate takes for granted that the railways will not be required to carry traffic for the Government or the community unless their services are paid for at a commercial rate. Hitherto the German railways have carried free for the post office not only mails but parcel traffic. The railways of Great Britain receive at the present time from the post-office payments for similar though smaller services amounting to more than 4,000,000 pounds sterling per annum. There are other instances of a similar kind, but of less importance with which it is not necessary to deal here.

FUTURE CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

We shall see later that the expenditure incurred since the war for new works, and especially for rolling stock has been very large. It has in our judgment gone much beyond the real needs of the railways.

For rolling stock alone there has been charged against the various budgets, a sum of more than 3 milliard gold marks, which has enabled the railways to acquire more than 18,000 new locomotives and more than 400,000 new carriages and wagons.

We think, therefore, that, broadly speaking, the capital account can be entirely closed for some years to come without any injury to the railways. But at the same time we must not fail to call attention to the statement of the German Government that the capital expenditure to be incurred in the year 1924 will amount to over 500,000,000 gold marks, and that to complete the program a further expenditure of 236,000,000 gold marks will be required in 1925. We think that this program ought to be examined in detail, and very drastically cut down.

Still, after a certain time it will no doubt be necessary to incur new expenditure in enlarging stations or building new lines. But as we have already said, a commercial administration will not embark on new capital expenditure unless it is evident that it will be directly reproductive. The cost can, therefore, be paid either directly, out of increased net revenue, or, if it is sufficiently important to justify this course, by loans charged on the increased revenue without trenching on the revenue pledged for reparations.

THE RAILWAY BUDGET—ORDINARY BUDGET

It seems desirable to examine the estimate for the ordinary budget for the financial year from April 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925—in German financial matters called the year 1924—which has been drawn up by the German administration.

It has been drawn upon the supposition that the Rhine-Westphalian Railways have been restored to German management. But even if and when this happens, it is probable that there will be confusion at the outset; a certain time must necessarily elapse before the normal working can be resumed and the ordinary currents of traffic restored; and further, certain exceptional expenses will have to be incurred which it is impossible to estimate exactly.

This budget is, therefore, somewhat theoretical, and may be considered as representing the results to be obtained in the year 1925 rather than in the year 1924. Subject to these reservations, we will proceed to summarize and examine it.

Ordinary budget including the Rhine-Westphalian Railways

I. EXPENSES

	Gold marks	Gold marks
Salaries and wages		1, 631, 007, 000
Cost of material:		
Supplies and consumable stores	545, 000, 000	
Maintenance of way and works	294, 480, 000	
Maintenance and renewal of rolling stock and mechanical plant	394, 000, 000	
Other material costs	140, 513, 000	
Reserves	200, 000, 000	
Interest and repayment of debt	325, 000, 000	
		1, 898, 993, 000
Total		3, 530, 000, 000

II. RECEIPTS

Passenger traffic	850, 000, 000
Freight traffic	2, 700, 000, 000
Miscellaneous	130, 000, 000
Total	3, 680, 000, 000
Surplus	150, 000, 000

Receipts

The receipts for the budget in 1924 have been calculated by assuming a traffic somewhat greater than that in 1913, but less than that in 1921 and 1922, in which years the traffic was swelled by the activity of trade due to the fall of the mark.

The figures are as follows:

	Actual in 1913	Estimate for 1924
Passenger kilometers	35, 122, 000, 000	40, 000, 000, 000
Ton kilometers	57, 251, 000, 000	60, 000, 000, 000

The passenger receipts have been calculated on the basis of the tariffs which were in force at the time when the budget was framed. Later on, when we come to deal with tariffs, we shall point out that the third and fourth class fares were too low, and that the first-class fares which affect only a trifling number of passengers, were too high. Since March 1 the third and fourth class fares have been increased by 36 per cent, and the first-class fares have been slightly reduced. We may assume that the result will be an increase in passenger receipts of 30 per cent, which will raise the budget estimate of 850,000,000 to roughly 1,100,000,000 marks.

The freight receipts have been calculated on the basis of an average charge of 4.5 gold pfennigs per ton kilometer. The tariffs in force last February, at the time of our visit to Berlin, gave a higher average receipt per ton kilometer of 5.5 gold pfennigs. But a general reduction of 10 per cent was made on March 1, and others are in contemplation with the special object of encouraging national trade and industry. As we shall explain later, these reductions do not seem to us justified under present conditions. If rates were maintained at a reasonable level, we may assume that the freight receipts would be about 10 per cent above the budget estimate of 2,700,000,000 marks; that is, they would amount to 2,970,000,000 marks.

The receipts side of the budget would then be as follows:

	Gold marks
Passenger traffic	1, 100, 000, 000
Freight traffic	2, 970, 000, 000
Miscellaneous	130, 000, 000
Total	4, 200, 000, 000

Expenses

As for the estimate of expenses for 1924, it is to be noted that the expenditure for staff, 1,631,007,000 gold marks, represents about 54 per cent of the actual working expenditure of 3,005,000,000 gold marks. If we exclude interest and repayment of debt and reserve, neither of which are properly included in working expenses, this proportion is much the same as that on the railways of the adjacent countries. We pointed

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out in previous notes that the staff was unreasonably large. In 1919 there were 1,121,111 permanent staff and workmen employed; at the end of 1923 the number was still very nearly one million. They must have been extraordinarily badly paid, for the percentage of the wage bill to the total expenditure was reduced in the budgets of 1922 and 1923 to 29 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively, a figure absolutely abnormal.

The expenditure for 1924 has been calculated on the basis of a staff reduced to 793,000, although on the 1st of January the number was still 936,800. A very drastic reduction is therefore, implied, and is in fact being carried through at this moment. But there will be no saving in money. Increase of wages will more than counterbalance the decrease in the number of staff, for an increase of salaries and wages amounting to 18 per cent on the average is budgeted for. A table of the variations in the average payment per employee per annum in gold marks is given below:

	Year 1914	February 1924	Budget estimate for 1924
Permanent staff	2,352	1,634	1,972
Workmen	1,331	1,060	1,338
Average	1,718	1,293	1,595
Percentage of pre-war average	100	75	93

We feel bound to say that the increase proposed is entirely reasonable. The remuneration of the staff, especially in the upper and middle ranks, is quite inadequate, and, if good work is expected, it must be paid at its market rate.

A reserve of 200,000,000 marks has been included to provide for contingencies, a course which we can not other than approve.

The total expenses for the year 1924, including this reserve and interest and repayment of debt, to which we shall refer later, are set down in the budget as 3,530,000,000 gold marks. With the tariffs on the basis which we have taken above, the receipts will be 4,200,000,000 gold marks. This would give a surplus of 670,000,000 gold marks. This surplus would be net profit because the reserve of 200,000,000 and 325,000,000 gold marks for interest and repayment of the new debt has been included in the expenses.

Further, it is to be remembered that the transport tax represents in effect a further net profit from the railways. If we reckoned this tax at 10 per cent on the passenger receipts and at 7 per cent on the receipts from freight other than coal, we should obtain for 1924 a figure of 276,000,000 gold marks.

The total net income of the railways would then be 670+276=946,000,000 marks, which is very close to the milliard which we have suggested is attainable within a few years.

But as we have said already, these results are applicable to the entire German railways worked as a single system including the Rhine-Westphalian lines, under normal conditions. Certainly they will not be obtained in the year 1924, though they should be obtained very shortly thereafter.

Interest and repayment of debt

The sum of 325,000,000 set down in the budget for interest and repayment of debt during the year 1924 is divided into:

	Gold marks
Interest	99,000,000
Repayment	225,000,000
Cost of administration	1,000,000
	325,000,000

This debt represents liabilities recently incurred, for the old debt has practically disappeared. The total amount of the current debt is 312,000,000 marks. Particulars are given, in the reply of the Government to questions asked by the committee. There are short-term loans, overdue accounts, bills of exchange maturing, advances made by the ministry of finance or by the Reichsbank, and emergency currency issued by the railways which has to be redeemed. The interest charge for these debts is quite large. In certain cases we are told that interest is running at the rate of one-tenth of 1 per cent per diem, that is 36 per cent per annum. Evidently debts of this kind should be paid off as soon as possible.

In addition to these current debts amounting to 312,000,000, it is estimated that further debt will need to be incurred as follows:

	Gold marks
Commitments for extraordinary expenses up to March 31, 1924	110,000,000
For the expenditure of the extraordinary budget during the financial year 1924	387,000,000
For expenditure which will be necessary when the Rhine-Westphalian railways are handed back	200,000,000
Total	697,000,000
Add debt already incurred	312,000,000
Total debt, actual and anticipated	1,009,000,000

As we have said, the ordinary budget for 1924 provides an amount of 225,000,000 marks for repayment of debt. But it is evident that these expenditures charged on the extraordinary budget tend to increase rapidly, and it is therefore necessary to cut down the extraordinary budget. To this question we now turn.

THE EXTRAORDINARY BUDGET

A budget of extraordinary expenditure has been drawn up for the interim period from November 15, 1923, to March 31, 1924. It covered originally an expenditure of 220,000,000, but was subsequently reduced to 170,000,000 marks, divided as follows:

	Gold marks
Chapter I—	
Dwellings	8,000,000
Additional rolling stock	77,000,000
Kunze Knorr brake	3,000,000
Miscellaneous	15,000,000
Chapter II—	
Doubling of road	6,000,000
Electrification	6,000,000
Stations	32,000,000
Repair shops	13,000,000
Miscellaneous	10,000,000
Total	170,000,000

These expenses are to be covered partly by credits already available, and partly by new credits to an amount of 110,000,000.

The ministry has also furnished us with a statement of other extraordinary expenses which in their judgment are still necessary for the financial year 1924. We summarize them as follows:

	Gold marks
Chapter I—	
Dwellings	15,000,000
Additional rolling stock	110,000,000
Electric rolling stock	20,000,000
Kunze Knorr brake	28,000,000
Miscellaneous	40,000,000
Chapter II—	
New tracks	10,000,000
Doubling of road	13,000,000
Electrification	10,000,000
Stations	94,000,000
Repair shops	36,000,000
Miscellaneous	11,000,000
Total	387,000,000

In addition to this expenditure of 387,000,000 marks in 1924, it is estimated that a further sum of 236,000,000 will subsequently be required merely to complete works already begun. This represents the final state of a program amounting altogether to 1,610,000,000 marks.

This estimated expenditure, which will have to be covered by loans, has, so we are told, already been reduced to an absolute minimum. All the same, we think it ought to be reexamined point by point in order to stop or at least postpone work not absolutely necessary, except where it has been carried to such a point that it had better be completed.

The works and the rolling stock of the German railways were very fully adequate before the war. Since the war no money has been spared to enlarge works and buildings and to renew and even increase the rolling stock to an extent which will make it impossible to justify any new expenditure of this nature for some years to come. We give below particulars as to the rolling stock which bear out this statement.

ROLLING STOCK

Below is a comparison based on figures furnished to us in Berlin, of the German railway rolling stock before the war and in 1924. We have ignored electric locomotives and motor cars:

	Steam locomotives	Carriages	Wagons
End of 1913	27,940	62,050	657,150
January, 1924	29,966	67,800	723,100

Further rolling stock ordered last year from private firms and not yet delivered amounts to 884 locomotives, 1,453 carriages, 25,653 wagons. Delivery of this stock was due by the beginning of May, but has been delayed owing to the occupation of the Rhur. It is not now expected to be complete till the end of the year.

These figures show that the whole of the rolling stock handed over, either at the Armistice or together with the territory ceded under the treaty of peace, has been replaced by new. Old and out-of-date rolling stock, which could only be replaced to a very small extent during the war, has been written off and replaced since 1920, and a considerable quantity of additional rolling stock has been built.

It is worth while producing a table showing the locomotives written off and replaced for each of the last 11 years:

	Locomotives written off
1913	600
1914	379
1915	253
1916	237
1917	220
1918	167
1919	191
1920	690
1921	1,849
1922	1,585
1923	1,500
Total	7,671

The same thing has happened with carriages and wagons. We give a table showing the new rolling stock acquired since 1914:

	Steam locomotives	Carriages	Wagons
Delivered:			
1914–1918	8,859	11,832	181,196
1919–1923	8,506	12,313	246,388
Ordered but not yet delivered	884	1,453	25,653
	18,249	25,598	453,237

The result is that 18,249 locomotives and 478,835 carriages and wagons, two-thirds of the entire stock, have been built within the last 10 years, and that

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accordingly the rolling stock of the German railways is much superior to that which they possessed in 1914.

Replacement of rolling stock on this colossal scale has necessarily entailed enormous expenditure. We are unable to give the actual cost, for it is spread over various budgets.

The figures which have been given to us show an expenditure, up to the end of 1922 only, of 2,267,774,488 marks.

This figure does not include the cost of replacing the rolling stock handed over to the allied powers in 1919, 1920, and 1921, which was paid for by special credit granted by the ministry of finance, amounting when reduced to gold marks to 739,347,006.

The replacement of rolling stock written off is charged against the ordinary railway budget. Additions to rolling stock are charged against the extraordinary railway budget.

From November 15, 1923, to April 1, 1924, rolling stock to an amount of 150,000,000 gold marks will be so charged.

A further expenditure of 50,000,000 marks in the ordinary budget and of 110,000,000 marks in the extraordinary budget is proposed for the year 1924.

KUNZE KNORR CONTINUOUS BRAKE

The application of the Kunze Knorr continuous brake to freight trains has also implied large expenditure. It was decided in 1918, while the war was still going on, to adopt this policy in order to release a large number of brakesmen and to make possible an increase of speed of freight trains, more especially of military trains. This policy has been energetically pursued since the war; on the one hand, all the new wagons ordered have been fitted with continuous brakes, and on the other hand, the equipment of the old stock has been pushed on.

The entire program is expected to be completed by April 1, 1925. The total expenditure will amount to 400,000,000 marks, of which 117,000,000 still remain to be paid. But it should be said that the Kunze Knorr Company has agreed to spread the payment over a period terminating only on October 1, 1926.

TARIFFS

Freight.—A study of the freight tariffs of any country at any time involves prolonged investigation of a vast mass of bewildering detail. To present in brief outline the broad general effect is almost impossible. Certainly the short time available has not made the task possible for us. In Germany its difficulty is increased by various special circumstances.

In 1921 the whole basis of the freight tariffs was altered by the abandonment for a large part of the traffic of flat mileage rates, and the substitution therefor of Stafeltarife, that is, rates under which the charge per mile decreases as the mileage increases. Simultaneously, most of the exceptional tariffs, under which the bulk of the traffic had hitherto passed, were withdrawn. Many of them have since been restored in a modified form. And this is only the railway side of the difficulty.

The currency question complicates the whole story. Tariff advances were at the outset made in the shape of percentage increases of existing rates. Then came a period when an index figure was adopted with a varying multiplicator. Finally in November, 1923, the tariffs were calculated on a gold basis. The result, as we are informed, was that the freight tariffs were found to be on a level so high in comparison with the capacity of the traffic to bear the rates, that reductions on a large scale became absolutely necessary.

We are far from satisfied that this was or is the case. We feel convinced that further investigation would support our general conclusions that the freight rates have been, and are proposed to be reduced in a manner and to an extent which can not be justified from the railway point of view, and that this has resulted from the training and mental attitude of the officials, who have been brought up to share the views expressed in the quotation from Doctor Sarter which we have given above.

At the same time we feel it necessary to utter a note of warning. Our conclusion that freight tariffs might be a good deal higher than the German officials think they can profitably be is based mainly on the average receipts per ton-kilometer to-day as compared with the pre-war figures. We are told that these figures give a misleading impression of present-day facts, and numerous comparisons of certain important rates and classes of rates, pre-war and post-war have been submitted to us, which would, if typical, put a different complexion on the matter. In spite of these tables we still adhere to the opinion we have expressed. But the committee will appreciate that what we have said is only an expression of opinion, and can not claim to be a considered judgment based on fully ascertained statistical facts.

We have found it impossible to satisfy ourselves how high the present German freight tariffs really are. The earliest documents submitted to us stated that the freight tariffs might be assumed to be double the pre-war tariffs. The facts do not seem to us to bear out this statement. Before the war the freight charge per ton-kilometer averaged 3.36 gold pfennigs. It is estimated by the officials that in November, 1923, at the moment when the gold mark was substituted for paper marks of indefinite value as the medium of payment for railway services, the average rate was double the pre-war. In other words, according to the official estimate, the average rate in November, 1923, should have been 6.72 pfennigs per ton-kilometer. But this in no more than an estimate, and we doubt its accuracy.

From this date there began a process which is still continuing of repeated and important reduction of rates regarded as excessive. There is statistical ground for believing that in the early part of January, 1924, the average rate was 5.89 pfennigs, an advance, that is, not of 100 per cent but of 75 per cent above the pre-war average. On January 20 a number of important reductions came into force, and the estimate based on such statistics as were available, was in the middle of February that the then average rate was 5.55 pfennigs, an advance on pre-war rates of 65 per cent. The reductions are, however, still going on, and some of them are of great importance. On March 1 an all round reduction of 10 per cent was made on a large part of the traffic.

The budget estimate of freight traffic receipts is made on the assumption that the average freight rate during the year will have been brought down to not more than 4.50 gold pfennigs, which is equivalent to an advance over the pre-war tariffs of only 33 per cent. No doubt this estimate errs, as was intended, on the side of caution.

On this policy we will make two observations. Taken as a whole, we have difficulty in believing that all particular reductions made and proposed can be justified. Even assuming that in certain cases reductions have been and are desirable in the interest of the railways, we feel convinced that reductions are being conceded which need not be made, and that at least in some cases the percentage of reduction is unnecessarily large. We have learned that exceptional tariffs involving great reductions, both for import of raw materials and for export of German produce, are being very freely introduced. The import rates for jute have been reduced by 25 per cent, for raw cotton and raw wool by 50 per cent. A reduction of the rate for miscellaneous wares exported by sea, amounting to 30 per cent, is on the point of coming into force, and a reduction of 30 per cent to 40 per cent in the rates for steel and iron exported by sea is contemplated.

There is a point in connection with the freight tariffs and freight revenues which, though the precise facts are obscure, is of considerable importance. The budget estimate for 1924 assumes, apparently with good reason, that the ton-kilometers to be carried in 1924 will be roughly equal to those of 1913. But conditions have greatly changed in the interval. The number of tons carried has fallen apparently by about 20 per cent, while the distance the average ton travels has increased in corresponding ratio. The German officials adduce three main causes for the increase in the average length of haul:

1. The introduction in 1921 of Stafeltarife.
2. Changes in the previous currents of traffic consequent on the war and the establishment of new political frontiers.
3. Diversion of traffic in consequence of the occupation of the Rhine-Ruhr territory.

The effect of (1) will be permanent; the effect of (2) will probably diminish with time; the effect of (3) will presumably be only temporary. We can not estimate what proportion of the ascertained results has been due to these three causes respectively. But it is clear that, if in future years the tonnage does not increase, while the average length of haul goes back to anything approaching the pre-war figure, the effect on the railway revenue will be quite serious.

Before we leave the question of freight tariffs, we desire to make one observation. We have admitted that the facts are obscure; that our investigations have not been and could not be pushed very far. We have acknowledged that we have hesitated as to certain conclusions. It may well be that, where we have expressed a definite opinion, time will prove the opinion wrong.

All this we have had in mind; it does not affect the thing which from the point of view of the committee is the really important matter, that we retain the conviction that the German railways can and should produce a net revenue of one milliard gold marks per annum available for reparation. Our forecast may well prove erroneous on certain points, too optimistic in one direction, too pessimistic in others. But our estimate is based on broader grounds than tariff details and to it we adhere.

Passenger tariffs.—The German railways have nominally four classes of passengers, but first-class carriages are not run on local trains and fourth-class carriages are not run on express trains. The fares before the war were, respectively, at 7 pfennigs, 4.5 pfennigs, 3 pfennigs, and 2 pfennigs per kilometer. In April, 1917, the transport tax, amounting to 16 per cent, 14 per cent, 12 per cent, and 10 per cent on the gross receipts from the four classes, respectively, was introduced.

In spite of the tax, which is estimated to amount for 1924 to 85,000,000 gold marks, the railway management did not raise fares till September, 1923. At this date the fares were increased, including tax, to 19.6 pfennigs, 9.9 pfennigs, 3.3 pfennigs, and 2.2 pfennigs per kilometer for the four classes, respectively. Therefore, the third and fourth class fares were only increased by the amount of the tax, while the first and second class fares were more than doubled. The result of fares so obviously out of proportion was to empty the higher classes. Accordingly in December last the first and second class fares were reduced by one-third. But even then the first-class fare was four times the third class and six times the fourth class. Naturally the first class was absolutely empty, being used by 7 passengers out of 10,000, while 7 passengers out of 100 traveled second class. A good deal more than half the passengers travel in the fourth class and a good deal more than one-third in the third class. Seeing that a third-class passenger could till a few

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weeks ago travel 30 kilometers and a fourth-class passenger 45 for 1 gold mark with an ordinary ticket, and that more than half the total number of passengers in fact travel with season tickets issued at a rate roughly one-half of the ordinary rate—could travel, that is, respectively 60 and 90 kilometers for 1 mark—it is not surprising to find it admitted that the rates for passenger traffic have been quite insufficient to cover the working expenses. At length, as from the 1st of March, while the first-class fares have been further reduced to a level which may possibly secure a few additional first-class passengers, the third and fourth class fares have been increased by 36 per cent. The fares of the four classes are now 9 pfennigs, 6 pfennigs, 4.5 pfennigs, and 3 pfennigs per kilometer and the ratio between the classes is less unreasonable than hitherto.

We can hardly think that these new fares will be unduly burdensome to the German public, seeing that the German third-class fares per kilometer will still be only half the corresponding fare either in England or in the United States. But the public have so long been accustomed to be carried at noncommercial rates that we think some falling off of traffic is to be expected, at least at the outset. We have accordingly estimated that a 36 per cent increase in fare will only produce a 30 per cent increase in receipts.

FUTURE CONTROL—THE RAILWAY COMMISSIONER

It is evident from the facts and figures set out above that the German Government has since the war run the railways in a manner which can not be defended. On the receipts side it has failed to raise the revenue which might have been and ought to have been raised. On the expenditure side it has spent capital not merely on restoring the pre-war situation, but on betterments of all kinds which under the existing conditions can not be justified. The railways have not merely been restored to their pre-war state of efficiency, but have been brought up to a much higher standard, a standard which to the best of our knowledge is superior to that of any other country. We are given to understand that even inside the ministry itself this policy has been severely criticised. The excuse is that the pressure on the one hand of the great manufacturers to keep their works going and to avoid a wholesale dismissal of employees, which might lead to revolts or even revolution, was too strong to be resisted; while on the other side, the poverty of the mass of the population was so great that the Government was compelled to maintain railway rates at a low level. Whatever may have been the reason, there can be no doubt of the facts.

Our own view is that, while the reasons above had considerable weight, the action taken was by no means wholly due to external pressure. The officials in the tariff section of the ministry were, as we have repeatedly said, only too ready to subordinate railway interests to nonrailway circumstances. And the executive officers, whether charged with engineering or traffic management, were afflicted with what it is not too strong to describe as megalomania. They regarded it as due to the dignity of the German Reich that buildings should be magnificent, that railway plant should be up to a very high standard, that such and such services should be given, and so on. They had never been taught the commercial necessity of cutting their coat according to their cloth.

Now the mere transference of the railways from State to company management will not of itself alter this mental attitude. A large part of the board will be German; the general manager will be German; and his responsible officials will be the same men who have inspired and carried out the railway policy of the past. We think it therefore essential that a railway commissioner should be appointed by and on behalf of the Allies to supervise and, if it should hereafter become necessary, to control in their interest the German management. We will, therefore, in concluding this report, deal with what in our opinion should be the functions of the railway commissioner and the organization of his staff.

THE RAILWAY COMMISSIONER

The railway commissioner must be a person who is acknowledged in the railway world as being in the first rank. It must be left for him, when appointed, to say what assistance he needs, in order to be able to assume responsibility for control of all branches of railway management. It will be his duty also to consider how far it is necessary to have local representatives in any or each of the districts into which the German railway system may hereafter be divided.

We assume that when appointed he will produce to the board an outline of the organization and the staff that he regards as necessary, and it will be for the board to approve his scheme. He must have the right to receive, of course, all reports, statistical and financial returns, proposals for extra-routine expenditure, whether on capital or revenue account, for changes in tariffs or for the concession of exceptional rates and the like, when they are of such importance as would normally require the sanction of the general manager. He must also have the right to call for any further reports, returns, and statistics, as he may think necessary, in order to enable him to form an independent judgment.

Being in possession of full and up-to-date information as to everything that is happening or is proposed, his first duty will be to decide whether to approve or disapprove. If he disapproves, or even hesitates to approve, he will discuss the matter with the general manager. He may be of opinion that things are going wrong, or that a course of action inconsistent with the railways being able to earn a financial return is likely to be adopted. In such a case it will be his duty, if he fails to induce the general manager to

modify his policy, to bring the matter to the attention of the board in order that they may be in a position to take such action as they think fit. It is to be hoped that, if the right man is appointed to the post, he will be able to work in entire harmony with the general manager; and that the general manager, so far from resenting his interference, will welcome his support in putting a stop on the one hand to unnecessary expenditure, and in enforcing on the other hand the establishment and the maintenance of tariffs proper and adequate to secure for the railways as much net revenue as can reasonably be obtained without unduly hampering the trade of the country.

A second function of the commissioner will naturally be to make for the foreign members of the board reports on any points which they may regard as of serious importance. We may suggest the reasonableness of the greatly reduced German export tariffs as a sample of this class of question. It is clear that the Allied Nations have a right to claim that the net revenue of the German railways should not be reduced in order to give to German manufactures an unreasonable advantage in overseas markets.

It does not seem necessary to discuss in detail what would be the position of the commissioner if the German railways failed to yield the net revenue fixed as reasonable for reparation purposes. We assume that, broadly speaking, in this case the commissioner general will take over the functions of the general manager, and that, in lieu of discussing with the general manager or recommending to the board of directors, he would be empowered to issue positive orders, whether for stopping expenditure which he considered unjustifiable or for an increase which he considered reasonable in existing tariffs. It is evident that it would be necessary to require the German Government to agree in advance that, if payment on the agreed scale failed to be reached or even if there was serious danger that this failure would occur in the immediate future, the commissioner, as the representative of the Allies, should be entitled to enter into full control.

W. M. Acworth.
G. Leverve.

ANNEX NO. 4 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

Concession of the Working of the Railways to a Company

CONCESSION OF THE WORKING OF THE RAILWAYS

The working of the Germany railways shall be legally transferred to a company by a fixed date. The law will ratify the contract to be entered into between the German Government and the company to which the concession is made. The contract will provide that no change can be made in the conditions of the concession without the consent of the company and the trustee for the bondholders referred to below.

The law will further provide that the company shall have a monopoly of all railway extension in Germany.

The charter of the company will be annexed to and approved by this law. Before being submitted to the German Parliament the law will have to be approved by the Reparation Commission.

The conditions under which the working of the German railway system will be transferred to the company by this law shall be as set forth below.

The company will be of German nationality.

The company shall be responsible for the working, upkeep, and normal development of the railways, including rolling stock and equipment, and will be entitled, subject to the provisions hereinafter contained as to the powers of the German Government and the railway commissioner, to conduct its business in such manner as the company may think proper.

The German Government shall have such control over the tariffs and service of the railways as may be necessary to prevent discrimination and to protect the public, but such control shall never be exercised so as to impair the ability of the railroad company to earn a fair and reasonable return on its capital value, including adequate provision for its bonds and preferred shares, a return on its ordinary shares, and adequate reserves for all purposes including amortization of capital. The plan to accomplish the foregoing shall be worked out by the organization committee hereinafter referred to.

The company shall as from the commencement of the concession be entitled to charge the tariffs then in force. Thereafter the company shall be entitled to vary the tariffs or any of them from time to time, subject to the provisions of articles 365 and 378 of the treaty of Versailles.

It shall be the duty of the organization committee to settle the manner in which, subject always to the preceding provision, the control of the German Government over the service and the tariffs shall be exercised.

The term of the concession shall be at least of sufficient length to allow of the amortization of the bonds according to the provisions hereinafter contained. On the expiration of the concession, the company shall return to the German Government free from all charge, the whole of the railway undertaking, including all rolling stock and equipment, in thoroughly good and complete working order.

As the consent of the German States is necessary under the German law of 1920 for any alienation of or charge upon the German railways, the German Gov-

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ernment shall make in this respect all necessary arrangements with the States concerned. These arrangements shall be ratified by the law granting the concession.

This law shall confer upon the company the right to mortgage any property belonging to the railways.

It shall also contain an undertaking that neither the Reich nor the States nor any public authority shall impose on the railway company any new direct tax, whether upon receipts either gross or net, or upon movable or immovable property or in respect of the employees of the company or otherwise howsoever.

THE RAILWAY COMPANY

ARTICLE I.—Capital of the company

The total capital which will be created, added to the first mortgage bonds for 11 milliard marks gold referred to below, will correspond to the capital cost of the German railway system (26 milliard marks gold).

Preference shares will be created to the amount of 2 milliard gold marks, bearing a fixed rate of dividend and entitled to participation in the profits of the railways, after payment of the annual payments mentioned below. This dividend and this participation, as also the terms on which the German Government may pay off or repurchase these shares, will be fixed by agreement between the German Government and the organization committee described below.

These preference shares will be sold by the company for the profit of the German Government and of the company itself, one-fourth of the sum thus obtained will be the property of the German Government and three-fourths the property of the company. The sales of shares will be made under such conditions that the German Government will receive the whole sum due to it within two years. If the German Government so requires, the proceeds of the first sale of shares may be reserved for its use.

The balance of the capital cost of the German railway system (viz, 13 milliard gold marks) will be represented by ordinary shares, to be owned by the German Government and to be kept or sold by it as it prefers.

ARTICLE II.—Administration and management

The company will be administered by a board of directors of at least 18 members, who shall all be business men of experience or railway experts. Half of these will be appointed by the German Government and half by the trustee referred to below.

As soon as preference shares are issued to the public, the holders of these shares shall be entitled to elect four members of the board in place of four members appointed by the German Government.

The organization committee will also fix the duration of the terms of office of the directors of each class.

Of the nine members of the board of directors appointed by the trustee, five may be German nationals.

The chairman of the board will be elected for one year by a three-fourths majority of the members of the board and will be eligible for reelection as long as he possesses the necessary qualifications.

As soon as the preference shareholders shall elect directors, the chairman shall be chosen from the directors so elected.

He will in addition to his vote as a member of the board, have a second or casting vote.

The general manager of the company shall be of German nationality.

He will not be eligible for a seat on the board. He will be appointed by a three-fourth majority vote of the board.

He may be removed by the same majority. If, however, his removal is requested by the commissioner (provided for in Article III below) on account of violation of the charter of the company or of failure to comply with the instructions of the board of directors, he may be removed by a simple majority vote of the board.

Whatever decisions may be taken with regard to the operation of the railways, it must be understood that any breaking up of the working of the system into local divisions must not in any event affect the financial and tariff unity of the undertaking.

ARTICLE III.—Commissioner

The railway commissioner shall be a person accepted in the railway world as being in the front rank.

He shall be appointed by a majority vote of the foreign members of the board of directors.

He shall not be a member of the board.

He will have an adequate staff of experts in railway matters and in accountancy.

The commissioner will have a general right of inspection over the whole railway system and all the railway installations and subdivisions, either in person by deputy.

He shall also be entitled to receive all reports, statistical and financial returns, proposals for extraroutine expenditure whether on "capital" or "revenue" account, for changes in tariffs or for the concession of exceptional rates, and the like, which are of such a nature as would normally require the sanction of the general manager.

The railway commissioner will further be entitled to call for any other reports, returns, or statistics which he may consider necessary in order to enable him to form an independent opinion. All this information shall be furnished promptly, fully, and accurately at his request. If any measure in connection with construction, operation, or tariffs tends substantially to menace the rights or interests of the bondholders or of the Reparation Commission, as defined below, and

in particular to endanger the payment at the due dates, referred to in Article V below, he shall discuss the question with the general manager. If he can not persuade the latter to change his line of conduct, he must lay the question before the managing board, in order that it may take any measures it may deem necessary.

If the service of the bonds hereinafter mentioned is in jeopardy, the commissioner shall have regard to the provisions for the security of the bondholders hereinafter contained.

The expenses of the railway commissioner and his staff shall be an operating charge upon the receipts of the railways.

ARTICLE IV.—Bonds

The company shall forthwith, after its creation, issue without payment and for the purpose of reparation, to a trustee appointed by the Reparation Commission, first mortgage bonds to a nominal amount of 11 milliard gold marks carrying interest at 3 per cent per annum for the first financial year of the company, at 4 per cent plus a bonus of 25,000,000 for the second, 5 per cent for the third and subsequent years, and to be amortized by a sinking fund as hereinafter provided.

Payment of these bonds shall be guaranteed by the German Government and they shall be signed both on behalf of the company and by the finance minister acting on behalf of the German Government.

These bonds shall be secured by a first registered mortgage or charge on the corpus and revenues of all immovable property used by or belonging to the company present or future, and by a first floating charge on all its fixed and movable plant, rolling stock and all installations. The company shall be authorized by the concession to create this mortgage and charge, the duration of which shall not be limited to the period of the concession.

This mortgage and this first floating charge shall be expressed to be in favor of the trustee to be appointed by the Reparation Commission, provided always that the company and the German Government shall be entitled at any time, with the consent of the trustee, to sell or dispose of any particular property used by the railway company which may be considered to be no longer needed by the latter, upon such terms as to the application of the proceeds of the sale as may be agreed upon by the trustee.

The service of the bonds shall be assured by the following payments which shall be made to the trustee from the gross receipts of the company and before the ascertainment of any net profits; that is to say:

	Gold marks
For the first financial year of the company	350, 000, 000
For the second financial year	465, 000, 000
For the third financial year	550, 000, 000
For the fourth and subsequent financial years	660, 000, 000

If in any year the German railways fail to realize receipts sufficient to allow of the payments above mentioned (it being understood that the company may draw upon whatever reserves may be available for this purpose until such reserves are exhausted), the railway commissioner shall have the right to take such action as the trustee for the bondholders may consider is necessary to protect the rights of the bondholders, including the right to operate, to lease, or to sell all or any of the railways and property subject to the mortgage or charge of the bonds.

From and after the end of the fourth year from the date of the formation of the company, the bonds shall be amortized, under the conditions to be determined by the trustee with the approval of the Reparation Commission, by the application in each year of such part of the annual payments above mentioned as shall not be required for the interest on the bonds.

The German Government and the company shall also be entitled at any time to pay to the trustee sums additional to the above payments with the authorization of the Reparation Commission which shall ascertain from the transfer committee that the transfer of these additional funds does not disturb the transfer of the annual payments. Any sums so paid shall be applied first to the discharge of any interest in arrear and next upon six months' public notice in redeeming at par all or any part of the bonds for the time being outstanding.

The Reparation Commission shall be entitled, with a view to the mobilization of the bonds, to divide the same in any manner which it may think expedient into different classes with different rights—as to priority of charge, rate of interest, repayment of capital, and otherwise—against the annual payments to be made by the company, and to issue to the public, upon such terms and generally in such manner as the commission may think proper, bonds, debentures, debenture stock, certificates of indebtedness or other securities of any nature secured upon the whole or any part of the bonds.

The company shall not be able to issue other bonds than those referred to above without the authorization of a three-fourths majority of the members of the board, of which majority two must be foreigners.

All payments of interest and capital in respect of the bonds shall be free from all German taxation, except in so far as the persons entitled thereto may be liable under German law to the payment of German direct taxation.

Subject as herein provided, the form of the said bonds and all provisions as to the enforcement and repayment thereof, including drawings and giving time for payment, shall be settled by the trustee with the approval of the Reparation Commission.

ARTICLE V.—Enforcement of Government guarantees

If the company shall at any time make default in meeting the service of the bonds, the trustee may in

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lieu of or in addition to the measures mentioned in the last preceding article present the accrued coupons or any bonds due for repayment to the commissioner of controlled revenues who shall pay them at their face value out of the portion of the receipts of the assigned revenues falling to the share of the German Government. The coupons and bonds so paid shall be included at their face value in the repayments made by the commissioner of controlled revenues to the German Government. The amounts so paid may only be repaid by the company to the Government after the necessary provision has been made for the current and the next coupons on the bonds and for the fixed dividend for the current year on the preference shares.

ARTICLE VI.—Transportation tax

The company shall on behalf of the Government pay to the Reparation Commission the proceeds of the transportation tax as at present levied, i. e., a tax of 7 per cent on the gross receipts from all freight traffic other than coal, and a tax of 10 per cent to 16 per cent, according to class, on the gross receipts from all passenger traffic. This payment shall be made during the first and each of the following years of the concession and until the conclusion of any extension, even if in the course of the concession the whole of the bonds have been paid off.

The rate of the transportation tax shall not be reduced during the whole of the concession. The proceeds of the tax may be employed by the trustee to secure the issue of a special series of bonds for 3 milliard gold mark, or thereabouts.

ARTICLE VII.—Financial arrangements

The bank account shall be kept at the new bank. Payments by the company herein before prescribed shall be paid to the account of the railway commissioner. The latter shall transfer these sums to the credit of the agent for reparation payments.

ARTICLE VIII.—Anticipatory redemption of bonds

If all the first mortgage bonds should be redeemed before the expiration of the term of the concession by special subsidy by the German Government to the company, the Government shall be entitled to require that the functions of the railway commissioner hereinbefore mentioned shall come to an end and that the foreign directors shall be replaced by German directors. In default of other arrangements the transportation tax shall continue to be paid to the Reparation Commission.

The German Government shall in that case also have the right to purchase or repurchase the preference shares at par, plus dividend and arrears of dividend if accrued.

ARTICLE IX.—Organization committee

A temporary committee with the title of the "Organization committee of the German railway company" shall be constituted in order to work out, subject to the foregoing provisions, the details necessary for the creation of the German railway company and the execution of this plan. The committee shall consist of two delegates appointed by the German minister of railways, the railway specialists, Sir William Acworth and M. Leverve, who are familiar with the discussions which have led to the adoption of this scheme, or a nominee or nominees to be appointed by them jointly together with a fifth member of neutral nationality to be chosen by the four thus appointed or, in default of such choice, to be appointed by the Reparation Commission.

This organization committee will come to an end as soon as may be after the railway company has been constituted, the railway commissioner appointed and this plan has been put into operation. The expense of the committee and of their staff shall be an operating charge upon the receipts of the German railways.

ARTICLE X.—Arbitration

The law to be enacted by the German Parliament shall provide that so long as the functions of the railway commissioner hereinbefore mentioned shall not have come to an end, if any dispute or difference should arise between the Reparation Commission or any government represented thereon, on the one side, and the company and the German Government, or either of them, on the other side, or between the company and the German Government, as to the interpretation of any provision of the said law, or of the charter of the company, or of this plan, or as to anything to be done under any of them respectively, whether in respect of the capital and obligations of the company or of its external or internal management, or otherwise howsoever, the same shall be referred to the decision of an arbitrator who, if the German Government so desires, shall be of neutral nationality to be nominated by the president for the time being of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the decision of the arbitrator so appointed shall be final.

ANNEX NO. 5 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

Plan for Industrial Debentures

THE AMOUNT AND FORM

I. The German Government shall provide bonds or debentures of industrial concerns to a total nominal value of 5 milliards of gold marks, bearing 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent for sinking fund per annum. These bonds shall be the individual obligations of the several concerns and shall be secured as to principal, interest, and sinking fund payments by a first mortgage on the plant and property of the respective concerns making them.

The term "industrial concerns" shall include not only manufacturing concerns but navigation, mining, and any other similar concerns which the organization committee may indicate.

DELIVERY TO TRUSTEE

II. The mortgage bonds or debentures above provided for, with suitable coupons covering the interest payments, shall be delivered by the German Government to the trustee to be appointed by the Reparation Commission, who will hold them, collect the coupons thereon, paying the proceeds into the account of the agent for reparation payments, or dispose of them in whole or in part from time to time under the orders of the Reparation Commission. The debtor may make proposals to the trustee for their immediate or gradual redemption, and the committee recommends that the trustee be empowered to give preference to such proposals of redemption, and especially those of which the redemption would be effected by the use of foreign currencies, before offering such bonds in the open market or otherwise. In the event that no proposals of a satisfactory plan of redemption are made to the trustee by any individual maker of the bonds within six months after such bonds shall have been delivered to him by the German Government, then the trustee, in his discretion, but with due regard to the protection of the credit of the debtor, shall be free to dispose of the same in such manner and on such terms as the Reparation Commission may authorize.

GUARANTY BY GERMAN GOVERNMENT

III. The German Government shall guarantee the principal, interest, and sinking fund payments on such bonds; in consequence, in case of default the matured coupons can be presented to the commissioner of controlled revenues, who shall purchase them at their nominal value, by means of the funds under his control which are destined to be paid over to the German Government. The commissioner will include the coupons for their nominal value in the "reversements" to the German Government, which will have recourse against the defaulting debtor.

The German Government might, by means of subsidies, encourage the repurchase of the bonds by the mortgagors and thus free itself from its guaranty.

TAX-EXEMPTION PROVISION

IV. The said bonds and mortgages until redeemed shall be exempt from taxation in Germany, unless they shall be held by German nationals, in which case they shall be taxed like other similar bonds and mortgages so held by German nationals and without discrimination.

TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

V. A temporary organization committee shall be formed for the purpose of taking all necessary measures within the scope of the foregoing plan and for fixing the details of organization. This committee shall include a representative of the German Government, a representative of industry, two members appointed by the Reparation Commission and a fifth member of neutral nationality to be chosen by the four thus appointed, or in default of such choice to be appointed by the Reparation Commission.

POWERS OF THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

VI. (*a*) The organization committee shall have all powers to work out the details of the plan in such form as may be fair alike to the German Government, to the industrial concerns and to the Reparation Commission, bearing in mind that it is the purpose and intent of the plan to insure for reparations account the payment of the 5 milliards of gold marks with interest thereon at 5 per cent per annum and a sinking fund of not less than 1 per cent thereon, which in and of itself will determine the maturity of the bonds.

(*b*) The organization committee shall have the power to determine the form and character of the mortgages, and, in case the concerns are too small to make individual mortgage issues practical and desirable, the committee shall have the power to devise some method of handling them, or may waive them altogether, provided the total sum of 5 milliards is maintained.

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ANNEX NO. 6 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

The Transfer of Reparation Payments from German Currency into Foreign Currency and the Use of Balances not Transferred

TRANSFER COMMITTEE

I. The plan provides that all payments for the account of reparations, however derived, are to be first made in the form of deposits in the bank, provided for in the plan, to the credit of "The agent for reparation payments." The withdrawals from this deposit shall be made by the agent for reparation payments only, under the direction of a committee composed of five members known as "the transfer committee."

COMPOSITION AND SELECTION OF MEMBERS

II. The transfer committee shall be composed of six members; the agent for reparation payments shall be a member and the chairman; the other five members shall be persons qualified to deal with foreign-exchange questions. They shall consist of an American member, a French member, an English member, an Italian member, and a Belgian member. Each of them shall be appointed by the Reparation Commission, after the member of the general board of the bank of the same nationality has been consulted.

COOPERATION OF THE BANK

III. The committee will be in contact with the president and the commissioner of the bank.

POWERS OF THE COMMITTEE

IV. The committee shall have power, and it shall be its duty: (*a*) To apply such bank balances for payments for deliveries in kind and payments under the reparation recovery act, in accordance with the program established periodically by the Reparation Commission, after consultation with the transfer committee as to the character and amount of such deliveries.

(*b*) To convert these bank balances into foreign currencies from time to time and after conversion to remit them in accordance with the instructions of the Reparation Commission.

Both the foregoing powers (*a*) and (*b*) to be exercised to the extent to which, in the judgment of the committee, the foreign exchange market will permit, without threatening the stability of the German currency.

(*c*) To invest from time to time in bonds or other loans in Germany such amounts as the committee may deem wise. The committee shall proceed to make these investments as soon as the amount of the credits exceeds the sum which the bank will keep on deposit. On the other hand, the committee may sell the bonds which it has acquired or liquidate the loans which it has granted whenever in its opinion the sums may be converted into foreign exchange, or the bank can accept additional deposits.

RESTRICTION ON PURCHASE BY THE CREDITORS

V. The goods supplied by Germany to the creditor countries under paragraph IV (*a*) above and paid for by the bank as above provided shall be for the sole use of the countries receiving them for their internal requirements, including the requirements of their colonies and dependencies. The goods so delivered shall not be exported from the country receiving them, except by agreement between the committee acting unanimously and the German Government.

VI. In addition to its powers under paragraph IV, the committee may, on the instructions of the Reparation Commission and at the request of the creditor states, by debiting their accounts, transfer marks to private individuals for the purpose of making purchases in Germany, such reinvestment not to be of a temporary character, and such property being of classes contained in a schedule agreed to between the committee and the German Government and modified from time to time by similar agreement. In arriving at such agreement the German Government shall be required to have due regard to the necessity for making maximum payments to its creditors, but it shall also be entitled to have regard to maintaining its control of its own internal economy.

COOPERATION BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND THE BANK

VII. The German Government and the bank shall undertake to facilitate in every reasonable way within their power the work of the committee in making transfers of funds, including such steps as will aid in the control of foreign exchange. When the committee is of the opinion that the bank's discount rate is not in relation to the necessity of making important transfers, it shall inform the president of the bank.

ATTEMPTS TO DEFEAT TRANSFER

VIII. In the event of concerted financial maneuvers either by the Government or by any group, for the purpose of preventing such transfers, the committee may take such action as may be necessary to defeat such maneuvers; and in such circumstances it may suspend the operation of paragraph X, may accumulate the funds or employ them in the purchase of any kind of property in Germany.

TAX-EXEMPTION PROVISION

IX. The German Government shall not tax the deposits in the bank or goods purchased for the creditor countries pending removal, nor any securities or loans representing investment of funds pending transfer, nor any property purchased under the provisions of the paragraph next preceding. This exemption does not apply to property purchased under paragraph VI, but on the other hand, there should be no tax discrimination against such property.

PROVISIONS FOR LIMITATION OF ACCUMULATION

X. (*a*) When the accumulation of funds not transferable under the provisions of subdivisions (*b*) and (*c*) of paragraph IV shall have reached the sum of 5 milliard gold marks (whether represented by bank deposits or loans), the payment for treaty charges provided for shall be reduced to such an amount as will cover the transfers and payments provided for under subdivision (*b*) and (*c*) of paragraph IV without additional accumulation. Such partial suspense of Germany's obligations shall be operative only during the period that the conditions of transfer necessitate, and the standards of payment laid down in the plan shall be resumed at any time when they can operate without the limits of accumulation herein laid down being exceeded.

(*b*) The committee shall have power to suspend accumulation before reaching 5 milliard gold marks, if two-thirds of its members are of the opinion that such accumulation is a menace to the fiscal or economic situation in Germany or to the interests of the creditor countries.

(*c*) The committee shall, by a two-third majority, have power to waive the limit accumulations under the conditions provided for in paragraph VIII.

ANNEX NO. 7 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

NOTE ON THE CURRENCIES CIRCULATING IN GERMANY IN JANUARY, 1924[6]

Chapter I.—Paper-Mark Currency

A. LEGAL TENDER

1. *Reichsmarks.*—Reichmarks are issued by the Reichsbank under a privilege granted to it by the banking law of March 14, 1875. In 1913 the circulation of paper marks amounted to 2.1 milliard; on January 31, 1924, it had reached the figure of 483.7 trillion (English) paper marks, representing 483.7 million gold marks at the rate of 1 gold mark=1 billion paper marks.

2. *Notes of private banks.*—Banks, which at the time of the promulgation of the law of March 14, 1875, had the right to issue notes, have retained this privilege. The number of these banks, which was originally 32, has decreased progressively; at the present time there are only four private banks, namely: Bayerische Banken, Sächsiche Bank, Badische Bank, Wurtembergische Notenbank.

The total circulation of notes issued by these four institutions amounted in 1913 to 140,000,000 gold marks. At the end of January, 1924, it represented about 100,000 gold marks.

3. *Reichskassenscheine.*—These currency notes were issued at the time of the formation of the Reichsbank (1875) in order to make it possible to place the fiduciary circulation on a sound basis by means of the withdrawal of the State notes then in circulation. The issue was originally fixed at 120,000,000 gold marks, corresponding exactly to the war treasure (in gold) deposited at Spandau. The circulation, which reached the figure of 320,000,000 in 1920, progressively decreased until August, 1923, when it still amounted to 200,000,000 gold marks. At that date the Reichskassenscheine in circulation were completely withdrawn.

4. *Darlehenskassenscheine.*—(Bonds issued by the Darlehenskassen during the war.) The issue reached its maximum figure in October, 1922 (14 milliard paper marks); these bonds ceased to figure in the statements as from August, 1923, when the circulation amounted to only 11 milliard paper marks, corresponding to less than 10,000 gold marks.

B. AUXILIARY INSTRUMENTS OF PAYMENT

1. *Issue of secured notgeld.*—The issue of notgeld (emergency currency) was regulated by the law of July 17, 1922. This currency was issued with a view to supplementing that issued by the Reich, the Reichsbank, and the private banks of issue, the total value of which in circulation was constantly decreasing as a result of the fall of the mark. The previous authorization of the minister of finance was necessary. The notgeld was to be secured by a deposit in fixed values, earmarked in favor of the Reich Minister of Finance, and corresponding to the amount placed in circulation, less the actual or estimated expenses of issue. This asset was to remain at the Reichskreditanstalt at Berlin, which would allow interest at 2 per cent less than the rate of discount of the Reichsbank. The cover for the notgeld might also consist of three months treasury bonds; but in this case it was the Reichsbank which would issue the notgeld and accept the deposit in treasury bonds offered as guarantee.

Authorization to issue notgeld was granted to public and private organizations for a total figure which at the end of 1923 amounted to 7.6 trillion paper marks, corresponding to 7.6 million gold marks. The circulation of this notgeld amounted on December 31, 1923, to 3.4 trillion paper marks; that is, 3.4 million gold marks. An endeavor has since been made to withdraw the notgeld from circulation; a decree of January 2, 1924, prescribed the complete withdrawal in certain unoccupied territories. On January 31, 1924, the circulation amounted to 1.4 trillion paper marks, or 1.4 million gold marks.

[6] In the English text of this document the English system of numeration is followed throughout.

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2. *Issue of unsecured notgeld.*—Numerous emergency currencies have been issued without authorization from the German Government, and without the formation of a guarantee deposit, both by public and private organizations and even by private individuals.

The amount of this notgeld issued without authorization or guarantee and in circulation at the end of January, 1924, is estimated by the German Government as follows:

	Gold marks
In unoccupied territory	27, 600, 000
In occupied territory	132, 000, 000

3. *Railway notgeld.*—In order to cover the working deficit, the Reich railways issued 114 trillion paper marks during 1922 and 1923. This currency was secured by a Reich deposit at the Reichsbank of 90,000,000 rentenmarks. At the end of January, 1924, 56,000,000 were still in circulation.

Chapter II.—Instruments of Payment in Gold or at a Fixed Value

1. *Rentenmark.*—The rentenbank was created by the decree of October 15, 1923. The method of creation and operation is known.

The issue of notes in rentenmarks began on November 15, 1923.

According to the balance sheet of the rentenbank on January 31, 1923, the amount issued at that date was 1,374,000,000 rentenmarks.

The introduction of the rentenmark has stopped the issue of notgeld of fixed value.

2. *Dollar treasury bonds (Dollarschatzanweisungen).*—The law of March 2, 1923, authorized the issue of dollar treasury bonds for a total amount of $50,000,000 (210,000,000 gold marks). These bonds, issued in denominations of from $5 to $100, do not bear interest, but are redeemable in gold at 120 per cent on April 15, 1926.

These treasury bonds have been fully subscribed. They have been used in Germany as a means of payment.

3. *Gold loan (Wertbeständige Anleihe).*—This loan authorized by the law of August 14, 1923, is for a total sum of 500,000,000 gold marks, which has been fully subscribed. The bonds are expressed in dollars. The small denominations of from one-tenth to $5 do not bear interest and are redeemable at 170 per cent on September 2, 1935. Bonds for $10 or more bear 6 per cent interest and are redeemable at par on the same date. These large denominations were issued first for a total sum of 164,000,000 gold marks. Subsequent issues of large denominations raised this figure to 204,000,000 gold marks.

In October, 1923, the monetary situation having become intolerable on account of the fall of the paper mark, and wage earners having insisted upon being paid in currency of fixed value, the Reich decided (the preparations for the issue of the rentenmark not being sufficiently advanced) to issue small denominations of the gold loan.

These small denominations were issued up to a total amount of 296,000,000 gold marks, 4,000,000 of which were exchanged against rentenmarks in January, 1924, in accordance with the privilege granted to the holders in this respect.

As will be seen later, 10,000,000 of this gold loan have been assigned as partial security for the notgeld of a fixed value issued by the railways.

At the end of January, 1924, therefore, the circulation was as follows:

	Gold marks
Large notes	194, 000, 000
Small notes	292, 000, 000
Total	486, 000, 000

4. *Notgeld secured by 6 per cent treasury bonds (6 per cent Schatzanweisungen).*—Since the small gold loan certificates proved insufficient for the monetary circulation, the Provinces, towns, chambers of commerce, and the larger industrial undertakings were given authority to create emergency currency on a gold mark basis, to be covered by gold loan certificates of large denominations. Owing to the scarcity of the latter, the authorities issuing notgeld were given permission to provide cover in the form of 6 per cent treasury bonds expressed in dollars and gold marks, specially created for this purpose by the decree of October 20, 1923. These bonds fall due on December 1, 1932, and are redeemable at par in German currency on a gold basis.

The total amount of notgeld thus secured (exclusive of the notgeld issued by the railways and to which we will refer later) stood at 110,000,000 gold marks on January 31, 1924.

This notgeld is to be gradually withdrawn from circulation against redemption in loan bonds or German currency. Redemption was to begin on January 15, 1924, and it is hoped that the full amount will have been called in not later than April 1, 1924.

5. *Treasury bonds and interim bonds issued by the States.*—Certain States issued fixed value loans, some of the certificates for which were of such small denominations that they still serve as instruments of payment. The total value of these bonds amounts to about 50,000,000 gold marks. Attempts are being made to recall these small denominations by converting them into larger denominations.

6. *Certificates issued by the banks of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein.*—Two banks, the Hamburger Bank von 1923 A. G. and the Schleswig-Holsteinische Goldgirobank A. G. were authorized by the Reich Minister of Finance to deliver, in exchange for currencies, "discount certificates" (Verrechnungsscheine), which still serve as instruments of payment. It is the intention of the German Government to dispense with these

gold certificates as soon as a gold currency has been reinstated. The Hamburger Bank issued certificates to the amount of 25,000,000 gold marks. No particulars are available regarding the amount issued by the Schleswig-Holsteinische Goldgirobank, but the figure is inconsiderable.

7. *Notgeld issued by the railways.*—In order to cover their deficit, the German railways were authorized to issue, in addition to the paper mark notgeld referred to above, notgeld having stable value to the amount of 200,000,000 gold marks—10,000,000 of this issue were secured by gold loan bonds, as explained above, the remaining 190,000,000 being secured by 6 per cent treasury bonds, as already stated. The notgeld issued by the railways amounted to 131,900,000 on January 31, 1924. This emergency currency is to be withdrawn from circulation by means of a loan to be issued later by the railways.

Table of Instruments of Payment in Circulation in Germany in January, 1924

	Approximate value in millions of gold marks[7]	
I. Instruments of payment expressed in paper marks:		
Reichsbank notes (as per return dated 31/1/24)	483. 7	
Notes of the four private banks of issue	0. 1	
Notgeld issued by the railways and secured by a deposit of 90,000,000 rentenmarks at the Reichsbank	56. 0	
Notgeld issued against the deposit of security in currencies	1. 4	
Notgeld issued without cover—		
In occupied territory	132. 0	
In unoccupied territory	27. 6	
Total		700. 8
II. Instruments of payment expressed in gold or having fixed value:		
Rentenmarks (as per rentenbank return of 31/1/24)	1, 374. 0	
Dollar treasury bonds (Dollarschatzanweisungen, law of March 2, 1923)	210. 0	
Gold loan (Wertbeständige Anleihe, law of August 14, 1923)	486. 0	
Notgeld secured by 6 per cent treasury bonds (6 per cent Schatzanweisungen, law of October 20, 1923)	110. 0	
Treasury bonds and interim bonds issued by the States	50. 0	
Certificates issued by the banks of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein (Verrechnungsscheine)	35. 0	
Notgeld issued by the railways and secured by 6 per cent treasury bonds (10,000,000 of which are secured by gold loan)	131. 9	
Total		2, 396. 9
III. Denominational currency in rentenpfennigs		158. 0
Grand total		3, 255. 7

[7] Calculated on the basis of 1 gold mark = 1 billion paper marks.

Note.—This total does not include the foreign currencies at present in Germany, which, according to the estimate made by the Second Committee of Experts, would amount to 1,200,000,000 gold marks, a figure which has been confirmed by a German authoritative source.

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ANNEX NO. 8 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

Provisional Survey of the Budget for 1924[1]

I. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE REICH

A. Ordinary Budget

Revenue	In millions of— Gold marks	Pounds	Dollars
1. Taxes on property, traffic, trade and transfer (direct taxes)	4,004	200.2	1,001.0
2. Custom and excise duties (indirect taxes)	1,080	54.0	270.0
3. Nontax revenues from public services	60	3.0	15.0
Total of ordinary revenues	5,144	257.2	1,286.0

Expenditure	In millions of— Gold marks	Pounds	Dollars
1. Interest on, and amortis. of debt of Empire	156	7.8	39.0
2. Provision for invalids, war pensions, etc.	810	40.5	202.5
3. Army and Navy	450	22.5	112.5
4. Police	208	10.4	52.0
5. Industrial and cultural purposes	28	1.4	7.0
6. Unemployment benefit	500	25.0	125.0
7. Social and other expenditure	360	18.0	90.0
8. Finance and taxation departments	380	19.0	95.0
9. General administrative expenses other than the above	250	12.5	62.5
10. Assignments to the States and communes	1,800	90.0	450.0
Total of ordinary expenditure	4,942	247.1	1,235.5

B. Extraordinary Budget

1. Revenue from the mint	90	4.5	22.5
2. Other revenues	40	2.0	10.0
Total of extraordinary revenues	130	6.5	32.5
Total of A and B	5,274	263.7	1,318.5

1. For war damages and removal of effects of the war	6	0.3	1.5
2. Public buildings	44	2.2	11.0
3. Settlement of war expenditure	20	1.0	5.0
4. Settlement of expenditure for the Ruhr	60	3.0	15.0
Total of extraordinary expenditure	130	6.5	32.5
Total of A and B	5,072	253.6	1,268.0

II. EXECUTION OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

1. Cash reparation payments (Discharge of debt due to the Reichsbank for redemption of an exchequer bill given to Belgium.)	52	2.6	13.0
2. Clearing office payments	6	0.3	1.5
3. Cost of armies of occupation	360	18.0	90.0
4. Rhineland commission	34	1.7	8.5
5. Other interallied commissions including reparation commission	18	0.9	4.5
6. Restitution, substitutions, and dismantlement costs	10	0.5	2.5
7. Home expenditure incurred by the carrying out of the treaty of Versailles	160	8.0	40.0
Total of expenditure	640	32.0	160.0

BALANCE

I. General administration of the Reich	5,072	253.6	1,268.0
II. Execution of the treaty of Versailles	640	32.0	160.0
Total of expenditure	5,712	285.6	1,428.0
Revenues	5,274	263.7	1,318.5
Deficit	438	21.9	109.5

[1] The figures of this table can only serve as a preliminary estimate and are given with all reserve. This estimate of the revenues assumes complete restoration of economic unity between occupied and unoccupied territory, renewed administrative and fiscal supremacy in occupied territory on the part of the Reich and the component States, that the taxes to be levied according to the general laws of the Reich and the States are once more directed into their treasuries.

ANNEX NO. 9 TO THE REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

COMPARATIVE POSITION OF DIFFERENT INCOMES DRAWN FROM DIVIDENDS IN THE YEARS 1920–21, 1923–24, AND 1924-25

Question Submitted to the German Government by the First Committee of Experts

Assume four men with incomes in gold marks: 15,000, 100,000, 500,000, 1,000,000; (*a*) wholly from dividends of German industrial companies; (*b*) one-half from German and one-half from foreign companies. What amount of income tax (or its substitutes) plus capital tax will be payable on the scales for 1920–21, 1923–24, 1924–25, respectively?

Reply of the German Government

For the following reasons it is impossible to make reliable estimates of the kind desired:

1. Because the fiscal burden for 1920–21 can not be calculated owing to the influence of the depreciation of the currency.

2. Because no assessment exists for 1923 based on sliding scale rates for that year; indeed for 1923 prepayments and payments of balance were collected which were regularly calculated on a coefficient of the 1922 taxes and were therefore not entirely immune from the influence of the depreciation of the currency.

3. Because no income tax levied on a sliding scale exists so far for 1924; the prepayments for 1924 are collected more according to external standards; the actual income for 1924 will not be assessed until 1925, when it will be based upon a tariff which will be determined by law in the course of the year 1924.

Particulars concerning the form of the taxes will be found in the memorandum transmitted (see for 1920–21: English text, pages 81, 96; French text, pages 81, 97; for 1923–24: English text, pages 83–84, 96; French text, pages 84, 97). Reference should be made to the statement concerning the budget estimates of the wages tax and the prepayments on the income and corporation taxes for 1924 transmitted as V (*a*) II 1480, of February 16, 1924.

It should further be pointed out that income from dividends to the amount mentioned existed in Germany before the war to a limited extent only and is unlikely to be found after 1922, owing to economic developments during the period of depreciation of the currency.

As early as 1920, there were only six taxpayers in Germany who had an income from investments of from 3,000,000 to 10,000,000 paper marks, that is, from 200,000 to 667,000 gold marks and 66 with an income from investments of from 1,000,000 to 3,000,000 paper marks, that is, about 67,000 to 200,000 gold marks. From about the middle of 1922 income from investments had practically disappeared.

In view of the circumstances mentioned above, any estimates are attended with exceptional difficulties. An attempt is made below to employ available bases for valuation as required in the questionnaire.

The estimates given in the inclosed table showing the charge on incomes from dividends of 50,000, 100,000, 500,000, and 1,000,000 gold marks fulfill the conditions set forth in the questionnaire—

(*a*) That the whole income is drawn from dividends of German industrial companies.

(*b*) That half the income is drawn from German and half from foreign industrial companies.

It was necessary, in drawing up this table, to include in the calculation of the charges on income derived from dividends of German industrial companies, the taxes which had to be paid by the German companies if they distributed dividends to the amounts in question; it must not be forgotten that this tax is deducted before the distribution of the dividends. In converting the income in gold into paper marks and the taxes in paper marks into gold marks, the rate of the dollar has been used as the basis. This was possible because the income is indicated in gold, and therefore the calculation of the tax at the dollar rate affords a basis for comparison.

In making the calculation the following assumptions have been made:

I. *For 1920–21.*—The dividend has been paid to the taxpayer in 1920. The tax paid by the company has first been deducted from the profits which the company made in 1919 and on which it paid the tax in 1920. A further prior charge consists of the 10 per cent tax on revenue from capital which was deducted from the German dividends of the taxpayer at the time of their receipt in 1920 and which he paid in 1921 for his foreign dividends. From the remaining revenue, after deduction of the tax on revenue from capital, the taxpayer has paid his income tax for 1920 according to schedule. In estimating the actual fiscal burden, account has been taken of the fact that the income was obtained in the year 1920, that the corporation tax and the tax on revenue from capital were paid at the time of receiving the dividends, that is also in 1920, and that on the other hand the tax on revenue from capital in respect of foreign dividends and the income tax were not paid until 1921, and were therefore paid in a depreciated currency. On the basis of the average dollar rate, one gold mark was in 1920 equivalent to 15 paper marks and in 1921 to 24.9 paper marks.

Example 1.—Let us assume the income from dividends in German companies in 1920 to be 50,000 gold marks = 750,000 paper marks. Before distributing 750,000 paper marks, a company in 1920 had to pay an average tax of 127,500 paper marks. The 750,000 paper marks due to the person receiving dividend were, upon receipt, reduced by 10 per cent; that is, by

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75,000 paper marks. In 1920, therefore, 202,500 paper marks were paid in taxes = 13,500 gold marks. From the remaining 675,000 paper marks he had to pay the sum of 356,600 paper marks in income tax = 14,321 gold marks in 1921. The total charge was therefore 27,821 gold marks.

Example 2.—Let us assume the income from dividends in German companies in 1920 to be 25,000 gold marks = 375,000 paper marks and from foreign companies 25,000 gold marks, making a total of 50,000 gold marks = 750,000 paper marks. Before distributing 375,000 paper marks, German companies had, in 1920, to pay an average tax of 63,750 paper marks = 4,250 gold marks. The 375,000 paper marks in German dividends due to the recipient were, upon receipt, reduced by 10 per cent; that is, by 37,500 paper marks = 2,500 gold marks.

In 1920, therefore, 6,750 gold marks were paid in taxes. In 1921 the person drawing dividends had in the first place to pay a 10 per cent tax on revenue from capital on the 375,000 paper marks; that is, 37,500 paper marks = 1,506 gold marks. Furthermore, after deduction of the tax on revenue from capital he had to pay on the remaining 675,000 paper marks an income tax of 356,600 paper marks = 14,321 gold marks. In this case the 1921 taxes thus amount to 15,827 gold marks. Including the 1920 taxes the total charge is therefore 22,577 gold marks.

II. *For 1923–24.*—It is assumed that the dividends for 1923 have been distributed to the shareholders. In the total prior charge the tax on fortunes has not been taken into account. Only the corporation tax which under the law of March 20, 1923, on the depreciation of currency, was paid by the company for the business year 1922, which year was taken as the basis for the distribution of dividends, has been indicated as the prior charge. On the basis of the tariff the prior charge amounted to 45 per cent. Owing, however, to the great depreciation of currency in 1923, the gold value on the date of payment was insignificant. The prior charge has been indicated therefore at only 3 per cent, since the dollar rate at the time of the payment of the tax, that is on April 25, amounted to 29,200, namely about fifteen times the average dollar rate for 1922 (1,885.78). In many cases, owing to delay in closing the balance sheet and to the consequent delay in paying the taxes the prior charge was, as a result of the rapid depreciation of currency, much less than 3 per cent. In the case of the person receiving dividends, the tax indicated is that which he had to pay as increased prepayments and payment of balance for 1923.

Since there was no proper assessment for income tax on a sliding scale for 1923, the payments of balance for 1923 have been determined according to the taxpayer's capacity to pay on the basis of his gold mark payments in 1923, and in certain cases on the basis of a lavish expenditure.

If, on the basis of the material at its disposal the finance office can assume that the taxpayer had a gold mark income of 50,000 or 100,000 marks, a charge of at least 25 per cent may be allowed for.

If there are really cases of still higher incomes, a charge of 35 per cent on 500,000 gold marks and of 40 per cent on 1,000,000 gold marks will be paid. The total charge therefore amounts to 28 per cent in the case of incomes of 50,000 and 100,000 gold marks derived from dividends paid by German companies; if half of the income is derived from foreign companies half of the prior charge constituted by the corporation tax does not come into consideration and the total charge therefore amounts to 26½ per cent. For incomes of 500,000 gold marks the total charge represents 38 per cent or 36½ per cent, for 1,000,000 gold marks 43 per cent or 41½ per cent.

III. *For 1924–25.*—It is assumed that the dividend for 1924 is distributed to the shareholders. The prior charge indicated is the tax which the company has paid as corporation tax prepayments and payment of balance for 1923.

The example of 50,000 gold marks has been calculated as follows—1 gold mark was 449 paper marks, according to the average rates of exchange of the dollar for 1922; 50,000 gold marks therefore equal 22,450,000 paper marks:

First prepayment (under the currency depreciation law of March 20, 1923) 20 per cent = 4,490,000 paper marks, paid on May 25 (1 gold mark = 12,190 paper marks) = 369 gold marks.

Second prepayment (under the law for increases of July 9–August 11, 1923), 600×10 per cent = 1,347,000,000 paper marks, paid on August 25 (value of the gold mark = 1,120,000) = 1,203 gold marks.

Payment of balance on January 10, 1924 (under article I, section 2, of the second fiscal emergency decree), 0.60 gold mark on each 1,000 marks of the 1922 fiscal debt; the 1922 fiscal debt in respect of dividends amounted to 45 per cent of the sum of 22,450,000 paper marks indicated above; that is, to 10,102,500 paper marks. Consequently, the final payment of 0.6 per thousand in gold = 6,061 gold marks. The total prior charge, therefore, amounts to 7,633 gold marks.

In the case of the person receiving the dividend the only payments demanded are those to be paid as income-tax prepayments and as tax on fortunes in 1924. Ten per cent only is first deducted at the source from the revenue from investments as income-tax prepayment; this is, therefore, 5,000 gold marks on 50,000 gold marks. For the tax on fortunes it is assumed that the dividends paid by German companies average 1 per cent of the quoted value; even this computation must, however, be too high for a great many German companies at the present time.

In the case of foreign companies it is assumed that the dividends amount to 5 per cent of the quoted value of the share; 50,000 marks in dividends from German companies, therefore, represent a quoted value of 5,000,000 marks.

For the shareholders' payments in respect of the tax on fortunes this is valued at only half the quoted value—that is, 2,500,000 marks—since the company itself has to pay a tax on fortunes for which the fortune is assumed to be at least the total quoted value of the shares.

On a total fortune of 2,500,000 marks the tax on fortunes amounts to 17,500 marks. The provisional charge on an income of 50,000 marks from dividends from German companies is therefore as follows:

	Gold marks
Tax on corporations	7, 633
Deduction at the source from revenue from investments	5, 000
Tax on fortunes	17, 500
Total	30, 133

If half the dividends come from a foreign company, the charge in respect of the tax on capital is as follows:

Twenty-five thousand marks from German companies. Quoted value 2,500,000 (1 per cent interest), half of which is counted; that is, 1,250,000 marks.

Twenty-five marks from foreign companies. Quoted value 500,000 marks (5 per cent interest) counted in full, since the company does not pay the tax on fortunes in Germany.

The quoted value used for the tax on fortunes is therefore 1,750,000 marks and the sum paid in respect of the tax 11,375 marks.

As half of the dividends come from foreign companies, the deduction at the source on half the revenue from investments in this case also provisionally does not come into consideration. The finance office is, however, entitled to collect prepayments from the taxpayer with due consideration to his requirements. No sum is, however, included in the inclosed table on this account; for, as explained above, the calculations for 1924–25 constitute only provisional tax payments, which represent prepayments on the definitive income tax for 1924. For the 1924 income, the taxpayer will still be assessed at the beginning of 1925, and he will then have to make considerable postpayments, which are correspondingly higher in the case of income from foreign dividends from which no deduction at the source has been made in Germany. No sum could be included for postpayments, as the necessary regulations must first be enacted by law during the course of 1924 (in particular the rates of taxation).

Income in gold marks	Definitive charge		Charge in respect of corporation tax and tax on fortunes; nonrecurrent charge in respect of income tax prepay ments, 1924–25
	Corporation tax, tax on revenue from capital, income tax, 1920–21	Corporation tax, income tax, 1923–24	
50,000 [1]	27, 821	14, 000	30, 133
50,000 [2]	22, 577	13, 250	17, 691
100,000 [1]	57, 586	28, 000	60, 266
100,000 [2]	47, 098	26, 500	37, 133
500,000 [1]	295, 707	190, 000	313, 830
500,000 [2]	243, 287	182, 500	194, 415
1,000,000 [1]	593, 357	430, 000	627, 660
1,000,000 [2]	488, 477	415, 000	388, 830

[1] German companies.
[2] Half from German and half from foreign companies.

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

COVERING LETTER

Dear Mr. Chairman: I have the honor to present the unanimous report of the committee appointed by the Reparation Commission to inquire into the amount of German exported capital and to consider the means of bringing it back to Germany.

In laying before you the result of our labors may I be permitted in the name of the committee to express the hope that our work may assist in solving the problems involved in the execution of the treaty of peace.

I remain, yours faithfully.

R. McKenna.

The Chairman, *Reparation Commission.*

Text of the Report

In pursuance of a decision of the Reparation Commission of the 30th of November, 1923, we were created a committee to consider the means of estimating the amount of German exported capital and of bringing it back to Germany. We were convened in Paris on the 21st of January, 1924, and we have held altogether 38 meetings, first in Paris, then in Berlin, and finally again in Paris. We have examined numerous witnesses and have availed ourselves of the services of trained economists, technical advisers and expert accountants. We have also studied the published works on the subject by well-known economists, and each member of the committee has furnished reports on particular problems.

Our estimates relate to the 31st of December, 1923. Later events may, of course, have either increased or decreased the amount of German capital abroad.

In our investigation of the amount of capital owned by Germans in foreign countries, we were confronted by very considerable difficulties. There are many ways by which Germans can acquire capital abroad, but in most cases no precise figures can be given. It

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is nearly always a matter of estimate, and the utmost we could hope to do with any degree of certainty was to lay down limits between which the actual amount is to be found. The distance which divides these limits marks the want of precision of the material at our disposal.

One method of investigation, to institute an inquiry through bankers and business men in those countries in which German capital is believed to be deposited or invested, was rejected by us at the outset. We have availed ourselves of all information of a public or official character supplied from countries outside Germany, but we were of opinion that it would be neither proper nor useful to request the disclosure of specific transactions which in general would have been entered into under an implied condition of secrecy. Moreover, we felt that even though all obtainable information were freely given to us, it must be extremely defective, as much German capital in foreign countries is certain in existing circumstances to be hidden in various ways under assumed names.

The method we have adopted is altogether different. Our first step was to form an estimate of the total value of German capital abroad at the outbreak of war.

Next we considered what was the net reduction in this total at the time of the Armistice. We took into account on one side the balance of trade, advances by Germany to her Allies, loss by seizure and sequestration of property confirmed by the Versailles Treaty and loss through depreciation of the value of property and securities. On the other side we considered the sales of German securities, the sales of gold, the accumulation of interest, and finally the effect on the trade balance of the imports into Germany from occupied territories. These imports were commodities either requisitioned without payment, or paid for, in the case of Belgium and Poland, largely by marks which remained in the country, and, in Roumania and occupied France, as well as in Belgium and Poland, by local currencies which the German Government caused to be printed and issued for the purpose.

Finally, starting from the basis of the remaining pre-war German assets, we examined in detail the various means by which Germans can have increased or diminished their capital abroad during the period from the Armistice to the close of the year 1923. The reliability of our final estimate depends upon the completeness of our examination of the different elements which make up the total of German foreign acquisitions and of the various ways in which such acquisitions may have been expended.

The chief method by which Germans have acquired foreign assets since the Armistice has been by the sale of mark bank balances. Our estimate of the total sum under this head has been obtained by a procedure founded upon the principle that every foreign sale by a German of a mark bank balance creates at the moment of sale a corresponding holding of a foreign bank balance in Germany. The periodic totals of foreign balances shown in the books of the German banks were disclosed to us, and with the assistance of expert accountants we have been able to ascertain the net proceeds expressed in gold derived from the sale of marks. It is interesting to note that the foreign assets acquired in this way amounted to between seven and eight milliards of gold marks, the whole of which in consequence of the final devaluation of the mark was lost by more than one million foreigners who at one time or another were buyers of mark credits.

This figure is one of the credit factors in estimating the final total.

Other principal sources of German foreign assets have been the sale of goods, securities, real estate, precious metals and mark bank notes; interest accumulations, tourist expenditure in Germany, German holdings in ceded territories in Poland, Dantzig, etc., foreign money expended by the allied armies of occupation, remittances from Germans abroad, earnings of shipping, railway and canal freights for foreign goods in transit through Germany, insurance profits, etc.

On the other hand, German foreign assets have been expended on the purchase of goods imported, cash payments to the Allies, interest paid on German securities held abroad, German tourist expenditure, etc.

On all these heads of receipt and expenditure, the German statistical records and estimates, official data, bankers, and business reports, and other similar evidence, have been subjected by us to the most critical scrutiny, and their reliability has been tested by our examination of witnesses and inspection of original sources of information. Our investigations and the evidence obtained led us to discard entirely the values of German imports and exports as stated in the official reports, and to revalue all commodities on the basis of the then current world prices with such allowances as the special circumstances of German trade at the time may have rendered necessary.

After a close examination of all the factors which make up the total sum, we are of opinion that German capital abroad of every kind, including capital of varying degrees of liquidity and capital invested in participations in foreign companies and firms, and after taking into account all credit and debit items, was at the end of the year 1923 not less than 5.7 milliard gold marks and not more than 7.8 milliard gold marks, and we think that the middle figure of 6¾ milliard gold marks is the approximate total.

We draw special attention to the foreign currency in Germany, which, though not included in our valuation of capital held abroad, is so closely akin to a foreign asset that it must not be overlooked. It may indeed be said that this currency, the total of which we estimate at not less than 1 milliard two hundred million gold marks, is a German holding in the most liquid form for conversion into foreign assets.

On the other hand, on a broad view of German financial capacity, the value of the property in Germany held by foreigners should not be left out of account. The annual yield from this property, whether in the form of rent, interest, or dividends, is at present inconsiderable and may at any time become subject to special taxation, particularly in the case of rent in respect of real estate purchased at the low prices current in recent years. We estimate, after very close study of the question, that the real estate and securities owned in Germany by foreigners represent a value of from 1 to 1½ milliard gold marks.

The committee have thought it desirable to give in an annex to this report additional information in respect of their estimates of German assets abroad in 1914 as well as of the principal credit and debit factors, both during and since the war, that have gone to make up the final total of German capital abroad.

The second part of our inquiry was to investigate the means of bringing exported capital back to Germany.

The so-called flight of capital in this instance was in the main the result of the usual factors. It arose principally from the failure of the Government to bring its budget into proper relation, and, as a corrollary of such failure, from the raising of large loans and the direct issue of paper money. Secondly, it was due to the action of speculators and timid investors who sold their marks against the currency of other countries, while the exporters of goods retained abroad all that was possible of the proceeds of their sales. In the particular case under inquiry, however, the flight of capital was accentuated by the attitude of the people of Germany toward payments to her war creditors and was marked by new and ingenious devices and schemes for evading restrictive legislation and for cloaking the real ownership of foreign balances.

The failure of the methods employed, both old and new, demonstrates the final ineffectiveness of restrictive legislation when successful evasion is so richly rewarded. Neither legal enactment nor severe penalties resulted in disclosure of assets abroad or hampered the flight of capital. We feel that this would have been true whether the Government had or had not used its best endeavors to enforce the laws and regulations.

In our opinion the only way to prevent the exodus of capital from Germany and to encourage its return is to eradicate the cause of the outward movement. Inflation must be permanently stopped. If the issue of currency is strictly confined within the true limits of national requirements on a stable basis of value, the German with capital abroad will feel assured that he will suffer no loss in bringing it home; the speculator can no longer look for a profit from the sale of marks. We have already seen in the case of Austria how, when the currency is fairly stabilized, the necessities of foreign trade tend to bring back existing foreign balances. Restrictive legislation, which in the main has proved futile in preventing the export of capital, becomes superfluous the moment there is no longer any inducement to evade the law. It is indeed to be feared the laws purporting to compel the return of capital would have the reverse effect to that which might be wished.

The method of securing a currency in Germany capable of maintaining a sufficiently stable international value covers the whole question of budgetary equilibrium and the establishment of a bank of issue on a sound basis. These matters, which fall outside the scope of our inquiry, have been referred by the Reparation Commission to another committee whose conclusions we have the advantage of knowing. If effect is given to their recommendations, we think that a considerable part of the German assets now in foreign countries will return in the ordinary course of trade.

While we are of opinion that special legislation to prevent the export of capital or compel its return is not required when a country's finance is on a stable basis, we recognize that in the case of Germany a period of transition must necessarily ensue before stability can be obtained and confidence restored. We suggest that during this period an amnesty should be granted for a limited time from the penalties imposed by existing enactments and that special terms be offered for subscriptions to Government loans made in foreign currencies. Well-conceived measures of this kind would be helpful in hastening the return of capital and the final restoration of financial equilibrium in Germany, conditions which are essential to the payment of reparation.

We desire to express our sincere thanks to the officers of the Reparation Commission, and to the economists, statisticians, and expert accountants who have aided us, for whose valuable assistance we are greatly indebted.

Reginald McKenna, *Chairman.*
Henry M. Robinson.
André Laurent-Atthalin.
Mario Alberti.
Albert E. Janssen.

April 9, 1924.

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ANNEX

Summary

I. Assets abroad in 1914.
II. Period of the war:
- *a.* Surplus of imports and Germany's advances to her Allies;
- *b.* Depreciation of pre-war foreign assets; sequestration and liquidation measures;
- *c.* Profits realized by Germany in occupied territories;
- *d.* Sale of gold and German securities;
- *e.* Return from German assets abroad.

III. Post-war period:
- *a.* Surplus of imports and cash payments made by Germany under the Peace Treaty;
- *b.* Sales to foreigners of mark credits and banknotes;
- *c.* Sales of gold;
- *d.* Sales of German real property and German securities;
- *e.* Expenditure by foreigners traveling in Germany and by Germans traveling abroad;
- *f.* Expenditures by the armies of occupation;
- *g.* Earnings from shipping, insurance, transit, etc.;
- *h.* Income from German investments abroad and from foreign investments in Germany; remittances made by Germans residing abroad;
- *i.* German private property in ceded territories;
- *j.* Foreign banknotes in Germany.

I. Assets Abroad in 1914

The value of German assets abroad in 1914 has been estimated by different economists at sums varying between 20 and 35 milliard gold marks. Beside these unofficial estimates two estimates of an official nature, as well as a census, have been made by the German Government. The earlier of these two official estimates is that made in 1905 by the imperial admiralty; the later one was supplied by the German Government in 1924 in reply to a question raised by the second Committee of Experts. The census, which only covered securities, was made by the German Government during the war, in August, 1916.

In the question put to the German Government the committee not only asked for an estimate of the foreign assets held by German nationals in 1914, but also requested it to submit its comments on the various estimates already made by German economists.

All these documents—estimates of German economists, and those of neutral, allied and associated countries, official estimates and census, and the replies of the German Government—have been examined and compared. Taking into account all the factors of valuation, the committee has come to the conclusion that the figure of 28 milliard gold marks may be accepted as representing the value of German assets abroad at the time of the declaration of war, it being understood that this figure of 28 milliards comprises only the assets abroad belonging to German nationals residing in Germany and not those belonging to German nationals residing abroad. In this estimate securities have been taken at their face value in gold marks.

II. Period of the War

(*a*) Surplus of Imports and Germany's Advances to her Allies

The difficulty encountered by Germany in exporting her goods during the war, as well as her persistent endeavors to increase her imports by every possible means, in order to provide for the requirements of her armies, naturally produced a surplus of imports, considerably in excess of the figures of the normal pre-war deficit. To this deficit in Germany's foreign trade balance must be added the sums advanced by Germany to her allies to enable them to pay for their imports, for which she received no corresponding return. The figure indicated for these two items may be considered to be reliable and amounts to an aggregate sum of 15.2 milliard gold marks, subject to the modifications referred to in paragraph (*c*).

(*b*) Depreciation of Pre-war Foreign Assets; Sequestration and Liquidation Measures

Various estimates of the reduction in German assets abroad during the war as a result of depreciation have been made by several economists, whose figures are generally based on an estimated total of from 20 to 25 milliard gold marks for German assets in 1914. Their estimates seem too low, if we take as a basis the figure of 28 milliards adopted by the committee for German assets abroad in 1914. This impression is moreover confirmed by information which the committee has obtained by its own investigation.

It is impossible to adopt a definite figure in determining the value of the assets seized and liquidated in the allied and associated countries. On the basis of information obtained by the committee from the Governments of the allied and associated powers as well as from Germany, the committee has been able to estimate at approximately 16.1 milliard gold marks the reduction in German assets abroad during the war, as a result of depreciation and liquidation and sequestration measures. In adopting this figure no allowance has been made for the fact that certain German assets abroad may have been utilized to cover the payment of imports, nor for the fact that German assets abroad may have increased owing to the accumulation of the interest accruing on these assets. These several items are discussed elsewhere. The above figure therefore represents a net reduction in German assets abroad for which Germany during the war period received no return. These assets underwent a further decrease in value during the period following hostilities, which decrease was taken into account.

Lastly, the committee is of opinion that both during and since the war, the category of assets in neutral countries has likewise undergone a reduction in value, and that in particular the greater part of such securities held by Germans has no longer a value equivalent to their face value, even taking into account the effect of the decline in the value of gold.

(*c*) Profits Realized by Germany in Occupied Territories

An examination of German economic measures taken in Belgium during the war, to which the attention of the committee was called, suggested that substantial profits had accrued to Germany from the exploitation of occupied territories. Consequently, the committee has made a careful study covering not only German operations in Belgium and northern France but also those in Poland and Rumania.

No attention has been paid to the purely military aspects of these operations, such as, for instance, requisitions intended to provide for the partial subsistence of the German occupying troops. Quite apart from such matters, however, it was found that the profits realized by Germany by requisitions and by other methods in occupied territories are closely connected with the deficit of the German balance of trade. With the help of German official documents, in particular reports by the military administration drawn up during the war and German memoranda estimating the value of war damages, the committee has ascertained that the profits realized by Germany were principally obtained as follows:

Germany obtained in occupied territories considerable quantities of commodities which, through the operation of centralized importing companies specially created for this purpose, were transported to Germany for internal consumption. Most of these goods were either not paid for at all, or were paid for in paper marks which were subsequently left in the country and amounted in the case of Belgium to 6 milliard paper marks, or were purchased through the medium of issues of local paper currency. The special object of such issues, according to a statement by the German staff, was to enable Germany and her allies to receive goods from occupied territories free of charge during the whole period of hostilities.

By requisition or in exchange for paper marks or local currency Germany also obtained considerable quantities of the currency of invaded countries. Thus, in the north of France the German military authorities imposed on towns fines and levies for which payment was required in German money, gold coin, or notes of the Bank of France.

Finally, foreign assets were required by Germany, especially in Belgium and France, notably by means of sequestration of securities, coupons, and other credits, and these, like the bank notes mentioned above, served in part to pay for imports from neighboring neutral countries.

It must also be pointed out that when the German coal centrale in Belgium issued export licenses for coal for Holland, Switzerland, or Sweden, the German authority kept for itself the foreign currency thus obtained, and forced the mines to accept paper marks.

The committee has adopted the figure of from 5.7 to 6 milliard gold marks as corresponding to that portion of the profits derived from this exploitation of Belgium, northern France, Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, etc., representing imports for which no payment was made and which, in consequence, had not been allowed for in her balance of accounts.

(*d*) Sale of Gold and German Securities

The sale of gold and securities was the principal means whereby Germany paid for her imports during the war. The export of gold, which took place mainly during the early years of the war, reached a total amount of 1 milliard gold marks.

As regards German securities, widely diverging estimates have been made of the amounts sold. In our opinion the total figure is not far from 1 milliard gold marks.

(*e*) Return from German Assets Abroad

The revenue which Germany derived from her assets abroad was very considerably diminished immediately after the declaration of war and further reductions occurred during the period of hostilities.

It should, indeed, be noted that interest ceased to be paid on the assets held by Germany in countries with which she was at war. Some of these assets were sold during the war and the depreciation of others became very marked toward the end.

On the other hand, the industrial securities, particularly those of neutral countries, continued to pay interest at rates frequently higher than before the war.

While the committee has been unable to determine exactly the variations for each year of the war in the revenue derived from German assets abroad, it has at least been able to make an estimate which may be taken as very nearly accurate.

III. Postwar Period

(*a*) Surplus of Imports and Cash Payments Made by Germany under the Peace Treaty

One of the main causes of the reduction of German assets abroad during the postwar period arose from the necessity for Germany to cover the deficit in her trade balance and to meet the cash payments which had to be made to the Allies under the Treaty of

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The value of German assets abroad in 1914 has been estimated by different economists at sums varying between 20 and 35 milliard gold marks. Beside these unofficial estimates two estimates of an official nature, as well as a census, have been made by the German Government. The earlier of these two official estimates is that made in 1905 by the imperial admiralty; the later one was supplied by the German Government in 1924 in reply to a question raised by the second Committee of Experts. The census, which only covered securities, was made by the German Government during the war, in August, 1916.

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(*a*) Surplus of Imports and Germany's Advances to her Allies

The difficulty encountered by Germany in exporting her goods during the war, as well as her persistent endeavors to increase her imports by every possible means, in order to provide for the requirements of her armies, naturally produced a surplus of imports, considerably in excess of the figures of the normal pre-war deficit. To this deficit in Germany's foreign trade balance must be added the sums advanced by Germany to her allies to enable them to pay for their imports, for which she received no corresponding return. The figure indicated for these two items may be considered to be reliable and amounts to an aggregate sum of 15.2 milliard gold marks, subject to the modifications referred to in paragraph (*c*).

(*b*) Depreciation of Pre-War Foreign Assets; Sequestration and Liquidation Measures

Various estimates of the reduction in German assets abroad during the war as a result of depreciation have been made by several economists, whose figures are generally based on an estimated total of from 20 to 25 milliard gold marks for German assets in 1914. Their estimates seem too low, if we take as a basis the figure of 28 milliards adopted by the committee for German assets abroad in 1914. This impression is moreover confirmed by information which the committee has obtained by its own investigation.

It is impossible to adopt a definite figure in determining the value of the assets seized and liquidated in the allied and associated countries. On the basis of information obtained by the committee from the Governments of the allied and associated powers as well as from Germany, the committee has been able to estimate at approximately 16.1 milliard gold marks the reduction in German assets abroad during the war, as a result of depreciation and liquidation and sequestration measures. In adopting this figure no allowance has been made for the fact that certain German assets abroad may have been utilized to cover the payment of imports, nor for the fact that German assets abroad may have increased owing to the accumulation of the interest accruing on these assets. These several items are discussed elsewhere. The above figure therefore represents a net reduction in German assets abroad for which Germany during the war period received no return. These assets underwent a further decrease in value during the period following hostilities, which decrease was taken into account.

Lastly, the committee is of opinion that both during and since the war, the category of assets in neutral countries has likewise undergone a reduction in value, and that in particular the greater part of such securities held by Germans has no longer a value equivalent to their face value, even taking into account the effect of the decline in the value of gold.

(*c*) Profits Realized by Germany in Occupied Territories

An examination of German economic measures taken in Belgium during the war, to which the attention of the committee was called, suggested that substantial profits had accrued to Germany from the exploitation of occupied territories. Consequently, the committee has made a careful study covering not only German operations in Belgium and northern France but also those in Poland and Rumania.

No attention has been paid to the purely military aspects of these operations, such as, for instance, requisitions intended to provide for the partial subsistence of the German occupying troops. Quite apart from such matters, however, it was found that the profits realized by Germany by requisitions and by other methods in occupied territories are closely connected with the deficit of the German balance of trade. With the help of German official documents, in particular reports by the military administration drawn up during the war and German memoranda estimating the value of war damages, the committee has ascertained that the profits realized by Germany were principally obtained as follows:

Germany obtained in occupied territories considerable quantities of commodities which, through the operation of centralized importing companies specially created for this purpose, were transported to Germany for internal consumption. Most of these goods were either not paid for at all, or were paid for in paper marks which were subsequently left in the country and amounted in the case of Belgium to 6 milliard paper marks, or were purchased through the medium of issues of local paper currency. The special object of such issues, according to a statement by the German staff, was to enable Germany and her allies to receive goods from occupied territories free of charge during the whole period of hostilities.

By requisition or in exchange for paper marks or local currency Germany also obtained considerable quantities of the currency of invaded countries. Thus, in the north of France the German military authorities imposed on towns fines and levies for which payment was required in German money, gold coin, or notes of the Bank of France.

Finally, foreign assets were required by Germany, especially in Belgium and France, notably by means of sequestration of securities, coupons, and other credits, and these, like the bank notes mentioned above, served in part to pay for imports from neighboring neutral countries.

It must also be pointed out that when the German coal centrale in Belgium issued export licenses for coal for Holland, Switzerland, or Sweden, the German authority kept for itself the foreign currency thus obtained, and forced the mines to accept paper marks.

The committee has adopted the figure of from 5.7 to 6 milliard gold marks as corresponding to that portion of the profits derived from this exploitation of Belgium, northern France, Poland, Lithuania, Rumania, etc., representing imports for which no payment was made and which, in consequence, had not been allowed for in her balance of accounts.

(*d*) Sale of Gold and German Securities

The sale of gold and securities was the principal means whereby Germany paid for her imports during the war. The export of gold, which took place mainly during the early years of the war, reached a total amount of 1 milliard gold marks.

As regards German securities, widely diverging estimates have been made of the amounts sold. In our opinion the total figure is not far from 1 milliard gold marks.

(*e*) Return from German Assets Abroad

The revenue which Germany derived from her assets abroad was very considerably diminished immediately after the declaration of war and further reductions occurred during the period of hostilities.

It should, indeed, be noted that interest ceased to be paid on the assets held by Germany in countries with which she was at war. Some of these assets were sold during the war and the depreciation of others became very marked toward the end.

On the other hand, the industrial securities, particularly those of neutral countries, continued to pay interest at rates frequently higher than before the war.

While the committee has been unable to determine exactly the variations for each year of the war in the revenue derived from German assets abroad, it has at least been able to make an estimate which may be taken as very nearly accurate.

III. Postwar Period

(*a*) Surplus of Imports and Cash Payments Made by Germany under the Peace Treaty

One of the main causes of the reduction of German assets abroad during the postwar period arose from the necessity for Germany to cover the deficit in her trade balance and to meet the cash payments which had to be made to the Allies under the Treaty of

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Versailles. These two items together amount to between 9 and 10 milliard gold marks.

As already stated in the report, the figures given in the official German foreign trade statistics are quite inaccurate for certain periods. This observation applies particularly to the figures originally published.

For this reason, it was necessary to revise completely the balance given for every year. Taking into account the various factors entering into the calculation, the committee is of opinion that this revision has made it possible to reach a figure more nearly equal to the actual excess of imports than had been the case in previous reports dealing with this question. The fixing of the amount of the deficit in the trade balance is of true importance, since any valuation that is to be made of German assets remaining abroad largely depends on the figure finally adopted for that deficit.

The cash payments made by Germany to the Allies—to the Reparation Commission, under the reparation recovery act, payments to the clearing office, etc.—do not give rise to dispute.

(b) SALE TO FOREIGNERS OF MARK CREDITS AND BANK NOTES

Germany has acquired foreign assets in large volume since the armistice through opening credit accounts in her banks for the benefit of foreigners. These credits were paid for by the foreigners in the money or credits of other countries, and as they underwent a constant skrinkage in real value through the depreciating value of the mark, German economy profited largely from the transactions. The committee made a careful study of the values so acquired by an investigation, with the aid of expert accountants, of the mark credit balances on foreign account in the principal banks of Germany during the postwar years.

It was found that there had been during this five-year period more than a million individual accounts of this kind. In most cases the mark credits of these accounts had not been immediately utilized and had undergone a process of shrinkage through the depreciation of mark values that amounted to a veritable evaporation.

The work of the expert accountants was directed to determine as nearly as possible the aggregate amount of the shrinkages in these very numerous accounts that was due to the depreciation of the value of the mark. With this end in view the leading banks in Germany were asked to transcribe from their books the data showing the credit balances and the amounts of debits in the accounts of all foreigners at the close of each month from the end of 1918 to the end of 1923.

After the sums indicated had been converted to gold equivalents at the current rate of exchange, it was possible to draw close inferences as to the total gains accruing to German economy as a whole. The data furnished by the banks were submitted to careful checking by the expert accountants, and it was found that they had been correctly compiled.

Credits in German marks were purchased by the citizens of a great many nations, but the largest amounts were taken by the citizens of a relatively restricted group of countries.

The methods used in determining the value of the assets acquired by the German banks in this way were subjected to an interesting check which consisted of taking a single account of a foreigner who had engaged in speculative operations on a considerable scale, and converting the figures of the transactions to a gold basis for every day on which any debit or credit entry was recorded. The results indicated that there was no tendency for this detailed method of conversion to yield results materially different from those found by the more general mass methods that it was necessary to employ in computing the figures for Germany as a whole.

When the whole inquiry, which was of considerable length, had been completed it was found that Germany had profited by the sale of mark credits by an amount of from 7 to 8 milliards of gold marks. In addition the sale of paper marks in foreign countries had resulted in profits amounting to from 600 to 700 millions of gold marks, or a total from these two sources of 7.6 to 8.7 milliards of gold marks.

(c) SALES OF GOLD

German official statistics record sales abroad by Germany principally in the years 1919–1921 and 1923 of gold to a total amount of 1½ milliard gold marks. The accuracy of these figures is not disputed.

(d) SALES OF GERMAN REAL PROPERTY AND GERMAN SECURITIES

During the period characterized by the rapid depreciation of the mark, sales of real property to foreigners reached an unwonted development in Germany.

In estimating the proceeds of such sales, the committee had before it various statistics indicating in detail the number and amount of sales of real property to foreigners since the war in some of the principal towns of Germany, and also in districts of varying economic character.

As regards securities, Germany was able during the first part of the post-war period to market some of her securities abroad, but as soon as her financial position became more uncertain most of these transactions were suspended.

In the aggregate the committee considers that sales of German real property and securities to foreigners amounted to about 1½ milliard gold marks.

(e) EXPENDITURE BY FOREIGNERS TRAVELING IN GERMANY AND BY GERMANS TRAVELING ABROAD

During the five years which have elapsed since the armistice, considerable sums have been spent in Germany by large numbers of foreigners who have traveled and lived in the country. Our estimate of the expenditure by these travelers was facilitated by the official statistics kept by the largest German towns and by the special report on the subject supplied by the German Government. The committee was able to obtain a fairly exact idea of the number of foreigners who came to Germany during the period in question, the average length of their stay and the daily expenditure of each traveler.

As against this, numerous German travelers belonging mostly to the wealthier classes have stayed in foreign countries, especially in the last two or three years. Their expenditure has to be deducted from the expenditure by foreigners in Germany referred to above, and very considerably reduces the amount of the German assets realized from that source.

(f) EXPENDITURE BY ARMIES OF OCCUPATION

During the post-war period, a certain sum has been realized by Germany through the expenditure in foreign currency, or in marks bought with foreign currency, by the troops occupying German territory.

Each of the Governments having or having had armies of occupation in Germany has supplied the committee with a detailed estimate of the expenditure made by the officers and men or by the various army services. These estimates were checked in several ways by a series of calculations relating to each army's different methods. The results of these different calculations have been combined.

(g) EARNINGS FROM SHIPPING, INSURANCE, TRANSIT, ETC.

Earnings from shipping, insurance, commissions, transit, were an important source of German income prior to 1914, but during the war such earnings in great measure disappeared. In the five years 1919–1923 some of the lost ground has been regained, particularly in the field of shipping and insurance, and the committee has taken this item into account.

(h) INCOME FROM GERMAN INVESTMENTS ABROAD AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN GERMANY—REMITTANCES MADE BY GERMANS RESIDING ABROAD

The total amount of the income produced by German assets abroad since 1919 is of course substantially below that produced by German assets abroad before the war. The assets held abroad by Germany since the war represent indeed only a small and for some part unproductive fraction of her pre-war holdings. It is true, on the other hand, that the payments which Germany has had to make since 1919 in respect of German securities held by foreigners have been inconsiderable. After a careful study of the question, the committee came to the conclusion that a set-off of the two items—income from German investments abroad and income from foreign investments in Germany—resulted in a small balance in Germany's favor for the whole of the post-war period.

The remittances sent to Germany by German nationals residing abroad and German connections and sympathizers amount to a considerable figure in Germany's favor.

(i) GERMAN PRIVATE PROPERTY IN CEDED TERRITORIES

Most of the valuations of German property abroad have taken little or no account of the value of German private property in the ceded territories of Silesia, Posen, Danzig, etc.

These properties are included in our own estimate in so far as, according to the definition adopted by the committee, they are owned by Germans residing in Germany. Although it is very difficult to determine with any precision the extent of these properties, the committee considered that it should not exclude from its valuation certain industrial assets, particularly those in Upper Silesia.

(j) FOREIGN BANK NOTES IN GERMANY

There is in Germany a large quantity of foreign bank notes (dollars, florins, Scandinavian crowns, Swiss francs, pounds sterling, and more especially in the occupied territory, Belgian and French francs). The exceptional plight of the German mark has influenced Germans in acquiring stable currencies wherever possible and on a large scale. These foreign notes have remained in the country instead of finding their way abroad again through the normal channel of trade, as would have been the case in ordinary circumstances.

Various estimates of the total amount of such notes were made in Germany, particularly towards the end of 1923. The committee has compared the different estimates with the information which it collected in Germany and other countries. In its opinion, the value of the foreign notes existing in Germany at the end of 1923 amounted to about 1.2 milliard gold marks.

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MONTREAL, THURSDAY, AUGUST 7.

GERMANY AT THE CONFERENCE.

With something like a flourish and a hearty hand-shake all round, the London Reparations Conference came to an agreement upon the experts' plan and the means for putting its provisions into effect. The adroitness and patience with which the various sectional groups tackled their several problems in this sodality campaign display an admirable spirit. The difficulties encountered and overcome remind us of some stream slowly and solemnly gathering its waters over banked barriers in its course. The rapidity with which the freshet confluence found its way during the final hours of session was much like the outlet of some lake triumphing over the stubborn resistence of the sudd. The relief and release came at the end of a day described as the biggest success of all Allied gatherings since the Treaty at Versailles. So far so good. As regards the British-French Entente, there is a marked improvement, and conferees are themselves satisfied that the loan proposal and the sanctions programme have been skirmished into position where they will not in momentum collide. It is as yet too early to cry "Eureka!" for much and very much more remains to be done before the experts' plan gets into good running order. But the point was reached where the "Big Seven" felt justified in sending an invitation to the German contingent. Their decision turns the fly-wheel of the whole machinery.

All that can be safely said at this juncture is that the London conferees have "saved the face"—to use the Chinese phrase. It is by no means clear, for example, how the reservation anent the full status of the Versailles Treaty can stand or work alongside the scheme of sanctions. Apparently the French claim to direct action has not been touched. Its awkward incidence is slurred over or lost to view amid an arbitral mechanism of complicated structure. The gears, connections and transmission parts of this mechanism are assembled so that in the final resort, that is to say, in the event of German default, everything depends upon an American arbitral pinwheel.

The gist of the sanctions scheme is as follows: (1) The Reparations Commissioners, including a citizen of the United States, shall be first judgment-seat of default. (2) Default being the verdict, all powers concerned shall be notified, and shall make such recommendations as they deem needful to meet the crisis. (3) Should any voting not be unanimous, any member of the Reparations Commission can appeal to another tribunal made up of three impartial and independent members. Of this arbitral court, a citizen of the United States shall be chairman, and its decision shall be final. (4) The American member shall be nominated by the commissioners, or, if they fail to agree upon the nomination, the President of The Hague Conference shall make the appointment.

Reviewing this programme, two things are noticeable. They can hardly fail to arrest attention. The first, upon which we need not cavil, is that the set or assemblage of the sanctions scheme as a whole is most like to give our southern neighbors the opportunity of saying that they won the peace, even as it pleased many of them to declare they won the war. This, of course, is conditional upon the scheme carrying through to success. The second conspicuous feature is the stress laid upon default. It may be said to have dominated the councils. It haunts the imagination. It bellies down a black thundercloud over the conciliar deliberations. The conferees could not avoid its sinister menace. Herriot was and still is sure that this very thing will happen. To change the metaphor, but not the thought, the delegates have found themselves in a quandary and have perforce gone upon the estimate attributed to an Irish peasant who said his pig did not weigh as much as he expected, and he never thought it would. True, it is not the best conceivable method of winning the Germans over to the Dawes programme, but the "Big Seven" could not help themselves in this regard, and for this Didymus strain the Germans alone are to blame. The one clear outstanding fact before us is that the overture of the experts' plan has been played, and the curtain now rises upon a stage on which the envoys from Berlin will play a leading part. We sincerely trust that the recent revival of "Parsifal" within German territory after ten years' hiatus is prophetic of the role these Reich delegates will enact in the European concert.

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Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund.

(Registered under the War Charities Act, 1916)

NOMINATED BY H.M. GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THE SCHEME OF SETTLEMENT IN TRANSCAUCASIA.

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1st October, 1924

The Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa,
CANADA.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

For your information we have pleasure in sending you a copy of a Memorial, enclosed herewith, which was presented to Mr. Ramsay Macdonald last Friday by Mr. Stanley Baldwin.

And immediately afterwards we sent 2,500 copies to the Leaders of all Churches, Houses of Parliament, British Dominions Overseas, other Organisations interested in this question, and also the Press.

With all kind greetings and grateful remembrance for the interest that you so generously extended to the work of this Fund during my visit in 1920 and 1921.

Yours sincerely,

Magda Coe,

JOINT SECRETARY.

Enclosure

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With the Hon. Secretary's compliments

We desire to call your attention to the enclosed Memorial to the Prime Minister which has been signed by the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith and the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin.

We venture to ask that you will do all you can to make the facts (herein stated) known to the public and to cause this appeal to be brought to a happy issue.

Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund,
96, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

26th September, 1924.

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ADDENDA TO MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON 26th SEPTEMBER, 1924.

1. **The Scheme of Settlement in Russian Armenia** is now, once again, under discussion at the League of Nations Assembly (Commission V.) We learn that many of the Armenian refugees earnestly desire to proceed there, while some prefer to settle in Greece or elsewhere. In any case, provision must be made for them if these destitute folk are to be enabled to survive and to make a fresh start. In our opinion "Resettlement" Funds should be available for any area approved by the League.

2. *Re* the **£5,000,000 Turkish gold** (*vide* (4) on page 2 of the Memorial), this sum, by a Convention between the Allies, dated 23rd November, 1923, will shortly* be distributed among Allied nationals having claims in Turkey. The Armenians as a community are not permitted to claim compensation for their losses out of this sum. But our responsibility cannot be forgotten; and a Government grant, to be placed in the hands of the officially authorised "Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund," seems to us the best way of fulfilling it.

* Probably during October, 1924.

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TO THE PRIME MINISTER. *September*, 1924.

PROPOSAL OF A GRANT FOR THE FINAL LIQUIDATION OF ARMENIAN QUESTIONS ARISING OUT OF THE WAR.

THE British Government was invited, by a letter from the Secretary-General to the League of Nations, dated 24th March, 1924, to support the work of assistance to the Armenian people.

We desire to state the reasons why, in our opinion, a substantial contribution should be made to the Scheme, approved by the Council of the League of Nations (September, 1923), for the settlement in the Caucasus of the remnants of the Ottoman Armenians, now finding temporary shelter in Greece, the Balkans, etc.

(1) Because the Armenians were encouraged by promises of freedom to support the Allied cause during the War, and suffered for this cause so tragically.

The following is an extract from a letter from the Assistant-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Viscount Bryce, 3rd October, 1918 :—

> " In the autumn of 1914 the Turks sent emissaries to the National Congress of the Ottoman Armenians then sitting at Erzerum and made them offers of autonomy if they would actively assist Turkey in the War. The Armenians replied that they would do their duty individually as Ottoman subjects, but that as a nation they could not work for the cause of Turkey and her Allies.
>
> " On account, in part, of this courageous refusal, the Ottoman Armenians were systematically murdered by the Turkish Government in 1915. Two-thirds of the population were exterminated by the most cold-blooded and fiendish methods—more than 700,000 people, men, women and children alike.
>
> " From the beginning of the War that half of the Armenian nation which was under the sovereignty of Russia organised volunteer forces, and, under their heroic leader, Andranik, bore the brunt of some of the heaviest fighting in the Caucasian campaigns. (*Editor's Note.*—Over 200,000 Armenian soldiers gave their lives for the Allied cause.)
>
> " After the breakdown of the Russian Army at the end of 1917, these Armenian forces took over the Caucasian front, and for five months delayed the advance of the Turks, thus rendering an important service to the British Army in Mesopotamia."

Lord Bryce's Blue Book, describing the sufferings and losses of the Ottoman Armenians, published 1916, entitled " Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire," was widely used for Allied propaganda in 1916-17 and had an important influence upon American opinion and upon the ultimate decision of President Wilson to enter the war.

(2) Because during the War and since the Armistice, statesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers have given repeated pledges to secure the liberation and independence of the Armenian nation.*

---

* *References :—*

9 Nov.,	1916	Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith).
5 Jan.,	1918	Prime Minister (Mr. Lloyd George).
8 Jan.,	1918	President Wilson.
23 July,	1918	M. Clemenceau.
11 March,	1920	Marquis Curzon (Foreign Secretary).

Etc., etc.

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In fact, the Armenians were promised :—

(A) *An Armenian State in* 1920. On 10th August, 1920, Armenia was admitted as a signatory to the Treaty of Sèvres. The decision of Mr. Wilson upon the boundaries of Armenia—a question left to his arbitration by the Treaty—was announced on 22nd November, 1920. Under this award, which was never put into execution, Armenia would have acquired rather more than half of the Turkish vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. The Treaty of Sèvres proved abortive.

(B) *A "National Home" in* 1921. The question of Armenia came before the Second Assembly of the League of Nations (September, 1921), which adopted the following resolution :—

> "Seeing that . . . the Supreme Council, in the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, proposed to make provision for a National Home for the Armenians ;
>
> "Seeing, further, the probable imminence of a Peace Treaty between Turkey and the Allied Powers at no distant date :
>
> "The Assembly urges the Council to press upon the Supreme Council of the Allies the necessity of making provisions in this Treaty for safeguarding the future of Armenia, and in particular of providing the Armenians with a National Home entirely independent of Turkish rule."

But both of these projects were abandoned at Lausanne 1922-23. In November, 1922, a Conference of the Allied Powers, Greece and Turkey assembled at Lausanne to discuss terms of peace. Lord Curzon, on behalf of the Allies, brought forward a proposal for the creation of a National Home for the Armenians, referring to the Armenian question as "one of the great scandals of the world." The Turks refused to discuss the proposal and the question was dropped.

(3) Because in part Great Britain is responsible for the final dispersion of the Ottoman Armenians after the sack of Smyrna in 1922.

The Greek War against Turkey, which led to the final destruction and expulsion of the Christian minorities in Asia Minor, was initiated and protracted under the direct encouragement of the British Government.

(4) Because the sum of £5,000,000 (Turkish gold) deposited by the Turkish Government in Berlin, 1916, and taken over by the Allies after the Armistice, was in large part (perhaps wholly) Armenian money.

After the enforced deportation of the Armenians in 1915, their Bank accounts, both current and deposit, were transferred by order to the State Treasury at Constantinople. This fact enabled the Turks to send five million sterling to the Reichsbank, Berlin, in exchange for a new issue of notes.

(5) Because the present conditions of the refugees are unstable and demoralising ; and constitute a reproach to the Western Powers.

The remnants of the Ottoman Armenians are now dispersed throughout the Near and Middle East—without homes, without means, without the prospect of settlement. Over 115,000 refugees are finding temporary shelter in *Greece*. About 25,000 are in Bulgaria. Syria, Palestine and Egypt, etc., harbour a large number also.

Dispersed in all directions, they beg to be installed at the earliest opportunity on a territory where they may work and earn their living, without being a charge on public charity ; they ask not to be treated as outcasts, and they wish to have a civil status that will enable them to attend to their business.

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The Greek Delegate at the Council Meeting at Geneva stated (12th June, 1924) that the Greek Government desired the immediate evacuation of the Armenian refugees from Greece, owing to the lack of room and of money to support them, and offered assistance in transport up to £60,000.

On one thing *the Turks* are resolutely bent : they are determined to exclude all Christians. Thus, since these people cannot return to Turkey, it is necessary to install them upon other appropriate territories, as well as to regulate their legal status. Where shall they be placed ?

What can be done ?

We recognise with deep regret that it is impossible now to fulfil our pledges to the Armenians ; for these pledges involved political and territorial re-arrangements now beyond our power to achieve. But there is open to us another method of expressing our sense of responsibility and of relieving the desperate plight of the scattered remnants of the Turkish Armenians. The most appropriate territory for their settlement would be surely in Russian Armenia. Facilities are offered by the local Government. In September, 1923, the Council of the League of Nations approved a Scheme for the land settlement of 50,000 Armenian refugees in the little Republic of (Soviet) Armenia in the Russian Caucasus. The Armenian leaders in Europe approve this plan.

The Council passed a Resolution that an appeal should be made to its members to give financial support to this constructive scheme, and the Council would be prepared to give assistance through its technical organisations. This Resolution was circulated to the 54 States Members of the League with an invitation for assistance as stated above.

The Scheme of Settlement in Russian Armenia.

The plans and estimates of this enterprise are thus already prepared, and call for an expenditure of about one million pounds.

The States Members of the League of Nations have been invited to subscribe themselves and also to facilitate the formation of National Committees which, with the help of the Press in each country and through the medium of philanthropic institutions and large financial and industrial establishments, would organise public subscriptions.

Thus in France, the Government, after opening the subscription list with a substantial sum, aided the formation of a National Committee under the presidency of Monsieur de Selves, Chairman of the Senate Commission of Foreign Affairs. In Italy, a similar Committee has been formed, with the consent of Signor Mussolini, under the presidency of Senator Luzzatti, former Prime Minister. In Belgium also a National Committee has been formed with Governmental authorisation. In Great Britain H.M. Government has nominated the Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund, but has made no contribution. Well-to-do Armenians in England have already given or promised about £14,000.

It is in our opinion the duty of Great Britain to give substantial support to this Scheme.

We desire to express our view that, as some compensation for unfulfilled pledges is morally due to the Armenians, the British Government should forthwith make an important grant.

Lastly, be it noted that this Scheme—

(1) Has no political implications, (2) Is intended to be a final liquidation of Allied responsibility for the Armenians.

Signed (Rt. Hon.) H. H. ASQUITH.

(Rt. Hon.) STANLEY BALDWIN.

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ARMENIA.

Object of Deputation.

THE proposal is to bring about a final solution of the Armenian question by settling refugees on land allocated by the Russian Government. The Governments of France, Italy and Belgium, and others, in response to an appeal by the League of Nations, have authorised the setting up of National Committees to collect subscriptions ; and the British Government has nominated the Armenian (Lord Mayor's) Fund for this purpose. The French Government has made a preliminary contribution.

The deputation appeals to the British Government to consider whether it will, in response to the League appeal, make an important grant-in-aid.

September, 1924.

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Ottawa, Ont., December 1, 1924.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 25th November with regard to affairs in China has just reached me. You may rest assured I shall not fail to give my best consideration to the representations you have made, although the matter does not appear to be one which will come before me as Leader of the Opposition in the Canadian Parliament.

Yours very truly,

Hugh W. White, Esquire,
Bedford, Virginia, U.S.A.

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Washington, D.C., Nov.28,'24.

The Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, B.A.,
Ottawa, Can.,

Sir,

Will you allow me, a citizen of the U.S., and merely a Presbyterian missionary in China, to address you on international policies. Especial opportunity for information on an issue which may decide the question of peace or war on the Pacific is my justification.

In my humble judgment, the question of war hinges on the Ruhr Valley of China, her coal and iron, which are now shortly going to be brought to the Pacific Coast by the new Lung-Hai Railway. If the Japanese Monarchy can get a base of operations on the China coast, with access to these supplies, unhampered by international restrictions, it will mean war. On the other hand, if Russia, which projected this Railway, gets a free hand on the Pacific, it is ominous.

There is a strategic bit of coast line, two hundred miles long, almost in the grasp of the Japanese Government. It stretches from Shanghai right northward, almost to the terminal of the Lung-Hai. Western nations should see to it that this territory does not fall under the control of either Japan or Russia.

By request from H.E. Chang Chien, and in pursuance of plans proposed by the U.S. Consul General of Shanghai, I have been consulting a few prominent Americans. But we find ourselves seriously hampered by the Japanese propaganda.

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My thirty years in the East has led to the conviction that you British statesmen see international situations and meet them more readily than Americans. Unless somebody of strength can take hold, we may be forced to give up this effort to avert war. I am, therefore, sending out this S.O.S., with the prayer that our Heavenly Father may lead you, Sir, to respond.

Please consider me at your service to render any help that is needed. In order to a fuller understanding of the facts in the case, a printed statement is being mailed to you under another cover.

Believe me, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Hugh W. White,

Bedford, Virginia, U.S.A.

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INSIDE INFORMATION

—ON—

The Issue in China

As sole possessor of information which, rightly used, will enable our government by diplomacy to avert war, thus protecting our Western coasts, and promoting American business interests in the Orient, the writer, who has lived thirty years in China, is bound by the obligations of citizenship to place this information in the hands of those who bear responsibility. The information has to do with the efforts for now two years past of the Japanese Monarchy to secure a base of operations in the heart of the Chinese Republic.

To bring out our subject, it is necessary first to sketch the back-ground. The issue is not between the white and the yellow races. Still less is it between Japan and the United States. It is the old issue between democracy and autocracy. The spirit which overthrew Prussianism in 1776, which has given the colonies their rightful place in the British Empire, which aborted the world over-lordship, has also overthrown Manchu despotism, and is blowing a dauntless blast before the Mikado's dark tower.

In this irresistible movement Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, imbued with the spirit of Christian civilization, rising above racial affiliations, joins hands and hearts with those who have fought forward in the Western world. When the Manchu Boxers threatened this advance, East and West, yellow and white, fought hand in hand, and history knows no grander sight than that of two Chinese secretaries in Peking, who first made their wills, and then wrote in the Imperial rescript the word "Protect" instead of "destroy" the foreigners.

Behind the Mongolian autocracy, looms, yet more sinister, "Red" Russia, for the "Reds" seem to have fal-

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len heir to the "White" ambitions—a front door on the Pacific, with ice free ports, which involves the splitting or conquering of China. It was this which led Russia to build the Siberian railway. This clashed with Japanese Pan-Asiatic ideals, and Britain also, fearing this eastward and southward thrust of Russia, allied herself with Japan. But Russia had evolved a yet more ambitious project, to drive a bicontinental railway right through the heart of China to the warm waters of the East Sea. The section through Kashgar, which was projected by Russia in 1898, is not yet built. But the Chinese part of the project has materialized under Belgian leadership, and financed in part by France and Holland, in the great Lung-Hai Railway. The plan calls for a road from Lanchowfu in the extreme northwest through Central China to a terminal on the Kiangsu seaboard, north of the Yangtse River. Work started at neither terminal, but in the center of the line, in the heart of China's coal and iron deposits. Trains are running as far as the Grand Canal, and the road-bed is being constructed to the sea at Haichow, 270 miles north of Shanghai.

That this enterprise, floated under the "Whites" is going forward still, is evidenced by the fact that the final contract was signed in 1920, thus indicating "Red" sympathy, if not ownership.

That the "Reds" are eyeing China is further indicated by their persistent and finally successful efforts to gain recognition from China, trying incidentally to overstep the treaty powers by appointing an ambassador instead of a minister, and by the ominous fact that they have acquired the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The Japanese autocracy, towards their own subjects of Democratic tendencies, practices **shrecklichkeit**, ruthlessness. The wrecking of a train to get rid of her Japanese Republican leaders, was charged in the Diet, and the charge was answered by dissolving the Diet. It would seem incredible that the terrible earthquake, which softened the hearts of all the world toward Japan could he used as a cover for the murdering of Koreans and Chinese, but the officially erased front page of the

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Japan Chronicle for Dec. 6, 1923, witnesses a mute appeal.

For Japan to conquer China, she must first discredit the Chinese Government, just as Korea was thrown on the screen as the worst governed country in the world, thus fore-stalling Western objections to the deglutition process. That the civil wars and banditry in China are manipulated by this Monarchy is amply brought out by Reinsch, Simpson, Sidney Osborne, and is, from time to time, confirmed in the Chinese press. The Sin Wen Pao of July 14, 1923, carried a routine telegram from Harbin, to this effect, "The Japanese Commandant at Harbin has appointed the outlaw Yen Ching to combine with Chinese bandits in the countries where Chinese and Russians touch, to disturb the peace and SEIZE FOREIGNERS. On the 11th inst. the Chihli Commandant sent word to the Harbin Constabulary to be on their guard."

The boldest stroke was the Lincheng railroad outrage, in which Chinese bandits shot up the Blue Express, killing one Englishman, and carrying off to the mountains twenty-six Westerners. Happily America and the West were not stampeded into intervention, and discerning men now recognize in it the hand of Chang Chin Yao, China's Benedict Arnold, long known as Japan's tool for fighting American interests.

The antagonism between Japanese Prussianism and Anglo-Saxon Republicanism is seen in all lines. Our business enterprises in China have to fight Japanese politico-commercial intrigues. Some, such as the Standard Oil, the British American Tobacco Company, the Robert Dollar Company and others win out; the less fortunate, give up. Reinsch brings out the blocking of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation's contract to build twenty million dollar's worth of ships, of the Chinchow-Aigun Railway contract, the American proposition to build 1,500 miles of railway in Mongolia and Kansuh Province; the opposition to the Standard Oil concessions in Shensi and the Grand Canal Contract; and the bold hold up of the Siems-Carey Railway loan of six millions. In this last case, the President, the Premier, the Cabinet gave orders

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to carry it through, but the loan was held up by a subordinate official—with a Japanese wife. For in detecting Japanese diplomacy, the first essential is to **cherchez la femme.**

Thos. F. Millard, in his "Democracy and the Eastern Question" brings out many facts bearing on this matter, and in particular, the duplicity of the Japanese Monarchy in guaranteeing the Open Door in Manchuria, where our cotton goods held the market, and then shouldering us out.

Religion, too, in the forms associated with Republican ideals finds itself almost choked out. Since the decision by Japan in the eighties not to adopt Christianity as the state religion, the old dilapidated temples and shrines have been built up, Buddhism is boosted to shut out Americanism, and Emperor worship is rigidly required in the schools. In Korea this hostility came into the open when soldiers surrounded a Christian church, set fire to it, and then shot the people as they ran.

All this underlies political preparations for the Pan-Asiatic Empire.

II. We come now to the special subject of this paper —The Kiangsu Sea-Board, where the writer has lived for many years.

Its strategic importance lies in the fact that it is between Shanghai and Haichow, the proposed terminal of the Lung Hai Railway. A number of sea ports are embraced, the most important being Tungchow, on the Yangtse, near its mouth, which has been growing up as a Chinese rival of Shanghai. That there will be rail connection between the Lung-Hai and the mouth of the Yangtse is inevitable. Under whose control is this territory to be? Chinese? Japanese? Or maybe the Japano-Russo-Germano-Alliance, against which we are forewarned by Gen. Harboard?

From the port Tungchow there has been developed of late years what is known as the Nan (Southern) Tungchow Industrial and Agricultural System. Under the powerful influence of the ex-minister of Commerce and

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Agriculture, H. E. Chang Chien, and his brother Chang Sha, a number of Land Reclamation Companies have been organized, which have taken up the sea-board, two hundred miles long, and are developing it to raise cotton for the Tungchow and other mills. These properties which will eventually be worth three hundred million dollars, now require a few millions for development. The high rate of interest in China turns the eyes of the promoters to foreign capital.

Now enters the political issue. The Japanese get into touch with Mr. Chang, and for two years or more, they have been coming, as he tells me, about once in every two months, with urgent offers of Japanese funds. The Chang brothers, preferring to deal with Americans are, up to date, still waiting to see what we will do.

Were this merely a business matter, it would be governed by the laws of supply and demand. But the Japanese Government is behind it. The writer holds a photograph of a group of Chinese and Japanese met to discuss the matter, and the central figures are the Japanese Consul with Mr. Chang's son. Late advices are to the effect that a party of Japanese government representatives have just been over the properties on a tour of inspection.

Let it be understood that the Lung-Hai Railway is the Ruhr Valley of China. The vast supplies of coal, iron, and grain, in North China now go far southwest to Hankow, and thence are shipped six hundred miles down the Yangtse River. And further Hankow is an international port, which means that in war it is closed to contraband, and the coal and iron are locked up. Now let Japan get a free-hand coaling station on the sea-coast, with direct access to the supplies, a place where she can station ships and troops, and gather Chinese mercenaries. This base would also overshadow the railway from Peking to Nanking, and thus control the country.

The ideal, of course, is what she learned from Prussia. With the conquest of Tsingtao she took over the German plan to build that Kaomi-Suchou branch line and tap the

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Lung-Hai. Having lost Tsingtao at the Washington Conference, she is now aiming at this second Tsingtao.

What has America done about it? The Chinese have repeatedly urged America to take hold. The representatives of the Consortium and of various financial interests have been approached. By official appointment from Peking, Mr. Chang's son visited America and other countries. But American financial vision has been obscured by the smoke-screen of political unrest, and Japanese propaganda. A few far sighted Americans have caught the idea, and plans are being discussed.

But this matter affects every man, woman, and child in America and the responsibility for success or failure must rest not with a few inviduals, but with the Government.

That the situation is not understood is evident from the fact that our Government approved the loan of 550,000,000 yen, which the Monarchy can use for securing China's resources and thus equip herself to fight us. That the money will be so used is manifest from the fact that when we generously sent ten millions for the rebuilding of Tokyo after the arthquake, three millions of it was used, as well informed Chinese tell us, to get a grip on the Ta Foong Reclamation Company, one section in the coveted base of operations on the China coast. To evaluate this colossal error, let us imagine, if it were possible, Great Britain or France before the World War loaning hundreds of millions of dollars to the Kaiser. And we hear hints that still more of our American money is to go the same way.

III. What must be done?

We have the key to the situation in our own hands, but seem in danger of losing it. Our historic policy of disinterested friendship has given us a powerful vantage, which is the envy of others. The Sino-American friendship, amounting almost to an **entente**, can and should determine the future of the Orient. But have we the vision to see that this friendship is worth while? With the Pacific Coast held by a strong, friendly China, we will have no

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war in the Orient. But let Japan get China, let Russia get China, in either case it means trouble for us.

To lose this tremendous vantage and take up with the Balfour Policy, is, to put it mildly, an error of statesmanship. For the sake of the uninformed, let me say that the Balfour Policy is based on the principle of upholding the effete Japanese Monarchy, and entrusting them with the protection of Western interests in the Orient.

Mr. Roosevelt discerned that Eastern politics are a phase of the European. But he failed to see that the democratic element in Britain and on the Continent are a safer guide than the Monarchistic. Had he done so, we might not have been a party to the sacrifice of Korea before the Balfour Moloch.

The fatal weakness of this policy shows up in the World War. The Japanese Monarchy, teetering in the balance, whether to stand by their obligations under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, or follow their natural leaning towards Prussianism, had to be bribed, and Russia, France, England, guaranteed them a free hand in Tsingtao. Do we not see that had the Monarchy held Tsingtao and carried out the Twenty-One Demands, the Pan-Asiatic Empire would have been established, ready to go eastward? India and the Philippines would have been the first to fall before it. Indeed the question rings loud now, as to whose gold is behind these bogus independence movements in the Philippines.

Happily England still has her Cromwells and her Pitts. While America was listening to the Balfour siren, men like Bertram Lennox Simpson, and Meighen, of Canada, were breaking up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. And Wilson partly retrieved the situation by securing the promise of a voluntary recession of Tsingtao, which the Washington Conference carried out.

Let me, therefore, take the liberty of urging that America lay down as the deep foundation of her Oriental Policy the Sino-American friendship. The antiquated Japanese Monarchy and the young Red Russia alike are reaching for China as a pawn in the game. We want, not

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China, but her friendship. China needs us now. Some day we shall need China.

This means money? Why not. We have loaned hundreds of millions to struggling nations in Europe. But, some one will say, in China which party can speak for the nation. The party whom America chooses to uphold, can speak for China, provided they represent the present-day Republican ideals. For the heart of China is now fixed on free government. It was this which overthrew the Manchus, and which with the support of America and the British dominions can dominate the East.

There are two essentials for America.

Firstly: For the positions which dominate our Oriental policy, whether in the departments, in the congressional committees, or the diplomatic service, choose men who will stand for the Sino-American friendship.

Secondly: Lose no time in taking steps to see that the Kiangsu Sea-board stays in Chinese hands.

Respectfully submitted,

HUGH W. WHITE.

Yencheng, Kiangsu, China.
Pro Tem; Bedford, Virginia.

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(The bound volumes above are in the Congressional Library.)

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Ottawa, Ont., December 1, 1924.

My dear Sir Robert,

I am a little late in acknowledging your kind letter of the 11th with enclosed analysis of the provisions of the protocol recently adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations. This analysis is of real advantage to me, and I thank you very much for the trouble you have gone to.

Yours very truly,

The Right Honourable,
Sir Robert Borden, G.C.M.G., etc.,
Ottawa, Ont.,

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RLB has read both enclosures

056303

Ottawa, December 8, 1924.

My dear Christie:

Many thanks indeed for your letter, enclosing your letter to the Times and also Mr. Garland's article. I have read both with the keenest of interest. I presume you have seen Sir Robert Borden's analysis of the Protocol in which analysis he appears to strongly support it.

Yours very truly,

Loring C. Christie, Esq.,
41, Threadneedle Street,
London, E.C.,
England.

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41, Threadneedle Street,
London, E.C.

27.XI.24

My Dear Meighen

I have burst in to tory & perhaps you would be interested to hear the warble in view of the subject, so I enclose a cutting from "The Times". Amery was good enough to write me a note of congratulation on it, which gives me some confidence as he has studied these General Staff problems very fully.

There is an interesting article by Garvin.

I venture also to commend to your attention if you have time for it an article in the forthcoming - December - issue of the "Round Table". It is by Philip Kerr though I collaborated a little, it is called "The British Commonwealth, the League and the Protocol".

In the same issue there will be

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another article analyzing the Protocol in detail. It's by another fellow who has had a great deal of experience here in South Africa.

Best wishes

Yours sincerely

Loring C. Christie

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Times 25.XI.24 56306

Letters to the Editor.

GENEVA AND THE EMPIRE.

PROTOCOL "SANCTIONS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Many of your oversea readers will surely feel disturbed on reading Professor Gilbert Murray's letter in your issue of November 18. While ready for the utmost practicable development of those aspects of the League comprising the conference system, with its ancillary arbitral and judicial mechanisms—especially in the sense of securing that universality of membership in reliance upon which the Empire ratified the Covenant—they will undoubtedly, in common with many here, insist that the aspect denoted by the now fashionable word "sanctions" is a wholly different matter. For this is a polite word meaning that the Geneva Protocol, whatever else it is, is in the end an agreement to fight. It is the anticipation of our armed forces in action and is therefore to be measured now strictly with reference to the resistances naturally provoked by such action which will confront the Empire all over the world from the moment it begins.

What I venture especially to underline is the actual calculation with reference to America upon which, apparently, the authors of the Protocol proceeded at Geneva; for evidently, in view of his official position there, Professor Gilbert Murray's statement must give a strong clue to this. And it is corroborated by many circumstances. The calculation has been in the air for a good while. America, it runs, has been demanding that before anything is to be expected from her Europe must get together. "American public opinion . . . . welcomes the adoption by Europe of a proposal—largely suggested and pressed by an American committee—for the 'outlawry of war.'" This Protocol, it concludes, meets the request, and so we must go ahead with it.

Now, in the first place, the effective forces that dominate American politics and strategy, when they think of Europe at all, do not envisage a section of it; they look at the Continent as a whole. To them the most obvious fact about the Protocol will be that, so far from its being a proposal of the whole Continent, it was produced—in a headlong fashion at that—without the collaboration of the great people who occupy Central Europe, to say nothing of those who dominate the North and East. This fact has its significance for the Empire as well as for America.

But what, coming from such a source, is really disturbing is the suggestion that the British Empire, which is in fact a world system with an experience and knowledge of the world in action far beyond what America herself can claim, must nevertheless regard itself as an integral part of the distinctively Continental system, because some, or perhaps all, Americans would "welcome" this. It indicates how little the architects of this project have grasped the realities of the modern British Empire. One may understand the enthusiasm of these Americans, but it is for us to measure for ourselves just where our assumption of such a *rôle* would place us in relation to the national interests and probable action of all regions, whether American, Asiatic, or Continental. Throughout these five years we have had our experience of what comes from adopting in planetary architecture the suggestions of American committees and individuals before they can themselves guarantee the official adhesion of their own country; it is the one path into which we ought never again to allow ourselves to be tempted, whether the signpost read "outlawry of war" or bear some other legend equally enticing.

When at Washington the British Empire and America agreed to equalize their naval arms they in effect agreed to share equally the functions of sea power. Neither, therefore, is now entitled to commit itself to any policy involving any important use of sea power without unmistakably carrying the judgment of the other. This is not merely a treaty condition; it is one of the decencies of cooperation between people who have sincerely determined to cooperate. Until we are guaranteed American official participation in the discussion—and until Germany also is brought around the table—it seems clear it will be either fruitless or prejudicial for us even to discuss with others any elaboration of the "sanctions" aspect of the League. Our five years' experience suggests rather the opposite course whereby, resting on the conference and arbitration aspects, we should work towards revision of the existing "sanctions" in a sense more appropriate to our real position, which, as you, Sir, have so well pointed out, is not that merely of a European State.

No one, I believe, need apologize for repeating the simple but commanding fact that time has made of us a united Commonwealth living in actual contact with every region of the earth. Any agreement which seeks to ensure our fighting whole-heartedly together, for whatever object, must give evidence, easily intelligible to all our peoples, that the repercussions of such action on every region have been exhaustively studied and provided for. It remains to be seen whether, indeed, at this stage of our growth we can profitably concern ourselves at all with any attempt to reduce such an anticipation to the rigidity of a written formula. The impatience of the Paris Peace Conference in the face of its conditions is intelligible; impatience in Geneva to-day is not, for we can afford to take time for cooler surveys and we can scarcely afford anything else.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
LORING C. CHRISTIE.

London, Nov. 20.

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FALSE PEACE OR TRUE?

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL.

SOME FATAL OBJECTIONS.

GREAT ISSUES EXAMINED.

(By J. L. GARVIN.)

To the ordinary citizen the word "protocol" is figuratively and literally Greek. It is the name, however, given by Geneva to a new body of proposals which might engage the nation and the Empire in the gravest and most complicated commitments ever undertaken. Altering deeply in several ways the original Covenant, these proposals are sincerely intended as an efficient and beneficent peace-system. Yet they might have the reverse effect. Thinkably, indeed, this vast, elaborate compact—for it is nothing less—might involve even the following hazards: First, the destruction of Anglo-American friendship; second, the diplomatic disruption of the British Empire; third, more difficulties, burthens, and risks for Great Britain than for any other country whatever; fourth, the permanent abstention of Germany and Russia, as well as the United States, from the League; and, fifth, the ultimate danger of another, and perhaps worse, Armageddon, after a temporary period of repressive security.

This is a staggering list of conceivable disadvantages, and they do not exist only in fantasy. These various hazards belong to different degrees of possibility; but all of them are raised in fact and reality to an extent that no sane statesman in any part of the British Empire can afford for one moment to ignore. The General Election wholly distracted public attention from this immense issue. It is high time for the flood of interpretation and criticism which has now begun. Obviously the Protocol is a document that in the popular phrase needs some looking at.

I.—Cabinet, Protocol and League.

It is not a party question. It must be faced in a constructive temper. Under the provisions of the Protocol itself there can be no hurry about it. There is accordingly no present occasion for excitement, though there is great and immediate reason for anxious but not timid thought. Whatever else this problem requires, it demands fundamental brain-work, and the firmest discrimination between what we can do and what we cannot. We shall proceed, ourselves, to scrutinise the propositions of this subsidiary Covenant with a desire to promote by amendments and alternatives the aims and interests of world-peace. There can be no question of shirking our due share in the common responsibility. And yet it is absolutely impossible to accept the Protocol as it stands. There can be no summary rejection. Even after the prolonged deliberation now necessary we could not on merely negative grounds refuse to adhere, and fling the document back to Geneva without counter-suggestion. Some constructive substitute must be found, and some serious responsibility must be undertaken. We have to bend ourselves to the support and development and right direction of the League.

From this standpoint the Government, faced at the outset with a double difficulty, has done well. On one hand it has been made clear that a long examination of the Protocol must be entered upon, and that the British reply must be postponed for a considerable time until the views of the Dominions have been considered. On the other hand, the new Foreign Secretary has already given the League a conspicuous assurance of support by the full authority of his office. Mr. Chamberlain has decided to attend in person the meeting of the Council which opens in Rome in the second week of December. This is an important step. It is certain that the true purposes of the League and Covenant have lost nothing by the change of Government in this country.

II.—Origin and Scope of the New Plan.

Next let us explain as simply as we can the scope and essence of the Protocol and how it came into being. The instrument was unanimously adopted by the Fifth Assembly of the League at the beginning of last October. The British delegation was entirely over-matched on that occasion. France by comparison was brilliantly represented and enjoyed the especial co-operation of the delegates from Eastern Europe—the great danger-zone of the future—headed by that remarkable statesman, Dr. Benesh, of Prague, who has made this subject his own and might be called the father of the Protocol if any one person could claim that name. Accordingly, the document when framed was of a definitely "Continental" type, whereas the conditions of the British Empire, amphibious and world-wide, demand large modifications of the purely European point of view.

The Covenant left some loop-holes for legitimate wars. This we have always recognised as a weakness. Accordingly the Protocol invites the adhesion of the nations of the League to the round proposition that the pacific adjustment of all disputes whatever shall be compulsory; and that any nation whatever resorting to violence in defiance of the new plan shall be outlawed and constrained. This big principle and its practical implications are contained in a preamble and twenty-one articles. The opening words of the preamble declare a "firm desire to ensure the maintenance of general peace and the security of nations whose existence, independence, or territories may be threatened."

III.—Seven Stipulations.

There is no need to epitomise all the pursuant articles. Their purport we set out briefly as follows:—

1.—All disputes whatever must be submitted for pacific settlement either to the Hague Court, to the League itself, or to a special tribunal of arbitration. The verdict shall be final whether given by judicial sentence, League decision, or arbitral award. Any State whatever, whether a member of the League or not, refusing to accept the foregoing process and resorting to force shall be deemed an Aggressor.

2.—Disputes on questions claimed by a State to be solely domestic and outside the proper purview of the League may nevertheless be brought before the League on the initiative of another State.

3.—Demilitarised zones are recommended. Such zones already existing or to be created may be placed under the direct supervision of the League. "Violation of the rules laid down for a demilitarised zone shall be held equivalent to resort to war."

4.—For purposes of action against an Aggressor, the Council "shall be entitled to receive undertakings from States determining in advance the military, naval, and air forces which they would be able to bring into action immediately." States thus invoked shall "give each other mutual support by means of facilities and reciprocal exchanges as regards the provision of raw materials and supplies of every kind, openings of credits, transport and transit, and for this purpose take all measures in their power to preserve the safety of communications by land and by sea."

5.—Any State not a member of the League but involved in dispute with a signatory State shall subject itself to the same compulsory law of pacific adjustment; or upon refusal shall be declared an Aggressor.

6.—Under the auspices of the League there shall be opened next June, at Geneva, a World-Conference for the reduction of armaments—States not members to be invited.

7.—The whole Protocol shall come into force as soon as a plan for the reduction of armaments has been adopted on paper; but if the Council afterwards can be brought to a declaration that the plan of reduction has not been carried out in fact, the Protocol shall be rendered null and void.

This is the plainest summary we can make of the whole scheme. As we said, it is of the "Continental" type, and is based at bottom upon a military mentality and not upon considerations of moral justice or of far-sighted practical sagacity. The formalism of the articles covers a thousand meanings and contingencies. An adequate degree of searching comment would require many studies such as this. We must confine ourselves here to main points.

IV.—The United States Repelled.

For the whole world outside that insufficient portion of Europe which at present belongs to the League the Protocol is unsuitable or nugatory, to say nothing worse. Upon this proposed basis, the United States, Germany, and Russia never could join the League; the British Empire would be compelled to withdraw from the League; and the League would cease to exist.

Take first the case of the English-speaking world, and, above all, the case of the United States. Washington will never accept the supernational sovereignty of Geneva. America will repudiate and at need repel and extinguish any pretension of the League to interfere in any shape or form with questions that the United States may consider "solely domestic." The American Republic, for the present, means to remain the unfettered judge of its own procedure. France and the Little Entente do not understand America. The means they take can only tend to defeat their ends. The United States, until it chooses voluntarily to enter the League, must be regarded by all wise persons as a parallel and independent Power, totally exempt from the rules of the League. Any other view means failure and disaster. As a non-member, the American Republic simply will not be cited in any connection.

The obscure clauses claiming for the League an uncertain latitude of consideration and pronouncement on questions which a signatory or other State might hold to be "solely domestic" were influenced by Japan. The method was an error. The question of Asiatic immigration into white communities may become a bigger and more fateful matter than any European issue, but it is a question whereon the United States will not tolerate any interference or intervention whatever on the part of Geneva. The Protocol is born dead on this score; and unless amendments are adopted to exclude this kind of interference by Geneva the League will be dead. In this connection we must face the certain facts whether we like them or not. Misunderstanding must be specifically eliminated.

V.—The British Empire's Position.

Next, for more various reasons, Great Britain and the British Empire cannot accept the Protocol as it stands. They must request large modifications. And for the following reasons. The British self-governing Dominions are at one with the United States on immigration. It is their domestic affair, and in regard to that they will not suffer from Geneva any tutelage, direct or indirect. That contingency must be totally excluded.

Again, neither Great Britain nor the Dominions at this stage will in advance manacle themselves to uncertain commitments and unknown responsibilities. They will not consent to run any risk whatever of being dragged into hostilities against their judgment and conscience. They will not allow themselves to be bound beyond appeal by the opinion of their delegates in the distinctive atmosphere of Geneva. Great Britain and the Dominions will retain their final right and freedom to judge of their duty when the concrete circumstances arise. Without debate and decision in their Parliaments, no English-speaking community will allow blood and treasure to be devoted. The supremacy of the representative principle will have to be preserved in every self-governing community of the English-speaking world. To that necessity the "Continental" type of theory, embodied in the Protocol, must be adapted before there can be any practical progress towards realising the ideals of that document.

Further, the British Navy cannot be safely used for purposes of blockade unless there is sure agreement with America. It is utterly idle to minimise the possibilities of friction in this respect. The United States, by an agreement which overrides every other consideration of our policy, is an equal naval Power. Every student of American history knows how susceptible Washington has always been to any limitation of the scope of American trading without American consent. Even in the war, though our case was as strong as it can ever be, there was dangerous friction. The circumstances are more delicate now, when Britain has ceased to possess the old absolute predominance on the seas. Mere optimistic conjecture and verbiage are futile. We must in fact know without doubt where we are. We must have elementary securities of our own before we can pledge ourselves to offer naval and economic securities to others in unknown contingencies. If any big British naval operation on behalf of the League came seriously into question the Foreign Secretary would have to send for the American Ambassador and exchange communications with Washington before debate in the House of Commons could be confidently faced. In Great Britain and the Dominions alike, parliamentary control over issues of peace or war must and will remain absolute.

VI.—"Unlimited Liability."

In the cause of world-peace, Anglo-American friendship comes first; the League second. Any attempt to subordinate the former would destroy the latter. The British Empire as a whole would have to withdraw from the League rather than allow common action with the self-governing Dominions to be endangered. This basic certainty must be accepted at Geneva.

Again, as we hinted above, there must be some definite mitigation of the obvious hazard that more difficulties, burthens and risks might be involved for Great Britain than for any other country whatever. Glance again at paragraph No. IV. in our summary of the main provisions of the Protocol. There you will find large speech about the provision of raw materials, credits, transport and supplies of every kind under full naval security. The British Fleet and mercantile marine, inevitably called upon by all the other signatory States in every single emergency, would be expected to undertake the brunt of the general work. The British people would be expected to bear three-fourths of the general expenses; and again would never be repaid. We cannot and will not risk all this so loosely. Our economic commitments, like our contribution of life and armaments to any European purpose, must remain absolutely subject to the control of Parliament and our own national consent in the hour of crisis. The Protocol must be drastically amended to meet this necessity. Otherwise, we repeat, it would prove impossible for the nations of the British Commonwealth to remain in the League.

VII.—Germany and Russia Debarred.

So much for the English-speaking world. For the rest we can only glance very briefly at aspects not less grave. The framers of the Protocol knew just nothing of German conditions if they failed to realise that the articles as they stand would absolutely preclude Germany's adhesion to the League. For one thing, Germany lying in the centre might be made helplessly the main highway of passage and hostilities. The provision for "demilitarised zones" points carefully at the old bad project for subjecting the Rhineland permanently to an exceptional and alien though mixed régime. Nothing imaginable would be more certain to nourish in Germany the ideals—already formidable enough since the disastrous Ruhr occupation—of an ultimate war of freedom.

Equally, Russia could never come into the League on this basis. We must in this connection forget Bolshevism if we are to approach this subject with the rudiments of intelligence. When Bolshevism passes away Russian nationalism will remain. No party in that country accepts the boundaries and conditions which were settled without the consent or approval even of that part of Russian opinion which had been most faithful to the Allies' cause.

VIII.—"Peace Pro Tem . . ."

Sooner or later there must be some revision of frontiers and conditions in Eastern Europe if there is to be any chance for peace. It would be fatal if the new nationalities in that region were only induced by a facile signature of the Protocol to rely upon ultimate force in the name of Geneva, and therefore to insist on maintaining every line and letter of the Versailles Treaties. Upon that basis there could be no real reduction of concrete armaments, because there could be no disarmament of minds. And thus there could be no Protocol according to the vital proviso of that document itself.

Ultimately there will be no world-peace without some reasonable arrangements for the revision of the Versailles Treaties. By no possibility can the British Empire pledge its united resources to guarantee every defective frontier that exists and to stereotype the present map in Eastern Europe as well as in Western. That attempt could only mean peace pro tem. maintained by the latent threat of concerted repression and certain to lead to another Armageddon at some more or less distant remove.

This nation and the Empire must discriminate sanely between nearer and further questions, between vital and subsidiary issues, between just claims and dubious. We must limit, define, and control our obligations in order that we may be able to discharge them without fail if emergency demands. We cannot undertake vainly to guarantee promiscuously the security of other nations by means that would profoundly jeopardise our own. We must keep intact at all costs the political unison of the Mother Country and the self-governing Dominions. We must remember that Anglo-American accord is the one thing more essential than the League itself in its present imperfect phase. We must seek to widen the League and not to hinder, or rather prohibit, its extension as the Protocol virtually does. We must keep in view the world-question as well as the European question. We must firmly modify the "continental" mentality by the amphibious mentality of the English-speaking world. All this is only the negative case, but it must be stated for the real cause of "provident foresight" and reason, safety, and justice. We shall consider in another study what constructive alternatives are possible in the better interests of the League and peace.

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A WELL-WARMED HOUSE.

For a progressive people we Britishers cling surprisingly to old-world ideas. Railway carriages are still called "coaches" by railway men. It is said that the first motor-car bodies built in this country had a "bucket" for the whip. When central heating was first brought to our attention, we did not at once abandon the plan of warming a house room by room; we merely replaced fireplaces with radiators. Heating was still localised.

Of course, that is not the heating plan of to-day. Eventually we shall warm the whole house, instead of single rooms. Such a system is the only rational one, and fortunately is already available by means of the International Onepipe Heater. This installation warms the entire house, including halls, passages, and rooms, through one grid, located on the ground floor, and does not require any pipes or radiators. A few days' work at a cost of about £120 to £140 completely instals the One-pipe Heater, and the economy in fuel begins the first day after it is erected.

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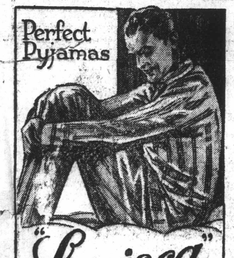

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At the Play.

PRODUCING AS A CAREER.

(By Lennox Robinson.)

Frankly, it was puzzling to receive a few weeks ago a letter from a gentleman in the Far East who occupies, apparently, a decently paid position in a commercial house of repute. He cannot be very young, but he is prepared to surrender his position and his assured salary if I will convince him that he will find in England opportunities of exercising his talent for play-production. This talent is not imaginary or untried, he has twenty years of amateur production to his credit, the photographs I have seen of his stage settings show imagination and a great deal of beauty—though it is impossible merely from photographs to judge these finally—and his range of production is broad and extends from Shakespeare and the more fantastic plays of Lord Dunsany to "The Angel in the House."

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I am always more on the side of happiness—the sort of happiness that comes from self-expression—than on the side of the big battalions of steady incomes and pensions and permanent positions, and I wrote not discouragingly, thinking that I was safe, at least, in saying that there were more openings now in England for an intelligent and artistic producer than heretofore, and that, leaving London aside, there were little theatres springing up—or preparing to spring up—all over the country, and that the next ten years would probably see a great renaissance of theatrical endeavour, and that consequently producers would be in demand. But I had to add that I was very uncertain as to whether a producer of his kind could, at present, make a decent living in the provincial English theatre, could even make enough money to exist on. In this last matter I stand open to correction. I write in comparative ignorance, and no one will be better pleased than I shall be if I am informed that I am mistaken and that play-production in England is a safe and fairly prosperous career.

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The subject is one of considerable importance. It is very evident that the small society struggling into existence which dreams of some day developing into a municipal repertory theatre stands or falls less by the quality of its plays or of its players than by the quality of its production. It courts and wins instant failure if the plays it produces are the London successes of a year or two ago—the excellent touring companies can beat it at that game with one hand tied behind their backs—but choosing a play—great masterpiece though it be—which has not got the veneer of a popular success will not save it either, or at best will only partly save it. The acting will probably fall very far short of the standard set by the touring companies, and the plays may be further handicapped by having to be performed in halls with badly equipped stages. It will need a very clever producer to bring the quality of the performance to the standard set by the local theatre royal or by the local cinemas; it will need a producer who is more than clever to bring it beyond that standard. Yet the society's existence is only justified if the quality of the play and the beauty and excellence of its production surpass every other dramatic entertainment that the town is offered, and therefore I insist that the greatest asset the struggling society can have is a producer of distinction.

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But production, even on the ordinary stage, is no easy task, and production when the play has to be presented on a platform less accustomed to play-actors than to political and religious orators, is a very difficult one. "The Gods of the Mountain" in a West End theatre, on a decently equipped stage, and with a reasonable amount of money available for costume and scenery, presents no insuperable difficulties, but to have to present it in a Yorkshire town in the local hall, and with a very light purse, is a different matter. It can be done very effectively in that local hall, but only by a producer who has a great deal of ingenuity and a great deal of time, and only after a considerable amount of experiment. But how difficult it may be in this Yorkshire town to find a person with these qualifications, and, the society being young and struggling, is it likely to be able to afford to import a competent producer? Can it, for instance, buy the services of my correspondent from the Far East?

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The answer almost certainly must be "no," and yet it is worth while counselling perfection and insisting on the point that good work can seldom be got for nothing, and that the best work the young society can do is in the direction of beautiful and efficient production, and that this work is well worth paying for. I have pleaded, and I am not ashamed to plead again, that a society should endeavour to put itself, to a very large extent, season by season, into the hands of some competent producer, changing its producer if need be, each season. A producer's best work will only be called out by plays in which he is deeply interested, and no society need fear that the part the producer plays in the art of the theatre will overshadow and throw out of proportion the things that matter more. When all has been said and done by the producer the playwright and the player have the final word, and no play worth producing has ever exalted the producer above these two. But it matters to an extraordinary degree how the playwright's words are spoken, how the scenes are arranged, how the costumes are worn. The masterpiece—uncommercial success though it be—performed in the local hall and directed by a producer of intelligence, ingenuity, and knowledge will beat every time for excitement and pleasure the performances at the local theatre royal or at the local cinemas. Perhaps we once insisted too emphatically on the importance of the producer in the theatre, and it may be true that the well-made ordinary play in the hands of professional players can be left to look after itself, but the less well-made play in the hands of amateurs needs production and production and production.

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That was why it seemed worth while to answer my correspondent somewhat encouragingly, and yet when I think of the producers which England has let slip—and is letting slip—through her fingers I feel that perhaps I have been unduly optimistic. But I found it difficult to discourage and banish for ever from England a man who seemed to have a talent which the English theatre could use to its advantage.

Sir George McLaren Brown, European General Manager, Canadian Pacific Railway, has returned to London after a brief visit to Canada.

Mr. G. M. Bosworth, chairman, Canadian Pacific Steamships, Ltd., has arrived in London, and is staying at the Hyde Park Hotel.

THE WEEK'S THEATRES.

(By Hubert Griffith.)

Old Vic.

"A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM."

By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Mr. Lytton Strachey's brilliant essay on "Shakespeare's Final Period" must have produced a considerable effect on every intelligent person that read it. There are critics who for years have been telling us that because the last plays of all, "The Winter's Tale," "The Tempest," "Pericles," are peopled with Mirandas and Ferdinands, with Prosperos and Perditas and Prince Florizels of Bohemia—with chaste maidens and wise uncles, and with engaging juvenile leads, with romances ending happily—the mind of their author was at that time a happier and serener mind than it had ever been before. It is common supposition that when he took his dukedom and retired from the murk of London to the fields of Stratford, his vision became clear and exalted, and took on the colour of ineffable peace. But how much, says Mr. Strachey, is there to prove it? The last plays of all have happy endings, it is true. But are there no brothel-keepers and Iachimos and Trinculos in the latest plays? The voice of Shakespeare's poetry that they all of them speak is still a voice of unsurpassable splendour. But where does his other supreme gift, the gift of character, survive? Is it in the dummies he takes for his heroes and heroines, the Mirandas and Ferdinands? No. Character as he saw it in the end had come to be Cloten and Iachimo, Leontes, and Caliban, clowns and knaves and tyrants with obsessions. His last words on the loveliness of poetry come from Prospero, an abstraction. But his last words on character, the mind setting down with fierce intensity what it sees rather than what it imagines, is Caliban. Mr. Strachey is probably right in saying that Shakespeare did not die as happy as men have hitherto made out.

The final comparison is between Nick Bottom of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Shakespeare's first great masterpiece of characterisation, and Caliban, his last. A world separates them. Such characters in "The Tempest" as live, are seen in nightmare flashes of shuddering insight. The people in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" live, all of them—fairies, clowns, princes and young lovers equally—in the light of one ethereal ray, that of loving and laughing and being alive. The thing is refined up to the last pitch of refinement. Nick Bottom is a very amused and witty study of a clown as a clown; but when, in one of the tenderest scenes in all poetry, he is made love to by Titania, and his ass's head is crowned

With coronet of fresh and fragrant flowers,

there is nothing incongruous in the situation. Shakespeare loved him. Shakespeare at the time he wrote the play must have been in love with everything in the world. If "A Midsummer Night's Dream" is not the finest play in the world, at least its magic while it is being played is absolute. It makes one think it is.

I have left very little space to say how well it was done at the Old Vic. Mr. John Garside's staging was beautiful. The play can stand just that amount of elaboration of scenery and lighting, and no more. Mr. George Hayes' performance was fine, and there is any amount of talent among the junior members of the company.

Phœnix Society.

"EPICOENE, OR THE SILENT WOMAN."

By BEN JONSON.

Other times, other manners. So much so, indeed, that I came away from this performance wishing that Ben Jonson were still alive. Not that I might make his alarming acquaintance (the risk of his not liking one would be too great), but that he might be writing modern plays about people for whom I could feel a warmer sympathy than I did for the wits and dupes and bullies in this roaring, man-baiting farce.

Ben is a rare but not an insinuating writer. He stuns rather than charms. His pen is both rapier and bludgeon, and when he feels a personal antipathy or notes a ridiculous whimsey, he is apt to run amok. Here he combines a schoolboy love of practical joking with a wit that cuts like steel and a diction that is a sort of literary Niagara in spate. The result tends to leave the modern playgoer breathless. I confess that I was only too willing at times to lose touch with the rigours of the plot and to be swept along on the rhetorical flood which roars and surges so magnificently. The unflagging brilliance of the verbal horseplay left my modern withers unwrung by the archaic crudity of the physical. Though when the flood had subsided, and I was able to feel and reflect again, this baiting of an old and unhappy invalid did seem rather poor sport after all. But that was a belated humanitarianism, a kind of reactionary chill. My enjoyment of the play was not merely a literary carouse, however; for certain of its scenes still shine splendidly in my memory. There is that robust counterpart of the duel in "Twelfth Night," for one; and, more notably, that in which the sad old valetudinarian consults the doctors on divorce. This was the richest comedy.

The Phœnix Players rose courageously to the difficult demands of the play. And if there was no outstanding performance, there were several that were very good. Mr. Cedric Hardwicke's Morose was sound in conception and perfect in appearance; and it was hardly this actor's fault that one found it somewhat monotonous in action. As an impersonator of racy old rascals, few actors that I have seen can surpass Mr. Alfred Clark, whose exposition of canon law was irresistible. Mr. Henry Hewitt kept abreast of Clerimont's boisterous impulses very sportingly, and Mr. David Brynley sang a charming song charmingly. There remain the ladies—the Ladies Collegiates—all too mature, I thought, though they served to set off Mr. Godfrey Winn's Epicœne very effectively. This young actor sustained his epicœne part in this Jacobean hullaballoo extremely well.

H. H.

Ambassadors.

"THE GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED."

By H. M. HARWOOD.

Mr. H. M. Harwood's "The Grain of Mustard Seed," still shows itself to be among the small number of first-rate plays produced since the war. It avoids being a great play. To be that, either its political satire would have to cut deeper, or else the relationship of the self-made business man, political idealist and reformer, Weston, and the girl Marjorie, daughter of the hereditary ruling classes, would have to be more fully worked out. Mr. Harwood avoids both these. His political satire is extraordinarily apt and amusing journalism, written by an observer who knows his people. The relationships between Weston and the girl, and between the girl and her lover, are touched upon without a false note. Mr. Harwood has done enough with both sides of his story to make us believe that if he had given himself time he could have got something deep out of either. Instead, he has run them both together. The result is a play that is perfect, without being great. Mr. Harwood is a man of wit. There are strokes in the dialogue that Congreve would have enjoyed. The play is being played at matinées on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. In case I am accused of belittling it on the sole grounds that it does not contain depths that its author carefully avoided putting into it, I would advise anyone who reads this criticism to lose no chance of seeing it for themselves.

The cast, with one important exception, is the same as the original one. It could hardly have been improved. Mr. Fred Kerr is again the venerable political figure, Lord Henry Markham. Go and watch Mr. Kerr. Go and watch him for two minutes when he in turn is listening to or watching someone else. Come away and say, if you can, that you have not seen perfect acting. Miss Mabel Terry Lewis, Mr. Fewlass Llewellyn, Mr. Jack Hobbs, and Mr. Henry Caine have their original parts. Mr. Henry Caine is the chauffeur. That one passage of dialogue—

ELECTIONEERING AGENT: What did we fight this war for?

CHAUFFEUR: Ah, here you 've me

was received with something less than the vernal rapture of delight it caused on the play's first night. Though its answer is no nearer forthcoming the topic is staler. But it is the only remark in the whole play that has dated. Mr. Caine's performance of the small part is again quite perfect. Miss Cathleen Nesbitt is again the heroine. Miss Nesbitt is essentially a modern actress. She makes charm out of her intelligence and intelligence out of her charm.

The important point where the new ca[illegible] differs from the old is in having Mr. Nicho[illegible] Hannen instead of Mr. Norman McKinne[illegible] play Weston. Mr. McKinnel started [illegible] enormous natural advantages. Among [illegible] political butterflies his dour, solid, p[illegible]ful figure gave him at once an air of a[illegible] and power. Mr. Hannen is of a mi[illegible] build. Of so elegant a build, in fact, [illegible] easily mistaken at first for one of the [illegible] himself. Jerry Weston must not [illegible] at ease among the hereditary [illegible] much of the sense of conflict [illegible] Hannen is an actor. It took him [illegible] impose his own idea of Jerry [illegible] very good idea of Jerry Weston [illegible] After that he could do what [illegible]

Three Hundred Club.

"GUILTY SO[illegible]

By ROBERT Nic[illegible]

"Guilty Souls," done by [illegible] dred Club last Sunday even[illegible] teresting to see acted than [illegible] the personalities of the ac[illegible] freshen it up. But it still [illegible] and indifferent play. [illegible] bine two manners, and [illegible] them. The opening [illegible] a solicitor in a prov[illegible] ambitious and in need o[illegible] some securities. By good [illegible] he can put the guilt of [illegible] partner, Vyson, a young [illegible] and escape himself scot[illegible] seven years. Vyson, afte[illegible] supposed to have gon[illegible] drowned, but has not, [illegible] done so. He returns as [illegible] hold of his rich partner, [illegible] remorse and to haunt [illegible] "conscience," and to d[illegible] recklessness and despair [illegible] as "The Bells," but [illegible] drama of the first water [illegible]

Thereafter for the nex[illegible] next three acts lasted [illegible] three hours—Mr. Niel[illegible] comes interested in the [illegible] science and the gloomy [illegible] chief participants. A [illegible] again. Why not chang[illegible] middle of a drama? W[illegible] many things in life beg[illegible] drama, and then, when [illegible] hammer it out with the [illegible] lentlessness with which, [illegible] sequences of melodrama [illegible] approve in full of Mr. [illegible] and his plan.

But unfortunately Mr [illegible] power to carry it out. In [illegible] not persuade myself that [illegible] like real people. When [illegible] partner at the end of the [illegible] last extremity of anguish [illegible] gether and to make a fu[illegible] he stands at the head o[illegible] throat, and begins like [illegible] you here, rich, respected [illegible] of exemplary life, a pill[illegible] (The quotation is not ex[illegible] accurate enough.) The [illegible] of a soul in anguish. [illegible] municipal councillor at [illegible] could I think that the [illegible] were anything like the ac[illegible] life. When, again toward[illegible] the man, his wife, and [illegible] feels a romantic attachme[illegible] ethics of his confession, a[illegible] cal speculations, the wife [illegible] falls to the ground. The [illegible] tinue their discussion, tal[illegible] it has always seemed to [illegible] quickly puts a stop to me[illegible] as the presence in the sam[illegible] actual physical need. W[illegible] girl continued to dispute [illegible] Almighty would, or wou[illegible] gratified at the man's co[illegible] little crime, neglecting a [illegible] needed her clothes loosen[illegible] brandy, lying on the floor [illegible] them, I was so disgusted w[illegible] and conceit that the rest [illegible] faintest interest for me. [illegible] of their attitude all throug[illegible] written a play for puppets. [illegible] to pretend that he wasn't [illegible] big—something vague, an[illegible] with the more obscure an[illegible] men's souls. But he ha[illegible] sense of humour, which m[illegible] of proportion, and the resul[illegible]

O tedious night, O long [illegible]
Abate thy hours.

It was played through w[illegible] sincerity by the chief membe[illegible] Mr. Claude Rains, Mr. Er[illegible] Muriel Pratt, and Miss Dor[illegible] It was a great pleasure to [illegible] the stage again, and Mr. M[illegible] the incriminated Vyson, wa[illegible] things he has ever done.

Holborn Empire.

"ANGEL GR[illegible]

By BRUCE WIN[illegible]

Angel Grayce is an act[illegible] actress, who has spent lon[illegible] learning her job in the pro[illegible] collected a husband and son[illegible] process. She comes to L[illegible] success, and thereafter, for [illegible] her life, wears good cloth[illegible] spectable salary, and ha[illegible] little gaiety. (In actual [illegible] at about this point in t[illegible] actresses are told by shrewd [illegible] managers that it is vital fo[illegible] gin to be seen lunching at [illegible] at one or other of London [illegible] restaurants.) Her success [illegible] to her head and she falls [illegible] leading man. The one [illegible] play is the discussion brou[illegible] whether an actress must be [illegible] leading man in order to play [illegible] with him. I am surprised [illegible] himself an actor. It is argua[illegible] must have known love in o[illegible] passion on the stage—argu[illegible] The argument that she mu[illegible] love with her stage lover [illegible] nonsense. Acting is a su[illegible] game than that.

Thereafter events move qu[illegible] short play. The husband th[illegible] that success has excited her a[illegible] know what she's doing. Th[illegible] derstandably if not legitima[illegible] band is a little jealous of h[illegible] to spoil her innocent fun [illegible] piece of play-wrighting, beca[illegible] of view have a show of re[illegible] and rise naturally out of e[illegible] tragedy in the end, for the [illegible] out to be a bad lot, to hav[illegible] disowns) in the background [illegible] at the right moment. It [illegible] dramatic. But then so com[illegible] the play conducts itself to a [illegible] one doing anything fragrant [illegible] any point. For this reason [illegible] than a great many.

There was no tour de f[illegible] none needed. Miss Beatr[illegible] Miss Buena Bent, Mr. D[illegible] Tristan Rawson, and Mr [illegible] played the chief parts with [illegible] petence and very [illegible] mista[illegible]

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With the Compliments of

J. F. H. John S. Ewart

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"Reprinted from *The Dalhousie Review*, January 1925."

THE GENEVA PROTOCOL

JOHN S. EWART

THE League of Nations is a valuable institution, but in adopting the *Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes* (even *ad referendum*), it went much too far, or possibly only somewhat too fast. This will be submitted for the consideration of our parliament. We ought to understand it. For that purpose, we must recall some of the provisions of the Covenant—the League's constitution.

Article X. The famous Article X was as follows:

> The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Obviously, there is here a definite and wide-embracing obligation; for not only is that word (obligation) used, but there also appears the word "undertake." That the Council is "to advise" (only) "upon the means,''etc., does not affect the existence of the obligation to act—in the way advised, or in some other way. At every session of the League, Canada has endeavoured to eliminate or modify that obligation, but has failed. Either she ought never to have agreed to it, or, in agreeing, she should have added a reservation similar to that adopted by the United States' Senate (13th November, 1919):

> The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or interfere in controversies between nations, whether Members of the League or not, under the provisions of Article X.

Annexations of enemy territory after the war having been based, in many respects, upon no better principle than "woe to the defeated," the victors were well aware that the conquered would fight for restitutions as soon as favourable opportunities arrived. They provided, therefore, for mutual assistance in case of attempts to readjust the territorial boundaries.

They knew that Germany would submit but temporarily to Poland taking territory which separated eastern Prussia from

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western, to amputation of all her colonies, and to humiliating subjections of various kinds; that Russia would not indefinitely submit to the interposition of three little States (Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia—constituted out of Russian territory) between her and the waters of the Baltic; that Russia would decline to acquiesce in the assignment of Bessarabia (Russian since 1878) to Roumania; that Austria would refuse to recognize the transfer of her people to Italy on the south and to Czecho-Slovakia on the north; that the proud Magyars of Hungary would protest against their co-patriots being incorporated in Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia; that Bulgaria would fight again for Macedonia and an outlet on the Ægean; and that even Serbia would deem herself outraged by the inclusion of her people of the Banat of Temesvar within Roumanian boundaries.

The victors well knew all that. They took of the spoil what they pleased, and agreed to help one another to retain it. Of the thirty-two original Members of the League, fourteen were among the takers of profit; eleven were small American republics who were willing to exchange with the European Powers meaningless promises as to maintenance of territorial integrity; and the other seven were (1) India, (2) China, (3) Siam, (4) Liberia, (5) Portugal, (6) the United States, and (7) Canada. India's action was controlled by the British India Office. The next four took, probably, a very light view of their responsibility. The United States rightly refused to agree. Canada pledged her support, partly because of misrepresentation as to the effect of Article X, and partly under the belief that modification of it could be secured.

Articles XII, XIII, and XV. Articles XII and XIII of the Covenant provided for arbitration, but only for submission to

> the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute, or stipulated in any convention existing between them,

a limitation which rendered arbitration non-obligatory.

By Article XV, Members agreed that disputes not submitted to arbitration should be submitted to the Council of the League:

> If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

While it is possible that on occasion the prescribed unanimity will be secured as against some little nation, none of the stronger Powers will ever be so condemned. Such action would mean spectacular

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explosion of the League. The Shantung incident at the peace conference of 1919, the Corfu incident of a few months ago, and the Japanese action in connection with the recent Protocol make that clear.

Article XVI. The first clause of Article XVI of the Covenant is as follows:

> Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

This clause, it will be observed, is not only definite as to its obligatory character, but specific as to the means to be employed. The United States' Senate objected to it. Under it, should France—for example—disregard one of her covenants, Canada is bound to prevent (as far as possible) "all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals" of France and the United States—although not a member. Canada ought not to have assumed duty of that sort. Clause 2 of the same Article provided as follows:

> It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Protocol. The Protocol contains provisions not only more widely prohibitive of war, but still more categorically obligatory as to co-operation in suppressing war. Article II is as follows:

> The signatory States agree in no case to resort to war either with one another or against a State which, if the occasion arises, accepts all the obligations hereinafter set out, except in case of resistance to acts of aggression, or when acting in agreement with the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant and of the present Protocol.

The proposed methods of settlement of all disputes are elaborated. Disputants shall do so-and-so; the Council of the League shall do so-and-so; if the Council cannot agree, then so-and-so—arbitration, or Assembly, or Permanent Court of International Justice. Meanwhile the parties are to keep perfectly quiet—no increase in arma-

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ments, no "military, naval, air, industrial, or economic mobilization." If one party should become active, the other may complain; the Council may investigate, may "summon" a delinquent to stop, and may (if necessary) decide upon the measures to be taken. One wonders whether the draftsmen of these provisions really imagined that any great Power would fail in finding lawyers who would give to all these arrangements such interpretation as suited its purpose.

An Aggressor. Article 10 of the Protocolis supposed to provide a method by which the difficulty of ascertaining whether a nation is "an aggressor" or not is eliminated:

> Every State which resorts to war in violation of the undertakings contained in the Covenant or in the present Protocol is an aggressor.

It is an aggressor also (unless the Council shall unanimously declare otherwise),

> if it has refused to submit the dispute to the procedure of pacific settlement provided by Articles 13 and 15 of the Covenant as amplified by the present Protocol; or to comply with a judicial sentence or arbitral award, or with a unanimous recommendation of the Council; or has disregarded a unanimous report of the Council, a judicial sentence, or an arbitral award recognizing that the dispute between it and the other belligerent State arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the latter State; *nevertheless, in the last case, the State shall only be presumed to be an aggressor if it has not previously submitted the question to the Council or the Assembly, in accordance with Article XI of the Covenant.*
>
> The Council shall call upon the signatory States to apply forthwith against the aggressor the sanctions provided by Article II of the present Protocol, and any signatory State thus called upon shall thereupon be entitled to exercise the rights of a belligerent.

The words in italics were added at the instance of the Japanese for the purpose hereinafter mentioned.

Compulsory arbitration. Articles XII and XIII of the Covenant having provided for voluntary arbitration only, the League in 1920 adopted a statute providing (by paragraph 2 of Article 36) for the voluntary adoption of compulsory arbitration in four widely comprehensive classes of subjects, namely: (1) the interpretation of a treaty; (2) any question of international law; (3) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation; and (4) the nature or extent of the reparations to be made for the breach of an international obligation. The

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Protocol (Article 3) removes the facultative features of the statute. It provides as follows:

> The signatory States undertake to recognize as compulsory, *ipso facto* and without special agreement, the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in the cases covered by paragraph 2 of Article 36 of the Statute of the Court, but without prejudice to the right of any State, when acceding to the special protocol provided for in the said Article and opened for signature on December 1920, to make reservations compatible with the said clause.

The reason for the rider as to "reservations" was that the United Kingdom intimated that it would not agree to compulsory arbitration unless with the reservation that no question with reference to any action of the British fleet during war should be debatable. Thereby hangs a tale. During the wars of 1914-18 the British Government, when rules of international law proved to be embarrassing, paid no more attention to them than did any other nation. Determined to drive Germany to surrender by cutting off all importations, the British fleet treated neutral vessels as though international law gave them no protection. As against this attitude the United States made vigorous protest (remembering, no doubt, the circumstances which preceded the war of 1812). The Scandinavian Powers, particularly prejudiced by the action of the British fleet, also protested, but without effect. The United Kingdom, which had always refused to agree to the constitution of an international prize court, insisted that neutral ships should have such rights as British courts would allow them, and no others, and the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Stigstad case (December, 1918) was of very astonishing character. The Stigstad was a Norwegian ship loaded with briquettes sailing from a port in Norway to Rotterdam, a port in Holland, both countries being neutral. The briquettes, however, were intended to be transferred from Rotterdam to Germany, and, in pursuance of the embargo policy, the British fleet seized the ship. There was no doubt that (apart from the circumstance to be mentioned) the seizure was a flagrant breach of international law; but the Judicial Committee declared it to be valid, purely upon the ground that Germany was committing breaches of international law, and that, by way of retaliation for what Germany did as against some neutrals, the United Kingdom was justified in her proceedings as against other neutrals; just as though if one man takes my umbrella, that justifies me in taking the umbrella of somebody else. The Judicial Committee declared that

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> its function is, in protection of the rights of neutrals, to weigh on a proper occasion the measures of retaliation which have been adopted, and to enquire whether they are in their nature or extent other than commensurate with the prior wrong done, and whether they inflict on neutrals, when they are looked on as a whole, inconvenience greater than is reasonable under all the circumstances.

In other words, the rights of a neutral against British seizures were to be governed by consideration of the illegal actions of Germany. This being the British attitude, the reason for the reservation above referred to is very clear. The British Government would agree to compulsory arbitration, provided that the methods of the fleet during war were not to be limited by considerations of international obligation as interpreted by anybody but themselves.[1]

Canada may have to consider whether she would agree to the British reservation. Our present political association with the United Kingdom would insure us to some extent against damage by illegal action of the British fleet. But, for two reasons, Canada ought to hesitate in giving her assent to the British proposal: (1) because Canada would be much embarrassed if some other nations made similar or equivalent reservation, and (2) because it is certain that the United States would never agree to enter a League of Nations one of whose Protocols provided for compulsory arbitration upon the basis that the actions of the British fleet, vigorously protested against between 1914 and 1917, should be, if not legalized, at least protected against investigation or objection.

Domestic questions. The provisions of the Covenant applied to international difficulties only, and expressly (by paragraph 8 of Article XV) excluded consideration of domestic disputes. For the same purpose, Article 5 of the Protocol provided as follows:

> If in the course of an arbitration, such as is contemplated by Article 4 above, one of the parties claims that the dispute or part thereof arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the arbitrators shall on this point take the advice of the Permanent Court of International Justice through the medium of the Council. The opinion of the Court shall be binding upon the arbitrators, who, if the opinion is affirmative, shall confine themselves to so declaring in their award.
>
> *If the question is held by the Court or by the Council to be a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State, this decision shall not prevent consideration of the situation by the Council or by the Assembly under Article I of the Covenant.*

The words in italics were inserted at the instance of the Japanese, for the purpose hereinafter mentioned.

1. Space need not be devoted to a suggested modification of the eservation. The British parliament would certainly not agree to it.

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It has been suggested, however, that the distinction between international and domestic questions is not so clear as was thought. It is argued (Italy argued it with reference to British coal) that if one country contain a supply of raw material needed by another country, the possessing country has no right to inhibit exportation under reasonable conditions. Basing their arguments on contention of that sort, the Japanese have insisted at meetings of the League that the right of the nationals of one country to reside in another is not a matter of domestic importance, but, on the contrary, one of such high international moment that its non-recognition might possibly constitute a menace to the peace of the world. They desire, therefore, to bring questions of that character within the jurisdiction of the League, and at the recent meeting, in spite of strenuous opposition, they succeeded in forcing (I do not think the word too strong) a compromise with which, as a commencement at all events, they may well be satisfied.

The Article of the Protocol (above quoted) which defines the word "aggressor," provided that a nation shall be "an aggressor" if it disregards

> a judicial sentence or an arbitral award recognizing that the dispute between it and the other belligerent State arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the latter State.

The Japanese objected to this. They urged that should they demand arbitration upon the subject of residence in the United States, for example, the decision might be that the matter was one of domestic concern, and that, in that case, if they disregarded the decision, they would be an aggressor-nation. They have succeeded in avoiding that result by securing the adoption of two clauses. The first was the addition to Article 5 as above quoted in italics:

> If the question is held by the Court, or by the Council, to be a matter solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State, this decision shall not prevent consideration of the situation by the Council, or by the Assembly, under Article XI of the Covenant.

The second of the clauses is the rider to Article 10 as above quoted in italics, providing that although a nation becomes "an aggressor" by refusing to accept judicial or arbitral decisions with reference to the subject of domestic jurisdiction—

> Nevertheless....the State shall only be presumed to be an aggressor if it has not previously submitted the question to the

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> Council, or the Assembly, in accordance with Article XI of the Covenant.

Article XI of the Covenant is as follows:

> Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared to be a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.
>
> It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

The effect of these various provisions when taken together is that, although the Permanent Court should declare that the dispute

> arises out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction

of one of the parties; and although, in that case, the arbitrators who have the dispute in hand "shall confine themselves to so declaring in their award", the defeated party may still require "consideration of the situation by the Council or by the Assembly under Article XI of the Covenant," and thereupon "the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

Domestic questions are excluded by one set of clauses, and introduced by the almost imperceptible co-relation of three widely-separated provisions; with the result that should the Japanese disregard "a judicial decision, or an arbitral award," and inaugurate war in connection with what they choose to view as an international and not a domestic question, Japan will not be "an aggressor." Why should not other recalcitrants be similarly free in other cases? Simply because Japan insisted, and they did not.

Spoliations safeguarded. Safeguarding the spoliations of the peace conference, the Protocol contains the unfair provision that, although one of the fourteen recipient-nations may for some future reasons be declared "an aggressor", and may, for example, suffer defeat at the League-authorized hands of one of the 1914-18 defeated nations—

> Nevertheless, in view of Article X of the Covenant, neither the territorial integrity nor the political independence of the

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> aggressor shall in any case be affected as the result of the application of the sanctions mentioned in the present Protocol.

The defeated nations of 1914-18 were despoiled on the ground that they were the aggressors. If that was right, this clause is wrong.

Sanctions. The Protocol (Article II) removes any doubt that may have existed as to the categorical character of the obligations of Articles X and XVI of the Covenant. Offering advice by the League under Article X becomes a power "to call upon the signatory States to apply sanctions"; and when that is done, the "obligations" of paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article XVI

> shall be interpreted as obliging each of the signatory States to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and in resistance to any act of aggression, in the degree which its geographical position and its particular situation as regards armaments allow.

If Canada's geographical position is on the North American continent, our ineffective armaments may be something of an asset. But if we are part of a world-investing State? The Protocol then proceeds as follows:

> In accordance with Paragraph 3 of Article 16 of the Covenant, the signatory States give a joint and several undertaking to come to the assistance of the State attacked or threatened, and to give each other mutual support by means of facilities and reciprocal exchanges as regards the provision of raw materials and supplies of every kind, openings of credit, transport and transit, and for this purpose to take all measures in their power to preserve the safety of communications by land and by sea of the attacked or threatened State.

It is not probable that either the United Kingdom or the United States would pledge its fleet for operations which only the owners of commanding fleets could undertake. And what if it should happen that one of these fleets was endeavouring to prevent trading which the other was interested in protecting?

Non-members. Believing that the United States would become a Member of the League, and hitting at recent enemies, the draftsmen of the original Covenant inserted a clause (XVII) providing for intervention by the League in disputes between Members and non-Members, and added:

> If a State [a non-Member] so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provision of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

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The United States not being a Member, advantage ought to have been taken of the revision of the Covenant by the Protocol to modify that clause. Instead, it is continued, and the more drastic provisions of the Protocol are applied to it.

Comment. The League is hedged with insurmountable difficulties, the chief of which is the character of the peace treaties. If war is ever to be ended, it will be by the removal of the causes of war, and not by paper agreements charged with ever-so-clever prescriptions and prohibitions. Look at the last great war and learn. Serbia wanted Bosnia and Herzegovina, which formed part of Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary wanted an opening on the Ægean. Russia wanted control of the Straits. Germany wanted chief influence at Constantinople, and satisfactory railway transportation through the Balkans. France wanted Alsace-Lorraine. Italy wanted the Trieste, Trentino, and other districts belonging to Austria-Hungary. Bulgaria wanted territory from Serbia, Greece, Roumania, and Turkey. Roumania wanted territory from Russia and Austria-Hungary. Turkey wanted territory from Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia. The Poles wanted territory from Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. And peace could have been assured only by satisfactory adjustment of the boundaries of all these. The Peace Conference supplied a splendid opportunity—the only sufficient sort of opportunity—for rearrangement of the map of Europe upon a peace basis. But passions were hot, anxieties acute, and desires insistent; with the result that not only are there to-day as many reasons, of territorial character, for apprehension of war as existed prior to the war, but the fact that, potentially, the two mightiest Powers in Europe (Germany and Russia) are those which cherish the bitterest resentment against their despoilers makes absolutely certain that, long before the lapse of a period of time comparable to that in which France meditated revenge, the nations will once more engage in mutual massacre. The peace treaties may have left for the League of Nations no better fundamental principle than that embodied in its Article X—the stereotyping of the absurd rearrangements of the European map; but there is no more chance for the perpetuation of these rearrangements than there was for regulating Europe upon the unpractical principle of The Holy Alliance of 1815.

What ought to be done? Voluntary revision of the territorial arrangements of the peace treaty is unattainable, and the choice appears to be between a League determined, by exercise of force, to perpetuate these arrangements, and a League which would limit its activities to arbitration, mediation, consultation, counsel,

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and the development of peace-providing methods. There is, along these last lines, ample scope for beneficent activities of the League of Nations. Along them it has already done good work. But the Protocol, I regret to say, is a marked development of the spoliation-safeguarding idea, and for its support I am unwilling that Canada should be pledged to engage in war. Canada should not have entered a League of which Articles X and XVI formed parts. If to it the Protocol is added, Canada ought to withdraw.

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H.
New Westminster, B. C.,
January 22nd, 1925.

The Honourable J. A. Robb,
Minister of Finance,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Robb:-

It is rumoured that the proposed Preferential Treaty with Finland will come up again during the approaching Session and I have been asked to draw your attention to certain facts in connection with same.

Under the proposed treaty the duty on kraft wrapping paper imported from Finland into Canada would be reduced from 25% to 20½% which would have a very disastrous effect on Canadian manufacturers of wrapping paper. Burdened with high labor costs and heavy taxes, and harassed by competition from European paper mills, who have the advantage of depreciated exchange, and low labor costs, it is with difficulty that the Canadian wrapping paper mills hold their heads above water and it is submitted that instead of being reduced the duty on importation of kraft paper should be increased to at least 35%. I am particularly interested in this matter because there is a paper mill located in New Westminster.

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Rt. Hon. J.A.Robb.

which is a new industry which has been making a good showing and is certainly an asset to Canada. If concerns like the Westminster Paper Mills are to be put out of business because of not having necessary protection it will be a serious loss to Canada and still further tend to increase the prevailing unemployment which is the cause of so much worry at the present time. There are of course other paper mills in British Columbia which will be similarly affected by the reduction and on behalf of them all I would ask you to take into consideration the protests which are being made by them.

Yours faithfully,

Member for New Westminster.

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Ottawa, Jan. 28, 1925.

W.G. McQuarrie, Esq., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

My dear McQuarrie:

I have your letter of the 23rd. Will see you as to this matter on arrival.

Yours very truly,

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Ottawa, Jan. 26, 1925.

Hugh W. White, Esq.,
Bedford,
Virginia, U.S.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 21st January with regard to conditions in the East. Mr. Meighen asks me to say in reply that he really cannot say where you can secure this information but suggests you communicate with some responsible English newspaper.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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Bedford, Virginia, U.S.A,

Jan.21,1925.

The Rt.Hon.

Sir Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa,

Canada.

Sir,

Please allow me to thank you for your letter of Dec.1,1924, and to ask the privilege of a further consultation.

In meeting the schemes to bring a portion of the China sea coast under Japanese control, we have been hampered by lack of support on the part of one branch of our Government. Leaders in other Executive and legislative positions are interested. Yesterday I was with the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the House of Representatives, and am to meet them again in Executive session on Jan.27th.

The first essential seems to be effective measures of informing our Government, especially as to the Balfour Asiatic Policy. To this end it is possible

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that the Committee referred to may propose, either a public resolution in the House or a private conference on the subject.

Is it trespassing too much on your time to ask whether you could refer us to or have sent to us information as to the basic principles, origin, or oth er points of interest as bearing on this Policy. Something responsible, brief, clear, would be most desirable.

While hardly expecting reply in time for our meeting of the 27th, any resolution for the House or other proposition would require at least a short notice.

If any information sent is of a confidential nature kindly mention it.

Believe me, Sir,

Very truly yours,

Hugh W. White.

H.W.W.

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House of Commons
Canada

H.

New Westminster, B. C.,
January 23rd, 1925.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

I am enclosing copies of letters which I have received from the Westminster Paper Mills Ltd. and the Pacific Mills Ltd. in reference to the proposed preferential treaty with Finland under which the duty on kraft wrapping paper imported from Finland into Canada would be reduced from 25% to 20½%, also copy of letter which I have written to the Minister of Finance in this connection. This is a serious matter for our paper industries and I would ask your co-operation for the purpose of seeing that another blunder of our incapable and unbusinesslike Government may be averted.

Yours faithfully,

W. M. Rowe

WGM:

Encls.

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COPY.

WESTMINSTER PAPER MILLS.

New Westminster, B. C.,
January 19, 1925.

W. G. McQuarrie, Esq. M.P.,

New Westminster, B. C.

Dear Sir:-

Understanding that the proposed Preferential Treaty with Finland, which at the last session was thrown out by the Senate, and under which the duty on kraft wrapping paper imported from Finland into Canada would be reduced from 25% to 20¼%, we desire to vigorously protest against any reduction in the rate of duty on importations of wrapping paper into Canada, from Finland or elsewhere.

Burdened with high labor costs and heavy taxes, and harassed by competition from European paper mills, who have the advantage of depreciated exchange, and low labor costs, it is with difficulty that the Canadian wrapping paper mills hold their heads above water, and in confirmation of representations made to the Minister of Customs some time ago asking for an increase in the rate of duty to 35%, any change in the rate of duty on importations of kraft paper into Canada, instead of being downwards, should be upwards.

Under the above circumstances, we appeal to you to protect our interests and, towards such protection, we trust that you will kindly communicate with the members of the Dominion Cabinet and bring all the influence you can to bear upon them with a view to the Government abandoning the proposed Preferential Treaty with Finland.

Yours very truly,

WESTMINSTER PAPER MILLS LIMITED.

RFA/W.

Per "R.F.ARNETT

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COPY

PACIFIC MILLS LIMITED.

Vancouver, B. C.,
January 20th, 1925.

Mr. W. G. McQuarrie, K.C.
New Westminster, B.C.

Dear Sir:-

It is our understanding that at the next session of Parliament, the preferential treaty with Finland will again be taken up.

All statistics bearing on the wrapping paper industry in Canada, together with the summary of the hazardous effect the above treaty would have on the wrapping interests in Canada are in the filed from the last session and in connection therewith, we would appreciate your influence towards the protection of this very important industry which we in British Columbia are striving to form a part.

Thanking you in advance, we are,

Very truly yours,

PACIFIC MILLS LIMITED.

By"W.D.D.Aghew."

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The Gazette

MONTREAL, THURSDAY, JANUARY 22.

EMPIRE CONFERENCE OFF.

It is intimated from London that the conference between representatives of the governments of Britain and the overseas Dominions to discuss the Geneva protocol for the pacification of international disputes will not be held. Instead of a gathering of prime ministers or their representatives to give expression to their views, it will be sought by correspondence to reach an understanding on the issues involved. Discussion of the principles involved was begun in June last, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then prime minister, in a dispatch to the Governors-General of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and the Governor of Newfoundland, inviting their cabinets to give their views on the adequacy of the present system of consultation with self-governing parts of the Empire on matters of foreign policy and general Imperial interest. The dispatch recognized fully the difficulty, particularly in the sphere of foreign policy, of quick action, and the liability of conclusions reached at such conferences being reversed through changes in government. What was needed, it was suggested, was the "creation "of some sort of workable machinery, so that "the public opinion of the whole of our com-"monwealth of states should influence the "policy for which the commonwealth must be "responsible." Suggestions had been made that the delegates should not be confined to representatives of parties in office for the time being, and that the conferences should have opposition as well as government delegates. Another suggestion was that each government represented at the gatherings should obtain from its own parliament a general approval within sufficiently wide limits of the attitude to be taken on the subjects to be discussed. The dispatch intimated that the feeling of the MacDonald Government was that the time had hardly come either to revive the idea of a constitutional conference or to call special meetings of the Imperial Conference to consider the problems outlined. This message was not enthusiastically in favor of conferences to consider such matters as the Geneva protocol. Neither were the replies to it generally of the Dominions. The Government of New Zealand put it that in its view a remedy for the difficulties was not easy to find. That of Australia discussed the questions raised in the British Government's dispatch, and recognized their gravity. That of South Africa was in the same tenor.

The dispatch of the Government of Canada was pronouncedly cold. It agreed that it would be helpful to consider possibilities of further extension of the dominions' powers in the negotiation of treaties. In regard to securing the views of parliaments before Imperial conferences were held and the possibilities of conference decisions being rejected through political changes taking place, it was declared that "it is undoubtedly inconvenient to have reversal "of policy, but this liberty must be assured so "long as separate parliaments exist and elect-"ors are to be free to have policy determined "in accordance with their wishes." The representation of both or all parties on a delegation to an Imperial conference, it is suggested, "would seem to imply the setting up of a "new body supreme over the several parlia-"ments." The Imperial Conference, it was added, was regarded by the Canadian Government as a conference of governments, of which each is responsible to its own parliament and ultimately to its own electorate, and in no sense as an Imperial council determining the policy of the Empire as a whole. Therefore it was deemed inadvisable "to depart in any "particular from this conception, which is "based on well-established principles of minis-"terial responsibility and the supremacy of "parliament."

The natural result of such declarations on the principle involved was the dropping of the suggested consultation on the Geneva protocol. It would not be a matter of surprise if it tended to lengthen the period between regular meetings of the Imperial Conference. These meetings, when they have no real business to consider, develop a tendency to discuss academic and doctrinal theories with which only a few enthusiasts for change can agree, and which disturb public opinion when they meet any consideration at all. The British Empire has grown and developed with little or no central direction. It passed through the strain of a war that affected all its parts, such as had never been before, and was as firmly united at the close in 1918 as at the start in 1914. The governmental machinery, or lack of machinery, that carried it through such an ordeal does not need much alteration.

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Ottawa, Ont., 3rd February, 1925.

PERSONAL

My dear Sir Robert,

Thanks for your letter of the 2nd instant. If you are right as to your interpretation of the Protocol there seems to be no reason for the criticism contained in the "Round Table", the "Observer" and other English periodicals. It occurs to me though that if the Protocol is adhered to our representatives or any British Representative at the Conference to follow would not be in a very strong position to take exception to the sanctions which the League would enforce against the violator of any agreement arrived at at such Conference, orm to put it in another way, it occurs to me the very fact that such sanctions would follow would make arriving at an agreement impossible. It seems to me the argument as to the sanctions probably giving rise to difficulties with the United States is a very powerful one indeed.

Yours very truly,

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GLENSMERE,

OTTAWA.

Room #410, Booth Building,

Sparks Street, O T T A W A

2nd February, 1925.

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My dear Meighen,-

I venture to send you a typewritten report of the observations which I addressed to the League of Nations Society at its annual meeting on Friday last.

As you have observed, the text of the Protocol is rather involved, and its phraseology and the arrangement of its Articles somewhat illogical. It seems to me, however, that the conclusion which I have reached as to its meaning is well founded.

Faithfully yours,

R L Borden.

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C., M.P.,

Leader of the Opposition,

O T T A W A.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS SOCIETY IN CANADA, ANNUAL MEETING, January 30, 1925

SIR ROBERT BORDEN'S ADDRESS

In May, 1921, I accepted the presidency of the League of Nations Society in Canada with some reluctance and upon the express understanding that my tenure of office should not continue for more than one year. At subsequent meetings of the Society I have acceded to urgent requests that I should continue to hold the office. My incumbency has now continued for nearly four years, and personal matters of considerable importance which demand my attention make it necessary that this meeting shall name my successor.

WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

While acting as President, I have been brought into close touch with the work of the League, and have been enabled to obtain a pretty clear and full conception of its purpose and possibilities. In its active life of less than five years no less than fifty-five Nations have accepted it. At the beginning of its career it was confronted with conditions of disorder and disorganization which have never been surpassed, and thus its usefulness has been tried by the most searching and difficult tests. Its notable record of achievement comprises the prevention of six wars; the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice; methods of open diplomacy; an efficient sanitary organization; effective attack upon international traffic in women and girls and an earnest effort to restrain the traffic in opium; repatriation of four hundred thousand prisoners of war; re-establishment of organized society in Austria when threatened with dissolution; a practical scheme by which appeals of minorities can be effectively dealt with; and last, but not least, a brave and earnest attempt in the recent Geneva Protocol to bring about disarmament by linking it with security and arbitration.

But, best of all, the League is accomplishing month by month and year by year a still greater work; the training of the world's nations in the practice and habit of co-operation through

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orderly discussion of international disputes and difficulties in organized Assemblies held at regular intervals. This is the path that eventually leads to the outlawry of war and the enthronement of public right.

If the League had accomplished no effective result, its establishment would have been worth while, since it affords a means by which Nations can quickly be called into conference in case of an emergency such as that which precipitated the war of 1914. Lord Grey of Fallodon has declared that if such an organization had existed during that summer, war would have been prevented. The peace of the world can only be maintained by an educated and organized international public opinion. To say that it can be maintained by force is a contradiction in terms, and is equivalent to a declaration that war can be prevented by war.

THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

This Society has done a useful work in Canada, as it has assisted very materially in affording reliable information as to the League's purpose and achievements. If our delegates at Geneva are to represent Canada in truth and in spirit, not merely in name, they must have behind them an active, serious and instructed public opinion. We have found everywhere a keen interest and a warm desire for information, which we have supplied as best we could.

On the other hand, lack of financial support has seriously crippled the Society's work. In the City of Ottawa, I am happy to say, our appeal has had a generous response, and this is true of at least one other community. But, on the whole, the results of such appeals have been disappointing.

Business men, of all others, are most interested in preventing the chaos which must inevitably ensue from another world war; I except only the few (if any) who hopefully anticipate an opportunity of war profiteering. But, with several splendid exceptions, business men have been singularly unresponsive. Whether they lack comprehension or desire a reversion to the methods which precipitated the storm that burst in 1914, it is

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difficult to imagine.

During the four years war period there was in the spirit of the Canadian people consecration and devotion to a great purpose. Surely we might hope for an equally admirable spirit in the days and for the cause of peace. Among the women of Canada that spirit does seem to have been awakened, and upon their earnest and compelling efforts the future success of this Society and of the cause for which it stands may yet be founded.

THE PROTOCOL

Since the last annual meeting no proceeding of either the Council or the Assembly of the League has evoked so much discussion as the Protocol unanimously adopted in September last, and known as the Geneva Protocol. This discussion has included no little criticism, which was aroused in the first instance by the cry that the amendment proposed by Japan and accepted in a modified form, might take from any country accepting the Protocol its control over matters of intimate domestic concern, such as immigration. As the general provisions of the Protocol, including the amendment in question, cannot come into force until after the proposed Conference has been held, nor until after a scheme of general disarmament has been established and carried into effect, this cry appears to have little relevance to the question of participation in that Conference. But it seems clear that the amendment proposed by Japan and adopted in a modified form preserves as fully as ever the control of each State over matters of purely domestic concern. The position of any State can hardly be prejudiced in this respect, as the provisions of Article 11 of the Covenant, which were relied upon by those who raised the cry, could always be invoked by a disputant State.

Dismissing then the attempt to excite prejudice by reason of Japan's action, can we find convincing reasons which would justify the refusal of our country to participate in a conference designed to bring about general disarmament? Seeing that about seventy-five per cent of the crushing burden of taxation under which the nations stagger today is due to past

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wars or to preparation for those of the future, the public opinion of Canada must indeed hesitate before it would support a determination to decline such a conference.

UNITY OF ACTION BY THE COMMONWEALTH NATIONS

Let me express at once my earnest hope that the Nations of the British Commonwealth will act in co-operation and harmony on this subject of immense importance, and that the conclusion reached by Canada will be in consonance with that of Great Britain and the other Dominions. Much as I value the fine purpose of the Covenant and the League's immense service to the world, I value even more highly the unity of our great Commonwealth, which indeed is an exemplar in purpose, in co-operation and in service, to the wider League that has its headquarters at Geneva.

MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE PROTOCOL'S INTENT

I remember well the day when the Covenant was adopted in plenary assembly of the Peace Conference at Paris. The first draft was rather loosely drawn and the subsequent draft, as finally adopted, seemed capable of improvement. On behalf of Canada I raised strong objection to the 10th Article, which, unfortunately, was afterwards used with telling effect in the Senate of the United States by those who opposed the adhesion of that country. A close study of the Protocol reveals the fact that unusual methods of draftsmanship in its preparation have aroused what I regard as misconception of what ratification really implies.

The word "protocol", as used in this connection, means merely an agreement. Through a singular arrangement of its articles and by reason of occasional unhappy phraseology, an impression has been created which I regard as unfortunate. The adherence to compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the provisions for compulsory arbitration, for definition of aggressors and for sanctions, whether economic, financial or military, in which the signatory states agree to participate, have been placed in the forefront of the Protocol, and thus put forward as if they were immediately binding upon each nation ratifying. Upon a fair interpretation, however, this seems by no means the result,

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as would have clearly appeared if there had been a different and more logical arrangement of the articles. Such an arrangement might be summarised as follows,-

1. That there should be a conference to formulate a scheme of general disarmament, and that all the world's nations, whether members of the League or not, should be invited to participate therein.
2. That this conference should not be held unless three of the permanent members of the Council (Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan) and ten other members of the League should agree to participate therein.
3. That a scheme of disarmament prepared in advance by the League Council should be submitted to the Conference, which should consider it in connection with general provisions proposed in the Protocol, for compulsory arbitration, sanctions, etc., and these if the scheme should be adopted would then come into effect.

EFFECT OF RATIFYING THE PROTOCOL.

If I am correct in this conclusion, I see no reason why the Nations of our Commonwealth should not, by such ratification as is necessary for that purpose, accept the proposal to hold a world conference for bringing about, if possible, general disarmament. That subject was broached at the Washington Conference, but as many nations were unrepresented, it was manifestly impracticable to deal with it. I am not confident that the Conference now proposed will achieve its purpose even if it should be held. Not improbably it will fail of that purpose if the United States and Russia decline to participate. Even if the United States should participate and Russia should abstain, it seems difficult to believe that the other nations of continental Europe would disarm while Russia continued to arm. But I regard the Protocol as a brave and earnest attempt to bring about that general disarmament which is so necessary for the future peace of the world. It has provoked discussion and fixed the world's

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attention on the subject. The proposal to couple disarmament and compulsory arbitration, including in that expression the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice, seems reasonable and feasible. There is much force in the view that the two must go hand in hand.

But whether the Conference is held or not, whether it succeeds or not, I believe that the Assembly at Geneva has given notable service to the world in proposing it. Out of the discussion which has arisen good must come, and if this is only a first step, nevertheless it is a useful step toward the ultimate goal of general disarmament which we regard as not only important but vital. If the Fifth Assembly has sought to hitch its chariot to a star, let us remember that we must aim at the higher ideals before we can have any confident hope of attaining them.

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Ottawa, Feb. 13th, 1925.

Samuel Colcord, Esq.,
305 West 113th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I duly received your letter of February 10th, and am this morning in receipt of your letter of February 11th. On the same mail also is a communication from the Committee on Educational Publicity in the interests of world peace.

The ideas worked out by the Committee of American experts seem to me to be carefully governed by a reference to actual conditions among the several nations, and consequently have considerable practical principles embodied in them. It may also be said that they are in substance practically identical with the plans of those in the British Empire who under present conditions are averse to entering into the engagements of the Geneva Protocol, and who still desire to achieve the ends of the Protocol, the banishment of war. One of the chief reasons why it would seem unwise to regard the League of Nations as more than a new and better method of international relations and not as a super entity with special powers is the fact that the United States is not a member thereof. This same

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fact goes far to force home the conclusion that it is impractical at the present time to attempt to attempt the outlawry of war by means of any force other than that of world opinion. The passive sanctions, if such they might be called, embodied in the expression of the American experts seem to me, however, not obviously impracticable and well worthy of consideration.

Yours very truly,

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SAMUEL COLCORD
305 WEST 113TH STREET
NEW YORK

February 10, 1925.

Honorable Mr. Meighen,
Conservative Leader of Parliament of the
Dominion of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:-

May I very respectfully present to you a view held by many eminent Americans relating to a way to secure an agreement between the nations for the outlawry of aggressive war in which the United States would engage, in the event the Geneva Protocol fails of adoption.

It seems to be taken for granted here by those who give thought to the subject, that Great Britain will reject the Protocol or avoid acceptance of it, for the simple reason that her statesmen will not take the risk of her being placed in a situation in which she may be called to support with her fleet an economic boycott against the possible determined opposition of the United States.

Would it not serve the ends of British statesmanship and save the great but tottering effort for war outlawry from defeat, if the British Government would frankly say that, though other difficulties are involved in the Protocol, the great objection to its adoption is that there is no hope that the United States would adhere to it and there can be no successful outlawry of war without American participation? Therefore, the right course would seem to be to give all possible encouragement to President Coolidge to convene in Washington the conference proposed in his address of acceptance weeks before the Protocol was promulgated, in connection with his declaration in favor of "the outlawry of aggressive war by any practical means".

In that conference a formula for the outlawing of war might be found in which the United States would join upon the same terms as the other nations, and thus the actual outlawry of war become a realized fact. But the whole thing would depend upon the conference being called for something more than a further limitation of armaments. The question of the outlawing of aggressive war should be supreme in importance among the questions for consideration and determination. There can in fact be no great limitation in armament until aggressive war is outlawed. Then reduction in armament will follow as a natural sequence. President Coolidge would make it a war outlawry conference if encouraged by European statesmen.

In our letter to the President to which his outlawry of war declaration was a response, we requested his examination of the first eleven articles of the plan of the American Experts, which articles relate exclusively to the outlawry of aggressive war and connect it not with the League of Nations, as does the Protocol, but withthe World Court. That is what makes it possible for the United States to adopt it.

I hope to mail to you tomorrow a copy of the part of our letter to the President which relates to those eleven articles of the American plan, and also a copy of his declaration in favor of the outlawry of aggressive war.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Colcord

SC-RC

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Ottawa, Feb. 13th, 1925.

Samuel Colcord, Esq.,
305 West 113th St.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I duly received your letter of February 10th, and am this morning in receipt of your letter of February 11th. On the same mail also is a communication from the Committee on Educational Publicity in the interests of world peace.

The ideas worked out by the Committee of American experts seem to me to be carefully governed by a reference to actual conditions among the several nations, and consequently have considerable practical principles embodied in them. It may also be said that they are in substance practically identical with the plans of those in the British Empire who under present conditions are averse to entering into the engagements of the Geneva Protocol, and who still desire to achieve the ends of the Protocol, the banishment of war. One of the chief reasons why it would seem unwise to regard the League of Nations as more than a new and better method of international relations and not as a super entity with special powers is the fact that the United States is not a member thereof. This same

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fact goes far to force home the conclusion that it is impractical at the present time to attempt to attempt the outlawry of war by means of any force other than that of world opinion. The passive sanctions, if such they might be called, embodied in the expression of the American experts seem to me, however, not obviously impracticable and well worthy of consideration.

Yours very truly,

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Ottawa, Feb. 12, 1925.

George Gordon Battle, Esq.,
Secty., Committee on Educational Publicity,
305 West 113th St.,
New York.

Dear Sir:

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 10th February. I cannot do better by way of acknowledging it than to enclose copy of a letter which I have addressed to Mr. Samuel Colcord in response to his communication on the subject matter of the recommendations of the Committee of American experts.

Yours very truly,

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COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY
IN THE INTERESTS OF WORLD PEACE
305 W. 113TH STREET, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: 6144 MONUMENT

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, CHAIRMAN
L. E. CLARKE, TREASURER
GEORGE GORDON BATTLE, SECRETARY
EMERSON CURTIS, EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR

GENERAL COMMITTEE
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L. E. CLARKE
ROBERT WATSON
R. M. McCUTCHEN

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SAMUEL COLCORD, CHAIRMAN
S. PARKES CADMAN
GEORGE GORDON BATTLE
R. M. McCUTCHEN
L. E. CLARKE, SEC'Y-TREASURER

February 11, 1925

Honorable Mr. Meighen,
Conservative Leader of Parliament
of the Dominion of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:-

We are informed that Mr. Samuel Colcord has written to you in reference to a probable way to secure the cooperation of the United States with other nations in the outlawry of aggressive war.

We desire to request for his suggestions your very thoughtful consideration. Mr. Colcord has given much thought to the solution of international problems and his past contributions to them have been described by men of national distinction as "statesmanlike", "the farseeing utterances of a statesman" and "worthy of attention and adoption by the Government". One United States Senator wrote, "I have been so impressed by the wisdom of his suggestion that I have sent it direct to the President, bespeaking his earnest consideration of it". Another Senator wrote, "I presented the plan to the President and am in receipt of his acknowledgement of the same with the assurance that it would receive attention".

His course in the matter of which I am writing is an example of farseeing qualities that it would be difficult to describe by a more appropriate word than "statesmanlike". When the question of war outlawry had aroused such interest as to make its achievement a practical question, he at once began to plan to get the United States into it, in the belief that there can be no successful outlawry of war without our nation taking a prominent part.

When the American Experts prepared a plan for the outlawry of aggressive war connected with the International Court and then proceeded to interweave it with the League of Nations by treaties of mutual assistance and other provisions designed only for Europe, he entreated them to divide it into two draft treaties,- one for the outlawry of war in which the United States and all nations might unite, the other to be a cooperating and supporting treaty which the nations associated in the League might join. After some delay this was done by the American Experts.

In the mean time he secured the signature of many men of national influence to a letter to President Coolidge urging that he declare his support to the outlawry of aggressive war. This the President did in his address of acceptance, in which he proposed a conference of nations to be held in Washington. This was before the promulgation of the Geneva Protocol. The issuance of the Protocol and its proposal of a conference on the 15th of June in Europe, naturally caused the President to hold in abeyance his proposal for a conference in Washington. He has since on several occasions earnestly advocated the outlawing of aggressive war.

Then in letters to many of the great peace organizations and well known

SEND REMITTANCES TO L. E. CLARKE, TREASURER, 305 W. 113TH ST., NEW YORK
ALL FOR PUBLICITY—NO OVERHEAD CHARGES—NO RENTS—NO SALARIES

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leaders in the cause, Mr. Colcord earnestly presented the view that, to urge at that time upon the American public and Administration the adoption of the Protocol (as was apparently about to be done), would inevitably lead to hot dis~~cussion~~, a revival of the old partisan bitterness and the certain and disastrous defeat of the entire cause of war outlawry in this country. He proposed instead the adoption of a unified three part program as follows: Adherence to the World Court on the basis of the Harding-Coolidge proposal; cooperation with other nations for the outlawry of aggressive war by any feasible plan, the details to be left to statesmen and experts; and representation in the conference in Europe if such conference is held. Responses from many great societies and eminent leaders could be quoted to show the complete success of this proposal. The nationwide campaign along these lines is preparing the public to support whatever war outlawry proposal may be finally approved by the statesmanship of the world.

If Great Britain now rejects the Protocol, as seems to be expected, "because her statesmen will not take the risk of her being placed in a position in which she will be called upon to support with her fleet an economic boycott against the possible determined opposition of the United States, and also because it is recognized that there can be no successful war outlawry without the United States, and the United States will not join on the terms of the Protocol", - thenthe entire plan for the outlawry of war must fall to the ground unless the way that Mr. Colcord foresaw and for which he has planned and worked is adopted, namely, the call of a conference by President Coolidge in which a formula for war outlawry may be found in which the United States and all the nations can unite, and thus the outlawry of aggressive war became a realized fact.

To bring it about (in the event the Protocol is rejected) there is only one more link in the plan. It is to make sure that in his call for the conference which President Coolidge will issue when informed that the Protocol and the conference it proposed are to be abandoned, he does not make it a conference for a mere further limitation of armament, which cannot go far if war is not outlawed, but that he makes it a conference which shall have as chief of the subjects for its consideration and determination, the outlawry of aggressive war.

To make it sure that the President will do that, the most that is needed is encouragement to do it. That encouragement must be given by the statesmen of Europe, (particularly of Great Britain and France) and by the chief advocates of war outlawry in this country. He does not wish to take it out of the hands of European statesmen. But if they let him know that there are reasons why they cannot go on with it and that they would welcome his call of a conference in behalf of war outlawry, there is not the slightest doubt that he would be glad to do it. Otherwise it would be only a futile conference for a further reduction in armament.

It is upon that line that Mr. Colcord is now working, while at the same time urging that our Government give all possible cooperation for the outlawry of war in the event the Protocol is adopted. If you see a way to exert any influence in that direction we are sure it would be of great value.

Very truly yours,

Geo Gordon Battle

Secretary

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BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE PLAN OF THE AMERICAN EXPERTS FOR THE OUTLAWRY OF AGGRESSIVE WAR

The following quoted from our letter to President Coolidge requesting of him a declaration in favor of the outlawry of aggressive war, to which he gave a very satisfactory response in his address accepting the Republican nomination, refers to the first eleven articles of the plan of the American Experts. At the time of writing the letter the American Experts had not acceded to the request of Mr. Coloord that they put this part of their plan into a separate draft treaty. This they afterwards did.

.....

"The American plan proposes a treaty which, insofar as it applies to the outlawry of aggressive war, is entirely independent of the League. It is to that part of the plan only that our proposal relates.

"Its character and scope are indicated in its first three brief paragraphs, as follows:

Article 1. - The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that aggressive war is an international crime. They severally undertake not to be guilty of its commission.

Article 2. - A State engaging in war for other than purposes of defense commits the international crime described in Article 1.

Article 3. - The Permanent Court of International Justice shall have jurisdiction, on the complaint of any signatory, to make a judgment to the effect that the international crime described in Article 1 has or has not in any given case been committed.

"The foregoing articles are followed by other articles which amply clarify them and supply adequate provisions to make them effective, which are fully stated in the printed document herewith enclosed. They provide that any state, member or not of the League of Nations, may adhere to the treaty. They answer the question, what is an aggressive war, by defining it as any war waged for other than purposes of defense. The question who is to determine when war is aggressive and when it is defensive, is answered by referring it to the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice on the complaint of any signatory. Should the nation charged with the crime refuse to accept the jurisdiction of the Court it shall be deemed an aggressor within the terms of the treaty. Failure to accept the jurisdictionof the Court within four days shall be deemed a refusal to accept the jurisdiction. Thus the objection that the thing cannot be done is answered by providing the indubitable means by which it shall be done. The commonly raised doubts are answered by effectually removing them.

"It is provided that 'in the event of any high contracting party having been adjudged an aggressor pursuant to this treaty, all commercial, trade, financial and property interests of the aggressor and of its nationals shall cease to be entitled, either in the territories of the other signatories or on the high seas, to any privileges, protection, rights or immunities accorded by either international law, national law or treaty'.

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"It is not in the plan that enforcement is to be committed to the League of Nations. It is left to the Governments interested. No government is obligated to any act or acts of enforcement contrary to its own interest or will. But all are authorised and encouraged to enforce the severest economic punishment. Should such enforcement fail, which would seem improbable, the guilty nation cannot escape. It must live among the nations of the earth a condemned and outlawed criminal with all these privileges, that protection, those rights and immunities forfeited by the high tribunal of the world, - an intolerable condition from which it can redeem itself only by that repentance which makes good. Thus in the last analysis enforcement is left to the greatest human force known, the compelling power of world opinion. The decision of the tribunal of all the nations singles out the culprit to the focussing of that power upon it.

"Any nation entering into the treaty may withdraw after one year.

"The document enclosed contains other desirable proposals, such as bringing into being a Permanent Advisory Council to consider the further codifying of the principles of international law, agreements for the reduction and limitation of armament and treaties of mutual assistance.

"Regarding the question of the outlawry of aggressive war as large enough for separate consideration, we are inviting your attention to that part of the document only - the first eleven articles.

"It is not claimed that the plan is perfect. But it is easily seen that it is far and away ahead of any other proposal of a like nature yet made and offers the first great hope of the adoption of an effective agency for the prevention of war and assurance of international justice yet given to the world."

The President's Declaration for the Outlawry of War.

The appeal from which the foregoing was quoted was followed by personal letters to the President continuing the urging that he declare his support to the outlawry of aggressive war. Secretary Slemp wrote that the President would take up the subject in his address of acceptance.

The President's response in the address of acceptance was in the following words:-

"I am opposed to aggressive war.....When the reparations plan is in operation, I shall deem it an appropriate time to approach the great powers with a proposal for another conference for a further limitation of armaments and for devising plans for a codification of international law. I personally should favor entering into covenants for the purpose of outlawing aggressive war by any practical means.....Those who are working out detailed plans to present such a policy for consideration have my entire sympathy.* I trust that never again will the women of this nation be called on to sacrifice their loved ones to the terrible scourge of war."

* NOTE. A veiled reference to the plan of the American Esperts may easily be seen in these words of the President.

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SAMUEL COLCORD
305 WEST 113TH STREET
NEW YORK

February 11, 1925

Honorable Mr Meighan,
Conservative Leader of Parliament of the
Dominion of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:-

There is enclosed herewith, as mentioned in my letter of yesterday, the outline of the Plan of the American Experts for the Outlawry of Aggressive War which was submitted to President Coolidge in our letter of July 21st, and also a copy of the President's declaration in support of the outlawry of aggressive war made in response to that letter.

You are no doubt more familiar with the Plan of the American Experts than I. The outline is offered only to show the form in which it was presented to President Coolidge.

Though I am a very warm supporter of the League of Nations, I favor the linking of the outlawry of war with the International Court rather than with the League, because I can see no successful outlawry of war without the United States. And, unfortunately, the United States will not at this time join the League.

Further, I am convinced that the use of economic and military or naval sanctions against an aggressor nation will be involved in such difficulties that dependence for enforcement will not be upon them, but upon the greatest human force known, the compelling power of world opinion. It will then be learned by experience that no agency will be able to mobilize that power and focus it upon the offending nation but the League of Nations. That fact, with our nation united with the other nations in the outlawry of war, will inevitably and soon bring the United States into the League if I am not greatly mistaken.

With great respect,

Sincerely yours,

SC-RC

Samuel Colcord

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Ottawa, Feb. 11, 1925.

Sir John Willison,
34 King St. East,
Toronto.

Dear Sir John Willison:

I appreciate very much your writing me in the terms of your letter of 10th February. To tell the truth the Australian Treaty gives me a little difficulty and I had not made up my mind what attitude to take. Having regard to your reference to the campaign of certain newspapers I would say without hesitation that I have no sympathy with the view of these newspapers at all, and would never think of condemning the treaty on that ground. I may condemn the Government for moving in a direction wholly opposed to their professions. As a matter of fact I would go considerably further myself in the way of protection against farm products and other similar products from other countries than the Government has gone.

My chief difficulty lies in the position of the fruit growers of the Okanagan and Ontario, these being subject to keen competition from Australia. This is done in order that we may more freely ship out our pulp and paper which is going pretty fast already. Of course the best thing we can do with our pulpwood is to sell it as paper, and it is worth while doing something to improve the market for this product. The Onakanagan farmers complained bitterly that

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the Government did not insist on the removal on the part of Australia of what amounts to a ban on Canadian apples, a ban supported on the assumption that some skin disease may be carried with them which they maintain and amply prove is not the case. It is a prohibition very much of the same nature as the late British embargo on cattle. I intend to bring this subject up in the discussions.

Yours very truly,

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Private and Confidential.

34 King Street East,

Toronto. 10 February, 1925.

My dear Meighen,

I wonder what your attitude will be towards the Canadian-Australian Trade Agreement. As you may know, I was in Australia last summer and I did what I could to have the discrimination of £3 a ton against Canadian paper removed. I, of course, was not acting for the Canadian Government nor had I any official position or relation. I did, however, see the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth many times and other members of his Cabinet. One thing I learned as to which there can be no question -- a treaty could not have been made without a preference for Australian dried fruits in Canada. If I were in Parliament I would support the Agreement into which the Canadian and Australian Governments have entered. We have at present an enormous advantage in the Australian market and we ought to be willing to make every reasonable opportunity for the extension of Australian trade in Canada. While I say this I expect you to remember

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that I was in some sense an agent of the Canadian paper interest while I was in Australia.

There is another consideration which is important unless you think some real question of principle is involved. Certain elements in the West object to the preference in favor of Australian dried fruits because it will affect imports from other countries and perhaps increase prices. It is very seldom that these trade preferences really increase prices but this may be an exception. You will not in my judgment gain a single vote by opposing the treaty on this ground or on any other ground while there is a very important interest in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia which will be grateful to you if you do not offer too strong opposition to the agreement. For the most part those concerned in this interest are your friends and supporters and many of these people are in constituencies or in Provinces where you need friends and support. The advantages of the treaty in my judgment are enormously in favor of Canada and if that be true there is no reason why you should not regard political considerations. If on principle you oppose the treaty and think that on public grounds it should not go into effect I have not a

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word to say. If you think otherwise you can help yourself without hurting the country.

There is not ~~even~~ any reason that you should answer this letter. I have been more candid perhaps than one should be on paper. I would not hesitate, however, to use all these arguments in the open, since I am convinced that the agreement to which I had the relation which I have described should go into effect. I do not need to add that in a matter of this kind I make no possible personal appeal to you and that my feeling toward you will be just what it is at this moment even if you cannot take the course which I am desirous to have you take.

Yours very truly,

J. W. Allen

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa.

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Ottawa, Feb. 13, 1925.

Loring C. Christie, Esq.,
c/o Ritz Carleton Hotel,
Montreal.

My dear Christie:

I am sending you herewith some correspondence I have just received from Mr. Samuel Colcord of New York, and from the Committee on Educational Publicity in the Interests of World Peace, New York. The correspondence includes copy of my reply to Mr. Colcord. Perhaps we can get a moment to refer to the subject on Saturday. Anyway, please return the correspondence.

Yours very truly,

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330 Confidential.

34 King Street East,

Toronto. 17 February, 1925.

My dear Meighen,

Will you pardon one other word about the Canadian-Australian treaty. I am interested and I have told you frankly the nature of my interest in the agreement. I am trying, however, to look at the question from the standpoint (1) of Canada and (2) of the Conservative party. I think it of the first importance that we should improve our trade relations with Australia and we ought to recognize that at present the balance of trade is enormously in our favor. What I fear is that if the agreement is amended by the Canadian Parliament it will never be approved in any amended form by the Government and Parliament of the Commonwealth. There would have been not a shade of prospect of a treaty with Canada if the dried fruit preference agreed upon at the last Imperial Conference had been accepted by the British Parliament. Speaking from the purely political standpoint, I do not believe there are any votes for the Conservative party in opposing the treaty while there are very powerful interests anxious to have the treaty adopted and

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who, when all is said, are engaged simply in an effort to recover a great legitimate trade which they formerly had in Australia. I hope you will not trouble to answer these notes because I know something of what a session of Parliament means to a political leader.

Yours very truly,

J. S. Willison

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa.

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134 Langside St-B 1572

Winnipeg Feb 17th 1925

Dear Mr Meighen:

The attached page from The Manitoba Free Press of Saturday last carries an article of mine on the Peace Protocol which may interest an active man of affairs like yourself. With kind regards

Yours faithfully

J.A. Aikin

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SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 18th February, 1925.

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Personal

My dear Arthur,

I notice that Sir John Willison is under the impression that it would be bad politics to oppose the Canadian-Australian Trade Agreement as the whole pulp and paper industry of Canada would reap advantages from the Treaty, and that it is not only the manufacturers of newsprint which are affected. He thinks that no votes would be made for the Party by such a course, that it might excite the hostility of powerful interests from Halifax to British Columbia, that if the Treaty were thrown out it would not likely be again approved by the Australian Parliament, and that if the British Parliament had accepted the fruit preference agreed upon by the Imperial Conference no treaty could be made.

I dare say you have given thought to these various points.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL
MONTREAL

20 February 1925

My Dear Meighen

I have read this correspondence with much interest and I congratulate you upon the neatness of your reply. I hope Mr. Coleord will ponder it well.

He has sense enough to see the folly of the so called "sanctions", but all these American pacifists seem incurable when they get holdof a phrase. They are now badly bitten with the "outlawry of war" and are going to stop it all by the simple expedient of calling it a crime. Doubtless this will divert their eyes from the spectacle now presented to them through the good offices of that other stirring phrase "prohibition".

I like Mr. Battle's bouquets for Mr. Coleord. I like too the way these fellows invite you to intervene in the American political scramble to help "Silent Cal" out.

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I am leaving here tonight to spend the week end with my sister in Boston; then I shall be 4 or 5 days in New York before sailing on Saturday the 28th — on the "Berengaria". If anything should occur to you that I might do for you my address in New York will be Harvard Club, 27 West 44th Street.

It was a great pleasure to see you again.

With best wishes

Yours faithfully
Loring C. Christie

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Ottawa, Feb. 23, 1925.

J.A. Aikin, Esq.,

134 Langside St.,

Winnipeg, Man.

given Mrs Helmer filing WHS

Dear Mr. Aikin:

Many thanks for yours of the 17th instant enclosing newspaper clipping containing your article, "Canada and the Peace Protocol". I shall take the first opportunity to read this and have no doubt I will find it of interest.

Yours very truly,

Later I have read it with real pleasure
a m

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Answ'd file

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SAMUEL COLCORD
305 WEST 113TH STREET
NEW YORK

February 17, 1925

Honorable Meighen,
The Conservative Leader of Parliament
of the Dominion of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:-

I exceedingly regret and condemn the absence of our Government from membership in the League of Nations, and have unwavering faith in the League's complete triumph and our ultimate participation in it, if our civilization endures.

But the time when we will join the League is years in the future. Meantime, if war is not effectually outlawed with the United States a full participant in the agreement, a new world war may wreck our civilization beyond recovery.

To refer the Protocol back to the League Assembly for revision satisfactory to Great Britain and to provide temporary security to France would, I am compelled to believe, be an error fatal to the effectual outlawry of aggressive war because it would mean further disastrous delay or else the adoption of a revision which would leave it still entwined in the League of Nations. That could mean nothing else than the permanent exclusion of the United States from the treaty and, most unfortunately, the failure of the entire effort to outlaw war or prevent a new world war that would leave the world in ashes.

The only way out of the difficulty, now or at any future time, which I can see is for the statesmen of Europe to accept disagreeable facts as facts and encourage President Coolidge to call a conference in Washington at which a formula for the outlawing of aggressive war may be found in which the United States and all the nations may unite.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the first page of our letter to President Coolidge which attempts to show how much more important in the prevention of war is the actual outlawing of aggressive war than arms limitation or even total disarmament. It was in response to that letter that he made his fine declaration in favor of the outlawry of aggressive war, which he has since several times earnestly repeated. To ask him to call a conference for further arms limitation would be to seek a small result, The conference should be for the great achievement, the outlawry of aggressive war. After that arms limitation would naturally and easily follow.

With great respect,

Samuel Colcord

SC-RC

P.S. If I trouble you with another letter, it will be to show that we are not expecting too much from war outlawry. There should be limitations and exceptions. There may be authorized punitive or corrective wars to change intolerable conditions, as of banditry. Wars of revolution and for the suppression of revolution would naturally be permitted, etc. the actual enforcing out, not so much force or economic boycott, but mobilized world opinion will be the real enforcing power in our war.

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Q.

COPY OF PART OF A NUMEROUSLY SIGNED LETTER TO PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

305 West 115th Street,
New York, July 21, 1924.

The President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The people of our country, in common with all the peoples of the world, are united in desire for a safe assurance against the coming of another world war. An inevitable outcome of that desire is the question: By what measures may another conflagration be averted?

Pacifism will not end wars. Rather it will be an invitation to war so long as one or more nations are pacifist and others are not. Disarmament, an inestimable blessing as a helpful deterrent to war and a measure which would lift from the backs of men an insufferable load, cannot unaided hold back for a single day another and more destructive world war. There were great and desolating world wars when navies were made of little sailing ships and galley oar boats. New discoveries and inventions have demonstrated that if every warship and every gun on land and sea were destroyed, a nation determined on conquest or revenge could bring into action, as if over night, new and more appalling engines and agencies of destruction than were ever used in the past, by which great armies and populations might be destroyed while they sleep.

The great agencies of education, religion, spiritual uplift may eventually end wars. But, unless they find expression in practical measures to prevent them their processes must require centuries if not thousands of years. Our immediate problem is more than preparation for the elimination of wars centuries in the future. It is to stop at the threshold the next world war with the immeasurable losses and the insufferable sorrows it must entail.

As a nation we have made no move toward solving this greatest and most pressing problem. There is not at this time, there has not been in some years, so much as an authoritative American proposal to this end. But, since neither pacifism nor disarmament, education nor religion can give it, and revokable treaties between a few nations must likewise fail, the truth is apparent that there can be no safe assurance against another and early world war unless the nations unite to forbid and prevent it.

The pressing question therefore cries for answer, - How may the United States best contribute to the consummation of that uniting, that forbidding and preventing?

The remainder of the letter earnestly urged that the actual outlawry of aggressive war was the only way by which another and worse world war might be prevented, and appealed to the President to declare his support of the outlawry of aggressive war. This he did in his address accepting the nomination to the presidency and in a number of later addresses.

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Vancouver Province April 6/25

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CANADA SHOULD DO NEGOTIATING

Rowell Opposes Dominion Being Committed Without Part in Drawing Pact.

NOT WHOLLY NEGATIVE

TORONTO, April 6.—Hon. N. W. Rowell, K.C., who represented Canada on the organization of the League of Nations, told the Empire Club, in an address here that he could see serious objections to Canada committing herself to any obligations under a purely European pact for a treaty of mutual guarantee. Mr. Rowell's address was on the question, "Will the suggested seven-power treaty take the place of the protocol?" He said he had followed the proceedings of the court of the League of Nations with the greatest interest and thought that the British Empire should join in giving its jurisdiction.

Mr. Rowell said that if Canada did join in such a seven-power treaty she would at least be a party in its negotiation.

"Regarding Germany's proposal for a treaty of mutual assurance, Canada," Mr. Rowell said, "should have part in the negotation of such a treaty before joining. Britain," he added, "has aproved Germany's proposal for mutual assurance in the Rhine question, as shown by Austen Chamberlain's substitute for the protocol. A satisfactory treaty," he said, "would facilitate both arbitration and disarmament, giving security, but Germany's proposal would only go part way to meeting the situation covered by the protocol. I am glad Canada has not adopted a wholly negative attitude," he said.

Further, Mr. Rowell said, compulsory jurisdiction of the permanent court of international justice was the most valuable provision of the protocol which Canada is prepared to consider. Canada, he said, is prepared also to consider methods of supplementing the covenant for settling non-justiciable issues, reserving decision in domestic issues and without further obligations in cases of other states, different from the protocol on economic and military sanctions.

"Canada appears," Mr. Rowell said, "prepared to accept the main underlying principles of the protocol except sanctions, and while the whole question of its purposes will come up again at Geneva, may one be permitted to suggest Canada's proposals indicate a line the British Empire might take and contribute thereby to the peace and security of the world."

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Mail & Empire Toronto April 29/25. Intl Affairs

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CEMENT GOOD-WILL BETWEEN NATIONS

Mutual Aim of U.S. and Canada, Says Sir Esme Howard.

IN PEACE AND QUIET

Secretary Davis Dwells on Happy Conditions Prevailing.

Canadian Press.

Washington, April 28.—Eloquent addresses delivered by Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador, and United States Secretary of Labor Davis at the Canadian Club banquet to-night, emphasized the earnest desire of British and American statesmen to advance the cordial relations so long existing between Canada and the United States. Secretary Davis was born in Wales, and he could, therefore, speak with sympathy and understanding to United States citizens of Canadian birth. He made it plain that the exclusion of undesirable aliens was a benefit to both countries, and expressed the hope that both countries might have a population devoted to liberty and representative Government.

Sir Esme Howard showed no sympathy with those who feared that closer relations between this country and the Dominion would be prejudicial to the British Empire. He spoke enthusiastically of the proposed visit of the United States Pacific Fleet to Australia and New Zealand, and guaranteed that the American sailors would receive a rousing reception.

His Excellency spoke in part as follows:—

"It is indeed a pleasure to me to have been able to accept the kind invitation of the Canadian Club of Washington this evening. I recognize that every meeting of this kind helps to cement and strengthen the rapidly growing sentiments of friendship and goodwill between the nations of the British Empire and this great commonwealth of the United States, whose hospitality we here enjoy.

"The springing up of Canadian Clubs and English-speaking unions throughout the United States will never, I am convinced, give cause for anxiety on the part of this country. We in England only want friendship and good fellowship—we have no other axe to grind—and I have not yet heard any whisper that the Canadian Clubs were promoting an agitation in this country for the annexation of the United States by Canada. There is thus no hyphenated business about these various institutions, but all are working in a spirit of Christian fellowship for the promotion of peace and good-will.

"Very soon I hope we shall witness another event that will, I believe, draw together still more the men of English speech all the world over. I refer to the coming visit of the American Pacific Fleet to Australia and New Zealand, those two great democracies of the southern seas. I have no doubt that the American sailors will receive on those shores a rousing welcome that will go straight to the heart of the people of the United States.

"In Peace and Quiet."

Secretary Davis, reciprocating the friendly sentiments of Ambassador Howard, said nothing was more beneficial to both countries than the good understanding so happily prevailing between Canada and the United States to exclude undesirable aliens, people who have no love for the free institutions of Britain and America. It is also important to maintain the standard of living and not have the labor market glutted by masses of unemployed men. This policy, he believed, was no less beneficial to Canada than to the United States, and he was glad Canada was maintaining a high standard by which to measure the incoming immigrant. "The people of America," he said, "are going about their affairs in peace and quiet, are politically stable and economically prosperous." It was all-important, the Secretary insisted, that the two countries join hands in promoting a high standard of citizenship. Neither country had the right to make itself a side door through which the undesirable immigrant might find entrance to the other country, and in this connection said:—

"It is with these conditions in mind that we in the United States must consider the problem of the aliens who are coming to us from abroad. The great Dominion to the north of us has an interest in this problem, too, for whatever is ultimately best for the United States, will be good for Canada. We must maintain on this continent a homogenous people, devoted to the principle of liberty under law, and firm in its belief in representative government."

Secretary Davis said only on the North American Continent did there exist that peace of God which passeth all understanding. This was due to the virtue and intelligence of the Canadian and American people. He, himself, was a native of Wales, and never had been prouder of his birth than when he welcomed David Lloyd George to the United States.

There was no disloyalty in any citizen loving the land of his birth, provided he gave indivisible love and support to the country of his adoption. Canadians coming to the United States had made loyal and patriotic citizens, and he was glad to believe that American settlers going into the great Northwestern Provinces of Canada were no less loyal and devoted to the land of their adoption.

Doctor J. S. Durkee, President of the Canadian Society, presided. The orchestra rendered stirring British and Canadian airs, and musical numbers were rendered by Mrs. Myra Marks and Miss Winnifred Michaelson, neice of F. A. McGregor of Ottawa. Among the guests of honor not already mentioned were: Doctor F. D. Hester, Chief of the Foreign Relations Section of the Veterans' Bureau, who looks after British and Canadian veterans of the world war in distress in this country and Michael Mahoney, Chief Canadian Section of the British Embassy.

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Ottawa Journal April 29/25

056356

MR. MEIGHEN GIVES SUPPORT TO APPEAL

Praises Purpose of League of Nations Society.

Support for the appeal of the League of Nations Society for 100,000 members comes in from all sides. Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, leader of the Opposition, has written Mrs. A. J. Freiman of the organizing committee, praising the purposes of the campaign and declaring that the society can be the means of bringing to the assistance of the League of Nations, the full measure of Canadian influence and support. Mr. Meighen's statement is as follows:—

"To replace war with its devastated lands, its desolated homes, and its scarred and maimed humanity by international justice and moral right, and bring about the realization of the 1918 cry of thanksgiving and hope raised by an almost despairing civilization, is the aim of the League of Nations. Only by the active support of the Nationals in all the League's members can this be brought about. The ideal of the League of Nations Society is to bring to the assistance of the League the full measure of Canadian influence and support — an ideal which has rightly commanded the aid of the women of this Dominion in the appeal to our people for funds to make effective this noble ambition. A generous response to this appeal will materially assist in bringing about a better time when machine guns, mental anguish, sorrow, and death shall give way to conference, sincerity, and good-will in the settlement of international disputes."

201.

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Mail & Empire Toronto May 1/25.

056357

CANADIANS WILL GO TO LABOR PARLEYS

Four Representatives to Attend Meetings at Geneva.

Canadian Press.

Ottawa, Ont., April 30.—Canada will be represented at the seventh annual session of the International Labor Conference which opens at Geneva, Switzerland, on May 19, next, according to an announcement made this evening by Hon. James Murdock, Minister of Labor.

Under the treaties of peace this country's representation consists of four representatives, two of whom are Government delegates, and the remaining two representing the employers and the work people. Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers.

The Canadian delegation so far announced to this conference will be made up as follows: H. H. Ward, Deputy Minister of Labor, and Dr. W. A. Riddell, Dominion of Canada advisory officer League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, representing the Dominion Government; Hon. Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Health and Labor, representing the Province of Ontario, as adviser; John Lowe, Jr., general manager Montreal Cotton Company, Ltd., Valleyfield, P.Q., representing the employers of Canada; Hugh Macdonald, legal secretary, Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto, as adviser to the employers' delegate; P. M. Draper, secretary-treasurer Trades and Labor Congress, Ottawa, representing the work people of Canada, and Gustave Francq, chairman Quebec Provincial Executive Committee, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Montreal, as adviser to the work people's delegate.

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056358

Ottawa, May 8, 1925.

Dear Professor Skelton:

Many thanks for yours of the 7th instant enclosing copies of publications issued by the Information Section of the League of Nations.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Professor O.D. Skelton,
Office of the Under-Secretary of State,
Ottawa.

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OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

056359

May 7, 1925.

A. W. Merriam, Esq.,
Secretary to
Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

My dear Mr. Merriam:

I believe that Mr. Meighen asked in the House some time ago whether any reports of the discussion of the Protocol of Geneva in the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations were available.

The only reports available were tabled. We have received this week some copies of two small publications issued by the Information Section of the League, which contain verbatim reports of the speeches on this subject in the Assembly. I am enclosing two copies of each booklet.

not attached when filed

Yours sincerely,

O.D. Skelton

ODS/McK

1925

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056360

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Ottawa, May 19, 1925.

James Brodie, Esq.,
319 Keefer Bldg.,
Montreal.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of the 15th May. I am enclosing herewith copy of the Hansard containing the discussion on the Netherlands and Finnish Trade Treaties. I would be glad if you would look this discussion over and advise me as to what assertion I have made to which you take exception.

Yours very truly,

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056361

TELEPHONES UPTOWN 5820
WESTMOUNT 5173

CABLE ADDRESS:
JASBROD, MONTREAL

A.B.C. CODE 5TH. EDITION AND
6TH. EDITION

James Brodie
319 Keefer Building
Montreal

May 15th 1925.

Hon; Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa.

Dear Sir,

I should like to refer to remarks made by you last night with reference to the proposed tariff arrangements, especially with the Netherlands. The figures given on imports and exports refute any such statement, seeing that the exports have had a large increase, and imports the opposite. Neither is Holland a high tariff country, as your statement would lead the country to believe, and of which you must be well aware. It is not at all likely that Holland will long allow the balance of trade to run so much against them, and it is not to the advantage of this country to have it so. One can only presume from some of the statements made, that the tariff in Canada should be so high, that other countries should be content to buy increasing quantity of goods, and see their own sales decreasing in large volume. Everything points to the fallacy of any such fiscal policy.

I might add that the writer is no Free Trader, but there is a great deal too much partizan talk.

Yours very truly,

James Brodie

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Toronto May 20/25

056362

FRANCE REAFFIRMS STAND ON LEAGUE

Says No Other Agency for Securing Disarmament and World Peace.

MORE U.S. DEMANDS

Want 'League of Nations' Deleted From Draft of Arms Convention.

FROM ALBIN E. JOHNSON.
Special Cable to The Mail and Empire

Geneva, May 19.—Both the United States and Great Britain felt the force of France's displeasure to-day when Leon Jouhaux, French delegate, expressed regrets upon behalf of the entire League membership at the necessity of killing the Central Arms Control Board, and attacked the British and United States policies which resulted in the elimination of naval armaments, battleships, submarines, airplanes, and tanks from the category of licensed material.

Jouhaux, as spokesman for the pro-Leaguers, promised to accept the committee's unanimous report against the central board but feared that the heart had been taken from the convention.

Further U. S. Suggestions.

Burton this evening laid the remainder of the American cards, with the exception of poison gas, war loans and publicity on private manufacture of arms, upon the table. The memorandum asks the deletion of the words "League of Nations" wherever they appear in the draft of the convention. The question whether Washington will eventually accept the world court was injected by Burton's suggestion that "The Hague Tribunal" be added to article 31, which provides means for adjudication of any differences in interpretation arising among the signatories.

The United States delegates further suggest the elimination of article 20, which states: "The Council of the League shall cause to be published an annual report on the operations of the present convention. This report shall be presented to the Assembly of the League."

Situation in British Dominions.

Associated Press.

Geneva, May 19.—The situation of Canada and Australia, as British Dominions, was cited at the international conference for the control of arms to-day relative to a proposal advanced by the Dutch delegation that shipments of arms should not be subject to control when these were despatched to territories of the exporting countries. Especially should this be the case, the Dutch urged, when these were to be used by the armed forces of the mother country.

Objection to the proposal came from the United States representative, T. E. Burton, who declared that this would exclude from the convention's operations, all shipments, both governmental and private, from mother countries to their dominions. If troops in Canada or Australia, contended the United States delegate were recruited by and belonged to these dominions, he believed they should not be exempt from the provisions of the convention. The same, he said, was true of Java, a Dutch East Indies possession, where there were some thirty-two battalions of native troops. He contended that this proposition struck at the doctrine which the world was coming more and more to recognize—that of the open door.

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CABLE ADDRESS:
JASBROD. MONTREAL

A.B.C. CODE 5TH. EDITION AND
6TH. EDITION

James Brodie
319 Keefer Building
Montreal

330

June 24th 1925.

Honourable Arthur Meighen.

Ottawa,

Dear Sir,

I regret delay in replying to your letter of 19th May owing to my absence from Montreal, your letter having reference todiscussion regarding the Netherlands Treaty.

I should like to draw your attention to page 3312 Hansard;-

"We have to give something for nothing to the Netherlands just because of the policy of this government. Why is it that we are not in their position?

Page 3313 Hansard;- What are the imports from the Netherlands upon which we are reducing the duty all for nothing?"

One would read from the first, that Holland was a high tariff country, and of course you are aware that this is not so. It is also clearly shewn that the Imports from Holland are decreasing and the exports largely increasing. If Canada had a higher tariff, and the imports largely shut out, an easy guess can be made how long this could go on. A great bulk of the imports into this country from Holland are semi manufactured goods not made in this country, but extensively in the United States; and the proximity is undoubtedly having the result of decreasing imports of Dutch produce. What is wanted is a different handling of the United States, who are penalizing Canada, and encouragement of countries who are buying increasing quantities of Canadian made goods such as Holland. In the writers viewpoint this is what the Government is trying to do in this instance.

Although the matter is extraneous to the points as mentioned, a great deal of humbug is being talked by interested parties regarding the necessity of increasing the tariff in some cases. If some of these were thoroughly probed, it would be found in many cases that the trouble lay right in Canada - over production, and un-businesslike methods. The writer has come across again and again cases of American Houses and others simply adding the duty to the most prominent competitive price, without regard to their production costs. The motor car business is a business which is a crying scandal. I thoroughly believe in a tariff for this country, but not one to allow stock flotations to make money at the expense of the consumer. This should be stopped forthwith.

Yours very truly,
James Brodie.

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056364

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Ottawa, July 31, 1925.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 29th June, enclosing a memo on the Chinese situation, reached Ottawa after Mr. Meighen had left for Western Canada. I am acknowledging it in the meantime as he will not return to Ottawa for some weeks, but I shall then bring your communication to his attention.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Rev. Hugh W. White, D.D.
American Presbyterian Mission,
Yencheng, Kiangsu,
China.

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056365

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BEDFORD, VIRGINIA

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DR. AND MRS. J. W. HEWETT
REV. AND MRS. C. H. SMITH
REV. AND MRS. H. T. BRIDGMAN
MR. AND MRS. JAMES R. GRAHAM, JR.
MISS AUGUSTA FRASER

Shanghai, China,

June 29, '25.

Sir Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa,

Canada.

Sir,

The enclosed paper prepared for certain influential men in the U.S. Government may be of use to you, so I enclose copy.

Very truly yours,

Hugh W. White.

Yencheng, Kiangsu, China,

Pro tem; Kuling, China,--until last of August, 1925.

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ADDRESS PRO TEM
REV. HUGH W. WHITE, D. D.,
BEDFORD, VIRGINIA

CONFIDENTIAL MEMO ON CHINA SITUATION.

I. Present conditions confirm my view that the future line-up will be the Soviet and Japan against Anglo-Saxons and that the pro-Japanese attitude of our State Department is throwing China, our good friend, and her immense resources into the hands of our enemies.

This is a revolt against Britain and Japan, and we got into it by adhesion to the Balfour policy of boosting Japan.

The tone of the Japanese press is pro-Chinese, encouraging them in their demands, throwing blame on Britain, trying to settle with Chinese privately, offering $10,000.00 indemnity, currying favor with Chinese at Britain's expense.

A man on the inside says the Soviet and Japan aim ultimately at the U.S., but fear if they attack us, Britain will join in. So instead they attack England, trusting that U.S. will keep neutral. They count on Turks to break England's connections at Suez; some Germans in Shanghai are believed to be helping them; and they hope for supplies from the French. After England is broken, they will attack U.S.

II. The Chinese have made a great blunder in attacking Britain. They do not see, nor do our own men here see, that hatred between Chinese and Anglo-Saxons is the very thing

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MISS AUGUSTA FRASER

our enemies want.

III. Probabilities as to outcome are; (1) Great increase of Japanese power. ~~this further strengthening~~ Two prominent Japanese, close to Baron Kato, have been in Shanghai ten days, consulting with Chinese and with the consuls. We may be sure that the Japanese hand will guide in the settlement, and that it will be in their favor.

(2). On the contrary, coming thus prematurely, this reveals underlying conditions, and Anglo-Saxons can plan accordin gly.

(3). It is unifying the Anglo-Saxons.

IV. Anglo-Saxons should not yield to demand for removal of extraterisility. It looks tempting, butk is a Soviet-Japanese scheme. Russia has nothing to lose and would win Chi na's friendship. Japan can work through hireling Chinese, regardless of extratorility. But Anglo-Saxon interests would be imperilled, and the Chinese will lose.

extraterritoriality

V. Suggestions.

1. Anglo-Saxons must stand together. Especially should we get into closer touch with that element of the British who broke up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, preferring American to Japanese friendship.

2. In settling, racial tensity must be taken into account. To make a show of friendship for China now will encourage anti-British feeling, anger Americans at the ports, and weaken our Anglo-Saxon solidarity.

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MISS AUGUSTA FRASER

Hence there should be two lines of advance. Firstly, Settle this, taking strong stand for our rights.

Secondly, at a later date, make a fundamental change in our policy, giving up the Balfour policy of helping Jap an conquer China.

If the Chinese leaders knew there was hope of such a sympathetic attitude being adopted, this settlement would be easier.

3. If this can be held down, then seek by wise measures in European politics to counter the Soviet--Japanese efforts to undermine Christian governments, and make strong alliances to avert war.

Hugh W. White.

Yencheng, Kiangsu, China,
Pro tem; Kuling, China,--until end of August, 1925

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Ottawa, Aug. 4, 1925.

Rev. Hugh W. White, D. D.,
Bedford,
Va.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 10th July, with regard to the Chinese situation, reached Ottawa in the absence of Mr. Meighen. He will not return to the city for some two or three weeks but your communication will then be placed before him.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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MISS AUGUSTA FRASER

ADDRESS PRO TEM
REV. HUGH W. WHITE, D. D.,
BEDFORD, VIRGINIA

The Missionary Home, Shanghai, China.
July 10, '25.

Sir Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa,
Canada,

Dear Sir,

If we are to avert war, it must be done by a united effort on the part of British and Americans, who understand the situation. Believing that you and Mr. Lloyd George are the men, I would do a little bit towards furnishing you information. The enclosed paper goes also to certain influential men in Washington.

Kindly excuse carbon copy, as the original goes to London and the mail is closing.

This was written without the knowledge of any Chinese, but since the writing, I have just had a call from Mr. Tang Shao Yi, and believe the way is open for frank and friendly consultation. He urges (1) Settle the local Shanghai issue, leaving deeper issues for further consultation. (2). China wants nothing that would not be accorded other nations.

Very sincerely yours,

Hugh W. White. Hugh W. White

I hesitate to suggest steps, as you are the best judge of that. But if you could consult with certain

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MISS AUGUSTA FRASER

ADDRESS PRO TEM
REV. HUGH W. WHITE, D. D.,
BEDFORD, VIRGINIA

of the wiser men in Washington, it would be the first step to such a united Anglo-Saxon move for peace. It would be more proper for them to consult you, but they may not be so bold as I. The best man there is for your purpose Mr. Geo.B.Lockwood, 425 Tenth St,N.W., Washington,D.C. He was chairman of Republican campaign committee, is conservative, and yet sees error of Balfour Asiatic Policy. He differs from Borah, but knows how to work through him.

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056372

THE CHINA CRISIS.

The present troubles in China have done a service to humanity by bringing out the fact that all existing governments are fighting a common enemy. The existence of a secret government aiming at world destruction and world domination was brought out in the House of Commons on Nov. 5, 1919 by Winston Churchill. He quoted from Ludendorf the admission that Germany in her desperation appealed to this organization, not foreseeing that she herself also would come down in the crash.

The especial virus of the Reds is against Christianity and marriage., the two pillars of Christendom. Their standard authors, such as Engels, in the "Origin of the Family", anticipate that the human race will give up marriage and take to "group marriages"---tantamount to the gregarious state.

Henry Ford shows that the world unrest, the corruption of morals, and the undermining of faith in the Bible are all part of a preconceived plan. The patriotic organizations, such as the National Civic Federation, the American Defense Society, the National Patriotic ~~Security~~ Council, the Woman Patriot &c. substantiate these facts and show the Hell of Humanity in Russia.

The Red intrigues in China have done another thing, unified the Anglo-Saxons. It was in China that phrase was born, "blood is thicker than water", and blood is reasserting itself. We are glad to see indications that France also is standing with us.

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 056373

What about Japan? Here, as in all countries, one word does not cover the case. There is the Japanese Monarchy, there are the people restive under it, there are the radicals however they may have gotten to that position.

The Monarchy are supposed to be our allies.But the question mark forces itself in. (1) In the Wordl War, as Sidney Osborne showed, they had to be kept true to their obligations by promise of a free hand in China.Under such circumstances we must fear to trustthem. (2) Apparently authentic report says they have agreed with the Soviet that if the Anglo-Saxons bring troops against China, the Soviet will provide 200,000 men and Japan will equip them. It is quite a coincidence that within a year after this report comes out, most unexpected developments almost necessitate the sending of our troops. (3).Both Japan and the Soviet encourage the Chinese in demands for premature removal of extrality, which if it were granted would endanger or hamper Anglo-Saxons while helping those who encouraged it. (4) Japan's general attitude now has been to threw responsibility on Britain, and curry favor with China. (5) There are hints in the Japanese press of a disposition to turn from Anglo-Saxons to the Reds. (6). In any case, if it comes to the clash, the effete Japanese Monarchy will go down.

A "man on the Inside" says the Russo-Japanese plan is ~~to~~; (1) Not attack America now lest Britain help us. (2). Break Britain, trusting America to stay neutral. (3) Turks will break Suez. (4) Some Germans in Shanghai helping them. (5). Expect French to equip. (6) India and Egypt will join them. (7) After Britain is broken, attack the U.S.

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 056374

Angle-Saxons must fight the Reds. But war should be the last resort. In case of war, success would mean great increase of power for Japan (should the Monarchy outweather it), while failure would find the Japanese on the other side. Diplomacy should be pushed to the last, until every hope is gone.

The Reds are reaping what the Balfour Policy sowed. That policy is to boost the Japanese Monarchy even in their aggressions on China and Korea, as a bulwark against Russia. It served its purpose by enabling England to economize on naval expenditure in the East, and brought Japan into the World War on our side. But it has failed now because it is this which has thrown China into the hands of the Reds. There is abundant evidence that Japan is deliberately keeping China disorganized by civil wars, banditry, opium, all the while she is steadily and stealthily getting control.

Happily the British asserted themselves, led by Meighen of Canada, and broke up the Angle-Japanese Alliance. But the Balfour idea still pervades Angle-Saxon diplomacy in Peking. And now the Shanghai riots have thrown things on the screen. The Japanese had been acquiring from Angle-Saxon and Chinese owners the cotton mills, and introducing measures which, rightly or wrongly, the Chinese consider oppressive. Chona has no voice in the Diplomatic Corps, nor in the control of Shanshai, while Japan has both. China's redress is in strikes. This takes money. Here the Reds come in with bags of gold, and the Red Hand grips guileless China.

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In the Shanghai riots, there si justice on both sides. The police were responsible for keeping order. They did their duty and Anglo-Saxons have lost their red blood, if they do not stand by them. But it was the Balfour Policy which placed Anglo-Saxons in a position where they had to fight for Japanese as against Chinese. Wity consummate adreitness the Reds got the Chinese so inflamed against all Westerners that their apologia is discredited by passion and reckless imagination. But reading it calmly, we see that the original cause was hatred against the British for upholding the Japanese.

The Reds for some time past have been ~~upholding~~ reaping the Balfour harvest. Sun Yat Sen and the Kue-min-tang overthrew the Manchus, looking to America for encouragement, guidance, help. We held aloof and they went to the Reds.

Gen. Feng Yu Hsiang, the Christian General, probably under suggestion from the Kue-min-tang, seized the power,-- and in two days time offered his resignation. It is suggestive that he is most bitter against the British for upholding the Japanese.

The Anglo-Saxons fool themselves with the vicious circle. ~~China cannot get organized; Japan refuses to let this attempt~~ Japan will not let China get organized; China cannot get organized; we boost Japan. And then we tell China in the blandest tones, We are your best friends, and when you get organized, we will help you. A neighbor's house is burning, and setting us afire. Instead of getting to work, we stand by, with hands in pockets, saying, Neighbor, we love you, and when you get it put out, we will help you.

What can diplomacy do?

Superficial diplomacy, by not recognizing China's real

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grievance, will permanently alienate China to the Bolshevists, and then we shall have to fight the Russo-Sino-Japanese Alliance, with maybe Germany thrown in. Our nation's life is at stake.

Wise diplomacy would meet the Reds at their own tricks. First insist on preparedness at home. Get the guns ready. Then try to win China back to our side, and leave the Reds stranded.

The British are taking most helpful steps. They hold things with a firm hand. They welcome the "White" Kuo-min-tang, now just showing up. Now Sir Edwin Stockton and Sir John Jordan are urging that matters be brought before the Customs Conference, and the scope of it enlarged.

In the course of time, Japan will have her quota to offer, but internal problems hamper her.

Diplomacy can reclaim China by giving up the Balfour Policy. To get China organized, we should stop following Japanese leadership, get the White Kuo-min-tang in the lead and follow them. They have the brains of China.

The Chinese are reasonable. Your rik-sha man will fight over the last copper, if he thinks you are trying to "do" him. But if he finds you friendly and justly disposed he will settle easily. If we refuse to consider their case, we have lost China, but if they know we have open minds, they will swing back to us.

With China as our friend and ally, there will be no war. The Soviet could not fight us, and the Japanese war cloud would soon scatter.

Hugh W. White.

The Missionary Home,
Shanghai, China.

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Ottawa Journal July 67/26. 56377

ALL DOMINIONS SEEM AGREED THAT THE GENEVA PROTOCOL IS QUITE A DANGEROUS PROPOSAL

Attitude Is Shown In White Paper Just Issued.

CANADA TOO NEAR TO THE STATES

Premier King Would Consider a General Arms Conference.

Despatches which have been exchanged between the Government of Great Britain and the Governments of the Overseas Dominions in regard to the Geneva protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes were issued yesterday in the form of a "white paper."

The communications, some of which have been published already, outlined the attitude of Great Britain and the Dominions toward the protocol., which was drawn up by the fifth assembly of the League of Nations.

Attitude Is Outlined.

Canada's attitude is outlined in a communication sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on March 4, 1925, and tabled by Premier Mackenzie King in the House of Commons during the last session of Parliament. While advocating continued whole-hearted support of the League of Nations, it states that the Government cannot recommend to Parliament adherence to the protocol. "Among the grounds for this conclusion is consideration of the effect of non-participation of the United States upon attempts to enforce the sanctions, and particularly so in the case of a contiguous country like Canada," the despatch states.

It reaffirms Canada's belief in the submission of international disputes to joint inquiry and says the Dominion would be prepared to consider acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in justifiable disputes with certain reservations. It also states that Canada would be willing to participate in a general conference on reduction of armaments which did not involve acceptance of the protocol.

At the Next Assembly.

The Geneva protocol will, it is expected come up in some form at the next assembly of the League of Nations. It is probable, however, that, in view of the opposition from Great Britain and the Dominions, as well as the Scandinavian countries of Europe, that it will be introduced in a modified form. The "white paper" includes a despatch from the Premier of New Zealand in which he records "an emphatic protest against a process under which the British Empire is hurriedly called upon to give its adhesion to momentous novel conditions expressed in a document hastily prepared and vague in expression both as regards its effects and detail."

The Government of the Union of South Africa informs the British Government in another communication that it is unable to recommend acceptance of the protocol. It states that determination of obligations and consequences which may accrue from the acceptance of the protocol is impossible in advance. Australia also voices objections stating that the protocol is distinctly unacceptable for a number of reasons set forth.

Cannot Accept It.

The reasons why Great Britain "cannot accept the Geneva protocol, or recommend its acceptance to the other Governments of the Empire," are set forth in a lengthy memorandum by the British Foreign Secretary. This statement has already been made public.

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Mail & Empire Toronto Aug. 13/25

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS ENDORSED BY BRAZIL

Section of Foreign Office Will Deal Specifically With League Work.

From ALBIN E. JOHNSON,
Special Cable to The Mail and Empire.

Geneva, Aug. 12.—The Government of Brazil, as the result of a demonstration in which participated delegations of students from all high schools in the republic, has notified the League of Nations of the establishment of a section within the Foreign Office dealing specifically with League activities. In a message to Sir Eric Drummond, secretary of the League, Foreign Minister Pacheco declares he adheres heartily to the League program for education of the youth of all countries in the ideas of the Covenant and will exert his utmost influenece in the future to have such courses begun and made obligatory upon schools of Brazil.

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Ottawa, Oct. 28, 1925.

Hugh W. White, Esq.,
Yencheng,
Kiangsu,
China.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of September 22nd reached Ottawa in the absence of Mr. Meighen. On his return to the city your communication with enclosures will be placed before him.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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Yencheng, Kiangsu, China.
Sept. 22, '25

Sir Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa,
Canada,

Sir,

Events in China have had two beneficial results. The Anglo-Saxons are unified, as I have never seen them before in my thirty years of life in the Orient. Also these events have demonstrated the necessity for giving up the Balfour Policy. If the Western Governments can comprehend and act on this latter point, we can avert the world war.

With the assistance of strong friends in the Washington Government and in Shanghai, I have prepared a paper on this subject. In case it might be of assistance to you, I am having reprints mailed.

Very truly yours,

Hugh W. White.

H. W. W.

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p. 1-5

Is There a Russo-Japanese-Chinese Compact vs The West?

By Hugh W. White

Reprinted from
THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
September 26, 1925

Shanghai, China

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Is there a Russo-Japanese-Chinese Compact vs the West?

BY HUGH W. WHITE

AN American of thirty years experience in the Orient would take the liberty of proposing what may be called the middle road in the Oriental problem.

Western diplomacy is to be congratulated that China's bolt to Bolshevism has thus far disappointed the manipulators. Shanghai has not proved a Sarejevo, and Communism is not yet in a position to pull down other governments as they did Russia and Germany.

The writer approaches the subject under the shadow of the Lung-Hai Railway and the Kiangsu Littoral. John Hay's remark that whoever gets China's resources will dominate the Pacific, is the clue to designs on China. The Lung-Hai R. R. is part of a project evolved by Russia in 1898. China, under European leadership and with European finances was to build a trunk line, East and West, through China's vast coal and iron fields, to the sea. Russia was to connect with it through Kashgar, thus debouching on the Pacific, with an ice-free port just north of Shanghai, and with China's war resources in her grasp.

The Anglo-Russian problem has now broadened into a world issue. Germany in her desperation appealed to a secret organization and sent Lenin into Russia. A power has arisen which by its lawlessness is undermining government, suborning education, propagating doctrines which lead to gregarious sex relations, assailing God and all that is good,—trying to lead the human race down to the level of the beasts.

The avowed aim of this power is a revolution in the East which will set the world ablaze. (See article by G. Zinoviev in The Communist International, February, 1925.)

On the other hand the East already has an ambitious power. The latest phase of it bears on the Kiangsu Seaboard, which bids fair to become a second Tsingtao.

A sea-board, two hundred miles long, just north of Shanghai, with several potential sea-ports, and easy access to either the Lung-Hai or the mine fields, needs money for engineering and developing. The Japanese government through their Consul-General in Shanghai have been negotiating this matter.

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The writer, residing in this littoral, in response to requests from prominent Chinese, reported the matter to the U. S. Department of State, and it is under advisement, also, by other leaders in Western governments. In considering the solution of this China issue, all facts germane should be known.

To avert a world war, three roads may be considered.

I. Peace by Concession

China's progress is due, in large part, to Western influences. Her business has developed; her communications by steamship, telegraph, railroad, and postal service, are established, her school system and social life have been remodelled; her government has been reclaimed from the Manchus.

The gist of the demands is that the Western, and especially the British influence, which has accomplished so much of this, should retire. Were it a matter of returning China's rights to herself, the problem would be simple. But this movement originated with Sun Yat-sen, whose last two years were moulded by his Bolshevist adviser, Borodine, and who in death proclaimed his alliance with Bolshevism. The alliance between Sun and Bolshevism, whether, as is reported, in specified terms, or as a matter of natural sequence, points to the transference of China's trade and foreign intercourse into Bolshevist hands.

The outcry against the so-called unequal treaties is couched in language patently "made in Russia", and the giving up of these measures, which have enabled Western energy and Western capital to work for the uplift of China would mean the withdrawal of the scaffolding before the building is safe.

Every concession would strengthen the Bolshevist grip and intensify the demands. Concessions to Bolshevist propaganda are a will-o'-the wisp, which will lead us into a quagmire from which only a world war could extricate us.

It should not be forgotten, also, that one of the demands, the removal of extrality, is favored by Japan. She proposed this at the Washington Conference. During this crisis her journals have encouraged the call, and Westerners under her influence favor it.

The removal of extrality would strike Western business interests, and scare off capital, but not touch Japan's, which operate with facility under Chinese fronts and from Japanese bases.

If Western powers give up extrality, it is more likely to come through the Japanese voice in diplomacy than from fear of Bolshevism, and Western business may have to handle its China operations through Japan.

II. Peace by Repression

To rightly evaluate this point Westerners must not be afraid to recognize that the charges of the agitators are a perversion of real facts. When the Manchus refused to protect our nationals and the Republic could not do so there was no recourse but to protect ourselves. This necessitated a measure of force, and led to cooperation with Japan. Now that Red influences have perverted our other protectors, Westerners in China are forced to rely on Japan's protege, Chang Tso-lin, for protection.

Is the strengthening of Japan's military power a solution of the problem?

Due consideration should be given to the growth of democratic ideals in Oriental lands. In Japan this spirit reinstated the Emperor, and is showing a strength which makes over-repression unsafe. In China it overthrew Manchuism, and the problem of diplomacy is to utilize rather than alienate this spirit of independence.

The fact that the power of Bolshevism comes from Sun Yat-sen should show the diplomatic error of ignoring the men who founded the Republic. For twelve years Dr. Sun was the friend of the Western powers, shielding their nationals by his unseen influence all over China. His rapprochement with Bolshevism was most marked in the last two years of his life,—at the very time when the U. S. Department of State had refused a loan to the Kuomintang but had authorized American bankers to loan $150,000,000.00 to Japan. The loan was adequate to refund existing obligations and thus relieve any danger of Japan defaulting.

We thus lost our strongest friend but there are others who helped to found this Republic and who have not gone to Bolshevism.

To repress this racial movement by force may be called Canute-Diplomacy. Granted that the present out-burst may be held down by Japanized troops, yet repression can give but a parlous peace.

III. Peace by Diplomacy

Leaders in the home governments who have long foreseen the danger from Communism and fought it, with all too little support from the uninformed constituency, deserve the highest appreciation. But even they do not see some things.

The unnoticed feature of this situation is that the Reds are reaping what the Balfour Asiatic Policy sowed. We hesitate, at this juncture, to raise question about our Ally, the Japanese Monarchy. But reports of a secret agreement between them and the Soviet came from French, British, and German sources. In view of the hyper-friendship of the Soviet towards Japan as well as China, the indications on

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Japan's part of friendship for the Bolshevists, and the tendency of the Japanese to curry favor with the Chinese at Britain's expense, the conviction is imperative that there is too much at stake to let delicacy stand in the way of security.

The Balfour Policy proposes to meet encroachments from Russia by building up a strong Japanese Empire. This policy turns a blind eye on Japanese plans for getting control of Korea and China. The policy has its advocates and its opponents in both Britain and the United States. That the U. S. Department of State is inclined to it may be gathered from these facts. (1)—They took Japan's side as against Congress on the Immigration Bill. (2)—They authorized a loan to Japan at the very time the other departments were anxious about Japan's preparations for war. (3)-Unlike other leaders in the U. S. government, they lean to Japan's interpretation in the matter of the Littoral.

As a temporary expedient the Balfour Policy had its day. England economized on naval expenditure and Japan fought with the Allies. Its weakness was disclosed in the World War, when, as Sidney Osborne says, Russia, France and England, had to assure Japan of a free hand in China to hold her obligations. The danger of the Balfour Policy comes out in this China crisis. By boosting Japan, we have thrown China and large elements of the Koreans and the Japanese into the hands of our enemies.

Bolshevism fanned the Chinese hatred of Britain almost to the point of precipitating a world conflict. But the hatred was ready to their hands. Residents in the interior have for years been grieved to see the hatred against China's best friend. England has done more constructive work for China than any other nation.

But the British government, even after British leaders had broken up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, still favored Japan. When, therefore, in a cotton mill, a Japanese shot a Chinese employee without trial, it fired the train. The British policemen who shot the rioters in Shanghai were merely officers doing their duty, and had no responsibility whatever for the origin of the trouble.

To visualize the situation, we must see the Japanese, backed by British power and American finance, step by step getting control of China and her trade, especially the cotton industry, enforcing their policies by foremen carrying weapons. That the Chinese should resent it is natural, and had they gone forward with the strike or boycott planned against the Japanese alone, Westerners would have had little to say. The placares which inveighed against England and Japan, with all that was false, had this much of truth, that Britain was dragged into it through her loyal support of Japan.

The fact should be recognized as reported by Ex-Minister Reinsch and others, that Japan is fostering civil war, brigandage, and opium-selling in China, on the principle of "divide and conquer". As just one of the many indications, see this telegram published as routine news by the *Sin Wen Pao* of July 14, 1923: "The Japanese Commandant at Harbin has appointed the outlaw Yen Ching to combine with Chinese bandits in the countries where Chinese and Russians touch, to disturb the peace aud seize foreigners. On the 11th inst. the Chihli Commandant sent word to the Harbin Constabulary to be on their guard."

In the World War the Japanese Empire, having assurances from Russia, France, and England, forced on China the Twenty One Demands. If they should ever be made effective, Japan will have swallowed China.

Western diplomats did not foresee what is now aimed at, an alignment of Bolshevism with Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese in which the Japanese Monarchy will disappear, as Manchuism did, Western interests in the Philippines, Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, and India, will be lost, and Oriental millions, under Red leadership, will face the Western powers.

This lurid prospect can, however, be met by diplomacy. In these Oriental lands there is an ingrained respect for Westerners, while Bolshevism in principle does not appeal to the better, the stronger element.

To reclaim the friendship of the Chinese, the Koreans, and the progressive element of the Japanese, Western nations should discard the Balfour Policy and adopt the better one of impartial friendship for each of these countries. In particular the strong friendship between China and the United States should be utilized. Diplomacy has been misled by a vicious circle of reasoning. We tell China, when you have gotten your country organized, we will help you; Japan keeps her disorganized; we boost Japan.

China with less national debt than other nations, needs financial help. In order to the right use of such finances, the "White Kuomintang" cannot be ignored with impunity. Nor can Western assistance in organizing, auditing and dispensing this help be omitted. To give this help is not altruism. It is not helping a poor neighbor out of a hole. It is self protection. A few millions for a diplomatic move would save hundreds of millions, not to speak of the bloodshed in a world war.

With China as our friend, there would be no war in the Far East. If the present issue brings these principles to light, it will be a blessing to the world.

Yencheng, Kiangsu, China,
September, 1925.

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The League of Nations

A BASIS FOR AFFILIATION BY THE UNITED STATES

SCHUYLER WOODHULL

MINNEAPOLIS
MINNESOTA

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A proposal for the functioning of the League of Nations by means of constituent Continental Units

The objections advanced against entry into the League of Nations by the United States which have any considerable degree of validity may perhaps be fairly summarized as follows:

That such entry would be against our, so called, historic policy of isolation.

That it would entail foreign entanglement.

That the price of affiliation would be the loss of our independence of action, and

That we risk being committed to policies determined by the League running counter to American policy.

Relatively, at least, the will to peace characterizes the American Continent; and in a marked degree the Governments and peoples of the United States and Canada.

In so far as these and like objections to League affiliation are deemed valid they remain obstacles to the free exercise of such will to peace. Whether sound or unsound the removal of these grounds of objection would tend strongly to promote entry into the League. The subjoined proposal, if feasible of adoption in some form would perhaps serve in a measure, if not wholly, to render untenable such grounds of objection.

The proposal has to do with the method of functioning of the League. It suggests a modification of its operation as a single world unit comprising all signatories.

It proposes that instead of functioning as one unit organized for world peace, the League shall function through the medium of three League Units.

That such League Units comprehend as nearly as may be the respective Continental areas.

That such Units be erected by the allocation of signatory States to the unit of their respective areas of attachment.

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That the Unit thus set up in each Continental area be an autonomous League Unit functioning with like units as a co-ordinate part of the League and together with them comprising the League organization. By the proposal through a realignment of its States the League is resolved, by means of Continental Peace Units, into a representative world confederation.

The proposal essays to render more practicable the idealism of the League. Could the League so function the United States while affiliating with all States for world peace as signatory of one of the League units, would at the same time be free from commitment to any entangling alliance. They would remain uninvolved, except by choice, in any foreign quarrel; they would maintain independence of action; and further the United States, with their League associates of the American Continental unit, could thus fully and serviceably co-operate for world peace in accordance with the genius of their political institutions.

As the League expands in operation the terms of association will necessarily be modified and perhaps radically. The aims of the League will be deemed sacrosanct, not the terms of the Covenant designed to further them.

The proposal is as follows:

In aid of the promotion of International Peace, by means of existing agencies, it is proposed that the United States shall, preferably in conjunction with the Dominion of Canada if the same shall be feasible, propose such modification of the Covenant of the League of Nations as shall recognize at least three areas of operation for such League, which as nearly as may be shall be co-incident with the respective Continental world areas, within which shall be erected independent, autonomous, constituent and co-operative units of such League to be composed of the more contiguous States in each Continental area, viz: Continental Europe, Continental America, and Continental Asia, respectively; i. e. that the world area of operations of the League of Nations be divided into three Continental regional areas for administration, within each of which areas a League Unit shall be erected.

Such League Units roughly to comprehend respectively the Nationals and persons resident in the States:

(1) Of Continental America, including all of North America, Central America, Mexico, all of South America and adjacent Atlantic and Pacific Islands.

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(2) Of Continental Europe including the British Isles, all European States, the more contiguous States of the Near East, Russia, Turkey, the Mediterranean Islands and also all of the States and Colonies of Continental Africa, and all adjacent Islands.

(3) The League Unit for Continental Asia to comprise the States and Colonies of Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Philippines and all other States and Colonies not associated with the other Continental Units.

The States and Colonies attached to such League Units to have as independent governments, or as colonies represented by their respective sovereignties, such equitable representation therein as may be determined.

That such Units be formed by allocation of League States to their respective Continental areas for the purpose of their association as co-operative constituents of the League.

Each State so allocated remaining a member of the League by virtue of its subscription to the Covenant pending organization of such constituent Units, but thereafter to be deemed a member thereof by virtue of its attachment to its respective League Unit and subject primarily to the terms of the compact of such League Unit.

For readiness of administration it is proposed that the area of each Continental Unit be subdivided into at least three Regional areas.

That such Constituent League Units be organized by the subscription of the States therein to a compact designed for the promotion of world peace and international welfare which shall be as far as possible uniform for each League Unit; and which compact shall conform as nearly as may be, compatible with the integrity of such constituent units, to the League of Nations Covenant and shall provide for each unit an organization similar thereto; except that there shall be erected an independent Continental Assembly, Council and Court, respectively, in and for each such Continental Unit of the League with original jurisdiction in matters in respect of international peace solely affecting each such Continental area; and except, that no associated State of the respective Continental Units shall be under obligation to participate in wars outside the Continental area

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of such Unit. (Similar to a provision proposed as an Article of the League Covenant by Lord Robert Cecil.)

The States composing such Units mutually to engage to fully co-ordinate with each other League Unit through uniformity of rules and procedure, by periodic conference, joint consideration for the formulation of International Law, and by recognition of precedents established by other Units; and, in conjunction with such other Units to employ such means as shall be competent to effect an efficient World League for peace.

It is proposed to replace the existing agencies of the League by a Supreme Assembly, Council and Court, with equitable representation from each constituent League Unit and having such original jurisdiction in all matters of world concern and such appellate jurisdiction in matters adjudged by the respective League Units as may effect other continental areas and in matters which may be referred to it by any League Unit, as shall be determined.

It is deemed that such Supreme and Appellate body might be set up for determined periods, in rotation, within the Continental areas of the respective units.

That because of the long history of co-operation between its States, its relative freedom from the heritage of strife, and the inconsiderable number of diverse languages and dialects among its Nationals, the most favorable area within which to erect the first Continental Unit of proposed League Constituents is the area of the Continental Americas.

If it be determined that the League of Nations may profitably be so reconstituted as to provide for constituent League Units designed for co-operation for International Peace, it is proposed that the United States shall affiliate with the American League Unit if and when the same shall be erected.

It is inferred that States having possessions outside their own continental areas shall as Signatories have such representation (fractional or otherwise) in the League Unit of such other areas as may be determined.

Details concerning organization of and representation in the respective League Units have been purposely omitted.

The proposal is based upon the idea that, in world associa-

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tion for peace, the respective Continental areas are natural areas for units of administration.

It is urged that the establishment of Continental League Units presents a natural workable subdivision of the League as functioning in operative areas and that the plan would not only simplify the organization for World Peace but would prove more swift and efficient in operation. This idea would seem confirmed in principle in the establishment by the League of three Regional Areas for Europe.

The Continental Unit proposal recognizes the independence and the status of statehood of great colonies such as Canada and Australia. It stresses the long series of conferences of the "Pan American Union." It takes into account also the self consciousness and nationalism of states arisen since the war. In operation it would serve to lessen the trend toward alliances outside the League tending to impair its efficiency.

Such proposal involves no change in the aim and scope of the League. It involves no radical change in organization and no modification which is not more than offset in the efficiency with which its operation might be directed in attaining the ends of peace.

Within a League so constituted the United States could fully co-operate for peace with a measure of independence of action which other states also might deem desirable.

To the possible objection that the proposal would devitalize the League, it is deemed that it would rather amplify its usefulness and provide as well an elastic, efficient organization with which the United States could readily affiliate.

It would seem beyond controversy that since much the larger number of disputes arise between the more contiguous States that the League Unit organization should in practice prove more swiftly effective for the abatement of the larger number of international differences. The settlement of disputes would also be had with first hand and complete knowledge from the outset of local conditions and backgrounds.

The League Unit would also necessarily function in and for a smaller area and population among Nationals of frequent and long contacts, with a lesser degree of diversity of language, laws, customs and religion.

As to disputes arising between States of different Conti-

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nental areas, it is not likely that the restraint would be less effective if imposed simultaneously by League Units of the different areas to which the hostile States were attached; and there are not a few considerations that such restraint could be more immediately and effectively imposed.

Cognizance and control of matters pertaining to peace in the first instance by Continental Units, in localizing responsibility, would foster concentration of interest of the States in the respective areas and tend to induce a rivalry in administration of the League instrumentalities among the different Units.

The functioning of the League as a whole would be promoted by the more intimate responsible contact of the States so associated for the solution of problems in and for their own areas. At the same time, the weight of world problems resting upon the one League Unit, as now organized, would be immeasurably lessened and the burdens progressively and effectively distributed among the co-ordinated Units.

The detachment of the enormous Asiatic contingent alone, with new problems of the Pacific, still to arise and wholly alien to other world Nationals, would suffice to greatly relieve the League and tend also to promote a higher degree of efficiency in handling the problems of European States.

The Asiatic Contingent, functioning in its own Unit area and co-operating for the solution of its own peculiar problems, would most certainly rise to the challenge with zeal and effectiveness. Such Asiatic States would organize as a Unit not without the aid, counsel and co-operation of the great States attached to the other League Units, which (as Sovereignties in the Asiatic area) would be associates with them in such Asiatic area.

It is suggested that the Dominion of Canada be associated in the initiative for the adoption of the proposal, as not only fittingly celebrative of the one hundred years of unarmed Peace between the Dominion and the United States, but as a natural alignment of Nationals representing the largest and most populous areas and also bound by many ties of blood, of language, law and tradition.

April, 1925.

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Schuyler Woodhull

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IN CANADA

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THE HON. N. W. ROWELL, K.C.

PRESIDENT:
THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE E. FOSTER, G.C.M.G.

HON. TREASURER:
SIR ARTHUR W. CURRIE, G.C.M.G.

CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
O. M. BIGGAR, K.C.

HON. SECRETARY:
J. E. MACPHERSON

GENERAL SECRETARY:
~~H. G. RICHARDSON~~ LT. COL. C. P. MEREDITH
(TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED)

~~412 CARLETON CHAMBERS, OTTAWA~~

279 Wellington Street,
Ottawa, January 19th 1926.

330

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
House of Commons,
O T T A W A.

Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform you that the General Meeting of this Society will be held in the Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, at 11.00 a.m. on Friday, January 29th, 1926, when the chair will be taken by the President the Right Honourable Sir George E. Foster.

In addition to receiving the reports, the election of Officers and Committees will take place. It is hoped that you will be able to be present.

Yours faithfully,

C.P. Meredith.
General Secretary.

CPM/MK.

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CANADA

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Ottawa, March 27, 1926.

Dear Mr. Hart:

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of the 9th instant, but I have been so pressed during the last couple of weeks that it has been almost impossible for me to keep up my daily correspondence.

I have gone into the point raised in your letter to the Belgian Consul General, copy of which you have sent to several ministers. This treaty was signed on July 4, 1924, but there is nothing in it covering the exchange situation. At that time the Belgian franc was worth about 4.7 cents. There is doubt as to your contention that the supplement memorandum issued by the Department of Customs and Excise is illegal. Exchange might under one circumstance or another drop to the point where, as in the case of German money, it would be practically valueless. Whether it has or not I do not think the Canadian Government should in any treaty surrender its right to protect our people from depreciated currency. The treaty should have expressly reserved this right. As it is France and Belgium may take

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exception to our use of the dumping clause - even though such use may be legal.

Yours very truly,

P.B. Hart, Esq.,
13 Mayor St.,
Montreal, P.Q.

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FORM 1

REGISTERED CABLE ADDRESSES "[illegible]TEX" OR "ARTSILK" MONTREAL

056392

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Favour to make copy of memo copy of right to Mr. Bell

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ARTSILK WASTE
RABBIT SKINS

MONTREAL, March 9th 1926.

The Honourable Mr. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa Ont.

Dear Sir:-

I beg to attach herewith copy of letter I have this day written to Mr. A Remes, Consul -General in Canada for the Kingdom of Belgium which is self explanatory.

The regulation in question threatens to disrupt trade and commerce, not only with Belgium, but with France and Italy as well. I think you will agree with me that the regulation should be cancelled, in so far as countries we have trade treatys with are concerned.

Yours very truly,

PBH/I

All offers are subject to acceptance and confirmation by us and orders are not valid unless on our official order blanks which must be signed.
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO P. B. HART, 12 MAYOR STREET, MONTREAL.

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COPY

056393

Montreal March 9th 1926.

Mr. A. Remes,
Consul-General of Belgium,
Ottawa Ont.

Dear Sir:- Re. Department of Customs & Excise Memo. No. 22, Supplement E. issued from Ottawa on February 15th 1926.

Further to my letter to you of the 1st instant relative to the above noted matter. After giving the matter further consideration since writing to you, I have very grave doubts as to the legality of the above noted matter. I have come to the conclusion that it is entirely contrary in spirit to the most favoured nation agreement which forms part of the Belgo-Canadian Treaty.

I further think that at the time the Belgo-Canadian Treaty was signed, Belgian Francs, showed a depreciation of over 50%. If I am correct in this matter, then surely there is no justification for the regulation in question and it should be cancelled.

I am sending a copy of this letter to,

1. The Right Honourable Prime Minister of Canada.
2. The Honourable Minister of Customs & Excise.
3. The Honourable Minister of Justice.
4. The Honourable Minister of Trade & Commerce.
5. The Honourable Mr. Arthur Meighen.
6. The Honourable Mr. Robert Forke.
7. Mr. S.W. Jacobs M.P.

I beg to remain, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

PBH/I SIGNED. P.B. HART

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056394

MEMORANDUM

No 22.
Supplement E.

DEPARTMENT OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE, CANADA,
Ottawa, 15th February, 1926.

To Collectors of Customs and Excise,

Depreciated Currencies.

Clause 4 of Memorandum No. 22, Supplement B, is hereby cancelled and the following is substituted therefor:-

"Until further ordered, Section 2, amending Section 40 of The Customs Act, will apply to goods the manufacture or produce of any country where the currency is depreciated more than 50%.

"Goods the manufacture or produce of any such country will be appraised for duty purposes according to the value of similar goods when manufactured or produced and sold for home consumption in the United Kingdom, or if similar goods are not made or produced in the United Kingdom, according to the value when manufactured or produced and sold in any European country, the currency of which is not substantially depreciated."

R. H. Sarrazin

Deputy Minister of Customs and Excise.

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CANADA

056395

MEMORANDUM

No 22.
Supplement E.

DEPARTMENT OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE, CANADA,
Ottawa, 15th February, 1926.

To Collectors of Customs and Excise,

Depreciated Currencies.

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R. R. Farrow

Deputy Minister of Customs and Excise.

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MEMORANDUM - Mr. Meighen:

Re: attached from Mr. P.B. Hart, this treaty was signed on the 3rd July, 1924. There is nothing in the treaty with regard to the exchange situation. I have shown it to Mr. Leslie G. Bell as you suggested and he in turn discussed it with Mr. Cahan. They take the ground that there is nothing illegal in this, as Canada surely is entitled to protect herself from depreciated currency. The franc at the time the treaty was signed was worth about 4.7 cents.

A.W.M.

27-3-26

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056397

My dear Chief,-

Re Belgian & French Treaties and depreciated currency

I think if you will look at the actual wording of the ~~treaties~~ clauses of the treaties you will agree with me that ~~yo~~ the opinion expressed in your letter of 27 march to me that ~~it ha~~ cannot be supported by the wording of the treaties. Will see you before House opens. I'd like to raise question on orders of the day.

Leon J. Lacher

31 march.

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FORM 1

056398

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CRUDE RUBBER
HATTERS FUR
ANGORA WOOL
ARTSILK WASTE
RABBIT SKINS

MONTREAL April 7th 1926.

Honourable Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
Ottawa Ont.

Dear Sir:-

I thank you for yours of the 27th ultimo.

I cannot see if the question of depreciated currencies was not inserted in our trade treaties with foreign powers ratified by the Parliament of Canada, how the Department of Customs or even the Government by Order-in-Council can pass regulations regarding such treaties without the consent and authorization of the Parliament of Canada.

I certainly agree with you that the matter should have been made part of such treaties. But it was not. I therefore ask the question to myself. Is Canada respecting its trade treaties and if not then what are trade treaties made for? I understand this action of increasing the values 20% for duty purposes has created an uproar in France, Belgium and Italy, countries with whom we have trade agreements.

If we are not respecting trade treaties entered into with these nations mentioned then what are we going to do if they retaliate against us and either renounce the trade treaties or legislate against our exports to such countries.

My personal opinion is that the neutrals such as Holland and Switzerland and former enemies Germany and Austria are doing more dumping and selling the same products cheaper than France, Belgium and Italy with their depreciated currencies. To me the whole matter is a farce. I am disgusted with the whole business. Increasing the duties on finished products and at the same time making such increases applicable to raw materials may be termed in three or four words viz "Additional protection that is not additional protection." Nobody benefits, again, the consumer is made the "goat".

I beg to remain, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

P B Hart

PBH/I

All offers are subject to acceptance and confirmation by us and orders are not valid unless on our official order blanks which must be signed.
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO P. B. HART, 12 MAYOR STREET, MONTREAL.

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056399

330

Ottawa, April 26, 1926.

Dear Mr. Woodhull:

I have just received your letter of the 23rd. I have read the newspaper article and have as well read with very great interest the pamphlet you have issued.

This is a subject of so vast a scope that I could not consistently with my responsibilities as leader of a Canadian party make, without opportunity for the most careful thought and consultation, a commitment as to the merits of your plan.

I am taking the liberty of transmitting the pamphlet and editorial to Sir Robert Borden, who, as you know, has taken from the beginning an active and leading part in the League of Nations. I congratulate you on the concise, clear, and dignified form in which you have put your proposition.

Yours very truly,

Schuyler Woodhull, Esq.,
2417 Pillsbury Ave.,
Minneapolis, Min., U.S.A.

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056400

330

2417 Pillsbury Avenue,
Minneapolis, Minn.
April 30, 1926

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

My dear sir:-

I wish to thank you for your letter respecting the Continental Unit Proposal and to assure you that I keenly appreciate your having taken the trouble to forward it to Sir Robert Borden.

I am

Very truly yours,

Schuyler Woodhull

SW-VMF

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CANADA

056401

330

House of Commons
Canada

Ottawa,
May 31st, 1926.

A. W. Merriam, Esq.,
Private Secy. Rt.Hon.Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Merriam,-

I enclose correspondence to and from Mr. P.B.Hart in connection with Belgian and French currency.

Yours sincerely,

/HP

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MEIGHEN PAPERS

SERIES 3

(M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056402

C.A.C.Jennings Esq., February 13th, 1923.

Editor in Chief, Mail and Empire, Toronto, Ont.

Please mail ten copies February eighth issue.

D.H. FS 62. Arthur Meighen.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (MG 26, I, Volume 95)

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CANADA

056403

Ottawa, Ont. March 7th. 1923

Private & Personal.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I take the liberty of sending you personally a copy of letter I have just written Mr. Douglas.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
Editor,
"Toronto Mail & Empire,"
TORONTO,
Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

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056404

Ottawa, Ont. March 8th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I have yours of the 7th. instant.

I thought it would be best for me to see Mr. Blacklock direct. I did so, and told him that in my judgment it would be unwise to assume a definite hostile attitude at the present time, and suggested that instead to simply recite rather in a spirit of acquiescence than of antagonism, the actual facts. I think it well that the facts be known. Mr. Blacklock agreed to do this and you should receive by tomorrow morning the revised copy. If you should not, I am disposed to advise against publishing anything in the nature of a determined attack of the bargain, because to do so would simply be used by our enemies in their racial appeals.

I note what you say as to the fuel question. Am enclosing herewith a Hansard giving an account of the debate. I think I took the right stand.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
Editor, "Mail & Empire,"
Toronto, Ont.

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CANADA

056405

The Mail and Empire

TORONTO, CANADA

March 7, 1923.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,

House of Commons,

Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Blacklock's Ottawa letter for our Saturday issue is now in my hands. In it he takes a very strong stand against the Vimy Ridge Memorial Park project as being "not for Canada but for France and for the glorification of a political group who would reap of the sacrifice of others." It appears to me that he is right, but whether or not you would consider it expedient to have such a view published at the present time is a question that should be submitted to you before the letter appears. Would you kindly drop me a line by way of O.K. or caution? Whatever your answer, it is unnecessary for Blacklock to know that you have been consulted. For whatever is done about it he can blame or credit me.

It is desirable that the Conservative party should take the present fine opportunity the fuel situation presents to distinguish itself as the friend of the mass of the people and as their deliverer from dependence on the United States for hard coal. In our issue of ~~Wednesday~~ Tuesday I have an editorial, of which a clipping is enclosed, in which the suggestion is made that the Ontario and the Dominion Governments appropriate money to facilitate the transportation of Alberta coal to this Province, such money aid being by way of supplement to a special low freight rate charged to Ontario purchasers of such coal. I hope you may consider the idea practicable for the relief of coal consumers in this Province and for the promotion of trade between the West and Ontario. Our merchant marine ought also to be put to serviceable

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056406

The Mail and Empire
TORONTO, CANADA

use for the bringing of high-grade Welsh anthracite coal to this country. The more we can favor Britain with benefit to ourselves, the better.

I hope you are keeping in good trim. Recent political events, such as the Provincial general election in Quebec, the Federal by-elections in Lanark and in North Essex, and the drift of things in Ontario Provincial politics, cannot but be cheering to you.

With best wishes,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

C. A. B. Jennings

CACJ/FT.

P.S. Would you kindly reply at once to the question about the Vimy Ridge memorial matter, for the P.S. letter must be printed on Friday.

C. A. B. J.

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CANADA

056407

Ottawa, May 14, 1923.

C.C. Jennings, Esq.,
Editor-in-Chief,
Mail & Empire,
Toronto.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I wonder if you would be good enough to send Mr. Meighen an extra copy of the May 4th issue of the "Mail & Empire".

Yours faithfully,

Rex Crossdell.
Private Secretary.

Recd May 18/23

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CANADA

056408

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, June 9, 1923.

C.A.C. Jennings, Esq.,
Editor-in-Chief,
Mail & Empire,
Toronto.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I attach copy of a letter which I have just written Mr. P.D. Ross, Editor of the Ottawa Journal. The facts set out in this letter are correct and may be used by you in any way you may desire, but of course the knowledge that I have written the letter should be confidential.

Yours very truly.

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056409

Ottawa, Ont. June 12th. 1923.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I have your letter of the 11th. instant. Just yet I do not feel like making a definite recommendation. Mr. Douglas has not written me, but if he does, I will make such answer as will, in my judgment, be most helpful to you. I really am not certain that the Ottawa representative would be of great value to you, nor do I know what a good writer might expect in the post that is to be filled.

What I am going to say now is highly confidential. I would like very much to encourage one whom I consider a journalist of exceptional ability, Mr. J. A. Stevenson, to connect himself with a large Conservative daily. He has, as you know, been writing for years for the Progressive Party; indeed, he has been their journalistic engine. His sympathies have drifted widely, both from the Progressive leadership and still more radically from the Government leadership. He has marked ability.

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056410

He has been doing chiefly Parliamentary writing for the "Toronto Star" lately.

Just give me please your private view of this suggestion with such information as will help, but beyond yourself please do not mention the name as yet.

With kindest regards.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
"Toronto Mail & Empire,"
Toronto, Ont.

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056411

Ottawa, Ont. July 2nd. 1923.

Dear Mr. Jennings;

Further to your letter of the 11th. June. I had a talk with Mr. Wallis on Saturday and he intimated that he was going up to take Mr. Austen's place. This I pr sume will leave vacant his post here. If so, kindly advise me. I earnestly hope that a suitable man will be appointed to the work here as it is absolutely vital.

If I could have the general views of Mr. Douglas and yourself, I would be glad to make a recommendation. I am writing Mr. Douglas to-day.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
"The Mail and Empire,"
TORONTO, Ont.

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CANADA

Confidential

056412

The Mail and Empire
TORONTO, CANADA

June 11, 1923.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

I have just received your letter of the 9th inst. with its enclosure. I shall at once make use of the facts contained in the latter without breaking the confidence reposed in me.

Please treat as strictly confidential what I now mention. Austen is leaving the paper. The question of finding a man to fill his place is now to be settled. In discussing the matter with the General Manager, I suggested that I should consult you, the name of our correspondent at Ottawa having been brought up. This remark of mine led the G.M. to say that he would at once write to you on the subject, and I presume you will get a letter from him by this mail. Now I have to ask you that you consider my position in the matter. The task of fitting a man to the job comes on me, and no one who is without experience in such work can have any idea of the extremely trying nature of it. I have broken in three or four strong-willed, self-willed and high-strung men. In the end I have always had their gratitude, but in the course of the work I have had to exercise both lasting patience and unyielding firmness to wear down their fretfulness. They were all good men and turned out to be close pursuers of the single object of an editorial. Diffuseness and the tendency to lose sight of all considerations that did not stare them in the face were faults not easily corrected.

As to our correspondent there, unless it strikes you that he would be a real help to me, I hope you will reserve judgment. We require a man of experience, of breadth of mind and of willingness to

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CANADA

056413

The Mail and Empire

TORONTO, CANADA

(2)

work at all hours. If you are consulted, as I expect you will be, please give this matter your most careful thought and take into account the difficulty I have had in licking men into shape.

Now please treat this matter as one of intimate personal confidence, for you can see how awkward it would be for me if I was not believed to be unreservedly favorable to this or that man singled out for the place. When the matter is referred to you, a suggestion from you that my judgment be acted upon might be useful.

Yours faithfully,

C. A. C. Jennings

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056414

Ottawa, Ont. June 14th. 1923

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I have your letter of yesterday, and am sending you herewith copy of extract from the Records of the Imperial Conference of 1921, containing reference of Mr. Lloyd Geroge to the maladroit activities of Honourable Manning Doherty regarding removal of the Cattle Embargo. In this connection, I enclose as well extract from a speech of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Asquith at the time of the passing of the Bill through the Commons removing the embargo. The sentiments of Mr. Asquith's speech were re-echoed by others and as well in the House of Lords, and constitute the real cause of the final removal.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
"The Mail and Empire,"
TORONTO,
Ont.

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CANADA

056415

The Mail and Empire
TORONTO, CANADA

June 13, 1923.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Can you refer me to a speech made by Mr. Lloyd George to the members of the Imperial Conference of 1921 wherein credit is given to you for the efforts made to have the cattle embargo lifted — and wherein he says it was the desire of the British Government to remove the embargo, but that the Government was embarrassed in its endeavors by the activities of one of the Canadian Provincial Ministers, etc. I cannot lay hands on this speech, though I am sure I once used the part of it I am here referring to. Would you kindly let me have any document or copy of document containing it, for I desire to make immediate use of it.

I received your letter this morning, and note what you say. On that point I shall write later. Please accept my thanks.

Yours faithfully,

C. A. B. Jennings

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CANADA

056416

Ottawa, Nov. 9, 1923.

C.A.C. Jennings, Esq.,
Editor-in-Chief,
Mail & Empire,
Toronto.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I am following your editorial work with the greatest of appreciation. I think the line you have taken as to Lapointe's Western speeches is excellent.

Regarding the conferences overseas, I think the utter futility of such conferences if Canada is to assume a negative, recalcitrant attitude, spewing out words by the million but agreeing to nothing in the way of policy, should be emphasized.

There is no doubt in my mind that a system of tariff preferences throughout the Empire would be of the greatest possible value to all. Canada would benefit more than any other dominion, and this whether the preference is applied to our main products or only to some. We are nearest the British market and especially our manufactured goods would be in a strong competing position. There is no reason in the

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056417

world why Canadian representatives at the conferences should not have labored for such a common policy. Otherwise, what are these conferences for? It is true Canadian public men are not at liberty to harangue British audiences for or against British governments, or for or against policies that are distinctly British, but these conferences are held for the purpose of endeavoring to bring the representatives of the various dominions and the Motherland into conformity of opinion as to policies mutually beneficial - which policies in turn these representatives would recommend to their respective parliaments. Following this principle British statesmen over and over again have urged mutual co-operation in a common policy of defence. Why in the name of common sense should we not similarly urge co-operation in a mutually preferential system? Our representatives on the contrary, have boasted of their aloofness on this subject, and have stood shyly in the corner while British statesmen were making advances of their own free will. No doubt whatever these advances are in some degree due to the representations made by Australia. Canada should have joined and lent her weight to hasten the day when these big

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056418

things would be achieved. In my mind there is no hope by establishing purchasing or selling organizations or by any other device to foster vigorously inter-empire trade save by the method of tariff preference. All this means so much to our country that the Canadian delegates should have been alive and active and should have devoted their first and greatest efforts towards getting some practical results.

I attach summary, which doubtless would be in your paper to-day, given, according to Hambleton, by a "member of the Canadian Delegation", of the results of the Imperial Conference. Each and every one of these statements is simply sublime nonsense. Every one was a truism years ago. Without question the Canadian delegate who gave Hambleton this summary was the Prime Minister. This is conginceing proof that the whole result of the Imperial Conference was absolutely nothing.

Why the Canadian representatives refused to participate in the forming of the Economic Committee, I am at a loss to understand. I await the London papers to get the real meaning of their attitude. The reasons given by

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Hon. George P. Graham were simply laughable.

We have been treated morning after morning to accounts of dinners, luncheons and the like, and to needless platitudes. These are all, I fancy, that the country is to get for many tens of thousands of dollars that we have checked out to our delegates and their all but interminable retinues.

From the Government standpoint Hambleton was an excellent man to be sent over by Canadian Press, and we may all rely upon it he has put the best possible fact on everything that has occurred.

Yours very truly,

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056420

Ottawa, Ont. Nov. 26th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

Below is an extract from a letter from Mr. H. B. Thomson, formerly Food Controller, and now a resident of London.

I cannot suggest what Toronto, as a city, could do, but possibly the Empire Club might see fit to invite Colonel Leonard to address them and on that occasion take the opportunity to express on behalf of Canadians our appreciation of the service he has rendered empire relations by this gift. It was made at a time when something in the way of a practical interest in Great Britain on the part of Canada was very sadly needed. Perhaps you would feel like referring to it editorially.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
The Mail and Empire,
Toronto, Ont.

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056421

x x x x x x x

I also enclose you herewith the "Times" report of Colonel Leonard's gift to the nation. It is estimated that this gift must represent in cash somewhere between £90,000 and £100,000. The house has been occupied in their time by Chatham and Gladstone and consequently it has great historic associations. This gift of Col. Leonard has created a very remarkable and favourable impression upon the people here as there was a very uncomfortable feeling as regards Canadian views on imperial matters and I think you will agree with me the press of this country has been tending this way for sometime. This can be attributed to the official attitude of Canada which has been summed up many times by benevelent aloofness.

I sincerely hope that the people of Canada will appreciate what Col. Leonard has done and I should think on his return to Canada (he sails to-day) that the people of Toronto at least should express their appreciation in some marked manner which would let the country know the favourable impression that has been created and the importance of the gift. This fact is crystallised in that the Prince of Wales attended personally on behalf of the nation to accept the gift and Lord Curzon and many other distinguished men were present."

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056422

Ottawa, Ont. Nov. 28th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I have just read an editorial in the "Quebec Chronicle" - copy of which I enclose. There have been many others since Lord Atholstan's last effusion but this is a beauty. So far as it relates facts it tells the exact truth. My judgment is that the noble lord is helping us and we ought to take all the advantage possible. Coming from Quebec, this is specially worthy of circulation.

With all good wishes.

Yours very truly,

C. F. C. Jennings, Esq.,
"The Mail and Empire,"
TORONTO, Ont.

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clemency.

056423

Ottawa, Ont., January 19, 1924.

Dear Mr. Langis,

I have just received a reply from His Grace, The Duke of Devonshire, with regard to the case of George Coderre, if which I am enclosing a copy. I regret my effort has not met with more success, but apparently the British authorities will not move at the present time.

Yours very truly,

Rodolphe Langis, Esq.,
Codere & Fils Ltd.,
Sherbrooke, P.Q.

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056424

COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

15th December, 1923

My dear Mr. Meighen,

I have your letter of the 5th about the case of George Codere (which is in the province of the Home Secretary and not of the President of the Board of Trade.) I took the matter up with the Home Secretary at the instance of Judge Choquette, and I am sorry to say that after the most careful consideration it was found impossible to take any action. Judge Choquette was informed accordingly that the Home Secretary could not consider the question of recommending the release of Codere before twenty years; and I am afraid it would be quite useless for me to attempt to reopen the question.

I saw the Judge on several occasions and took great pains to explain the situation to him; and while it was not in my power to meet his wishes, I am sure he cannot have formed the impression that there was anything "brusque" in my treatment of the situation.

With kind regards and all best wishes for Christmas and the New Year,

Believe me, my dear Mr. Meighen,
Yours sincerely,

Devonshire.

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Justice

056425

Ottawa, September 11, 1925.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 4th instant reached Ottawa after Mr. Meighen had left for Ontario and the Maritime Provinces. Immediately upon his return I shall bring it to his attention. I may say that it will be several weeks before Mr. Meighen returns to Ottawa.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

A. Vout, Esq.,
P.O. Box 7,
Leavenworth, Kansas,
U.S.A.

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POST OFFICE BOX 7

056426

Hon Arthur Meighan
Ottawa Canada.

Leavenworth, Kansas Sept 4th 1924.

Dear Sir:-

As a Canadian & admiring friend I am making a personal appeal to you in behalf of the Canadians in American Prisons, not only in this prison but in every prison of America: An appeal directed to your broad common sense and your highest conception of justice. There are thirty six Canadians in this prison most of whom are serving sentences not over 2 or 3 years for minor offenses or violating American laws, of which all Barristers are well aware there are almost countless numbers and varieties.

Because we are not American born or a naturalized Citizen we have no possible chance of making a parole but must do all of the sentence; it seems unfair that a person should be refused a Parole on the grounds of deportation especially when one has been convicted of a minor offense, also for the first time. The great injustice we are trying to reach is not only what I have just mentioned, we are not only to be deported when our time expires but are often forced to remain in some jail for days and sometimes months while this government gets a number of Deportees together for Conveniences of their Own.

We appeal to you to take this matter

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up with The Dept of State at Wash. DC & call the attention of this Government to the injustice of this practice of refusing these men a Parole also holding them in Jail for an uncertain length of time waiting for favorable Conditions of deportation. I call your attention further to the fact that most of these Canadians came to this Country for employment following the distressing conditions in Canada after the World War & that all were in some usefull employment in this country at the time of conviction or previous to it.

The practice of refusing canadians a Parole and holding them in jail for deportation at the convenience of the American Authorities should have been done away with long ago as there is no reasonable excuse for this treatment of men in this or any other part of the World.

We feel that by the time any possible results can be secured from our just pleas to stamp out this injustice to mankind, that none of us may reap any benefits from our efforts, but in the name of Common Humanity & those women & children who must suffer by the imprisonment of their loved ones & in the name of justice in all lands we urge you to help us eradicate this practice of refusing Paroles on deportation & holding men in jail for an uncertain length of time after their term expires.

In my own case I am married to a girl of this Country & this incarceration is causing her a lot of grief & hardships owing to the fact she has no one to provide for her; it means much to both of us that I am realeased as soon as possible so I hope you can be of some help. Sincerely Yours. A. Voul. Reg# 23260

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056428

Ottawa, Nov. 5, 1925.

C.C. Miller, Esq.,

Messrs Miller & Miller,

Portage la Prairie,

Man.

Dear Mr. Miller:

Enclosed please find a communication I have received from the Department of Justice. I am sorry it is not more favourable. I do not think they are likely to change their attitude, but if you will drop me a line somewhat later on I will see if anything more can be done.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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056429

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA

Leader of the Opposition

Ottawa,
November 4th, 1925.

Dear Mr. Miller,-

With reference to my letter to you of some days ago, I am sending you herewith a communication I have today received from the Department of Justice. I am sorry it is not more favourable. I do not think they are likely to change their attitude but if you will drop me a line somewhat later on I shall see them again.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Meighen

C.C.Miller, Esq.,
Messrs. Miller & Miller,
Portage la Prairie,
Man.

Enc.

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056430

Ottawa 11th Nov.1925.

Dear Mr.Miller,-

I took up the matter of young Bodner's release, with the Department of Justice, but I am sorry to say I did not meet with any success. The Department take the ground that he must serve a greater portion of his sentence before any parole could be granted. If you care to drop me a line later on I will take it up again.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary,

C.C.Miller, Esq.,
Messrs.Miller & Miller,
Portage La Prairie, Man.

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056431

MILLER & MILLER
BARRISTERS, ETC.
JOS. C. MILLER CAL. C. MILLER
PHONE 1100

ROOMS 5-6-7
T. & W. MILLAR BLOCK
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, MAN.

November 17th, 1925.

Mr. A. W. Merriam,
Private Secretary to
Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:

We thank you very much for your letter of November 11th regarding young Bodnar. We appreciate very much the trouble that you have taken in this connection and we also appreciate your offer to take on this matter again at some future date.

Yours truly,
MILLER & MILLER

Per:

CCM/B

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056432

Ottawa, Dec. 8, 1925.

Dr. O.D. Skelton,

Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,

Ottawa.

Dear Dr. Skelton:

Mr. Meighen has received a letter from Jos. F. Cermak, 54 McAdam Ave., Winnipeg, asking him to take upothe matter of his son's release from Wayne County Gaol where he is now held for breaking immigration laws in Detroit. Mr. Cermak does not say what the sentence was. It would be appreciated if you would let me know whether the Department has taken any action in this matter.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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056433

OFFICE OF
THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
CANADA.

Ottawa,
Dec. 9, 1925.

A. W. Merriam, Esq.,
Private Secretary to
Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
Ottawa.

My dear Mr. Merriam:

I have your letter of yesterday, stating that Mr. Meighen has received a request from Joseph F. Cermak, 54 McAdam Ave., Winnipeg, for assistance in securing the release of his son, who has been imprisoned for breaking the United States immigration laws at Detroit.

The case had not previously been referred to this Department, and I find that it has not come to the attention of the Department of Immigration. We are, however, making inquiries at once, and shall advise you, as soon as we have received particulars, as to the prospects of securing the son's release.

Yours sincerely,

O. D. Skelton

ODS/McK

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Justice

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 056434

Subject.....

Date Sept 3/26 Publication Toronto Financial Post

ASK "MOUNTIES" BE PUT ON TRACK OF STOCK CROOKS

Send Plea to Minister of Justice to Stem Fraud Tide

SAVINGS STOLEN

Uninformed Investors Fleeced in Every Part of Canada By Slick Crooks From Across Line

The Federal Minister of Justice is being asked to put the services of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to work to clean out the gangs of thieving bunco artists who continuously invade Canada from across theAmerican borderline and rob Canadian men and women of their life savings.

The request has gone forward from a Toronto institution, engaged in the sale of legitimate securities, to the Minister of Justice. It is being urged upon him that the provincial police throughout Canada are, by reason of their comparative immobility, not in position to take quick action where necessary to arrest and punish crooked stock salesmen. The Mounties, it is contended, with all-Canada connections and a well-organized secret service or detective force could swoop down upon the crooks before they would get out of Canada with their evil gotten booty and they could cooperate more closely with American federal agents to bring to justice illegitimate stock salesmen who manage to get into Canada, uncover a few small bank accounts, extract the money from the unsuspecting investors and get out of the country before suspicion is aroused against them.

Particular poignant stories came to hand showing the extent of the robberies being perpetrated by these slick Blackie Daws. Their operations are not concerned only with the sale of stock in companies foredoomed to failure. So bold have they become that they get money under false pretences. Their punishment requires no blue sky law. The criminal code covers the multitude of their sins.

In one case of recent occurence in Ontario, one of these stock salesmen called on a woman who had bought stock in an established Toronto company. They told her that they represented the president and had been sent to tell her that it would be necessary for her to put up an additional $1,500 to protect her present investment of $2,000 in the company or lose everything that she had put in. She turned over stock certificates, and $1,100, all the money she had in the world, and never heard from the men again.

In another case, a baker in the Maritime provinces, a man obviously of some business experience fell for an equally specious story. He was told that his preferred stock was being exchanged by the company for common stock, which would be redeemed in the fall at a big profit. It would be necessary to have his stock to facilitate the transfer, it was stated, and he handed it over — $5,500 worth, representing his entire capital. He has never seen his stock since nor the crooks who fleeced him. They were across the border before the police machinery started to move.

The Financial Post has been handed private detective reports on cases of serious fraud where no one has been punished. For instance, one group of stock crooks purchased shares of the capital stock of Skead Gold Mines for two or three cents a share; went to shareholders of a financial institution and bought back their financial shares at a good profit, paying for them in Skead Gold stock at the rate of 25 cents a share. Even if they dumped the financial institution's stock on the market at half of the price they ostensibly paid for it, they would have a profit of several hundred per cent. on their Skead Gold stock.

In another case, a gang of such thieves bought Algoma Steel debentures on the street at around 40 cents on the dollar and traded them out to investors for other stocks, at par.

It is very difficult for any individual company attempting to protect its shareholders to do anything. Besides adopting the safeguard of rapid movement from place to place and in and out of the country, these men use the additional system of working in pairs. This means that if a shareholder makes a charge against these men there are two witnesses to swear against his evidence and the crooks can lie as well as they can steal.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 056435

Subject.....

Date.....*Publication*.....

Operations of the stock crooks are far flung. Recently, at the annual meeting of a large Quebec corporation, the president stated that the similar operations were being carried out in connection with the preferred shares of his company.

Examples such as this could be multiplied manifold from the records of most new Canadian companies.

All Investors Lose Out

The dirty work affects all investors, not only those who are defrauded directly. The stock taken from investors by these people eventually finds its way on the market through one source and another. It is offered at low prices and upsets the market for good securities, making it difficult for the investor in a new company, that has not yet established its stocks on the market, to get a good price for his security when he is forced to sell. In this respect the result is akin to the result when goods are smuggled, for these are also thrown on the market at prices that upset legitimate values.

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Justice

056436

Ottawa, Ont., 26th October, 1925.

Dear Sir,

-Re William Bodnar-

Your letter of the 22nd instant, together with petition on behalf of the above mentioned lad reached me this morning. I am taking it to the Department of Justice, and will follow the question up.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary

Cal. C. Miller, Esquire,
Messrs. Miller and Miller,
Portage la Prairie, Man.,

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056437

Ottawa, Ont., 26th October, 1925.

Dear Tom,

I am herewith enclosing you letter I have received from Messrs. Millerand Miller of Portage la Prairie, together with petition on behalf of a young lad by the name of Bodnar. Will you please let me know what reply I may send to Messrs. Miller and Miller.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary

P. Thomas Ahern, Esquire,
Department of Justice,
Ottawa, Ont.,

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Notes Speech Kent 256438 Canada Ext

BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND CANADIAN AMBASSADOR

WASHINGTON.

After the U.S. declared War, the relations between Canada and the U.S. were very intimate and the Government of Canada thought it desirable to appoint a War Mission. Amongst other things its duties were to assist the U.S. Government in placing contracts for Munitions in Canada. This Mission was of such a useful character, that out of it arose the desire for a permanent official at Washington. It was pointed out that the trade between Canada and the U.S. was greater than with any other country and under the conditions which then existed, it seemed a natural thing to have in Washington a representative to co-operate with the British Ambassador in purely Canadian affairs.

Normal conditions soon came about after the War so far as our relations with the U.S. were concerned and other considerations forced themselves forward, so much so, that my own opinion is that the time is not opportune for such an appointment.

It has since been made quite clear that other Dominions would not care to be represented at Washington in the absence of the British Ambassador by an Ambassador of another Dominion.

If Canada were represented then each other Dominion would want the same privilege. All this would lead to confusion as well as embarrassment to Dominion Governments as well as to the British Government.

It seems to me the appointment of a Canadian Ambassador at Washington charged in the absence of the British Ambassador with such responsibilities would draw Canada into many questions which do not directly interest her in connection with British Foreign Policy in different parts of the World.

In discussing this question from time to time, it appears that the questions of Trade and Diplomacy have become somewhat mixed. Because Canada and the U.S. do the largest trade, is no reason for the appointment of a diplomatic representative at Washington which is a political and diplomatic centre, not a trade or commercial centre.

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056439

So far as trade is concerned, ~~can~~ Canadian business people who have business to do with the U.S. send direct their own personal representative to the place and to the man they have to deal with and vice versa, in the same way a representative who has business to do send to Montreal, Halifax, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver.

In the past in co-operation with the British Ambassador at Washington when a question of importance which requires consideration arises, a Canadian Minister of Cabinet rank visits Washington which is only 24 hours from Ottawa and I believe that this way of continuing our diplomatic relations is the best.

The relations between Canada & Motherland are upon an excellent basis. There is no party or remnant of a party, or even a clique which has any real influence, which seeks a political issue on such grounds.

It is not by studying the B.N.A.Act in the strictest legal sense and making amendments upon such a basis that you are going to benefit either Canada or the Empire. The tie which holds the Empire together is stronger than any written document. It is something that is within the hearts and souls of the people.

So far as I can see, there is no sign that the tie is less strong now than in the past.

If the very existence of the Empire were again challenged, no British Statesman would in such an event have recourse to some written document and point out on technical grounds the Dominions should now proceed to mobilize.

If assistance were needed and the assistance were to be of any real value, it would be initiated in the Dominions and it would depend upon the cause as to the extent action would be taken.

Britain is proud of the Dominions for which so much blood and treasure has been spent.

The Dominions are proud of the Motherland, of its centuries of great and magnificent achievement. They are glad to feel they have some share in what we see all about us here. The story of Britain and the Empire is written in every nook and corner of this land.

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056440

Extension of Season for fishing for Halibut.

Question arose whether or not the signature of a Canadian Minister was not sufficient and whether in this instance the signature of the British Ambassador might not be omitted. I have seen no substantial reason advanced defending the new course. It seems to me it was rather whimsical, nevertheless it evidently must have pleased some one and on the whole, I do not look upon it as a serious matter and I trust it will not be considered as a precedent.

It must be assumed that whoever signed this treaty or arrangement on behalf of the King, was duly authorised, therefore it is as binding, not only upon Canadian Subjects but also upon all subjects of the British Empire. I understand the Senate of the U.S. saw this point and in order to make it quite clear, a clause was inserted making it clearly applicable to all British ~~Australia~~ Nationals. It is only a matter of form and not of principle.

I cannot see that any issue of importance will arise in Canada over the matter and neither is it likely to arise here or in any other part of the British Empire. The Government of Great Britain always consults every Dominion. Before a treaty with any nation is signed, a Dominion has an opportunity of expressing its views and before an arrangement is arrived at with the Foreign Government, we agree amongst ourselves, therefore the mere signature is only formal. For myself, I should in this case have preferred to have had not only the Canadian Minister's signature, but the British Ambassador's also.

No one need have any anxiety as to where this will lead us for the simple reason that the two predominating races in Canada want the status of Canada in relation to the Mother Country, to remain exactly where it is anything looking to a course which would ultimately mean absorption into the U.S. and would meet with opposition from both those of British or French origin.

Present speaker of Canada House of C. said not long ago, speaking for his compatriots -"I am satisfied with my lot"

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056441

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 10th January, 1922.

Dear Arthur,

Your letter of the 8th instant was duly received.

Ryckman has been trying to get you over the telephone today, but at the time of writing he has not succeeded, but may succeed later.

Tommy Russell told me today that he thought he would go down to New York to the Motor Show and not return until Sunday next. I dare say that if you telegraphed Russell on Wednesday morning he might be able to come to Ottawa for Saturday on his way home from New York.

I intend to go to Ottawa this week to be there on Friday, and shall do so unless I hear from you to the contrary.

Yours faithfully,

E. Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Cooper Street,
Ottawa,
Ont.

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CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 25

TELEGRAM

56442

056

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, Manager Telegraphs, Montreal.

Sent No.	Sent By	Rec'd By	Time Sent	Time Filed	Check

Send the following Message, subject to the terms printed on the back hereof which are hereby agreed to:

Ottawa, Ontario,
January 12th, 1922.

Sir Edward Kemp,
199 River Street,
Toronto.

Here tomorrow morning and Saturday afternoon. Most anxious see you Saturday anyway.

Arthur Meighen.

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056443

Ottawa, Ontario,
January 14th, 1922.

Sir Edward Kemp,
Castle Frank,
Toronto, Ontario.

My dear Sir Edward:

Enclosed find cheque for Twenty Dollars, money loaned me by you.

Yours very truly,

AM/AHK.

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056444

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, January 17th, 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Arthur,

Your letter with reference to Mewburn, etc. was received by me last Monday evening upon my return to the house. It bears the date of Ottawa postmark of 15th January; I think perhaps that in future you might send your letters to the above address as they will reach me with better despatch.

I immediately telephoned to Mewburn and made an appointment for him to come to Toronto at once. However, within a few minutes I noticed that it was not necessary as the newspapers contained a full account of what had taken place, copies of which I enclose herewith. I shall make further explanation about the matter when I see you. You will be interested to notice also by the enclosed statements in the Evening Telegram how eager they are to bring Mayor Church's name before the Public with reference to a negro who has escaped into Canada.

North York

Everything in this matter has been done which can be done. We shall know tonight whether Armstrong is going to run. I saw him yesterday and told him that he was at liberty to say publicly that in view of the fact that the Liberals did not oppose you in Grenville he did not intend to oppose King in the by-election. His attitude, however, is that the party workers want him to run in order to show his resentment and redeem himself in view of what is known as the "Sutton Whiskey Raid", and that even if he lost no harm would be done and it would keep the Party together. He is under the impression that he will win, but no one else whom I have come across feels that it is at all possible for him to win. I might say that after I had a talk with him I was informed by another party that he was in conference with the Evening Telegram for upwards of two hours. This newspaper I think is in favour of him running.

So the situation is almost as complicated as two or three others with which we had to deal during the general election where the Evening Telegram undertook to dictate.

Yours faithfully,

E. Kemp

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056445

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, January 23rd, 1922.

Personal

Dear Arthur,

Protests.

Your letter of the 18th instant was duly received.

Mr. Edmund Bristol, M.P. and Mr. W.H.Price, M.P.P. have probably had more experience in election protests than anyone else in this City. Mr. Price, who is handling the filing of protests for us is communicating with Dr. McGibbon of Bracebridge with a view of going up there to see witnesses and to find out what they can swear to in case there is a trial.

You can depend upon it that the matter is in good hands and such action will be taken that will bring the best results from the point of view of exposing corruption if it can be brought home.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa,
Ont.

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Form 1 T.W.

G. N. W. TELEGRAPH CO.
CANADIAN NATIONAL TEL. CO.
Exclusive Connection with
WESTERN UNION TEL. CO.
Cable Service to all the world
Money Transferred by Telegraph

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

TELEGRAPH CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS AND CABLE

TELEGRAM

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER

A105 N 13

RD TORONTO ONT 1235 P 17 1922 FEB 17 PM 1 18

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 141

HOUSE OF COMMONS OTTAWA ONT

HOPE TO BE IN OTTAWA ON MONDAY NEXT BUT NOT LATER THAN TUESDAY

SIR EDWARD KEMP.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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056447

FORM 2

Great North Western Telegraph Company of Canada

Exclusive Connection with the WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.

Cable Service to all the World

CONDITIONS.—Approved by Board of Railway Commissioners for Canada, under Order 162, dated March 30, 1916.

It is agreed between the sender of the message on the face of this form and this Company, that said Company shall not be liable for damages arising from failure to transmit or deliver, or for any error in the transmission or delivery of any unrepeated telegram, whether happening from negligence of its servants or otherwise, or for delays from interruptions in the working of its lines, for errors in cypher or obscure messages, or for errors from illegible writing, beyond the amount received for sending the same.

To guard against errors, the Company will repeat back any telegram for an extra payment of one-half the regular rate; and, in that case, the Company shall be liable for damages suffered by the sender to an extent not exceeding $200.00, due to the negligence of the Company in the transmission or delivery of the telegram.

Correctness in the transmission and delivery of messages can be insured by contract in writing, stating agreed amount of risk, and payment of premium thereon at the following rates, in addition to the usual charge for repeated messages, viz.: one per cent. for any distance not exceeding one thousand miles, and two per cent. for any greater distance.

This Company shall not be liable for the act or omission of any other Company, but will endeavor to forward the telegram by any other Telegraph Company necessary to reaching its destination, but only as the agent of the sender and without liability therefor. The Company shall not be responsible for messages until the same are presented and accepted at one of its transmitting offices; if a message is sent to such office by one of the Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the sender's agent; if by telephone, the person receiving the message acts therein as agent of the sender, being authorized to assent to these conditions for the sender. This Company shall not be liable in any case for damages, unless the same be claimed, in writing, within sixty days after receipt of the telegram for transmission.

No employee of the Company shall vary the foregoing.

GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER.

COUNTER NO.	TIME FILED	SENT NO.	SENT BY	RECEIVED BY	TIME SENT	CHECK

Send the following message, subject to the above Terms, which are hereby agreed to.

February 18th,1922.

Sir Edward Kemp,
Toronto, Ont.

Will be here Monday Will be in Toronto Tuesday.

A. MEIGHEN

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056448

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 1st March, 1922.

ack

Dear Arthur,

I expect to leave here Saturday noon, arriving in Ottawa at 7.15 Saturday evening and shall be there Sunday as well.

I shall call you up as soon as I reach Ottawa.

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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CANADA

056449

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, March 30th, 1922.

Private.

Dear Arthur,

The freight rate question seems to be the one issue which would give the Government the most difficulty, and, as I understand the matter, it is to be dealt with in the House. The Board of Railway Commissioners will doubtless make recommendations which will not be satisfactory to the Farmers' Party at any rate.

The "Globe" has had several despatches from Ottawa, and I enclose you copy of one of them.

Sir Thomas White in the course of a conversation a day or two ago seems to have very definite views as to what the course of the Conservative Party should be in this regard. He asked me if I thought you had any notion of running up to Toronto as he would like very much to discuss the situation with you and he has, what seems to be, some very valuable ideas regarding the matter. I asked him to come to Ottawa, but he is tied up here at the present time with an arbitration.

I do not think I shall be in Ottawa until the Senate meets again. However, you might drop me a line to let me know if you have anything to bring you here.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056450 .

Ottawa, Ont. March 31st. 1922.

My dear Sir Edward:

Referring to yours of the 30th. instant, I think I will go down to Toronto to-m morrow night; if so, with yourkind permission, will call upon you Sunday morning. Will go C.N.R. to-morrow night, unless I wire you in the meantime.

Yours very truly,

Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
TORONTO, Ont.

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CANADA

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET 056451

TORONTO, 5th April, 1922.

Personal

Dear Arthur,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant and in reply would say that I have spoken to Sir Thomas today, and he is of the opinion that Mr. Murdock's case is not quite ripe for his resignation, but his general conduct is of such a character that perhaps it would be better to have him remain a Member of the Government for a while. Ultimately his fate, under any circumstances, is sealed owing to his temperamental qualities.

I am enclosing you some clippings which you may have seen; if not, they may doubtless interest you.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056452

Ottawa, Ont. April 12th. 1922.

My dear Sir Edward:

I appreciate very much your taking the trouble to write me so fully and usefully as in your letter of the 10th. April just received.

There is just a danger that a reply on my part would be utilized by the French press for the purpose of painting me as an ambitious imperialist. I will think that phase of it over before deciding.

Yours very truly,

Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River Street,
TORONTO, Ontario.

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CANADA

056453

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 10th April, 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Arthur,

There appears in this morning's "Globe" a short report of Sifton's speech before the Canadian Club in Ottawa on Saturday last. The part where he made a personal attack upon you is not reported. His attack appears to have been based upon a very flimsy pretext - the same one as Mackenzie King referred to in a debate in the House. It was, I understand, some newspaper report.

Sifton's arguments are, in my opinion, impracticable for the reason that Canada is not suffering nor is likely to suffer by any of the alleged inconsistencies respecting the tie which binds us to the Mother Country; nor are there any difficulties which are likely to arise in future to which the people of this country could really take exception. I doubt if the addition of Sifton to the little band of men like Ewart - not more than a half-dozen in all in the whole country - could initiate a movement which would raise much, if any, enthusiasm even amongst our French-Canadian fellow citizens. The ideas of the French-Canadians and those of Ewart and Sifton are not at all parallel. The French-Canadians want the conditions as they exist to continue. They don't want independence or anything in the nature of absorption by the United States of any part of Canada, whilst Sifton and his newspaper in Winnipeg are endeavouring, it appears, to stir up the people of the three Prairie Provinces with a view of some political coup which doubtless the French-Canadians and others do not clearly comprehend at the moment.

In fact, I believe that Sifton has controlled the policy of the "Free Press" in Winnipeg and not Dafoe, and I believe that he was behind the Farmer movement in the last election, whilst he was pretending to be friendly with you and wanting you to do things for him. I don't think he suffered any regret whatever when he withdrew from you his support in the letter which he wrote you. I think he had already done it in practice long before he wrote the letter.

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CANADA

056454

Sifton in politics has always been trying to do something spectacular. He didn't hesitate to achieve his object, always, having regard to loyalty to his colleagues or those with whom he was working. The Union Government appealed to him and I am certain of my facts when I say that he intended to control the situation after the new Government was formed. One does not know whether or not he was satisfied with his achievements in this connection. He now sees the Agrarians pretty solidly together on the one side and the Province of Quebec and the remnant of the Liberal Party elsewhere on the other. I think, taking all the circumstances into consideration, that he is trying to line up these two elements. I have no doubt now but what he is a go-between, as between Mackenzie King and Crerar.

At the moment it seems to me the fear is that if Sifton's ideas are challenged very loudly, French Canada may take a wrong view of the situation and be still further alienated. However, I feel that you are a better judge on this point than I am. I think we may look forward to further views being expressed along the lines of the Siftonians and Ewarts. I notice that W.F.Carroll, M.P. for Cape Breton, in Montreal on the same day gave voice to somewhat the same ideas as the ideas that Sifton expressed. I enclose a copy of the report in the "Globe" of the two speeches; strangely enough Carroll's follows Sifton's in the same column.

You are making splendid progress. This is made very clear by the reports in the Press that the different positions which you have taken with regard to issues in the House, as well as out of it, have generally met with public approval. The best proof of this is to be found in attacks made upon you such as Sifton's and others.

When I was administering the Overseas Forces in London, I became very much perplexed and worried over the attitude of officers, soldiers and civilians in Canada, in England and elsewhere. The whole situation being a new one and such a large portion of the population being interested in the soldiers, it was natural that there should be a great many different view points respecting administration. One required to make decisions quickly and to deal with them firmly. Under these circumstances one was sure to make a lot of enemies, at least temporarily. A friend sent me a well-known quotation and I give it to you for what it is

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CANADA

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO,

056455

worth - "He who hath mingled with the fray of duty that the brave endure must have made foes. If he has none small is the work." I pasted this under the cover of my despatch box and every morning when I opened the box my attention was drawn to it. You are in the same position only on a greater scale.. I need not tell you that you will find any amount of enemies and critics, and men who want to play the demagogue. What you need to do is to "sit tight" and have patience. The road may be a long one but the end will be in sight eventually.

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

E. Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056456

Ottawa, Apr. 13, 1922.

Sir Edward Kemp,
199 River St.,
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Sir:

I have been directed by the Right Honorable Arthur Meighen to thank you for copy of the article which appeared in the "Globe" of the 10th inst., analyzing the new United States tariff.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056457

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO, 12th April, 1922.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Arthur,

I do not know whether you have seen the article in the "Globe" of the 10th instant analyzing the new United States tariff. I enclose you a copy of the same.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056458

Ottawa, Apr. 13, 1922.

Sir Edward Kemp,
Toronto,
Ont.

Dear Sir Edward:

Attached is copy of an interesting letter received from Dr. J. W. Edwards.

Yours truly,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056459

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 15th April, 1922.

Private

Dear Arthur,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th instant enclosing a copy of one from our good friend Dr. J.W.Edwards.

I was not present at the Vimy Ridge dinner which took place at the King Edward Hotel, and to which reference is made. There was nothing reported in the Press that any indignity had been shown to the Minister of Militia. I have spoken to a very reliable officer who was present and whose word can be absolutely relied upon, and he informs me that there was no discrimination with respect to the Minister of Militia, that the only speeches that were made were by His Excellency the Governor-General and Sir Arthur Currie.

The dinner was very largely attended and there was a great deal of talking amongst the officers in all parts of the room, but when they saw that His Excellency and General Currie were to speak they subsided, but the noise continued again. The Minister of Militia did not rise to speak and I am assured, as I say on the very best authority, that there was no attempt of discrimination against him more than against any person present, nor was there any attempt made whatever to offend him in any shape or form. I am sure that this can be corroborated by officers present who sat near the head table. I thought you would like to have this version of the case.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
OTTAWA.

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CANADA

SIR EDWARD KEMP

056460

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO, 18th April, 1922

Dear Arthur,

I enclose a copy of an editorial which appeared in last night's "Evening Telegram" with respect to Sir Clifford Sifton's recent statements.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A. E. Kemp
pdHB

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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CANADA

SIR EDWARD KEMP

056461

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO. 21st April, '22.

Personal.

Dear Arthur,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th instant and in reply would say that I shall be pleased to be in Ottawa and be at your office at 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday next, the 25th instant.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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CANADA

056462

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, August 15th, 1922.

Personal
Ans. I
File
Acn

My dear Arthur,

In last night's Toronto "Star" there appeared a statement (clipping of which I enclose) credited to Mr. Doherty, Minister of Agriculture of this Province, in which it is said that at Blenheim, Ont., Mr. Doherty claimed that he had consulted with "three prominent members of the British Cabinet" and secured "their endorsation that his action was the only way to get the embargo removed". I understand this to mean that in the election in which he interested himself in Great Britain three of Mr. Lloyd George's colleagues had endorsed his course after he had had an interview with them.

Without having perhaps all the information on the subject which is necessary, it has appeared to me that Mr. Lloyd George's statement to the Conference, copy of which I received from you a short time ago with respect to the "Cattle Embargo" and Doherty taking part in a British election, might have been made public. Every day or two the members of the Ontario Government and their supporters are making statements which are widely circulated throughout this Province, as well, no doubt, as the other Provinces, that it is undoubtedly owing to the efforts of Doherty that there is any likelihood of the Embargo being lifted.

You probably saw the cablegram which Lord Beaverbrook sent to Doherty on the subject. Of course Doherty will try to justify his position in the British election to which reference is made, but I do not think that Beaverbrook even would venture to send the telegram which appeared in the "Globe" a few days ago had he known what Mr. Lloyd George had said at the Imperial Conference.

I assume that inasmuch as no authorization has been made thus far to print Mr. Lloyd George's statement or combat the statements being made on behalf of Doherty on the Embargo question that it is either not intended to do so or that it is being kept for what may be a more suitable occasion.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.
OTTAWA.

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CANADA

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET,

TORONTO, October 24th, '22.

056463

Personal

Dear Arthur,

Your letter of the 20th instant is to hand and in reply would say that personally I feel the loss of our good friend, the Hon. J.A.Stewart very deeply. It is also a great loss from a Party stand-point.

I am going to try to be in Ottawa in the next couple of weeks and I shall have a talk with you about the subject matter of your letter.

With kind regards, I remain

Yours faithfully,

E. Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

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056464

Ottawa, October 26th. 1922.

My dear Sir Edward:

Very glad to learn you will be here in the next couple of weeks. I expect to be in Ottawa regularly except the 9th. November when I will be in Toronto.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River Street,
Toronto, Ont.

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CANADA

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

056465

TORONTO, 16th Nov., 1922.

Private.

Dear Arthur,

I was thinking of running down to Ottawa on Sunday, to arrive there by the C.P.R. train via Bedell at 4.45 p.m. Sunday evening, to complete the matter about which you spoke to me over the telephone.

I think it would be a good thing if Dr. Reid could motor up to Bedell, which is only twenty miles from Prestcott, and meet me on the Sunday afternoon train in order that we might talk matters over.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

E. Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

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056466

Ottawa, Ont. December 12th. 1922.

My dear Sir Edward:

I have heard from a great many following the result in Lanark, but you have been silent. Of course, I cannot help remembering that I heard from you before - hand when things did not look quite so bright. There is a lot of encouragement to be taken out of Lanark. I found the feeling from the first more favourable than I expected. If ever a Government stated in early and fought desperately to win a seat, this Government did in Lanark. The fact is the Ontario farmer is against them and I think that will become more and more generally evident.

I am going to Toronto on Wednesday night arriving Thursday morning by C.P.R., and leaving Thursday afternoon for Hamilton where I speak that night. I am giving my address as the Albany Club but would like if I could to stay with you going to your house from the train. I have quite a little that I want to get done but I want to have a little talk with you first.

Yours very truly,

Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
TORONTO, Ont.

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CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

Form 1-TW

056467

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1922 DEC 13 PM 1 32

RD TORONTO ONT 13 112 P

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 214

PARLIAMENT BLDGS OTTAWA ONT

DELIGHTED TO SEE YOU WATCH OUT FOR MY CHAUFFEUR AT UNION STATION THURSDAY MORNING ON ARRIVAL C P R

KEMP.

File.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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056468

Sir Edward Kemp,
Toronto

Ottawa, March 1, 1923.

I am expecting you Saturday and most earnestly hope you will be here.

Arthur Meighen

D.H. FS. 62.

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CANADA

056469

SIR. EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, March 2nd, 1923.

My dear Arthur,

Your telegram reminding me of the meeting on Saturday in Room 116 was duly received.

I had intended going to Ottawa last Tuesday to attend the Senate, but unfortunately I did not escape the "grippe" which has been prevalent in this City, and it left me with a heart making 20 "revolutions" a minute below normal. The doctor and my friends and family advised me to stay in Toronto for fear it might stop altogether and thus cause more or less inconvenience away from home. If the "dope" the doctor has given me causes it to pick up between now and Tuesday next I thought I would go down on the 6th, but it is not possible for me to go down, I regret to say, on Saturday.

As my movements are so uncertain owing to conditions over which I seem to have no control, do you not think it would be better to put someone in my place on the Convention Committee? I think it would be best to do it.

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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056470

Ottawa, Ont. March 5th. 1923.

My dear Sir Edward:

I received your letter of the 2nd. instant. I am sorry I did not get it earlier.

The Committee meets again next Friday. They came to certain conclusions though on Saturday, which they are not giving any publicity to. You were selected as permanent Chairman. I am most anxious for you to be here for next Friday; of course, I must see you in the meantime.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River Street,
Toronto,
Ontario.

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056471

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 7th March, 1923.

My dear Arthur,

Your letter of the 5th instant was duly received. I expected that my letter of the 2nd inst. would have reached you Saturday morning before the meeting was held and I am sorry that it did not.

All my hopes of being able to go to Ottawa have been dashed to the ground, I regret to say. I fully hoped that I would be able to go down this week; in fact I had engaged accommodation for the Session. On the advice of no less than three doctors, however, I am told that I must not go and I must go away for a change of atmosphere to see if I can pick up and get back to normal if at all possible. In the meantime I am not able to do much of anything I regret to say, except keep quiet. As it was thought there would not be much quietness for me of the kind necessary either here or in Ottawa I have decided to get on a ship and go across the water, leaving tomorrow for New York. I expect to be away about six weeks.

I regret exceedingly that I am not able to be of assistance to you in connection with the Convention. It is a matter of very great regret to me that I could be of service and yet am physically unable to perform that service. I think it would be wise for you to appoint somebody else who could take an active part because I do not expect to be in condition for some little time to take up active work of any kind.

With kind regards, I remain

Yours faithfully,

E. Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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CANADA

056472

Sir Edward Kemp
199 River Street,
Toronto, Ont.

March 8th. 1923.

This is tomwish you ~~e-ye~~ before you leave a joyous trip, recovered health and many happy years.

Arthur Meighen.

Dead Head FS62

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CANADA

056473

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS
RITZOTEL-LONDON

Ritz Hotel.
Piccadilly.
London, W. 1.

20/4/23

Dear Arthur,

I am taking letter and expect to leave here in about a week

I enclose something which may be useful about immigration

I hope you & your family are well and that things

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are going along alright —

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely

S. E. Kinch

056474

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CANADA

056475

Ottawa, Ont. August 16th. 1923.

My dear Sir Edward:

I returned the first of the week from the maritime provinces where I spent almost a month visiting practically every point of value politically.

The whole temper of the people there is vastly different from what it was in 1921. It is really hard to realize the change and I sincerely hope there develops no reversal of feeling from this on.

My present plans are to remain here until the 31st. August, then to address a large picnic at Cartierville, Que. on September 1st. and from there proceed to Toronto that night spending the 2nd. and 3rd. in Toronto and thence to the three prairie provinces for about five weeks. While in Toronto I would like to see you, that is if you purpose being in the city at that time.

From what I can learn I will have a pretty hard time getting the Senate in right once more in

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CANADA

056476

Western Canada.

Very best regards to Lady Kemp and family.

Yours very truly,

Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River St.,
Toronto, Ont.

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CANADA

056477

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO, 20th August, '23

My dear Arthur,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant and I note that you will be here on the 2nd and 3rd September.

You can depend upon it that I shall make it a point to be in the City on those dates. I shall be more than pleased to see you.

With kind regards to yourself, Mrs. Meighen and family, I remain

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

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056478

Ottawa, Ont. August 25th. 1923.

My dear Sir Edward:

I got back O.K. this morning. Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd. August.

I feel sure that if it were not for my intended visit to Toronto on the 2nd. and 3rd. September, that you would be in Bobcaygeon. Now I ask you in all sincerity to go. Do not bother about me this time. No kindness could be greater than you have shown me always, and I will be more pleased to have you enjoy to country air at Bobcaygeon than staying in Toronto to take care of me.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River Street,
TORONTO, Ont.

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056479

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO, 22nd August '23.

My dear Arthur,

Lady Kemp and I would like to have you stop with us while you are in Toronto. You did not say in your letter whether or not Mrs. Meighen is coming with you, but if she is I trust you will both be able to stay with us.

If you can manage this and if you would kindly wire me, I shall have the motor meet you at the train on Sunday morning, as this is the day I understand you will arrive.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

A E Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.
Ottawa,
Ontario.

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CANADA

056480

Ottawa, October 31st. 1923.

My dear Sir Edward:

Many thanks for your confidential letter of the 17th. October. I ~~now~~ realize the force of your arguments.

When in Toronto about ten days ago, I tried to get you but you were out of the city. However, I shall have to go down in the not distant future, and will certainly have a talk with you.

We appear to have two bye-elections on our hands very shortly, one in Halifax and one in New Brunswick. Kent.

Yours truly,

The Hon. Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River Street,
Toronto, Ont.

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056481

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 17th October, 1923.

Private and Confidential.

My dear Arthur,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th instant with enclosures. I have also had a talk with Ryckman. You are no doubt aware that we went to Montreal and had a consultation with our friends there. I do not think there is anything new to report respecting this visit.

I had a talk with Ryckman yesterday and he is taking steps with respect to giving you further advice on the Convention question very shortly. For the life of me I cannot understand what reasons those who are advocating a Convention have to put forward. In fact, so far as the Winnipeg correspondence is concerned which you enclose me there appear to be no reasons whatever. Provincial Conventions surely cannot be a precedent for a Federal Convention of the Conservative Party. Provincial policies are simple matters as compared with policies for a Federal Political Party where there are so many divergent interests. There is no precedent for holding a Federal Conservative Convention. It is only the Liberal Party that have called such Conventions for the purpose chiefly of passing fake platforms. For the Conservative Party to allow itself to be drawn into a position of this kind is, in my opinion, nothing short of stupid. We all know what a difficult country Canada is to govern owing to its great area and conflicting interests. For a Party in opposition to try and lay down a political platform is only to furnish the enemy with ammunition to destroy it. There is a good deal one could say on this point, but I am sure that it is unnecessary.

The situation in the Province of Quebec is unique. There is nothing like it in any other Province of the Dominion. This Province is largely controlled by race and religion. The tide is running with the political successors of Sir Wilfred Laurier because of their pride in him as a French-Canadian Prime Minister. The Grand Trunk Head Office question, Conscription, and "Big Interests" (including Sir Lomer Gouin), all worked against our success in the last elections. A Federal Convention in my opinion, would not change this situation. If it is to be changed, some other method will have to be employed.

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056482

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET
TORONTO,

However, I shall not wander on indefinitely, but hope to see you soon and then we shall be able to discuss all these matters.

I am glad to hear that you had a successful trip West.

Trusting you are well, I remain

Sincerely yours,

E. E. Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056483

Ottawa, Nov. 9, 1923.

Sir Edward Kemp,
199 River St.,
Toronto.

My dear Sir Edward:

A great many thanks for sending me the circulars. Give me any further information that you can from time to time.

Yours very truly,

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CANADA

056484

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 7th November, 1923.

Personal

Dear Arthur,

I enclose herewith certain printed matter to which reference was made yesterday in our conversation.

Yours faithfully,

E. E. Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

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056485

Ottawa, Ont. October 13, 1923.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

I am attaching herewith copy of a letter which I have just written to Mr. E.B.Ryckman, Chairman of the Convention Committee. I also attack copy of the letter to Doctor Tolmie referred to in mine to Mr. Ryckman.

You know the situation very thoroughly. The Winnipeg men, or rather quite a number of the officers of the Winnipeg Association are very tenacious on the subject of a National Convention, and the subject must be disposed of in some straight forward and satisfactory way. Doctor Tolmie has been bombarded by them very forcibly on the question since he went west. Personally I am strongly of the opinion as a result of my observations this summer that in general there is no feeling for a Convention at all. The Winnipeg men referred to above all tell me personally that they have no thought whatever of change of leadership, and indeed Mr. Rogers as stated to a close friend of mine that he will nominate me himself. Nevertheless I confess I cannot understand their persistence on this question. If they merely want to confirm my title all they have to do is to get together and pass a resolution to that effect and the trouble is over. I would like the suggestion contained in my letter to Mr. Ryckman carried out - this is a means of handling the question in an open straight forward way. At the same time some care should be taken that underground influences or misrepresentation of some kind is not brought to bear on the various executives of the province. This letter is of a confidential character but you can show it to Mr. Ryckman. There should be no unnecessary delay as, if there is, the fault will be attributed to us, or rather to me.

I find conditions quite materially improved from our standpoint, West as well as East. The general drift is with us, and we have only to use our brains and become more and more united. I am very sorry I did not see you in Toronto as a discussion would have been better than correspondence.

Yours very truly,

Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
Toronto, Ontario.

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056485

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I find conditions quite materially improved from our standpoint, West as well as East. The general drift is with us, and we have only to use our brains and become more and more united. I am very sorry I did not see you in Toronto as a discussion would have been better than correspondence.

Yours very truly,

Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
Toronto, Ontario.

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056487

Ottawa, Nov. 17, 1923.

H.G. Butt, Esq.,
Private Secretary to
Sir Edward Kemp,
Toronto.

Dear Sir:

MrMeighen directs me to acknowledge receipt of yours of 10th November, together with copy of "Canada" containing an account of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech before the Canada Club. Would you convey Mr. Meighen's thanks to Sir Edward Kemp. He had already seen a copy of this speech.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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056488

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 10th November, 1923.

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir,

Sir Edward Kemp has instructed me to send you a copy of "Canada" containing an account of Mr. Mackenzie King's speech before the "Canada Club" London, England, which I am forwarding under separate cover by this mail.

Yours faithfully,

H. G. Butt

Private Secretary.

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056489

Ottawa, Nov. 28, 1923.

Sir Edward Kemp,
199 River St.,
Toronto.

My dear Sir Edward:

Many thanks for yours of the 26th enclosing memorandum sent to the Manufacturers' Association, regarding the Czecho-Slovakian "Favoured Nation Treaty".

Yours very truly,

The Honourable,
Sir Edward Kemp, K.C.M.G.,
199 River Street,
Toronto, Ontario

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056490

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 26th November, 1923.

Personal

My dear Arthur,

Regarding the Czecho-Slovakian "Favoured Nation Treaty", I attach hereto a memorandum which was sent to the Manufacturers Association.

I remain

Yours sincerely,

E. E. Kemp

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056491

Regarding "Favoured Nation Treaty" between Great Britain and Czecho-Slovakia, the question asked is "Shall it apply to Canada?" The object is to admit products of the labour of Czecho-Slovakia (which is the late intensive industrial part of Austria and part of Germany) into Canada at a lower rate of duty than our General Tariff provides.

Under the present circumstances, a proposal of this kind, if made, would be thoroughly impracticable and it is hardly conceivable that the Government would consider it for one moment. The labour conditions of this part of Central Europe, taking also into consideration the matter of depreciated currency, is upon a pauperized scale. The living and social conditions of the work people are pitiable as is generally known. It surely cannot be seriously contended that it is desirable to either bring these people to Canada in order to make the same products as they make in the country referred to, or to bring the product of such labour here under more favourable conditions that those which exist. The queues of work people in Canada applying at factories for work are gradually increasing in length owing to dullness of trade causing lack of occupation. There is also an increase in the trek of Canadian work people through this lack of employment in Canada to the United States, which is apparent to any casual observer. It is pitiable to see so many native-born Canadians - our very best blood - leaving this country to find occupation in the United States at the present time.

To bring about more unemployment in Canada by further reducing the Tariff in favour of the pauper labour of Europe, and particularly in favour of the people who fought against us during the War, we look upon as nothing more than an insane proposal. However, if it is the desire to have more bank failures as well as industrial failures, which are increasing, and to close up more factories in Canada by products which are produced by pauper labour, if that is the desire, then let down the Tariff bars still further.

The products which can be produced at the present time in Czecho-Slovakia would doubtless represent half of similar products produced in Canada. If more favourable conditions were effected for their entry into Canada a much larger proportion could soon be copied from Canadian patterns and exported.

The Government are relying upon the Manufacturers and the products of labour to secure an ever-increasing revenue by direct taxation. How possibly can this be accomplished by causing greater embarrassment?

The possibility of action by the Government would seem to be, under all the circumstances, remote, the case being such a clear one on behalf of Canadian industry. Nevertheless, the Manufacturers Association should place a most convincing case before the Government, and one which would be the means of causing non-action. It would appear that the responsibility for convincing the Government lies with the Association.

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056492

Ottawa, December 5, 1923.

Hon. Sir Edward Kemp,
Toronto, Ont.,

Please order suitable flowers funeral Sir William Mackenzie and send with card sympathy from Mrs. Meighen and myself.

Arthur Meighen

DH.FS79

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056493

Ottawa, Dec. 7, 1923.

Sir Edward Kemp,

199 River St.,

Toronto, Ont.

Will arrive Canadian National tomorrow morning to attend immediately Mackenzie funeral. Could you meet me.

Arthur Meighen.

D.H. FS. 79

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056494

Ottawa, Dec. 7, 1923.

Sir Edward Kemp,
199 River St.,
Toronto.

Find last minute cannot go. Must leave to-morrow night for ~~Nat~~ Western conventions and find absolutely impossible get away to-night. Please explain fully to ~~Gen.~~ Mr. MacKenzie and express my very keen regret. Also could you possibly attend funeral representing me.

Arthur Meighen

D.H. FS. 79

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056495

SIR EDWARD KEMP

199 RIVER STREET

TORONTO, 2nd July, 1925.

Personal

Dear Arthur,

In connection with the sky-scraper to be erected by the Government at the corner of King and Yonge Sts. here, I have not been able to confirm in Hansard the idea I got that the Government committed themselves to a rental of $300,000. a year, in order to put this building enterprise in such a position that they could go on with the work.

Did you tell me that this was the sum for which the Government would be liable, or what is the total amount which you were informed the Government would have to pay rental before completing this structure?

I would be glad to have any information you can give me regarding the whole project as I am inclined to make a statement through the press regarding the absurdity of it.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

E. E. Kemp

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, P.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056496

PRIVATE

On Train, August 4, 1926.

My dear Sir Edward,

I tried hard to get a few minutes to see you last Monday morning but in vain. No one could be more reluctant than I am to ask for your help again so soon after the sacrifices of every kind made last fall. But there is nothing else for it - you know how crucial from avery stanpoint the situation is and if there is one man in Ontario vital to us at present, it is yourself.

There is this by way of sunlight: success this time means that we won't be in a position requiring further sacrifices for many years.

There is such a tremendous volume of things to be done right off that I must appeal to your utmost co-operation in the great struggle. If meetings are any indication at all, then we are heading for a great victory as I have never seen audiences evidencing such favor, as have confronted me every place we have gone so far. I am very sorry not have had a talk with you.

Most sincerely yours

Sir Edward Kemp
Casstlefrank
Toronto

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King

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 056497

Subject.....

Date Sept 13/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

A Worthy Disciple.

Mackenzie King served his apprenticeship under a great Canadian statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Liberal leader has inherited from Laurier many fine traits as well as his political faith. One of these traits is a deep love of the city of Ottawa. Sir Wilfrid Laurier loved Ottawa, and it was the cherished wish of his heart to see Ottawa grow great and beautiful. This is also true of Mackenzie King.

At Saturday's meeting in the Auditorium, Mr. King recalled the fact that when Laurier threw down the torch for other hands to bear, he said that if there was one appointment he would accept after his retirement from political activities, it was that of chairman of the Ottawa Improvement Commission. That gesture spoke eloquently of Sir Wilfrid's abiding affection for the capital city.

It is possible that Mr. King will reiterate Laurier's wish in the years to come. It would come naturally from him, for he, too, loves Ottawa deeply. It is his home. Here he lived for years as a member of the civil service. Here he has done his great tasks as the prime minister. Like all of us who live and have our homes in Ottawa, he wants to see Ottawa grow and prosper and develop into a still more beautiful city.

This may seem a minor matter in the welter of questions that have arisen during the current campaign, but to those who share Mr. King's love for the Capital and his deep desire to see it become a stately and noble city, it touches a vital spot. And it follows that Ottawa's chances for betterment as a city will be brighter under him than under others who, though loving Ottawa, have not the same personal feeling towards it as he has.

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE 056498

King

Subject.....

Date Sept 14/26 Publication Ottawa Citizen

"So's Your Old Man"
Victoria Times

Ringing in the activities of your opponents' grandfathers as an election appeal may be diverting, but it is not very effective. Nor is it very safe as far as the Conservative Party of Canada is concerned. There are a good many excellent Canadian Tories who would not want anybody to know that their grandfathers stoned the courtly Governor General, Lord Elgin, in the streets of Montreal and burned the parliament buildings in 1849. There are others who would not care to have it known that their grandsires signed the manifesto which advocated annexation to the United States. One of those signatories, by the way, became a Conservative prime minister of Canada. Who knows what Mr. Meighen's grand-dad might not have been doing in those times! And what about the grandfather of Mr. C. H. Dickie, who yesterday attacked the grandfather of Mackenzie King with real juvenile ardor. What was he doing in those halcyon days?

Why stick at grandfathers, anyway? What about the great-grandfathers? What about even more remote ancestors? As a lineal descendant of Adam and Eve, should not Mr. King be held responsible for the incident which lost the Garden of Eden for the Grand Old Conservative Party?

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056499

4
A.P. Kent

THE LONDON CLUB

Dear Mr Meighen:-

Allow me to extend to you congratulations on the Kent by-election. There is no doubt of the swing towards the Conservatives. If there were a general election at the present time the King Government would be overwhelmed. It is doomed sure. It is only a matter of time until you are back where you belong — prime minister.

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0565-00

We are making extensive plans for the Banquet here on Jan 11 in your honor. It promises to be the biggest thing ever held in Western Ontario. We will have 1200 all down to tables and it looks as if we ~~[illegible]~~ will have to turn many away. It will be a great triumphal affair. I didn't want too many speeches, but we have asked Guthrie. Ferguson will have to speak briefly and Hanley is coming from Quebec and

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056503

will have to give a message.

Best Christmas greetings to yourself, Mrs Meighen and family.

Yours Sincerely

Arthur H. Ford

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056502

Ottawa, Ont. November 3rd. 1923.

My dear Jones:

You have doubtless been giving some of your spare thinking to the riding of Kent. My disposition is to go into this riding and put up a real battle. We have, of course, our limitations in that regard, but we should do the best in our power.

A French, that is an Acadian, organizer should be secured, and do his first work in Kent. I do not know whom to suggest. Hanson has suggested Rene Richards and thinks he might be available for a few months. It would be a great opportunity for an ambitious young man.

I hope you can get the active support of Mr. O'Leary and of all other outstanding friends in the riding.

Yours truly,

G. B. Jones, Esq., M.P.,
Apohaqui,
Kingis Co., N.B.

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056503

Ottawa, November 3rd. 1923.

Dear Senator Black:

You have doubtless been giving some thought lately to the riding of Kent. My disposition is to give battle in this riding and do so to the utmost of our power. I would be glad to hear from you as to your size-up of the situation.

I do trust we can count on the active support of Mr. O'Leary as well as all other outstanding friends. I mention Mr. O'Leary because I learned more about him on my late trip than I had ever known about him before, and feel that his services have not been valued in the past as they should have been.

With kindest regards.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. Senator F. B. Black,
Sackville, N. B.

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056504

Ottawa, November 3rd. 1923.

My dear Senator Todd:

I learned just yesterday of the marriage of you son, and my information is that he is entitled to special congratulations. I do not know his address so will ask you to kindly convey my good wishes to him and to his bride.

May I in the same letter mention another subject of a much more mundane character? I mean the vacancy in Kent. We ought to go into this fight and go in to win. I hope this is your own view, and would not only appreciate any co-operation you can give, but will be glad of any suggestions from you.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. Senator I. R. Todd,
Milltown,
N. B.

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056505

Ottawa, Ont. November 7th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Richard:

I have your letter of the 5th. instant. I quite agree with you about the constituency of Kent. Indeed, I was about to write to you to urge the utmost co-operation toward a successful campaign there. I have already had a long talk with Mr. Baxter and, as well, have written certain of our members and senators. I am writing Mr. Robidoux to-day. The fullest possible co-operation on my part may be depended upon. We should lose no time.

Yours very truly,

E. R. Richard, Esq.,
Barrister,
Sackville, N. B.

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056506

TRITES & RICHARD
Barristers, Solicitors, Etc.
R. TRITES, LL.B. E. R. RICHARD, LL.B
SACKVILLE, N.B.
CANADA

Nov. 5, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa-

Dear Mr. Meighen:

The Dominion Government no doubt will be bringing on at an early date a bye-election in Kent to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the late Mr. Legere. From what I am able to learn from a number of sources we should have an excellent opportunity to re-gain Kent at the present time. I would therefore, suggest that you urge very strongly upon our Friends down here the necessity of contesting that County.

Yours very truly,

ERR'Tr

E. R. Richard

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056507

Ottawa, Ont. November 8th. 1923.

My dear Doctor Landry:

I have just received your letter of the 5th. instant. Indeed, I was just about to write you this morning any way. I am obliged to you for the estimate of the situation in Kent County. Had already written Doctor Bourque, F. J. Robidoux, and as well Mr. Sherry who, I understand, has some influence in the County. Also the first of this week I had a long talk on the subject with Mr. Baxter. He has gone back fully apprized of the situation. The two best candidates whom he mentions are just the same as the two you mention. We certainly want to enter the fight and put into it all the vigour at our command. I should have said also that I have written Mr. Rene Richard. Will follow your suggestion and write Mr. Robert O'Leary to-day.

Yours very truly,

Doctor A. R. Landry,
Moncton, N. B.

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05650 Moncton N.B.
Nov 5 - 23.

Dear Mr. Meighen.

Re Kent Co. N.B. It is the opinion of many friends that our chances in a straight party fight in the coming bye election there would be excellent. With this, I fully agree. The last time with a "Farmer" (Tory) candidate we lost by 1500, I think. There are many reasons why a Conservative would have better chances this time — not a Unionist — but a straight "family" man. Chief amongst which are the following: 1st. lack of confidence in those who promised all and did nothing. 2nd the exodus to the U.S. 3rd, the "I.C.R." question. 4th. dissatisfaction with the Veniot Government. 5th — increasing confidence that the Tories did better — 6th that their real friends are Tories after all the etc. — and 7 — General unrest and uncertitude.

It would be a great victory — and not a humiliating defeat.

There will be no trouble to find a man to run, less for us than for them. I would advise you to get into touch with

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056509

Baxter, Robidoux, Senator Bourque - Dr. D.V. Landry,
~~Rent Co~~. Bruloriche Richard O'Leary,
George Hutchison, Lib. Richebucto.

A Conference between you and Baxter would do good to study up the ways and means to present the campaign. Just how far you would want to go in announcing sympathy for the Maritime problems would be debated, for I realize there is a "best" time for everything.

Your visit here did worlds of good. They are still talking about your Shediac meeting and I am told that your Buctouche meeting was equally successful. Best regards to Mrs Meighen and yourself on behalf of Mrs Landry and myself.

Yours truly A R Landry

P.S. I am confident that a few days would do good. A central committee man with some authority could come down and help put "pep" into the organization. The last man was Alexander Doucet. A.R.L.
Have either Dr Landry or "Mike" Doucet. Two sons of Mr Robidoux.

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CANADA

056510

Ottawa, Ont. November 7th. 1923.

My dear Senator Bourque:

It is my opinion that we should contest the County of Kent when the Government decides to issue the writ for the bye-election. I sincerely trust that every preparation will be made and that your active co-operation may be depended upon from the first. I will be glad to hear from you as to your views and as to progress from time to time.

Yours very truly,

The Hon. Senator Geo. Bourque,
Richibucto,
Kent Co. N.B.

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CANADA

056511

Ottawa, Ont. November 7th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Robidoux:

I have been expecting a word from you as to the vacancy in Kent County. It is my judgment, and I feel sure it will be yours, that we should contest this seat, and that our friends should be on the ground making preparations ahcenca. Of course, you do not reside in the riding, but I know that no one is more interested in the County than yourself and that no one has more influence than you have there. I will be glad indeed to hear from you as to your views and suggestions as to how we can co-operate to the best advantage.

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux, Esq.,
Barrister,
Shediac, N.B.

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CANADA

056512

Ottawa, Ont. November 7th. 1923

Dear Mr. Sherry:

You no doubt have been giving some thought to the vacancy in Kent County. It is my judgment that we should contest this seat and I sincerely trust that our friends in New Brunswick, and especially in the County agree with this view. Preparations should be under way now. I would be glad indeed to hear from you with any suggestions, and I am sure Mr. Baxter will appreciate your co-operation as well. I had a long talk with him on the subject this week. Mr. O'Leary's help will be of great value, and I sincerely trust we can depend upon it. Any help you can give in any direction will, I know, be very cheerfully and unstintingly given and will be appreciated by us all.

Yours very truly,

J. B. Sherry, Esq.,
Mimram Cook, N. B.

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CANADA

056513

Ottawa, Ont. November 8th. 1923.

My dear Baxter:

I duly received your letter. I will make a heroic struggle to suppress all sense of personal pride, but, of course, at the same time I must try to define the line between pride and self-respect. To tell the honest truth, I have so little confidence in the man we have under review that I find it hard to look for any good results from the present effort. I remember that the historian to whom honor was paid at your christening designated a certain character of the nineteenth century as "utterly without trace of conscience".

As regards Kent County, I have written the following: Senator Bourque, Senator Todd, Senator Black, Richard O'Leary, Rene Richard, F. J. Robidoux, Dr. D. B. Landry, George Hutchison, J. B. Sherry, and Dr. A. R. Landry. I have received letters from Dr. A. R. Landry and Rene Richard. Each of them speaks in very hopeful tones. Dr. A. R. Landry's estimate of the two best candidates is the same as yours. I have said in nearly all my letters that you and I had a discussion of the situation the first of the week and that you had now returned

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CANADA

056514

to New Brunswick again and will interest yourself immediately in Kent County.

I see by the press this morning that E.M. McDonald has gone down to Halifax to take charge of the Liberal campaign there.

Yours truly,

Honourable J. B. M. Baxter, M.P.,
St. John,
N. B.

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056515

Ottawa, Ont. November 8th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Hutchison:

You are doubtless giving some thought to the present vacancy in Kent County. The writ will probably be issued before very long. Indeed, according to the law passed under the late Administration, they cannot delay beyond, I think, six months. Consequently the election will probably take place about the first of the New Year, but, of course, one cannot be sure.

I am quite certain you realize that this battle will be of great importance to us. If by a vigorous fight we could win, the effect over the whole country over a victory in such a county as Kent would be greater than you realize. Your help is, of course, indispensable, and I hope it will be given to the utmost of your power.

Mr. Baxter was down beginning of the week, and we had a discussion over the situation. He has now gone back to New Brunswick.

May I ask you to remember me kindly to Mrs. Hutchison.

Yours very truly,

George Hutchison, Esq., LL.B.,
Richibucto, N.B.

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CANADA

056516

Ottawa, Ont. November 8th. 1923.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

When I had the pleasure of a visit at your country home this August, we little thought that the County of Kent would be so soon ~~the~~ a battle ground. Although the writ has not yet been issued to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Leger's death, I have very little doubt it will be issued before any great length of time. In my judgment, and I hope you will agree with me, we ought to go in and go in as vigorously as we possibly can and give them a battle that they will remember.

I am glad to have had the opportunity of seeing something of the County and of our friends on the ground during the summer. May I admit very frankly that I learned a great deal and learned much that I wish I had known before. All I can say is that I hope it will be possible for you to give us your fullest co-operation ih the present circumstances, and to assure you that your efforts will not lack appreciation. Any suggestions you

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056517

can make to me will be very welcome.

I had a talk with Mr. Baxter the first of the week. He has now gone back to New Brunswick and will be interesting himself vigorously in the County of Kent.

Yours very truly,

Richard O'Leary, Esq.,
Richibucto, N. B.

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056518

Ottawa, Ont. November 8th. 1923.

Dear Doctor Landry:

When visiting at your home last August we little thought that we would be in a battle in Kent County so soon. However, the chance has come and I feel, and I hope you agree in the conviction, that we must go into the battle and go in vigorously. Already I have received a large number of letters from the riding, and as well from other parts of New Brunswick, and there seems to be a very general feeling that your name will be exceedingly prominent as probable candidate. You can scarcely conceive what a great result it will be for us all over the Dominion to win such a county as Kent. However, you appreciate these considerations thoroughly yourself.

The Government has not yet issued the writ but it do not think it will be very long delayed. I will be glad indeed to hear from you as to your estimate

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056519

of the situation and also with any suggestions that you care to make.

Please extend my kindest regards to Mrs. Landry and family.

Yours very truly,

Doctor D. B. Landry, D.D.,
Buctouche,
N. B.

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056520

MILLTOWN,
NEW BRUNSWICK.
November 8, 1923.

PERSONAL.

Right Honorable Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa, Canada,

Dear Mr. Meighan:-

I have your favor of the Third instant and Mrs. Todd and I are both pleased at the interest you have shown in Charlie's marriage, I will be glad to forward them your good wishes, It is, of course, unnecessary for me to say that Mrs. Todd and I are very much pleased about it.

In regard to the vacancy in Kent. I understand it is now about decided to make a fight there. The county is strongly French, and while there is a good deal of talk about the dissatisfaction with the present Government there, I have never yet seen dissatisfaction enough in a French constituency to help us much. However, I think the only way we can tell about it is to make a fight there.

Yours very truly,

Lewis R Todd

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056521

Ottawa, Ont. November 10th. 1923

Dear Senator Black:

Thanks very much for your letter of the 8th. November. A couple of days ago I wrote Mr. O'Leary and I am sure my letter to him would be along the lines you desire. I had also written Doctor Landry. Let us spare no effort to get the strongest candidate available in Kent.

Yours very truly,

Hon. Senator F. B. Black,
Sackville,
N.B.

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056522

THE SENATE
CANADA

Sackville, N. B.,
November 8th, 1923.

To the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Can;

Dear Mr. Meighen-

Replying to yours of the 3rd inst. I have discussed the question of Kent with several people. My own opinion is that our prospects for winning the seat are good. I think Dr. Landry, who is doubtless well known to you, is the right man for candidate if he will go into it and I think he will. If properly backed, we should carry the seat.

I am pleased to note your remarks with regard to Mr. O'Leary. I have a high opinion of him and agree with you that his services have not been properly valued. We have discussed the Kent situation and our views agree.

Dr. Baxter speht an evening with me a few days ago and at that time he felt that Kent should be contested and could be won, but you doubtless are well informed as to his views.

I think we can count on an active support from Mr. O'Leary and suggest that you write him, if you have not already done so.

Yours sincerely,

FBB/LME

F.B. Black

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CANADA

056523

Ottawa, Ont. November 10th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Jones:

I have your letter of the 8th. November. Some couple of days ago I wrote Mr. O'Leary. My views as to his relations with the Party are just the same as yours, and I think I made this clear in my letter to him. I learned considerable of the situation on my visit to New Brunswick this summer. Let us spare no effort to get everybody who counts into the fight in Kent.

Yours truly,

George B. Jones, Esq., M.P.,
Apohaqui,
N.B.

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CANADA

056524

House of Commons
Canada

"Apohaqui", N. B., Nov. 8, 1923.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Yours of the 3rd instant received, re Kent County, New Brunswick. I have been thinking about this and have discussed same with Mr. Baxter, Richard O'Leary and a few others. I am of the opinion, and always have been, that where there is no show to make a gain it is always best to contest Election, it keeps our friends and workers in better trim.

I am leaving for Halifax in a few minutes, I am going over with Richard O'Leary. I have been talking a lot with him during the past year. He used to be a very warm supporter of our party, but he thought he had some grievance against some of our prominent leaders. I am satisfied that if a few of us get together, we can get O'Leary back, so he will take a good strong end in Election that will come on in the near future. After I return from Halifax, I may have further to report to you in reference to O'Leary. No doubt some have advised you, but for fear it may have slipped their mind.

The Municipal Elections in this Province were carried very largely along party lines, our friends carried Westmorland, split Kent County. We carried Albert, Kings, Queens, Sunbury, York, Carleton and Charlotte Counties, the other counties at the North of the Province, I have not paid very much attention to. Baxter seems to stand in better with our "Acadian" friends, than any of our Leaders here.

Oh, by the way, Hanson suggests that we secure the services of Mr. Rene Richard of Dorchester. I have known this young man for a number of years. I like him first rate, the fault that I see in him, he does not seem to have very much working ability, or to be plain with you, I think he is rather lazy, but just the same I think he stands in pretty well with the Acadian friends, and perhaps we could not do much better than secure his services, when campaign comes on, or better at once, as now is the time to organize and get ready for battle, not after we are right in heat of election.

With kind regards, Yours truly, Geo B Jones

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056525

Ottawa, Nov. 13, 1923.

George L. Harris, Esq.,
Barker Bldg.,
Moncton, N.B.

Dear Mr. Harris:

Many thanks indeed for yours of Nov. 9th enclosing clipping from the "Daily Times". It is very kind of you to keep me informed as to what appears in the editorial column of this newspaper.

With regard to Kent County, we certainly must put up a fight, and I ~~appreciate~~ highly the suggestions you have been good enough to make. Any time you have any further ideas to offer with regard to the welfare of our party, please do not hesitate to write me. You may be sure they will always receive my most careful consideration.

Yours very truly,

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PHONE 1088

056526

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GEORGE L. HARRIS
BARRISTER, SOLICITOR, NOTARY PUBLIC
MONCTON, N. B.
CANADA

November 9.
1 9 2 3.

The Right Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

I enclose you a clipping from the Daily Times regarding the Federal vacancy in Kent County, N.B., which may be of interest to you.

The electors of Kent County are very largly French and as we have no Conservative French paper published in this Province, naturally the opposition are at a disadvantage, and it has just occured to me that if arrangements could be made at head quarters in Ottawa for the sending of a French Conservative news paper into Kent County, it would have a good effect. I think a mailing list could be procured or such arrangements made for their distribution.

I am making this suggestion"off my own bat", but you may think it worth considering. If the papers can be secured I will be pleased to have the necessary arrangements made for their distribution.

Yours faithfully,

GLH/MMS

Geo. L. Harris

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THE DAILY TIMES

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Thursday, November 8th, 1923.

KENT COUNTY.

The Opportunity for the People of the Maritimes.

The people of the Maritime Provinces have been grievously disappointed in the King Government and its acts, in its railway administration and other things. There are two vacant federal seats at the present time, one in Halifax, in the neighboring province of Nova Scotia, and one in Kent, in New Brunswick. The Halifax vacancy was caused by the long-expected translation of the senior member, Hon. A. K. MacLean, to the Exchequer Court, while the vacancy in Kent is due to the lamented death of the sitting member, Mr. Leger. The Conservatives in Halifax have decided to make a fight in that metropolitan constituency as a protest against the flagrant neglect of Maritime interests and The Times is in a position to state that there will be a contest in Kent. Thus two Maritime constituencies, one largely urban and one largely rural, will be able to give their verdicts before another session of Parliament and let the country at large know where we stand.

Information reached The Times last evening that it has been decided to issue a call for a convention to be held in Richibucto in the very near future for the purpose of nominating a candidate to be the standard-bearer of the Liberal-Conservative party in Kent in the coming bye-election. Though the Liberal majorities in the county have been large in the past two elections, Kent is ordinarily good fighting ground, as will appear by reference to the record. The Parliamentary Guide shows that since Confederation out of the seventeen elections which have taken place in Kent ten were carried by the Conservatives and seven by the Liberals. It may be added that only for the extraordinary conditions which prevailed in 1917 it is quite likely that the Conservatives would have carried the county in the federal elections held in that year, as well as in the following general elections of 1921. There is a splendid body of Conservative voters in the county, out of which a strong and powerful organization can be formed at any time, and there is a healthy feeling of independence in the electorate of that County, a feeling to which expression has many times been given by the people of Kent. The treatment meted out to the counties of Kent and Westmorland by the present Liberal Government in the handling of railway matters has been of such a nature as to stir very deeply indeed the people and the time has come to issue a note of warning to that Government, a warning for which the bye-election in Kent affords too good an opportunity not to be taken advantage of. Moreover, while Mr. King and Mr. Stewart (Mr. Copp does nothing) are making some efforts to direct immigration to Western Canada, the best men, the best settlers of this province are leaving their farms, boarding up their houses and going to the States. Kent has suffered very much in that respect and the people of the County are looking for a remedy which the King Government has failed to apply.

The chances are excellent for the election of an opposition man in Kent and a keen contest may be expected.

HISTORY OF P.E.I.

(Halifax Herald)

The beautiful little province and Garden of the Gulf—Prince Edward Island—comes into her own in a volume just published. This book, prosaically known as "History of Prince Edward Island" is from the pen of Hon. A. B. Warburton, D.C.L., K.C. Judge Warburton is in a position to know the history and romance which surrounds the smallest province, better, probably, than any other man living, having been premier for a term and also member of Parliament for Queens in the Federal Government. Written in a delightful narrative style, the volume is one that will interest Nova Scotians as well as citizens of "the Island" itself.

From its discovery by Jacques Cartier in 1534 to the departure of Lieut.-Governor Ready in 1881 the book covers one of the most interesting series of events in the history of Canada.

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056528

Ottawa, Ont. November 13th. 1923.

Dear Mr. Robidoux:

I have yours of the 10th. instant. I am especially glad that you are looking into the matter of re-establishing for a time the "Moniteur Acadian". I suppose arrangements might be made to have special material in "La Minerve" published in Montreal and this paper sent into the County to specified addresses. However, much the better plan would be to revive the "Moniteur Acadian" if it can be handled at all.

I had already written Doctor Landry some days ago along the lines you suggest.

Would be glad of any word you can send me from time to time.

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux, Esq.,
Barrister,
Shediac,
N. B.

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F. J. ROBIDOUX,
Barrister,
Insurance Agent, &c.

056529

Shediac, N. B. November 10, 1928.

PERSONAL.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,

Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighan:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 7th instant touching the vacancy in Kent County. I note that it is your judgment that the seat should be contested and I am happy to say that I fully agree with you and to be able to add that a large number of our friends, if not all, agree with you. It had been decided to call a convention, but this was delayed for the reason that some of our friends thought we had better let the Government supporters make the first move, which they have made, their convention taking place on the 17th of this month. Mr. Baxter is meeting some of the friends from Kent, Monday next, in Moncton, for the purpose of discussing the situation and I have no doubt that a call for a conservative convention will be issued at once. Senator Bourque is the chairman of the executive, with John Morton, St-Nicholas River, Kent, N. B., as secretary.

The selection of a candidate is a matter which lies with the convention; but efforts are being made to induce Hon. Dr D. V. Landry, the gentleman with whom we dined at Buctouche and who afterwards accompanied us to Richibucto, to accept the Conservative nomination. It was my opinion that Dr Landry should be the Conservative candidate in the last Federal election and it is my opinion that he should now be the candidate of the Party in the bye-election. He is a man who is a credit to the County and the Province and a splendid representative of his race. I would reppectfully submit that you should write him, urging him to accept the nomination.

I need not say here that the man who runs with the support of the Liberal-Conservative Party must be a straight liberal-conservative. Otherwise, he will not get the support of the rank and file. That was my contention in the last election and in that respect my views have not changed.

Mr. Alexandre J. Doucet ran as a farmer in 1921 in Kent. He is a bright fellow with considerable ability. He was formerly a strong conservative and is yet for that matter, as I am informed. I fear that he would make a week conservative candidate; it would mean one of those sudden changes which do not always impress favorably the voters. He was urged to run as a conservative the last election,

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F. J. ROBIDOUX,
Barrister,
Insurance Agent, &c.

056530

but he would not do so. Had he done otherwise, he would now stand in a much better light and would be the natural choice of the coming convention.

However, the whole situation will notdoubt be convassed by Mr. Baxter in whose political acumen we have the utmost confidence and I am sure the best course available will be followed.

We have no French paper and that will be a great handicap in the campaign. If we had the funds, we might resurrect the Moniteur Acadian for the duration of the campaign. I must find out how much that would cost and I will mention the matter to Mr. Baxter.

Now, with a candidate like Dr Landry, a live organization and lots of work, I think it is possible to carry the county; the people are against the government, they are dissatisfied and it is a question of taking full advantage of these circumstances and seeing that the voters reach the polls.

After the Baxter meeting Monday night, I will communicate with you.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux

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056531

THE SENATE
CANADA

Exhibit No. = N.B.
Nov. 10/23

My Dear Mr Meighen

Replying to yours of the 7th, I am also of the opinion that there should be a contest here, and I think the matter and a few friends met Mr Borden on Monday at Moncton, and a convention will soon be called. If we can get the right man, we will sure give them a run for their life. It seems.

The dissatisfaction has been general along the coast here on account of the way the fishing regulations have been enforced. The Department had here all 2 or 3 mounted Police in addition to the local officers, and it is needless to say the fishermen resent such things.

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056532

That applies more especially to our end of the county = The southern end, mainly Moncton, is also up in arms on account of the C. N. R = management at Moncton &c -

That, with many local causes, furnishes ample material to make an active and effective campaign with an excellent chance of success. = Even a few liberals openly give their views on the failure of the King Government. =

I think our best choice is Dr. Landry if he will consent to run = He is superior to Sancet, who ran in 1921, as an independent =

Dr. Landry is the field, and the organization of the campaign (committee, meetings &c) is in the hands of a small active organizing committee = this is I think a good chance of success =

Always. Very truly Yours

T. J. Carvell

Rept.
Hon. C. Meighen
Ottawa

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056533

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

November 12, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan:

Yours of the 8th was awaiting me on my return from Halifax, hence delay in answering same.

Yes, we little expected, when you were here last summer, that Kent County would so soon become a battleground. The Government supporters have issued call for a convention to be held here on the 19th inst. for the selection of a candidate. I am, by appointment, to meet Mr. Baxter and others at Moncton today, to discuss the question of a Conservative candidate. I hope that we will meet with success in settling on some one who may be able to win back the county, though, just at the moment, I want to say that as a by-election, it is going to be a pretty hard proposition. There is one thing, however, you may rest assured of, and that is that my best efforts, and any assistance I can give, are yours in this matter.

While it will necessarily be a mighty hard contest, I feel that if the Hon. Dr. Landry would become a candidate, we could put up a pretty stiff fight. I have learned, however, from our mutual friend, Geo. B. Jones, who accompanied me to Halifax last Thursday, that Dr. Landry does not feel like taking on the responsibility, looking forward, as he is, to the Local elections, which he expects his party will win, and, if personally successful, that there will be a Cabinet position for him at Fredericton. I intend, personally, to contest this point with Dr. Landry by telling him that we expect our friends to help us out when we need them, and not to be entirely selfish, and to also make it clear to him that the attainment of a position in the future Cabinet must necessarily follow a nomination, which may not be so easily obtained should he not now be prepared to do battle.

The Liberal party have, I understand, two men in view; one a Louis Robichaud, Barrister, of Richibucto; the other a Mr. Bourgeois of Buctouche. If Robichaud is selected, the fight will be an easier matter, as I believe that Bourgeois is much the stronger candidate. Bourgeois is a very clever young fellow who was crowded out of the Conservative party a few years ago in this county. He would have been a splendid man to have available today on our side. However, we have not got him, and have got to make

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056534

Hon. Arthur Meighan 11/12/23

the best of it. I think you understand that this being an entirely French county, or almost so, that a French candidate is really necessary, otherwise our friends would raise the National cry, and we have, among the French, very few men available. To think of bringing in Robidoux would be entirely out of the question. He would put up no fight at all. He might be anxious to run in order to keep himself in line; but it would be suicidal to entertain him at all, and of the lot, the only possible man I see is Dr. Landry. Doucett, I understand, has ambitions; but the possibility of electing him would be by far too remote.

However, this evening's meeting should bring about something definite, and I shall make it a point to write you as to the result. I have to be in Halifax all of this week, where I am engaged as arbitrator in a very important case between the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the Home Insurance Company, and shall make it a point to write you from our Halifax office.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Yours faithfully,

R. O'Leary

RoL/M

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056535

J. P. SHERRY

GENERAL
DEALER

MEMRAMCOOK, N. B.

Private

14 Nov 1913

Dear Mr Meighan I am duly in receipt of your letter and note contents. I have already done some work along the lines you suggest, a Mr Doucett that ran the last election in Kent Co as a former candidate was here to see me last week the reason he ran as such was because he thought his chances of election was better although he is a Conservative and had he been elected would have supported you, when there, moreover, he has done good work for the Party and would now run providing Dr Landry refuses and he told me the Dr refused to run now, but was waiting for the local Election where he was Provincial Sec in the last local Government, and I presume wants it back again in case of the success of the Party upon running

056536

J. P. SHERRY

GENERAL
DEALER

MEMRAMCOOK, N. B.

your letter I went to Kent Yesterday and on for up as Mr O'Leary's and had a long talk with him about the Political situation, He is strongly of the opinion Dr Landry has to run and what I so far is to say if he would not run they would require positively to give him the nomination for the local elections, So this gives you an idea of what is going on, I am afraid there will be some trouble over it, however they are ready for the fight so I think it will eventually resolve itself down to fight I endeavored to see Dr Landry and Robichaud to talk matters over but they were away had I had an interview with them I could give you more definite information this Man Doucett

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J. P. SHERRY

GENERAL
DEALER

MEMRAMCOOK, N. B.

056537

Stands well in the County and is a bright intelligent man and I would think Mr Kelly a good man a splendid speaker of fine address I pointed out to Oleary what a splendid appointment to elect a man now with such disintegration all around he agreed yet he thought they could win, I had a friend of mine Sotheworth the County a couple of weeks ago of the Legislature death he was formerly a liberal Conservative I had a long up there and has big connections he went up to Moncton one then over to our side which he did, and he told me there was no trouble, at all, and he will go up and spend a couple more weeks during the campaign and he says its going to be easy so I think it looks good Baxter was down in Moncton tonight O'Leary to discuss matters

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BUREAU DU
DR. D. V. LANDRY

056538

Buctouche, N. B., Nov. 12, 1923

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

Your kind letter of 8th inst., received.

I am pleased to know that you think "we must go into the battle and go in vigorously" as that is also the very strong opinion of our friends in Kent. There is a marked change of feeling in this county toward the King Government since its advent to power in Dec. 1921.

Had the coming fight been delayed until the general elections I am of the opinion that we would ~~have won out~~ win. This, being a bye-election, it will not be so sure a win for the conservative party. However, we must make a fight and make a good one, if at all possible.

Mr. A. J. Doucet of Notre Dame, Kent Co., N. B. who ran the last federal election, as a farmer candidate, is among the strongest conservatives in this county and is willing to contest this bye-election as a straight conservative. According to me he can make about as good a fight as any one and will take about every vote that any other candidate could take.

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BUREAU DU
DR. D. V. LANDRY

056539

Buctouche, N. B., ... *192*

A certain number of friends will be in Moncton to-night for the purpose of meeting Hon. J.B.M. Baxter and discussing the whole question with him.

I beg to thank you very sincerely for the kind reference in your letter to my wife and family who were highly honored and pleased by your visit.

Yours very truly,

D. V. Landry.

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056540

Ottawa, Nov. 17, 1923.

F.J. Robidoux, Esq.,
Shediac, N.B.

Dear Mr. Robidoux:

Thanks for yours of Nov. 14th giving me results of the discussion which took place Monday evening in Moncton. We must all put forth every effort to make as good a fight as possible in Kent county.

Yours very truly,

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F. J. ROBIDOUX,
Barrister,
Insurance Agent, &c.

Personal.

056541

Shediac, N.B., November 14, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr Meighen,

As stated in my previous letter, a meeting of a few friends of the Party took place monday evening in Moncton for the purpose of discussing the Kent County situation. I am sorry to say that the results were not very satisfactory. It was the desire of all those present, except Mr Doucet (and, to be fair, Mr Doucet did not say that he would absolutely oppose the selection of Dr Landry) that Dr Landry should be the candidate. Dr Landry declined to accept a nomination, if one were tendered to him. He was very sorry, but gave personal reasons as his ground for the refusal.

I must say that our friends are not sanguine about our chances with Mr Doucet as a candidate. For my part, I regret exceedingly that Doucet did not run as a Conservative at the last election. His position would be infinitely better to-day. Mr Baxter was there and he will be able to give you a better account of the situation. I must say that the sentiment appears to be excellent in the County and it is a good chance for a stiff fight at any rate.

A convention of the Liberal-Conservative Party has been called for the 21st of this month, to meet in the Temperance Hall at Richibucto. I shall keep you advised. With best wishes I remain,

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux

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056542

Ottawa, Nov. 17, 1923.

Geo. B. Jones, Esq.,
Apohaqui,
N. B.

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thanks for yours of the 13th with regard to the Kent county bye-election. I certainly appreciate the work you are doing to assist in this riding.

Yours very truly,

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056543

Return

House of Commons
Canada

"Apohaqui", N. B.,
Nov. 13, 1923.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Yours of the 10th instant received. I returned home from Halifax on Saturday, was over there with Mr. O'Leary in connection with a Lumber operation.

I talked over with Mr. O'Leary, the Kent County Bye-Election and party matters in general. O'Leary is feeling very much better, in fact I am quite satisfied that he will take hold and give us his old-time assistance.

I spoke to him and several others in reference to Rene Richard, I do not think that he would make much of a success for an Organizer. He is a nice fellow, but usually sleeps till Noon, I understand. I have nothing further to report other than that a number from that district claim that Brooks our Organizer should be there as soon as possible, so that the English speaking section can be well organized.

Yours very truly,

Geo S. Jones

J/EWJ.

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056544

Ottawa, Nov. 17, 1923.

Senator F.B. Black,
Sackville, N.B.

Dear Senator Black:

Thanks for yours of Nov. 13th with regard to the Kent county vacancy. We must all put forth our best efforts to see that a vigorous fight is waged intthis riding.

Yours very truly,

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THE SENATE
CANADA

056545

Sackville, N. B.,
November 13th, 1923.

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
Ottawa, Can.

Dear Mr. Meighen-

I have today had a conversation with Mr. K. O'Leary, who was in Sackville this morning.

A conference was held in Moncton, attended by Dr. Baxter, Dr. Landry and a few other friends. An effort was made to secure Landry's consent to his nomination. This has not yet been definitely given. You will doubtless get all particulars from Dr. Baxter.

Mr. O'Leary's fore-cast of our prospects in Kent are not now quite as rosy as at the time of our last conversation. He is, however, of the opinion that we have a good fighting chance and that Dr. Landry is the man who should be the candidate. At his request I am writing Dr. Landry.

Yours sincerely,

F. B. Black

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056546

Ottawa, Nov. 17, 1923.

J.P. Sherry, Esq.,
Memramcook,
N.B.

Dear Mr. Sherry:

Many thanks for yours of the 12th with regard to the vacancy in Kent county. I certainly appreciate the efforts you are putting forth to see that our party makes a vigorous fight.

Yours very truly,

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056547

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

Sunday
November 18, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

I only got back from Halifax at midnight last night, and have to return on Monday morning. I, unfortunately, got on an arbitration board which I thought would not be more than four or five days at the outside, and I cannot see how they are going to finish inside of four or five weeks; so that I will not be here for the Convention on Wednesday the 21st.

I called up Dr. J. B. M. Baxter today, and had a long chat with him over the phone, in consequence of which I am making an appointment to see Dr. Landry tomorrow, on my way through to Moncton, and shall once more try to induce him to accept the nomination. Failing him, it strikes me that our next best bet is Felix Michaud, his relative-in-law. Doucett seems to be absolutely an impossibility.

The Liberals held their convention here yesterday, and nominated Mr. Bourgeois, who, in my opinion, is their strongest man; but I happened to meet Mr. Robichaud, the rejected competitor for the nomination, today, and had quite a chat with him. He is very sore, and it may be just possible that Mr. Bourgeois would not get the assistance from them which he would, in justice, have the right to expect. Robichaud's father and father-in-law are very influential in the southern end of the county, and it may be that the disgruntled feeling, which they have, may prompt them to overlook their politics to a certain extent, in fact, we may possibly, in the end, get a measure of support from them. However, that is hardly a thing to be banked upon.

It may be interesting to you to know, also, that the friends of Mr. Hendry (rejected candidate of the Liberal Halifax convention) including Mr. Hendry himself, are extremely sore. I know Mr. Hendry quite well, have had several chats with him through the week, and he practically intimated to me, yesterday morning, that the machine would not take any very great interest in Mr. Redmond, which may mean that Mr. Black would stand a pretty good chance of election. Several Conservatives whom I have talked with, in Halifax, including Mr. McCurdy, seem to think that Mr. Black will win out. On the other hand, many Liberals whom I have met (and my personal acquaintances down there seem to be more of Liberals than Conservatives) are all very luke warm indeed over Mr. Redmond; so that I feel that there is more encouragement in Halifax, at the present moment, than I can see in this county.

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056548

Hon. Arthur Meighan 11/18/23

My honest belief is, as I have already told you, that if Dr. Landry would consent to run the election, that we could put up a pretty good fight. With either of the others, prospects will not be good at all.

It is certainly a source of great regret to me that I cannot be here for the convention on Wednesday, though I tried my best to have the arbitration adjourned over that date; but the best I could get was Sunday home. I will, however, absolutely refuse to continue on after December 1st, and shall insist upon having it adjourned over the end of the year, so that I will be at home to be of whatever little assistance I can during the period of campaign.

By the way, I also learned that the Liberals requested Mr. Copp here, yesterday, to have the writ issued of Nomination on December 6th, Election December 20th, which I presume will be done.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Yours sincerely,

R. O'Leary

RoL/M

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056549

Ottawa, Ont. Nov. 26th. 1923.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Yours of the 15th. instant reached me upon my return to Ottawa from a four days' tour of the Eastern Townships.

I saw that Mr. Doucet had received the nomination. We must now put forth every effort to see that the most vigorous possible campaign is waged.

I had, before receiving your letter, written to Doctor Landry strongly urging that he should accept the nomination if offered to him.

Yours very truly,

R. O'Leary, Esq.,
Richibucto, N.B.

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CANADA

056550

HALIFAX HOTEL

E.L. MACDONALD, MANAGER

HALIFAX, CANADA

Nov 15/23

Hon A W Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr Meighen,

As advised you from home on Monday, we had our little "get-together" that evening at Moncton. We tried to impress upon Dr Landry the necessity of his accepting the nomination; but I do not feel that he will.

Dr Baxter & I had a last crack at him in the Store, & while he promised us to consider the matter, I fear that his consideration will not be favourable. Donald is anxious to run; but is very, very weak.

A convention is called for the 21st. If I can possibly get away from here to attend the Convention, I will certainly try. I will again see Landry & if possible, induce him to run. Though, I fear,

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CANADA

056550

HALIFAX HOTEL

E.L. MACDONALD, MANAGER

HALIFAX, CANADA

Nov 15/23

Hon A W Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr Meighen,

As advised you from home on Monday, we had our little "get-together" that evening at Moncton. We tried to impress upon Dr Landry the necessity of his accepting the nomination; but I do not feel that he will.

Dr Baker & I had a last crack at him in the Hotel; & while he promised us to consider the matter, I fear that his consideration will not be favourable. Donald is anxious to run; but is very, very weak.

A convention is called for the 21st. If I can possibly get away from here to attend the Convention, I will certainly try. I will again see Landry & if possible, induce him to run - though, I fear,

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HALIFAX HOTEL

E.L. MACDONALD, MANAGER

HALIFAX, CANADA

he will decline -
If he persists, I doubt whether it would be wise to again try Doucet - You fully understand that it is understood that the Candidate must be French.
I wish you would at once urge upon Landry that he take the nomination. He may not elect him; but will have done a whole lot of good preliminary work for the General Election.

Yours sincerely

R. O'Leary

I would judge that Mr Black will give Redmond a good hard run here - Hendry's friends seem sore, at least those to whom I have spoken ROL

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056552

Ottawa, Ont. Nov. 27th. 1923.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

I want to refer again a moment to your letter of the 20th. instant.

This is the first I have heard of the feeling in Kent County that the control of the party locally had been monopolized by particular men. What I desire to say is that in two or three letters I have received from Mr. Robidoux, he has spoken in the highest terms of Doctor Landry and was apparently anxious, as were you, that he accept nomination for the County. He spoke in the same strain always while I was with him this summer. You remember you and Doctor Landry were with me together on our trip through most of Kent. We called on Senator Bourque but we only saw him for a short time. Really, there does not seem to be much ground for any feeling of jealousy.

Yours sincerely,

Doctor Richard O'Leary,
Richibucto,
N. B.

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056553

HALIFAX HOTEL

HALIFAX, CANADA

Nov 30/23

Hon Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr Meighen,

Saw Dr Landry & Michaud yesterday - Spent about a half hour with them - Landry decidedly refuses to run. So does Michaud - They are, of course, closely connected & Michaud wanted do only what Landry wanted a doing -

I called up Hon Mr Barker from Moncton & he is going into Kent today -

Among other things we debated was whether or not, it might be better to let Bourgeois have an acclamation, rather than take a chance of a very bad beating with a weak candidate - In my humble opinion, it might be well to let the thing go by the Board rather than be badly trimmed - However, Mr Barker will talk the matter over fully & decide -

One thing sure we cannot win with the material now offering -

I found in talking to Landry & Michaud that they are still very sore over the

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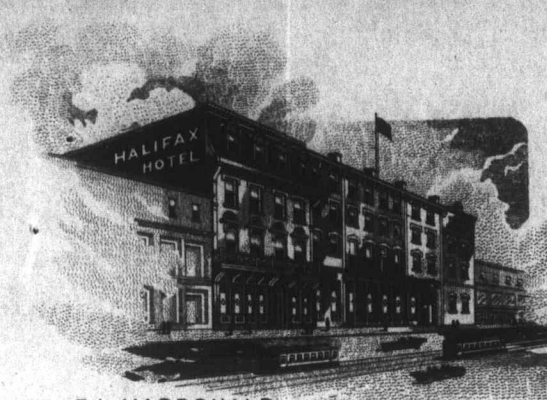

HALIFAX HOTEL

E.L. MACDONALD, MANAGER

HALIFAX, CANADA

fact that Senator Bourque & Robidoux have in the past constituted themselves the "whole Conservative party of the County" — We must get together, thresh out (if necessary) the differences, and bury them forever & go to work unitedly for the General Election —

So long as those petty jealousies exist, we cannot carry on successfully.

I just walked up street with Mr. Hendry (the defeated aspirant for the Liberal nomination here) — He talks very frankly with me; & I find that there exists the same condition among the Malpeque Liberals that we have in the Kent's Conservatives.

He says that Black may slip in. From what little I, as a non-resident can see, I will not be surprised, at all, if Mr. Black does slip in.

Regretting that I have not more encouraging news for you from Kent, I remain

Yours faithfully

P. Lefaivre

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056555

Ottawa, Nov. 27th. 1923.

Dear Senator Bourque:

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd.

Will be glad to hear any time from you as to the progress of the contest. Needless to say, I am anxiously interested in it.

Yours very truly,

Senator T. J. Bourque,
Richibucto,
N. B.

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THE SENATE
CANADA

056556

Rexhibucto - N.B.
Nov 22/26

Dear McMeighen

We had a fine convention yesterday and although Dr. Landry received how been our strongest candidate, the choice of the delegates well put up a very strong fight with chances of winning. The discontent is very marked in Kent, principally among our fishermen & many have openly left the liberal ranks.

There is open discord among the liberal. one of the proposed candidates, Robichaud, ex Barnabi speaks open about the unfairness of a party of the liberal Party & swears he won't work or vote for their choice.

Mr Boyle was here yesterday, made a fine speech and a very good impression. We all intend to do all we can with the hope of winning.

I see that Dr. Beland is coming this way, no doubt he will be in Kent.

With kind regards

Very truly Yours

T. J. Gaudet

Rt Hon
Hon A. McMeighen
Ottawa

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056557

Ottawa, Ont. Nov. 27th. 1923.

My dear Robidoux:

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd. instant.

Please keep me advised carefully as to your views on the County of Kent contest. Mr. Baxter will, of course, be in charge and I have every confidence and I know he has the absolute confidence of the entire party in that province. I have a letter from him much along the line of your own letter.

Kind regards.

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux, Esq.,
Barrister,
Shediac, N. B.

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F. J. ROBIDOUX,
Barrister,
Insurance Agent, &c.

Personal

056558

Shediac, N.B., November 22nd, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr Meighen,

The Conservatives held a splendid convention at Richibucto, Kent, yesterday,—a splendid convention in point of attendance as well as for the fine spirit of the men gathered there. In my experience it was the largest convention we ever had and it certainly was a very representative one. Mr Alex. J. Doucet was selected as the candidate. There was one name only before the convention and the choice was consequently unanimous.

I am sorry another choice was not made. Had Dr Landry consented to run, I think we could have elected him with a substantial majority. The feeling is good throughout the County and there is much dissatisfaction with the Government with regard to the methods employed by the Department in the enforcement of the fisheries regulations, the management of the railway shops, hard times, etc. A good many of our friends who live in the County of Kent believe that it is out of the question to try to elect Mr Doucet. My own opinion is that conditions are favorable to the election of a fairly good man and it may be possible to carry the County, particularly if Halifax goes Conservative. In a couple of weeks, one will be able to form a better opinion on the situation. It is out of the question to publish the Moniteur Acadien, the time is too short. The local organization will no doubt make arrangements for campaign litterature. Mr Baxter was at the convention and ~~and~~ made a strong appeal. With kindest regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux

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056559

Ottawa, Ont. Nov. 29th. 1923.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Glad to have your letter of the 26th. inst. To tell the truth I do not know what to make of either battle - Kent and Halifax - a thousand miles distance is too much for me. Have not had any further word from Baxter and cannot come to any conclusion from McCurdy's letters.

Yours very truly,

Richard O'Leary, Esq.,
RICHIBUCTO, N. B.

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056560

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

November 26, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

I have been home again over the week-end, and have to spend a couple more days in Halifax, this week, when we will adjourn our arbitration until the middle of January, so that after this week, I will be here.

The couple of days that I have been home, I have not been able to get much information. Had a visit, today, from Doucett, who seems quite hopeful. However, I did learn, from Bourgeois' friends, that Bourgeois is quite pessimistic, although, honestly speaking, between ourselves, I cannot see how Doucett can win out. We can only do everything we possibly can, and perhaps, at the end, may get a pleasant surprise.

I think, had the Convention not nominated a candidate, and from all I can learn, Robichaud, the disappointed Liberal, would have contested the County with Bourgeois, in which case we would have had a division of that party which might not have been patched up in a hurry, and would have contributed largely to ~~the~~ success ~~of~~ the general election. However, we have got the matter as it is, and will only have to do our best in the hope of at least materially reducing the last majority. If I find, as things go along, that they look more hopeful, I shall gladly advise you. Meantime, remain, with kindest personal regards

Yours sincerely,

ROLeary

P.S.
I am still quite optomistic on the situation in Halifax. My Liberal friends laugh at me there; but I have a "hunch" that Mr. Redmond is not going to carry the seat. My Halifax partner, whose wife is quite an active Conservative lady, informs me that Black will get a tremendous female vote in Halifax, and that is a fact which had certainly got to be reckoned with now-a-days, as it is really the larger of the two.

RoL

RoL/M

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CANADA

056561

Ottawa, Ont., November 29, 1923.

Dear Senator Bourque,

I am having good reports of general conditions in Kent, but have had several letters that say there isn't enough work going on. In Halifax every report is that our men are working tooth and nail. I wish you would make it your business to stir up activity in every possible way. Now that Mr. Doucet has the nomination he is entitled to the cordial support of everybody. I believe Mr. Baxter will be in the County very shortly. We depend a great deal on you in this contest.

Yours very truly,

Honourable T.J.Bourque,
Richibucto, N.B.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056562

Ottawa, Ont., November 29, 1923.

Dear Mr. Doucet,

I really thought I had sent you a wire on the occasion of your nomination as Conservative Candidate in the county of Kent. However, at the time the convention took place I was on a short tour of the Province of Quebec, and find that I omitted to dispatch the message. However, a letter will be more appropriate now, to congratulate you on the result of the Convention and to assure you of the cordial support of the Conservative Party so far as it is in my power to accord it. I have as you doubtless know been in close communication with Mr. Baxter, our federal leader in New Brunswick, and you may rest assured we will do all in our power to bring about victory. I am also in communication with others in the county urging active cooperation on your behalf. It would be a great achievement if we could win in Kent.

Yours very truly,

A.J.Doucet, Esquire,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056563

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

I have your letter of the 1st. December. Am somewhat disturbed by this news and by others of a similar kind received all to the effect that the necessary preparations and activities are not in being in being in Kent County. I am writing Mr. Baxter to-day. He has, of course, been in Halifax and has been doing excellent work there. Of course, a lot will depend on the Halifax bye-election but we must go in with vim and vigour. Any way, I get good reports of conditions but poor reports of activity.

Yours very truly

Richard O'Leary, Esq
Richibucto, N.B

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

R. O'LEARY & SON

056564

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

December 1, 1923.

Hon. A. W. Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

On my return home from Halifax last evening, I find your letters of the 26th, 27th and 29th, all of which are very carefully noted.

I have not had much opportunity, since returning, of finding out about what is going on; but have seen Dr. Bourque and Mr. Hutchinson, who seem to say that everything is all right; but they do not seem to be at all enthusiastic; nor is much effort, as I can learn, being made by those people towards the matter of organization in the County; though they say that there seems to be a prospect of success but that organization is necessary, and none of them seem to be interesting themselves very much. I shall hope, personally, to see Doucett early in the week, and will sit down and talk this subject over and, if possible, get some organization to work. If there is a prospect, at all, of winning, it seems too cursed bad to leave anything undone towards that end.

While at Halifax, I had a long letter from Dr. Baxter, who asked me to see Senator Bourque on my return home and endeavor to enthuse him a little; likewise Mr. Carson of Rexton, who, I am informed, is taking no interest because of Mr. Bourgeois' connection with J. D. Irving of Buctouche, into whose family Mr. Carson's daughter is married. All this sort of thing seems rather discouraging. I will make it a point to see Mr. Carson on Monday, if at all possible, and try and get him interested in doing what he can for Doucett.

As to the petty jealousies which seem to exist between those French Acadians, I am not at all familiar with this, only what Dr. Landry told me. Just before the convention here, when I went to see him and endeavored to impress upon him the necessity of his becoming a candidate, himself, he complained that Robidoux and Dr. Bourque were running things, and said that he felt like letting them run them. However, all this should be overlooked and let everybody get to work in the interest of the party, and if there is a shadow of a chance at all of electing Doucett, let us elect him.

In Dr. Baxter's letter to me at Halifax, he expressed the hope of seeing me there today; but previous to receiving it, I had arranged to have the arbitration adjourned over to the 15th of January, and therefore left Halifax immediately. I wired him

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056565

Hon. A. W. Meighan 12/1/23

today to Halifax expressing regret at not seeing him, telling him that I learned that things were progressing favorably here, and I would take up the matters referred to in his letter and write him fully, all of which I will attend to.

I fully understand that the distance of a thousand miles is too much for you to see through. Trust, however, that you have made arrangements to come to Halifax, and if it were at all possible for you to come from Halifax here, for Nomination Day on the 6th, it would have a splendid effect; but probably all this is impossible for one having so much to do.

I still regret that Dr. Landry had not accepted the nomination, knowing, as I do, that he would have put up a much more vigorous campaign; but this is not the question now, it is one of trying to win.

Rest assured I will use my best efforts and judgment to contribute towards that end. If I can write you anything of interest in the near future, shall gladly do so. Meantime, rest assured that, personally, I will leave nothing undone that can be done to bring about a successful issue.

Yours sincerely,

R O Leary

RoL/M

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056566

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 5th. 1923.

Dear Senator Bourque:

I have your letter of the 2nd. instant. My difficulty is just the one stated in your letter. Nobody seems to be in charge. I though as Conservative Senator residing in the same County, I could appeal to you to join with others in a definite organization to get the work done.

Honourable J. B. M. Baxter will now be through with Halifax and will doubtless be in the riding, but, of course, the local work must be done locally. I know you understand the problem and can do a very good deal.

Yours truly,

Senator T. J. Bourque,
Richibucto,
N. B.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

THE SENATE
CANADA

056567

Rechibucto = N. B.
Dec 2/23

Dear Mr Meighen

My right wrist & arm are in Plaster Paris, a bone being broken, so you see I can't write:

Why you should depend on me a great deal in this contest, I don't understand! I can only do my bit, as I am always ready to do for the Party, I never falter. But in this case I am not in charge of the organization, I really don't know who is, although I am informed a Mr Brooks has been in the County.

Some friends from Westmorland who I think write you are mistaken, I am not in charge. As you say, I am sorry this is not more active here, it seems that there is a chance of winning:

I told the Candidate that I would speak at some meetings, if he wanted me to.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056568

THE SENATE
CANADA

It is needless for me to tell you that I meet many people every day that I never fail to preach the right doctrine. If our friends would only get together, consult, plan and get busy, our chances are good for sure.

No doubt there will be some action from now on.

The candidate is very well trained and not assured that what little I can do, will be done for me & most.

Very truly yours

T. J. Bourgeot

Hon
A. Meighen
Ottawa

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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056569

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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FREDERICTON NB 5

1923 DEC 5 PM 10 49

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

507 OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS MAGNIFICENT VICTORY HALIFAX STOP IMMEDIATE INTENSIVE ORGANIZATION KENT WILL AFFORD GOOD PROSPECTS VICTORY THERE HAVE TODAY URGED BAXTER GO THERE IMMEDIATELY AND GET PROPER MACHINERY IN MOTION HE HESITATES BECAUSE LACK SUPPORT HOPE HALIFAX MAY HELP YOU HAVE OFFERED GO ALL NEXT WEEK BUT DOUBT IF MY AID EFFECTIVE EXCEPT IN FEW ENGLISH LOCALITIES FRENCH ORGANIZER NEEDED BADLY WIRE ME YOUR VIEWS

R B HANSON.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056570

R. B. Hanson, M.P.,
Fredericton, N.B.

Dec. 6th. 1923.

Have wired Baxter engage French organizer. Entirely agree your view regarding Kent.

Arthur Meighen.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Richibucto, N.B. Dec 6th 1923.

056571

Dear Mr Meighen —

Many thanks for kind expression — your — of Nov. 29th. Nomination Day proceedings this P.M. gave us the upper hand — A. L. LeBlanc K.C. & Campbellton spoke for Bourgeois, but could not rouse his supporters — Dalipare had placed a wet blanket on their enthusiasm — We now seem to have the lead & are well organized — Mr R. O'Leary at the head of the Central Committee is a good man at the helm — We shall have Dr Baxter in the county for a couple of meetings & Dr D. V. Landry, Buctouche & Antonio J. Léger, Moncton will assist — the French electors, with telling effect, I know.

From personal knowledge, would say victory is ours if we put all energy in this fight.

Sincerely yours

Alexander Dunn

Hon Arthur Meighen
Ottawa —

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056572

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 6th. 1923.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

I have just received your letter of the 4th. instant. This is very typical work. Please get me the fullest possible detail. I would certainly give them a few unhappy hours and let the country know about this kind of conduct.

Yours very truly,

Richard O'Leary, Esq.,
Richibucto, N. B.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056573

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

December 7, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

I have your letter of the 4th inst. which is very carefully noted.

Since I last wrote you, there has been a great improvement along the lines desired. The different factions seem to have dropped their inactivities and have got together to win.

On Wednesday evening, a number of them, the Candidate, Senator Bourque, and others, met me, and asked me to take charge of the job, and I have accepted, and needless to say, will put my very best efforts into the work. I am, by degrees, getting the best workers in the different localities in to see me, and am discussing the matter in detail with them. The weather is bad, road conditions abominable, which makes it more difficult to get around; but this militates against both parties equally.

The result in Halifax will certainly help us a lot. I was more than pleased to be able to wire you my congratulations on that result a couple of days ago, and to me at least, as you will judge by my different letters to you, the Halifax election was no surprise whatever. I looked for it, and upon my word, I am beginning to believe that we may win out here. Yesterday's Nomination Day meeting, which is generally a very big affair here, was not large because of a terrible storm; but in spite of that, there were quite a number of people present, and, if the feeling of that gathering is any index of the general feeling throughout the country, we should be very hopeful indeed. I may say that we had at least two to one in the gathering which came here yesterday, and Doucett made a very good showing indeed, in fact, had the best of it throughout.

You may rest assured that I will do everything I possibly can, in the position in which they have placed me, to bring about the hoped for result, and if it is not accomplished, the fact will certainly not be because my best efforts have not been put forward.

Yours faithfully,

R. O'Leary

RoL/M

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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1923 DEC 10 PM 7 50

FREDERICTON NB 10

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN MP

442 OTTAWA ONT

LEAVING FOR KENT TOMORROW NIGHT THREE MEETINGS ENGLISH SECTIONS HAS ANYTHING BEEN ARRANGED WIRE WILL REACH ME MONCTON WEDNESDAY NOON OR HARCOURT THAT NIGHT

R B HANSON

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

R. O'LEARY & SON

056575

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

December 10, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

I have your letters of the 6th inst. which are very carefully noted.

Things seem to be going along all right now. We have all parties united on the job and there is no pulling and hauling against each other. I am getting men in every district, organizing, and hope to have a splendid organization by the time the day comes around for election, and honestly, I believe we will win. At any rate, there will be nothing left undone. My son has consented to organize the immediate vicinity around here, and I know that he will do his job well, with the assistance which we can get from others for him, and I think we will have good men everywhere.

I had a ~~call~~ letter from Mr. Robidoux, yesterday, offering his services, and I immediately telephoned him asking if he could come here, if possible, today. I expect to be able to make good use of him in this campaign. In fact, all friends seem to be right on the job, and things grow brighter, day by day.

Yours sincerely,

R. O'Leary

Mr Robidoux has just come into my office RoL

RoL/M

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Richibucto = N.B.
Dec 14/23

056576

Dear Mr Meighen

Received yours of the 10th
always glad to hear from you.
The LaPointe, Copp & Verrot
meeting here last evening a
total failure. They are
much disappointed. It
looks to me that the voters
are divided to vote against
them.

See Moncton Daily Times
of the 14th.

Unless something un-
forseen happens, we
have reason to be
optimistic on the
result.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

We have three important meetings monday, tuesday & wednesday, when Mr Borden will speak.

Why not fix them too black eyes if it can possibly be done.

Pardon writing, my hand still in splints.

Very truly yours

T. J. Bourque

Rep to
Hon. G. Meighen
Ottawa

056577

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056578

Ottawa, Dec. 21, 1923.

Senator T. J. Bourque,
Richibucto,
N.B.

Dear Senator Bourque:

Just a line to congratulate you on the wonderful success in Kent. My thanks are due to you and all our friends in the county who helped make this great achievement possible. It was certainly a remarkable victory when one considers the style of campaign our opponents waged.

With Christmas greetings, and all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

R. O'LEARY & SON

056579

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

December 15, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

I scarcely know what to write you in connection with our campaign here.

I may say that I feel that our organization is as nearly perfect as we can possibly have it, taken into consideration the condition of roads and sparcely settled country. We have good committees in every district, our friends are very enthusiastic, and, really, we feel that about all possible has been done in every respect towards as near a perfect organization as one can get in a county of this kind. Personally, I have devoted my entire time to the work, and I feel that my efforts have not entirely been lost.

We had R. B. Hanson, M. P. go through some of the principal English districts and hold meetings, which meetings he reports as having been very successful. Dr. Baxter is coming into the county the first of the week to hold meetings the three last nights in the three principal points.

On the other hand, the Liberals have had LaPointe, Copp, Pius Michaud, Senator Boyer, Lucien Cannon, Hon. Peter Veniot, holding meetings everywhere; but meetings which have not, in my opinion, done us a great deal of harm. Of course, they always have their effect. Boyer is an A-1 organizer, and he is still remaining in the county, whereas the others have left, I think with not too much encouragement by any means.

We may not win out; but we will at least have a moral victory. Their majority of 1580 in the last election will be cut down, possibly to less than 300, and on the other hand, we do stand a chance of winning out, although I do not like to say that we will. Every effort will be made in that direction, and I believe that if we are fortunate enough to have a fine day on the 20th, to get out the vote, that we will win out.

Yours sincerely,

R. O'Leary

RoL/M

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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5658

1923 DEC 20 PM 9 25

MOA267 8

TRURO NS 20 1004 P

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

457 OTTAWA ONT

ACCEPT HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON SPLENDID VICTORY IN KENT

FRANK J D BARNJUM.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

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CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

72RN.CZ.26N.L.

439

TORONTO,ONT.DEC 20TH.23.

RT-HON.ARTHUR MEIGHEN.,
OTTAWA-ONT.

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE DECISIVE VICTORY IN KENT LIKE THE NORTH WINNIPEG ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED IN ENGLAND THIS INDICATES THE PEOPLES OPINION OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES.

G.D.ROBERTSON.

1114PM.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T.D. 1 M.

TELEGRAM

056582

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J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

CANADIAN PACIFIC TELEGRAPHS
PLEASE OPEN THIS ENVELOPE
OR MESSENGER WILL CALL

1 WA S 7 DH

Ottawa Ont Dec 20-23

Hon Arthur Meighen,

Train No 2,

North Bay Ont... 8 1 0 P

Kent elects conservative by about three hundred

T H Blacklock

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056583

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Hanson:

Thanks for your kind message of yesterday. The victory in Kent was really wonderful and it is difficult to over-estimate its effect throughout Canada. The congratulations and thanks are really due yourself and all others who worked so hard to make this achievement possible.

With Christmas greetings and every good wish for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

R. B. Hanson, Esq., M.P.,
Fredericton, N.B.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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056584

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1923 DEC 20 PM 10 08

MO.A282 19

FREDERICTON NB 20 1044 P

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

461

OTTAWA ONT

KENT GREETS YOU WITH HALIFAX AFTER THIS THE DELUGE FOR THE GOVERNMENT GLAD I HAD A PART IN IT

R B HANSON.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056585

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Doucet,

I was really delighted to receive your telegram last night telling me that Kent had elected you by somhandsome a majority. To you and all others who worked so hard against the campaign waged by our opponents I send my thanks and congratulations. We are looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both you and Mr. Black to the House of Commons. You may be sure you will receive a hearty reception from us all.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year to you and yours in which Mrs. Meighen joins, believe me,

Yours very truly,

Alexandre J. Doucet, Esq., M.P.,
Richibucto, N.B.

Your statement election night was excellent. Wired you that night. am

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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Form 1-TW

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPH AND CABLE

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256586

58 7 MONCTON

1923 DEC 20 PM 9 14

NOTREDAME NB 20 935 P

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

450

OTTAWA ONT

LAST RETURNS ELECTED TWO HUNDRED FIFTEEN MAJORITY

ALEXANDRE J DOUCETT.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056587

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Barnjum:

Thanks indeed for your kind message on Kent. It was really a wonderful victory and I feel that the congratulations and thanks are due you and the others who worked so hard to make this achievement possible. It is difficult indeed to overestimate the effect of this victory throughout the various parts of the country — especially Quebec.

With Christmas greetings and every good wish for 1924.

Yours very truly,

Frank J. D. Barnjum, Esq.,
Annapolis Royal,
N.S.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

056588

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1923 DEC 20 PM 7 04

MOA' 43 9

AMHERST NS 20 740 P

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

430

OTTAWA ONT

DOUCET LEADING BY 100 AT LATEST REPORT

F J D BARNJUM.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

006589

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

H. S. Patterson, Esq.,
Calgary,
Alta.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram sent on behalf of the Calgary Conservative Association. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056590

Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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41MOS 23 NL

CALGARY ALTA DEC 20TH 1923

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

595 OTTAWA ONT

CALGARY CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION AGAIN SENDS CONGRATULATIONS ON RESULT IN KENT AND HOPES SOON TO SEE YOU PREMIER AND LEADER OF A FREE PARTY

H S PALLUSON

530A

Dunlop

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

FORM 1-TW

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0565 9

25MOS 26 NL

MONTREAL Q DEC 20TH 1923

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

577 OTTAWA ONT

MEMBERS OF CARTIER MACDONALD CLUB CONGRATULATE THE LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY FOR SUCCESS IN KENT STOP HALIFAX AND KENT ARE AN APPROVAL OF YOUR PROGRAM

PRESIDENT CARTIER MACDONALD CLUB

420AM

Wilfrid Lemaire
640 Attwater St

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056592

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Lemarre:

To you and to the members of the Cartier-Macdonald Club I send my warmest thanks for your kind message of congratulation. Kent was really a wonderful victory and the effect is hard to over-estimate.

With Christmas greetings and best wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours very truly,

Wilfrid Lemarre, Esq.,
640 Atwater Street,
Montreal, Que.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056593

Ottawa, Dec. 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

It is needless to say that I was highly delighted with the news that come from Kent last evening. I feel that a great measure of this success is due to the hard work you did in organizing the County. During the campaign I had information from various sources all to the effect that the Committee of which you were Chairman had a really splendid organization going. I feel it is difficult indeed to over-estimate just what the effect of this victory will be throughout the rest of the country. The campaign against which you had to fight makes the victory all the more remarkable.

With kindest regards and every good wish for Christmas and the New Year, believe me,

Yours very truly,

Richard O'Leary, [signature]

Richibucto, N. B.

Send me all the material you can please re promises, bribes, racial appeals etc. especially by Ministers & Members

am.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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056594

MUA251 8

1923 DEC 20 PM 8 08

RICHIBUCTO NB 20 845 P

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

443

OTTAWA ONT

WE WIN BY THREE HUNDRED MAJORITY HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS

R OLEARY.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056595

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Dear Doctor Manion:

Thanks indeed for your kind telegram of congratulations. Kent was really a wonderful victory the result of which it is hard to over-estimate. Telegrams are pouring in from all parts of the country and, of course, I am greatly delighted.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

Honourable Dr. R. J. Manion, M.P.,
Fort William,
Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056596

Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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MOA45 11

1923 DEC 21 AM 11 37

FORTWILLIAM ONT 21 1110 A

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

109

OTTAWA ONT

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS OF KENT VICTORY THE PROMISE BREAKERS ARE GETTING THEIRS

R J MANION.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056597

The . .

Grand Orange Lodge of British America

Office of the Grand Master

Grand Master and Sovereign:
Hon. W. D. McPHERSON, K.C.
171 Yonge St., Toronto
Grand Secretary:
WILLIAM LEE
55 Queen St. East, Toronto
Grand Treasurer:
JOSEPH E. THOMPSON
Toronto

Toronto, 21st December, 1923.

Rt.Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Just a line to congratulate you on the result in Kent, N.B., yesterday, also to wish you all the Compliments of the Season - - a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, and Many Happy Returns,

Yours sincerely and fraternally,

W. Dunlop Thompson

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056598

Ottawa, Dec. 26, 1923.

A. H. Macdonald, Esq.,
1403 Dundas St. West,
Toronto.

Dear Mr. Macdonald:

Many thanks indeed for yours of the 21st, which reached me just as I was about to take the train for Montreal.

Kent was really a splendid achievement, and of course I am delighted with the result.

With kindest regards, and best wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056599

1403 Dundas St. W.
Toronto.
21-12-23.

My dear Mr. Meighen,

Just a line to wish you and Mrs. Meighen a Very Merry Xmas and a Bright Happy New Year. That was an awful wallop the Grits got in N.S. and N.B. My hearty congratulations to you on both scores. When

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056600

in N.B. this summer I was told on inside information that there has been a great turn in the tide for us in N.S. We are going to make big captures there at the next General Election.

I hope you are well, and am looking forward to meeting you in Ottawa when we get under way again. With kind regards.

Yours sincerely
A.W. Macdonell.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056601

P.S. Claude is about the same.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056602

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

December 21, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighan,

Was glad to be able to wire you, as I did last night, and have just received your wire, which I assure you I appreciate very much.

The majority was not quite so large as I thought it would be, when I wired you last night. Some polls came in and reduced it to about 195. However, the lesser majority shows how much harder the fight was. We won through organization. We had the county thoroughly organized, and got every available Conservative vote to the poll, hence the splendid result.

I will write you details one of those days for your personal information.

Meantime, I may say that we feel that the victory in Kent is a great thing for Arthur Meighan.

Wishing you all the good things of the season, and hoping that you will find our Christmas box not among your smallest gifts, I remain

Yours faithfully,

R. O'Leary

RoL/M

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056603

THE SENATE
CANADA

Rexfordto - N.B.
Dec 21/23

Dear Mr Meighen

We are all pound of cut to-day. The Government speeches, from Mr LaPointe down were desperate, it was evident. They avoided it in their foolish promises and towards the last Mr Cardin & others made some of those shameful appeals, corruption &c, but it was free avail.

This victory must be of great benefit to our Party, as we are about two third French Canadian now; and this army of speakers from Quebec brought here for that purpose.

Let me offer you my congratulation. You will have in Doucet a good man, who will be a few

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056604

THE SENATE
CANADA

Things to Mr LaPointe so then next session.

with Kind regards
Very Truly Yours

A J Boucher

Right
Hon. A. Meighen
Ottawa

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056605

Ottawa, Dec. 21, 1923.

Dr. A.E. Landry,
Moncton, N.B.

Dear Dr. Landry:

I really should have acknowledged your wire which I received at Edmonton, but I was so extremely busy that my correspondence simply could not receive attention.

I was delighted last evening to get the news of the magnificent victory in Kent. My thanks are due to yourself and all our friends who took an active part in bringing this about. When one considers the style of campaign our opponents waged, it was really a remarkable win.

With Christmas greetings, and all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

Get me please all the proof you can — of methods adopted
Ann

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056606

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Dunlop:

Thanks for your kind telegram which reached me this morning. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

Yours very truly,

E. A. Dunlop, Esq.,
Pembroke, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056606

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Dunlop:

Thanks for your kind telegram which reached me this morning. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

Yours very truly,

E. A. Dunlop, Esq.,
Pembroke, Ont.

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CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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056607

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1PRO 4

PEMBROKE ONT 1005A 21 DEC 1923

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 050

OTTAWA ONT.

ASE ACCEPT HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS.

E A DUNLOP.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056608

Ottawa, Dec. 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Sherry:

Thanks indeed for yours of the 20th. instant. Needless to say I was highly delighted with the news that reached me from Kent last evening. The victory in that County was really remarkable considering the campaign our opponents waged. I feel it is difficult to over-estimate the effect it will have throughout Canada. To you and all others who took an active part in making this great victory possible I send my warmest thanks.

With Christmas greetings and every good wish for the New Year, believe me,

Yours very truly,

J. P. Sherry, Esq.,
Memram Cook, N. B.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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RA10 9 NL 1923 DEC 21 AM 8 52

MEMRAM COOK NB DEC 20

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHAN 008

OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS KENT SENDS YOU ANOTHER TO TURN THEM OUT

J P SHERRY..

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056610

Ottawa, December 22nd. 1923.

W. G. McQuarrie, Esq.,
New Westminster, B.C.

Dear Mr. McQuarrie:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of congratulations. Kent was really a remarkable victory and, of course, I am greatly pleased. When one considers that our candidate had to combat all sorts of race cries anti-conscription speeches, etc. it was really a very great win. I am looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming Mr. Black and Mr. Doucet to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

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CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

42RA.Y. 47.NL.

NEWWESTMINSTER,BC.,DEC., 21 1923. 440

RT.HON.MEIGHEN,

M.P.LEADER OF OPPOSITION, OTTAWA,ONT.

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON RESULTS IN KENT AND HALIFAX STOP IT LOOKS AS THOUGH YOU HAD THE GOVERNMENT ON THE RUN STOP MRS MCQUARRIE JOINS IN WISHING YOU MRS MEIGHEN AND FAMILY ALL THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE SEASON AND BEST OF GOOD LUCK FOR 1924.

W.G.MCQUARRIE.

Robertson

1230AM.

119960

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056612

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

Brig-General J. A. Clark, M.P.,
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Colonel Clark:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram which reached me to-day. I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year to yourself and family.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

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CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

TELEGRAM

FORM T. D. 1

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

70 RA A 11

H VANCOUVER BC DEC 21-23

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

128

OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS ON MORAL VICTORIES MERRY XMAS TO MRS MEIGHEN AND YOURSELF

J A CLARK

12.26 PM

056613

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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DALHOUSIE NB 21 NFT

1923 DEC 21 PM 4 35

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

347

OTTAWA ONT

KENT COUNTY HAS CONVINCED LIBERALS HERE THAT NEWBRUNSWICK IS LOST TO THEM WITH PROPER ORGANIZATION WE CAN CARRY GLOUCESTER THE PREMIERS HOME COUNTY ON THE SAME ISSUES WRITING FORWARD

W S MONTGOMERY.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056615

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF NEW BRUNSWICK

St. Stephen, N. B., December 21st.,1923

Personal.

Honorable Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

Honorable Sir:

It becomes my great pleasure to once again congratulate you on the most excellent success of the election campaign in Kent County, this Province yesterday.

To my mind, the result is even a greater victory than that of Halifax, in-as-much as the population of the county is chiefly French Roman Catholic, and as such, they have given a slap in the face to those in control of the Government both in this province and the Dominion of Canada.

Great credit is due Dr. Baxter for the splendid result and it shows that the people of this province have absolute confidence in him. Personally, while I appreciate how much you require his assistance, I hope that when the next Provincial Election is called on here, that arrangements can be made to release him so that he will become the leader of our party, and if so, he certainly will carry us into Victory.

Undoubtedly, you have had such suggestions thrown on you before and I do hope that such results can be brought about.

With kind personal regards, and wishing you and yours the Compliments of the Season,

Very sincerely yours,

J. M. Flemming

JMF/N

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056616

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Fry:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram which reached me this morning. Of course, I am highly delighted with the winderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

Stuart M. P. Fry, Esq.,
Windsor, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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056617

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RA 34 7 1923 DEC 21 AM 10 10

WINDSOR ONT 21 1000 A

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 044

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR WONDERFUL VICTORY IN KENT

STUART M P FRY.

Dunlop letter

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056618

Ottawa, December 21st. 1923.

My dear Hugh:

Thanks indeed for your kind message with regard to Kent. It was really a wonderful victory and I can join quite heartily in your "Rah, rah, rah!" It is hard indeed to over-estimate the effect of this win. From all over Canada telegrams of congratulation are pouring in. They started last night and are still continuing. The Government I think are really now in a very bad way.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

Honourable Hugh Guthrie, KC.,M.P.,
Guelph, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

H 17 RNK 16

GUELPH ONT DEC 21-23

27

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA ONT

" RAH RAH " RAH FOR KENT THINGS ARE CERTAINLY MOVING RAPIDLY NOW HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS GREAT REJOICING HERE.

HUGH GUTHRIE

952 AM

056619

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056620

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st, 1923.

F. W. Stewart, Esq.,
Liberal-Conservative Association,
Montreal, P.Q.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram which reached me this morning. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours very truly,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056621

Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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MMOA75 10

1923 DEC 21 PM 1 15

MR MONTREAL QUE 21 1250 P

THE R T HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

198

OTTAWA ONT

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON MAGNIFICENT VICTORY IN KENT YOUR LEADERSHIP ENDORSED

F W STEWART.

Dunlop

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056622

Ottawa, Dec. 21st. 1923.

Marshall B. Dean, Esq.,
Fort William, Ont.

Dear Mr. Dean:

Thanks for your kind telegram which reached me this morning. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours verybtruly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

H 77 RN G 19 BLUE

156

FORTWILLIAM ONT DEC 21/23

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA ONT

SOMETHING HAPPENED AWAY DOWN THERE IN NEWBRUNSWICK WHICH IS MAKING EVERYBODY IN THIS CITY WALK ON AIR TODAY CONGRATULATIONS

MARSHALL B DEAN

116 P

Dunlop

056623

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056624

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. McGregor:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram which reached me to-day. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black to the House.

Yours very truly,

C. F. McGregor, Esq.,
Port Arthur, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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056625

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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RA243 6 1923 DEC 21 PM 2 42

PORTARTHUR ONT 21 227 P

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 276

OTTAWA ONT

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON RESULT IN KENT

C F MCGREGOR.

Dunlop

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056626

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Hector McInnes, Esq.,
62 Inglis Street,
Halifax, N.S.

Dear Hector:

Many thanks for your kind telegram. I was quite delight d last night to get the news of our success in Kent. When one considers the style of campaign our opponents waged, the victory is really remarkable. I feel sure that the work you and others did in Halifax had an effect in Kent. I am looking forward with much pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Black and Mr. Doucet to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056627

Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

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MOA53 5

CAMPBELLTON NB 21 1135 A 1923 DEC 21 PM 12 28

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

160

OTTAWA ONT

WE REJOICE TOGETHER OVER KENT

HECTOR MCINNES.

056627

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056628

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

My dear Mewburn:

Thanks indeed for your kind telegram of congratulations. Kent was really a wonderful victory the result of which it is hard to over-estimate. Telegrams are pouring in from all parts of the country and, of course, I am greatly delighted.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

Honourable S. C. Mewburn, M.P.,
Hamilton, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056629

Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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RA109 13 1923 DEC 21 PM 12 0

HAMILTON ONT 21 1130 A

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

129 OTTAWA ONT

SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON VICTORY IN KENT STOP THE WIND SHE BLOW SOME MORE

S C MEWBURN.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056630

Ottawa, Dec. 21, 1923.

Dr. D.V. Landry,
Buctouche, N.B.

Dear Dr. Landry:

Just a line to congratulate you on the wonderful success in Kent. My thanks are due to you and all our friends in the county who helped to make this great achievement possible. It was certainly a remarkable victory when one considers the style of campaign our opponents wages.

With Christmas greetings, and all good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056631

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Honourable L. G. Belley,
126 Rue St. Pierre,
Quebec,
P.Q.

Dear Mr. Belley:

Many thanks for your kind message of congratulations on the success in Kent. It was really a remarkable victory particularly when one considers the style of the campaign our opponents waged. It is difficult to over-estimate the effect of this achievement on every portion of the country. Telegrams started pouring in early last evening and are continuing to do so.

To you and yours I send Christmas greetings and every good wish for the New Year.

Yours very truly.

H

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

42 RAV 19

MONTREAL QUE DEC 21-23

78

HONORABLE ARTHUR MEIGHEN.

OTTAWA ONT.

SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS FORKENT GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY DEFEATED BUT DOWN UNDER DISGRACE ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR ROTTEN ELECTORAL METHODS.

L G BELLEY.

11.08 AM

056632

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056633

Ottawa, Ont. December 21st. 1923.

Dear Mr. Dennis:

Thanks for your kind telegram of congratulations. Of course, I was delighted to get the news from Kent last night. When one takes into consideration the style of campaign our opponents waged, the victory is all the more remarkable. It is difficult to over-estimate the effect throughout the country and I think the Government to-day are in a bad way.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

W. H. Dennis, Esq.,
The Halifax Herald,
Halifax, N.S.

Your editorials re CNR interference are a very useful work. I am told Brown has been very bad. These edits will be widely copied.

ARM

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

79 RA A 37 DH FRANK

HALIFAX NS DEC 21-23

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

21 COOPER ST OTTAWA ONT

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON RESULT IN KENT WHICH IS PERSONAL TRIBUTE TO THE FEARLESS STAND YOU HAVE TAKEN THROUGHOUT THIS DOMINION SINCE THE HOUSE DISSOLVED IN 1921 CHRISTMAS GREETINGS TO YOURSELF MRS MEIGHEN AND FAMILY

W H DENNIS

1.07 PM

152

056634

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 27, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056635

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

J. H. Rainville, Esq.,
DANE, Ont.

Dear Mr. Rainville:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram which reached me to-day. Of course, I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

H 164 RNK 10

DANE ONT DEC 21-23

320

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA ONT

FROM NORTH I OFFER YOU HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS FOR KENT VICTORY

J H RAINVILLE

529 K

056636

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056637

Ottawa, Ont. Dec. 21st. 1923.

W. S. Montgomery, Esq.,
Dalhousie,
N. B.

Dear Mr. Montgomery:

Thanks very much for your kind telegram which reached me to-day. I am highly delighted with the wonderful success in Kent. We are all looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming both Mr. Doucet and Mr. Black of Halifax to the House. Madawaska next

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me, also to Mrs. Montgomery

Yours very truly.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

Form 1-TW

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MOA118 29 1923 DEC. 21 PM 4 10

DALHOUSIE NB 21 NFT

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

328

OTTAWA ONT

KENT COUNTY HAS CONVINCED LIBERALS HERE THAT NEWBRUNSWICK IS LOST TO THEM WITH PROPER ORGANIZATION WE CAN CARRY GLOUCESTER THE PREMIERS HOME COUNTY ON THE SAME ISSUED WRITING FORWARD

W S MONTGOMERY.

056638

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056639

Ottawa, Ont. December 22nd. 1923.

Honourable H. H. Stevens, M.P.,
Vancouver, B.C.

My dear Harry:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of congratulations. Kent was really a remarkable victory and, of course, I am greatly pleased. When one considers that our candidate had to combat all sorts of race cries, anti-conscription speeches, etc. it was really a very great win. I am looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming Mr. Black and Mr. Doucet to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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Form 1-TW

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

RA 465 38 NL

VANCOUVER BC 21

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 575

OTTAWA ONT

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON RESULT IN KENT WHICH COMING IMMEDIATELY AFTER HALIFAX IS MOST SIGNIFICANT STOP PLEASE ACCEPT FOR YOURSELF AND MRS MEIGHEN BEST WISHES FOR MERRY CHRISTMAS AND SUCCESS IN THE NEW YEAR MRS STEVENS HEARTILY JOINS ME.

H H STEVENS.

Robinson

056640

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056641

Ottawa, December 22nd. 1923.

James McIsaac, Esq.,
Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Dear Mr. McIsaac,

Many thanks for your kind telegram of congratulations. Kent was really a remarkable victory, and, of course, I am greatly pleased. When one considers that our candidate had to combat all sorts of race cries, anti-conscription speeches, etc. it was really a very great win. I am looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming Mr. Black and Mr. Doucet to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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Dunlop

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

056642

Form 1-TW

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

1923 DEC 21 PM 7 02

MO A1 88 34 NL

CHARLOTTETOWN PEI 21

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN MP 528

OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS REITERATED AND ITENSIFIED ON THE RESULT OF YESTERDAYS ELECTION THE GOOD EXAMPLE SHOWN BY HALIFAX WAS NOT LOST ON THE ELECTORS OF KENT WHO SENT YOU SUCH A SATISFACTORY CHRISTMAS BOX WHAT NEXT

JAMES MCISAAC.

Dunlop

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056643

Ottawa, Ont. December 22nd. 1923.

Dear Colonel Robinson:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of congratulations. Kent was really a remarkable victory and, of course, I am greatly pleased. When one considers that our candidate had to combat all sorts of race cries, anti-conscription speeches, etc. it was really a very great win. I am looking forward with great pleasure to welcoming Mr. Black and Mr. Doucet to the House.

With Christmas greetings and all good wishes for the New Year, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Colonel S. C. Robinson,
Walkerville, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

21RN.CZ.46N.L.

WALKERVILLE,ONT,DEC 21ST.23.

353

RIGHT-HON.ARTHUR MEIGHEN.,
OTTAWA-ONT.

DELIGHTED TO AGAIN HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY WITHIN ONE MONTH OF EXTENDING HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON THE VICTORY IN KENT NEWBRUNSWICK A GREAT STIMULANT AND CHRISTMAS CHEER FOR THE PARTY.BEST CHRISTMAS WISHES TO YOU AND MRS. MEIGHEN AND THE FAMILY AND A BRIGHT AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

S.C.ROBINSON.

640PM.

056644

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Kent Bye Elec

056645

EX - THE OTTAWA JOURNAL Dec. 22, 1925.

"THE MEANING OF KENT"

Kent strikes a resounding blow at the King Min[illegible] Coming after Halifax, it is the handwriting on the wall for [illegible] Government, a ringing declaration that the Ministry has been weighed and found wanting, and that the country will sweep it from office as soon as opportunity affords.

For the reverse of Halifax the Prime Minister p[illegible]ed party schism. No such excuse can be used to explain aw[illegible] Kent. The Government party was united, well organized, aggr[illegible]sive. Made desperate by Halifax, it sent its shock troops i[illegible] Kent; sent Mr. Ernest Lapointe and Mr. Copp with promises [illegible] bribes; recruited the redoubtable Mr. Venoit, Premier of New Brunswick, to its cause; and, in the end, despatched a band o[illegible] Quebec orators to play among the Acadians what is so often and so viciously played among French-Canadians - the game of rac[illegible] creed. Under the circumstances, and considering that the co[illegible]stituency was overwhelmingly Liberal in 1917 and 1921, the result is startling. It drives a prodigious spike into the coffin of the Ministry.

- - - - -

But Kent has done more than that. It has struck magnificently for principle and decency in the politics of [illegible] country. The Government invaded the riding under the appare[illegible] assumption that its franchises were for sale. "Vote for Bou[illegible]geois", said Mr. Lapointe in effect, "and no more Mounted Po[illegible] will come here to enforce the law." "Votre against Meighen", declared Premier Venoit, "and I will give you the Hydro-Electric". "Support the Ministry", said Mr. Copp, "and we'll put more railways in Kent". Nothing more immoral, nothing m[illegible] blatantly indecent or corrupt has occurred in any election i[illegible]

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CANADA

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Canada since the days of "Cap" Sullivan and the "Minnie M."

Nor was that all. For not satisfied with resort attempted bribery, the Government set out to inflame passions to fan live coals among the dead ashes of race and creed. Sa a press report of a speech by Mr. Theriault, a Liberal Quebec M.L.A.

> "It was for the most part a French audience, or rather Acadian, and the woes of the Acadians at the hands of the British authorities at the time of the great deportation, so beautifully pictured by Longfellow in 'Evangeline' were dwelt upon both by Mr. Theriault and Mr. Cardin with eloquence so great as to make memory more vivid to those in the hall, their descendants, as the speakers put it. Mr. Theriault, of Acadian descent himself, said that he brought the a message from the Province of Quebec to vote against Meighen. 'We are in a bilingual country' went on Mr. Theriault, 'and in virtue of Confederation we all have equal rights. What happened during the time Mr. Meighen was Minister and Prime Minister? With his nefarious influence as Minister, and still worse influence as Prime Minister, he did not treat the Canadians properly, and especially the French-Canadians. Did he treat the French-Canadians and Acadians properly?'
>
> "Why had there been conscription? Mr. Theriault idea was that it was not to get more soldiers, since the United States had come into the war then, but hi idea was that it was for the purpose of getting thro the Canadian Northern Railway deal. The Conservativ had bought up the newspapers, muzzled them, and publ men who had been Liberal leaders turned from the pa and the English had been turned against the French-speaking people, and it was all to make millions fo some people in Toronto. It had been Mr. Meighen who had protested against a clause in the Conscription Law against seminary students being exempt, and it was Meighen also who had objected to an indemnity being given to the widows and families of poor workingmen killed in the Quebec riots in 1917, and yet to day the people of Kent were asked to forget the past and vote for the Meighen candidate."

Such was the character of the campaign waged by party whose leader dwells so eloquently upon the virtue of national harmony. Such was the appeal directed - significant enough - under the especial guidance of Mr. Ernest Lapoint man whose chief claim to distinction is that he hurled the notorious Bilingual Resolution of 1917 into the arena of

All honor to the electors who despised such ba

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appeals. The Acadians of Kent have shown that they can be nei bamboozled nor bought. They have served notice upon the traffi ckers in racial hates that their old contemptible game is playi out, that the Military Service Act is no longer an issue in thi country, that the one cry which fooled most of an entire prov in 1921 and gave Mr. King power can be relied upon no more. In word, Kent has hurled back with scorn appeals to cupidity and creed.

- - - - -

What will be the consequence? By every canon of de politics the consequence should be that the Prime Minister sh summon Parliament as soon as possible, pass redistribution, vo supply, and call a general election. Mr. King is in a minority the Commons and the Senate. He is in a still worse minority i the country. Outside of one province he has practically no rep resentation and hardly a shred of support.

Government under such circumstances can mean but one thing. It can mean only an administration of impotence and humiliation. It can mean only what it has meant in the past - Government of auctioneers, bargaining for power, clinging to by hand-to-mouth policies that can bring no good to this coun In a word, a Government without moral mandate or support, livi by its wits, and bereft of either purpose or aim.

- - - - -

There is no guarantee that this Government will tak the decent course. On the contrary, its past record teaches it will bank upon progressive recreancy to hold on to office. will stake its all upon the camouflaged Grits who sit behind Forke, as well as upon the cowardice and treason of those o Progressives whose chief aim since coming to Parliament has b to make politics safe for their indemnities. By such tactics, quite in harmony with the methods of Kent, it may weather anot

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056648

year.

Yet the end is clear. Steadily from this day on the tide will rise, and sooner or later the waters will mount the dam, and this Government, a victim of its own sins, will be swept away with an onrush such as Canada has not seen since the debacle of 1917.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056649

Leech, Leech & Sutton
Barristers, Solicitors, Etc.
Leech, Leech, Sutton & Hamilton
Notaries, Conveyancers, Etc.
J. HILLYARD LEECH, M.A. LL.B. K.C.
F. J. SUTTON, LL.B.
ERNEST T. LEECH, B.A.
THOS. HAMILTON.

CABLE ADDRESS "LEECH"
WESTERN UNION CODE
TELEPHONES { A 7856 / A 7857

306 McARTHUR BLDG.
WINNIPEG, CAN.

December 22nd, 1923.

Confidential

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighan, M.P.
Parliament Bldgs.,
Ottawa - Ontario.

My dear Mr. Meighan:

You are no doubt flooded with congratulations on the result of the Kent Election and I almost hesitate to burden you with mine, which I nevertheless most cordially do.

To me the return of this Old French dominated Tory hive to its earlier love is deeply significant of what may be the changing political psychology of Quebec.

I had expected an opportunity of an interview with you during your recent visits and I do not quite like to put in writing what I intended to discuss with you.

You have no doubt found public opinion in the West undergoing a decided change and that class partyism is weakening both with Progressives and Labor. If the two old Parties use their best common sense they will before long have the field to themselves once more and the first swing is going to be towards the Conservative Party. I have campaigned more or less of the Western Interior every election except the last since I was eighteen years old and I never saw it more surely ripening for a change than is now manifest.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056650

Leech, Leech & Sutton
Barristers, Solicitors, Etc.
Leech, Leech, Sutton & Hamilton
Notaries, Conveyancers, Etc.
J. HILLYARD LEECH, M.A. LL.B. K.C.
F. J. SUTTON, LL.B.
ERNEST T. LEECH, B.A.
THOS. HAMILTON.

CABLE ADDRESS "LEECH"
WESTERN UNION CODE
TELEPHONES { A 7856 A 7857

306 McARTHUR BLDG.
WINNIPEG, CAN.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighan December 22nd, 1923.

Now one of the things I wished to urge was the importance of being organized to take care of the new situation arising and secure our share of the disintegrating interloping parties when they go to pieces. The second thing I think should be carefully considered is the attitude of public opinion; of particularly the West, towards any alliance with certain reviving influences, which in the past have brought no credit to the Party. This should be enough to let you know what I mean. Your own record and that of the Union Government, have very largely redeemed the Party and restored its confidence in itself. I think the greatest care should be taken to preserve this ground and that it should be carefully considered, whether there is any necessity of endangering this position, in order to bring about the so-called "united party" of occasional propaganda and whether it is necessary to a united party, to again give prominence to individuals who denied its birthright and denounced its partnership in Union Government, at a time when great national emergencies should have out-weighed all party considerations.

I am going to ask you to treat this letter in strictest confidence and if you care to entrust me with any opinion you have on the matter I shall see that it is likewise treated.

I wish you a Merry Christmas.

Very sincerely yours,

H/MCS.

J. Hillyard Leech

P.S. Something has to be done for the Western farmer. He can no longer stand buying on a protected market plus a boosting of prices of everything pertaining to labor and sell in competition with the whole world.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056651

Ottawa, 24 décembre, 1923.

M. Felix Desrochers,
869 rue St. Hubert,
Montréal.

Cher M. Desrochers:

De toutes les lettres que j'ai recue suivant la victoire à Kent, aucune était plus acceptable que la votre.

Je me souviens encore de votre discours à Valcartier, et j'ai pensé à ce temps-là que vous seriez très capable sur l'estrade publique.

Le resultat dans le comte de Kent est d'une importance nationale. En la victoire à Kent ou il y a plus de 3/4 d'Acadiens Canadiens le resultat est doublement signifiant. Aucune espece de malhonnêteté fut trop méchante pour les messieurs Lapointe, Copp et Vénoit. Les cris de race de Cardin et Theriault était plus répréhensibles encore. Neanmoins, les gens de Kent se montrait trops intelligents pour des moyens semblables, et le Canada est fier aujourd'hui de son comte en Nouveau Bronswick. D'un bout à l'autre du Dominion l'expression generale semble indiquer que le gouvernement se tombe vite à son sort. Il est l'auteur de son misère, et merite bien une défaite ignominieuse.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056652

Avec mes meilleurs souhaits pour un joyeux Noel et une bonne heureuse Année,

Votre tout dévoué,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056653

TÉLÉPHONE: MAIN 7019

RÉS: 869, RUE ST-HUBERT
TÉL: EST 622

FÉLIX DESROCHERS
AVOCAT—ADVOCATE

20, RUE ST-JACQUES, CHAMBRE 39
20 ST. JAMES STREET, ROOM 39

MONTRÉAL, le 21 décembre 1923

Très Honorable Arthur Meighen
Chef de l'Opposition
Bâtisses du Parlement
Ottawa

Cher monsieur Meighen,

Kent a parlé,King est mort,Meighen ressuscite. N'est-ce pas que ces trois idées sont l'expression de la vérité?Aussi permettez à un humble soldat de l'armée conservatrice de vous féliciter du plus profond de son coeur.Cet humble soldat vous l'avez connu à Montréal,lors de la conférence donnée par l'Honorable Rodolphe Monty, puisque c'est lui qui avait l'honneur de remercier M.Monty en votre présence.

C'en est donc fait des campagnes de préjugés,le peuple de Kent n'a pas voulu écouter la voix des démagogues et il a "doucettemment " éconduit les vidangeurs politiques ,type Cardin et Thériault, Comme je vous le disais au Club Cartier McDonald,la victoire vous sourit,et elle sera d'autant plus éclatante que l'on vous aura plus méprisé.Les conservateurs du Québec sont enthousiasmés,et soyez assurés que les membres de notre Club vont travailler ferme à ajouter plusieurs fleurons à la couronne de lauriers que le peuple du Dominion a déjà

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TÉLÉPHONE: MAIN 7019

FÉLIX DESROCHERS
AVOCAT—ADVOCATE
20, RUE ST-JACQUES, CHAMBRE 39
20 ST. JAMES STREET, ROOM 39

RÉS: 869, RUE ST-HUBERT
TÉL: EST 622

056654

MONTRÉAL,

commencé à vous tresser.

Comme nous le chantons actuellement dans les Livres Saints, les temps sont proches:les diables politiques vont disparaître pour faire place enfin à celui qui doit guider le Canada vers ses hautes destinées économiques.Les extrêmes se touchent,et les défaites les plus désastreuses sont souvent le prélude des victoires sans nombre.Votre défaite de 1921 est donc un gage certain du grand triomphe qui vous attend sous peu.

Pardonnez-moi de vous faire perdre des instants précieux à la lecture de cette missive,et excusez aussi la témérité qui m'a poussé à vous donner une appellation aussi familière au début de ces quelques lignes,mais vous m'avez toujours paru si familier vous-Même avec tous ceux que vous rencontriez que je me suis permis de vous imiter. C'est d'ailleurs la seule imitation qui puisse m'écheoir puisque vous êtes de cent coudées au-dessus de celui qui se souscrit

Votre très humble serviteur et soldat dévoué,

Félix Desrochers

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Dear Mr. Desrochers:

Of all the letters which I have received following the victory of Kent, none has been more welcome than that from yourself.

I still remember your speech at Valcartier and concluded at the time that you would be most effective in platform work.

The result in Kent is of nation-wide significance. Halifax was most pronounced but on account of the fact than in Kent there are more than 3/4 French-speaking Acadians the result is doubly significant. No form of platform ribalry was too depraved to be indulged in by Messrs Lapointe, Copp and Venoit. At the same time the wild racial appeals of Cardin and Theriault were still more reprehensible. Work of this kind is almost beyond punishment when committed in a country such as ours. However, the people of Kent proved too intelligent for such methods and Canada to-day is proud of its N.B. constituency. Insofar as one can tell from the general opinion expressed from one end of the Dominion to the other the Government is slipping fast to its fate. They are the authors of their own misery, and well deserve ~~the~~ an ignominious defeat.

With kindest personsl regards and best wishes for Christmas and the New Year,

Yours very truly,

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056656

Ottawa, Dec. 26, 1923.

D.A. Stewart, Esq.,
Campbellton,
N.B.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Many thanks for yours of the 21st which reached me just as I was about to take the train for Montreal.

Kent was really a splendid achievement, and of course we are all very much delighted with the result.

With my best wishes for the New year.

Yours sincerely,

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056657

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF NEW BRUNSWICK

Campbellton, N. B. December 21st, 1923.

Sir Arthur Meighen,
OTTAWA, ONT.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Please accept my congratulations on splendid victory in Kent County. When it is taken into consideration that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the Minister of New Brunswick, Copp, with all the promises made by them together with the many promises made by the Premier of this province I think the Conservative party is to be sincerely congratulated on the results obtained.

Wishing you and yours the Seasons Greetings and a Prosperous New Year,

I remain,

Yours,

W. A. Hartt

DAS/M

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056658

Ottawa, Dec. 26, 1923.

F. J. Robidoux, Esq.,
Shediac,
N.B.

Dear Mr. Robidoux:

Many thanks indeed for yours of the 22nd, which reached me just as I was leaving for Montreal. I also appreciate your kind words with regard to myself.

Kent was really a splendid achievement, and I shall be delighted to welcome Mr. Doucet to the House of Commons. Our men did highly effective work in the county, and the result is very gratifying.

With kind regards, and wishing you a very Happy New Year,

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

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F. J. ROBIDOUX,
Barrister,
Insurance Agent, &c.

056659

Shediac, N.B., December 22nd, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr Meighen,

I must congratulate you on the result of the Kent election which was a great victory for the Party, as well as for yourself. Your brief visit to Shediac and Kent County contributed in no small degree to bring about that exceedingly satisfactory result. Mr Baxter handled the situation with great tact and he got the whole party in line and working. Mr Richard O'Leary took charge of the organization as chairman of the liberal-conservative committee and did very effective work. He was ably seconded by a noble band of workers. Personally I am very proud of Kent. Doucet made a splendid fight and delivered the goods. It looks like the handwriting on the wall and it is time for Mr King to put his house in order and make room for a better man.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,

F. J. Robidoux

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056660

Ottawa, Ont., December 27, 1923.

Dear Mr. McPherson,

Many thanks for your kind letter of congratulation which arrived just as I was about to take the train for a short tour in the Province of Quebec. Kent was really a remarkable victory, and, of course, I am greatly pleased with the result.

With every good wish for the coming New Year, believe me,

Yours very truly,

Hon. W.D.McPherson, K.C.,
171 Yonge Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

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056661

Notre Dame, N.B.
Dec 29th 1923

Dear Mr Meighen.—

Please accept most sincere thanks for your congratulatory telegram and letter. It was a hard fight. Our friends in the county and neighbouring counties worked hard. The organization under Mr R. O'Leary, did splendid work. Kent has spoken, and others will likewise, I believe, at the first opportunity, in the meantime we shall have to get our organization ready.

I am looking forward, to the great pleasure of meeting yourself and our friends at Ottawa.

With best wishes for a Happy and Prosperous New Year to Mrs Meighen and yourself

Sincerely yours,

Alexandre J. Doucet

Hon Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa

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056662

28 Rowanwood Avenue,
Toronto, December 29th, 1923.

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen,-
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

My dear Mr. Meighen:-

In the last few weeks I have had occasion to do considerable travelling. In a quiet way I have canvassed the political sentiment. The field covered was fairly broad and should, therefore, serve as a good index to the present situation.

The feeling against the King Government is decidely marked. It is not confined to any one locality, but was so general that I sincerely believe that an election in Ontario would be distinctly in your favor. Results in Halifax and in Kent point to a similar situation in the Maritime Provinces, while Quebec and the West are apparently falling in line.

Your policy of criticism has gone a long way to bring to light the mistakes of the King Government. If continued it will be a strong factor in molding public opinion in your favor. Conservative papers should all advocate an early session. There are many good reasons for doing so.

During the next session you would be well advised to follow up these advantages and to utilize every occasion to bring about an election this coming year. The time is opportune.

If there is any way in which I can be of assistance to you I wish you would call upon me. Wishing you the Compliments of the Season, remain,

Yours very sincerely,

JLA/F.

Jas. L. Ader

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056663

28

Ottawa, Ont., 2nd January, 1924.

Dear Mr. Racey,

I greatly appreciate your kind note of congratulation on the election in Kent County, which reached me on Monday upon my return from a short tour of the Province of Quebec. It was really a remarkable victory and, of course, I am highly pleased. We are all looking forward to welcoming both Mr. Black, of Halifax, and Mr. Doucet to the House of Commons.

Many thanks also for your kind words with regard to myself, and your offer of service to the party. When the proper time comes we shall certainly avail ourselves of the service of all our friends.

With every good wish for the New Year upon which we have just entered, believe me,

Yours faithfully,

A.G.Racey, Esquire,
454 Lansdowne Avenue,
Westmount, Que.,

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056664

Ottawa, Ont., 2nd January, 1921.

Dear Mr. Acker,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 29th December which reached me upon my return to Ottawa from a short tour in the Province of Quebec. I quite agree that the trend of public opinion is decidedly against the Government, but of course in some parts of the country we have greater difficulties to overcome than in others.

With every good wish for the New Year upon which we have just entered, believe me,

Yours very truly,

Jas. L. Acker, Esquire,
28 Rowanwood Avenue,
Toronto, Ontario.,

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056665

Kent

Ottawa, Jan. 2, 1924.

Honourable J.B.M. Baxter,
St. John,
N.B.

Dear Mr. Baxter:

The enclosed refers to copies of the Election Act sent to Mr. O'Leary at your request by wire. If the Committee in Kent county are in funds perhaps they would pay this account. If not, have it returned to me.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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056666

MRS. A. R. MARTIN
PRESIDENT

New Carlton Hotel
Opposite Windsor Station
MONTREAL

28

Dec 28/23

Dear Mr Meighen,

Thank you for your letter of recent date. I have opened up a business in Montreal and hope to be successful in it unless I once more fall by the wayside. I have followed your Quebec Campaigne and it is bearing fruit. The result in Kent was a big help and without wishing to flatter you I will say that your visit to the Maritime Provinces had a lot to do with it.

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056667

MRS. A. R. MARTIN
PRESIDENT

New Carlton Hotel
Opposite Windsor Station
MONTREAL

I really believe that history will repeat itself when Sir John A. Came back in 1878. Desjardins was a weak man although a good speaker and well-informed. He did not carry Kent. The "Gazette" is beginning to realize that a real man is at the head of the Tory party. The French people like a man who is not afraid and you have not taken "back water".

Previous to McKenzie King going to the Imperial Conference I wrote you and said there was an

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056668

MRS. A. R. MARTIN
PRESIDENT

New Carlton Hotel
Opposite Windsor Station
MONTREAL

opportunity to make a name for Canada. Smuts was the only one that was heard of. I said at that time and I repeat it now that Mackenzie King is the biggest accident that ever happened in Canadian politics.

I hope you stick to your protection policy and one industry I would like to see thoroughly investigated is the pulp-wood from a point of view of making the products derived from it manufactured in Canada.

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056669

MRS. A. R. MARTIN
PRESIDENT

New Carlton Hotel
Opposite Windsor Station
MONTREAL

If not too much trouble will you please send me to the above address [your speech on the budget, which I believe includes the French Treaty and Mackenzie King.] I read both but I wish to call attention to the difference between them.

I wish you and your family a very happy New Year, a prosperous one and above all one that will see the good old Tory Party back in Power with you at the head of it.

Yours very truly

R M Rice

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056670

CONFIRMATION OF TELEGRAM

Richibucto, N. B., Jan. 3/24

Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Ottawa.

HAS WIFE BUT NO CHILDREN.

R. O'Leary.

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056671

CONFIDENTIAL

28
Kent

Ottawa, Jan. 3, 1924.

J. Hillyard Leech, Esq., K.C.,
306 McArthur Bldg.,
Winnipeg, Man.

Dear Mr. Leech:

I have your letter of the 22nd Dec. and thank you very much for it. Halifax and Kent elections have had a wonderful effect. The latter if anything is perhaps the more significant of the two. The means the Government adopted have never been paralleled in the history of Canadian political corruption. The race appeals were even worse than the bribes offered in the constituency.

I note particularly what you say as to a recent development in the West. My views are very similar to your own, and indeed have not changed in the least. Our object, though, is to attract support and keep all the ranks so long as it honorably can be done.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours very truly,

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056672

Ottawa, Jan. 3, 1924.

Felix Michaud, Esq.,
Buctouche, N.B.

Dear Mr. Michaud:

I have already written to a few who took a prominent part in the recent election in Kent, and to whom are due credit for this remarkable victory. Information has come to me from several, but particularly from Mré R. O'Leary to the effect that you performed very telling services. Your work in the Southern end of the county was, I am told, thorough and fully done, and on the part of the party I thank you cordially.

I am glad I had the privilege of meeting you on the occasion of my visit to Buctouche last summer. I sincerely hope I will ere long be able to shake your hand again.

Une bonne et heureuse année,

Yours very truly,

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056673

Kent

Ottawa, Jan. 3, 1924.

Geo. Hutchinson, Esq., L.L.B.,
Richibucto, N.B.

28

Dear Mr. Hutchinson:

I have learned from several sources the services you rendered in Kent. Please accept my sincere thanks. It will be hard for the men who did the hard work to realise what a service they have rendered our cause throughout the Dominion. When one considers the tactics of the enemy - never, I think, so brazen as in this contest - the securing of a victory was really a remarkable achievement. While everyone was watching Kent I think I can say that veryffew, if any, expected a win for us against the odds.

Please extend my kind regards to Mrs. Hutchinson. A Happy New Year to you both.

Yours very truly,

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056674

Kent

Ottawa, Jan. 3, 1924.

R. O'Leary, Esq.,
Richibucto,
N.B.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

I am indeed glad to have your letter of the 24th Dec. Have also your letter of the 22nd. As regards the latter I am writing Col. Bigger to-day calling his attention to the information I have received. I will probably have a reply later. Meantime I am not sure whether to request that this man be not re-appointed for the next election in Kent. It may well be that they might appoint a man as Returning Officer whose partisan activities on their behalf would be even worse than the neglect of a drunkard. Let me have your views as to whether I should go further or not after I get his reply.

The full account you give of the Kent election is highly appreciated and will be useful.

Am writing Mr. F. Michaud to-day. Glad to say I met Mr. Michaud on the occasion of my visit to Buctouche and remember him quite well. I have already written Mr. Robidoux.

The quotation from your letter to the Halifax friend which you make in your letter to me I am using as descriptive of the Government's campaign in some of my correspondence.

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May I say from all the information received there is a far bigger share of credit due you for the victory in Kent than I have previously understood. I quote from one letter, and this from a man who measures his words, Referring to yourself he says,

> "without him the result would not have been possible. He was the head and shoulders of the organization, did all the important executive work and directed all the moves".

Other communications are to the same effect. The result throughout Canada has been better than I anticipated. It has made a bigger impression than the Halifax contest; it was even more of a surprise. On my trip West to the Saskatoon and Edmonton Conventions I had several stopsaand meetings. Everyone wasywatching Kent but I think I can say that in not one single instance did I hear any of our friends express confidence that we could win. They were all delighted that we were giving battle, and looking for an improved showing but victory seemed too much to expect. A great opportunity presented itself, and you certainly showed yourself equal to it.

As to the Government's conduct, much will be heard of it during this session in the House. When you see Mr. Doucette tell him to get ready carefully because we will undoubtedly

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expose their machinations early in the session, and probably on the first division. I am advised Mr. Doucette is a man with lots of courage and aggressiveness.

As to the special matter which you bring home to Hon. Ernest Lapointe, I think it would be best to send all the information concerning him direct to me. If nothing has arrived yet have the party you refer to write and ask for payment. It might be discreet to word his letter for him so as to include in it a reference to the various incidents ending in the promise to refund his money. I will of course move for the return of the correspondence, and consequently it is important that the facts be correct and complete. This is something we should follow up thoroughly and lose no time.

Yours very truly.

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Best

28

Ottawa, Jan. 3, 1924.

Dr. A.R. Landry,
Moncton, N.B.

My dear Dr. Landry:

I have your letter of the 21st December. Delay in replying is due to absense in the province of Quebec.

I am particularly glad to hear what you have to say about Mr. Doucette. It is just exactly his type of a man that we need. You are right that there is more due to his own courage than to anything else, and we will always feel intthe House a sense of indebtedness and gratitude to him.

Mr. Baxter did magnificently. He has greatly strengthened himself throughout the country.

I have already written the men to whom you suggested I write, but am writing Mr. O'Leary again. I will also write Mr. Hutchinson as I had not done so before. I have already acknowledged your telegram.

The last tour into Quebec was specially successful. I really do think that a marked improvement

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is now taking place in that province. We have, however, still a great deal to do on all hands.

With all good wishes,

Yours very trulym

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056679

Moncton, N.B.,
December 21,
1 9 2 3.

Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa,
Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen;

The result in Kent is as pleasing and as encouraging to you as it is to us. Doucette's victory is a remarkable one and has a wonderful significance for it fastens in a dramatic way the attention of the public in the whole of Canada to the unpopularity and the lack of confidence that the electors have in the present administration.

You will find Doucette wonderfully loyal, well informed, a hard fighter, good debater and a man who will be very active in every way. His fearlessness may get him into hot water the first few years of his career.

The credit of the victory must be given largely to Doucette's own courage and his confidence in what could be done. Equally good friends of the party did not have the same confidence four weeks ago. In the words of a friend here, it was the first demonstration of courage that won the fight. You will learn as time goes on of the desperate efforts that were exhibited to defeat him. Our friends here worked hard and there is general rejoicing in the neighboring counties.

It will be well to get the names of those who officially looked after Doucette's interest, and testify to your mark of your appreciation by writing to them. Robidoux, Hon. D.V. Landry, Hon. J.M. Baxter (these two elections have done Baxter more good to bring him to a realisation to his ability and the responsibilities there are on him as a leader of the Conservatives in the Maritimes Provinces. The public so regards him and the public has shown good judgment lately.) Richard O'Leary (chairman of organisation) G. Hutchinson L.L.B., Richibucto, Senator Bourque, etc.

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To regard the victory in any other light than a crushing verdict of the Maritime Provinces in criticism of the non recognition of this present government of Maritime Provinces rights, that would not be an accurate interpretation of our victory.

The idea that I wish to convey is this, that it is only a Conservative victory in so far as that the people in Kent resented so much the present Liberal way of doing things that they considered a liberal defeat necessary.

The consolation that the Conservative party can get out of it is that it was through a Conservative Candidate that this sentiment was shown and they were willing to place him under your leadership, having full confidence in Doucette that when Maritime Provinces rights come in to question that we will have a champion that cannot be neglected.

Your last campaign has given the people confidence that you would follow the career of McDonald and Cartier and give Canada equal rights for all.

Yours truly,

A.R. Landry

ARL/LD.

P.S. I think that you found my telegram sent to Edmonton good for use here. One more point that will come more and more to the fore — is that you have won in a French Constituency and have a French supporter. We always said that the Acadians were good fighting ground for the Conservatives

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056681

Kent 8

28

Ottawa, Jan. 10, 1924.

William Ide, Esq.,
Private Secty. to the Minister of Customs & Excise,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Ide:

I have a communication asking whether there is any possibility of a launch being returned to its owner after having been seized for violation of the provincial prohibition regulations. Would you be good enough to let me know how the law reads in cases of this kind. I am under the impression myself that a launch so seized would be confiscated.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

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056682

MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE ET DES PÊCHERIES

Cabinet du Ministre

OTTAWA, le 25 janvier 1924.

M. Sélime Robichaud,
B. P. "Petite Aldouan",
Richibouctou, N. B.

Cher M. Robichaud,

Je reçois la lettre qui m'est adressée par Madame Robichaud.

Je n'ai aucunement oublié mon entrevue avec vous, et je vais m'occuper immédiatement de la question que vous soumettez. De fait, je l'avais déjà discutée avec mes officiers.

Vous aurez sans doube des nouvelles sous peu.

Veuillez me croire
Votre bien dévoué

ERNEST LAPOINTE

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056683

58

Ottawa, 28 janvier, 1924.

Monsieur F.A. Labelle,
165 rue Principale,
Hull, P.Q.

Cher M. Labelle:

Je vous demande bien pardon de n'avoir pas accusé réception de votre lettre du 24 décembre avant aujourd'hui, mais pour vous dire la verite, c'est que j'ai partie d'Ottawa le 26 décembre et que j'etais absente presque continuellement depuis ce temps-là. Ma correspondance est terriblement en rétard.

Par rapport à Halifax et Kent, tout deux etaient des victoires remarquables, et nous attendons le plaisir de souhaiter la bientenue à Messieurs Black et Doucet au Chambre des Communes.

Avec mes meilleurs souhaits pour l'année 1924, croyez-moi,

Votre tout dévoué,

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LABELLE & DESROSIERS
NOTAIRES - NOTARIES

F. A. LABELLE
HENRI DESROSIERS

TELEPHONES: SHERWOOD 2148-3200

165 RUE PRINCIPALE
165 MAIN STREET

HULL, QUE. 24 Décembre, 1923

L'Honorable Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
21 Cooper, Ottawa.

Cher Monsieur:

Permettez-moi de venir vous offrir mes félicitations sincères, pour le nouveau succès que vous venez de remporter, dans l'élection du comté de Kent.

Après Halifax cette nouvelle victoire prouve que l'électorat commence à se repentir de l'erreur commise en 1921, et qu'il saisit chaque occasion nouvelle, qui lui est offerte, pour réparer sa faute, et pour reconnaître le mérite et les capacités de celui qui est aujourd'hui, chef de l'opposition, et qui pour le bien du pays, devrait être Premier Ministre du Canada.

Je profite de la présente occasion, pour renouveler mes souhaits de bonne et heureuse année et de joyeux Noel.

Votre tout dévoué,

F. A. Labelle

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006685

Ottawa, February 9, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Have you been able to get any farther in the matter of proof of the Lapointe promises to remit fines? I have not yet received the cheque. Has it not come to the beneficiary? If it has not come, possibly you could get affidavit of actually what took place and of the promise made. You understand, of course, the value of this. If it can be secured, it will be abundantly worth while. The government have staked everything in the way of reputation on the Kent election and I want its singe to be brought home to it, if it is in my power to bring it.

Yours very truly,

Richard O'Leary, Esquire,
Richibucto, N. B.

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CANADA

056686

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

February12, 1924.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

Your letter of the 9th inst. received and very carefully noted.

Owing to the fact that I have been laid up for the last few weeks, and yesterday was my first day at the office in something over a fortnight, I did not have an opportunity of seeing this man, Selim Robichaud, to whom LaPointe promised to refund money.

However, the man's son was in, this morning, to see me about another matter, and he told me that they had written LaPointe some few weeks ago and they had a reply saying that everything would be all right. I suggested that he have his father come and see me and let me write ~~a pretty~~ sharp letter to LaPoint which would bring some sort of a reply. The young man seemed to think this the proper course, and I trust that the father will come here and let me dictate such a letter for him. In any case, the remittance has not, as yet, come forward.

Mr. Doucet, M. P., called on me last evening, and discussed the matter with me. I will, in the event of nothing better, try and get an affidavit, as suggested by you, from this party.

I fully appreciate the value of all this, and that it is, as you say, abundantly worth while.

You are perfectly correct in your statement that the Government staked everything in the way of reputation on the Kent election, and its sins should certainly be brought home to it, and it is unquestionably in your power to do so. During the latter days, they absolutely threw discretion to the winds and appealed to the most base prejudices of a comparitively ignorant community. Mr. Cardin, in that forceful language of which he is absolutely master, put before a people to whom such an appeal means so much, the strongest possible arguments, and made every effort to arouse the besest prejudices within them.

Yours very truly,

R. O'Leary

RoL/M

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CANADA

056687

Kent
28

Ottawa, Feb. 16, 1924.

R. O'Leary Esquire,
Richibucto,
N. B.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Thanks very much for your letter of the 12th. Please try and get a copy of the correspondence such as has taken place between Mr. Robichaud and Mr. Lapointe, or anyone on the latter's behalf.

Sorry indeed you have been ill. Don't let this occur again if you can help it.

With best regards,

Yours very truly.

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CANADA

056688

28

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

February 18, 1924.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

Yours of the 16th received and carefully noted.

I will try, if at all possible, and get copies of the correspondence exchanged between Robichaud and LaPointe. I have not happened to see this man for some little time.

Thanks, indeed, for your very kind words which are fully appreciated. Will try and not let this happen again.

Yours sincerely,

R O'Leary

RoL/M

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CANADA

056689

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

February 25, 1924.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Personal.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

On Saturday afternoon, Selim Robichaud, the man to whom the Hon. Ernest Lapointe promised to return the $500.00, called at my office and brought me a letter which he received from Mr. Lapointe, and of which I enclose you, herewith, a copy.

I also dictated, had signed and forwarded to the Hon. Mr. Lapointe, a letter as per enclosed copy. I thought it better to write it in French, as Lapointe's letter to him was in that language. I think I have put this letter (which I know you will understand) in about the necessary language, my principal object being to show that there was a promise made by the Minister to this party. I, therefore, repeated the word "promise" more than once in this letter.

Robichaud has again repeated his promise to bring me the check when he gets it.

Now, if there is anything further that I can do in this matter, I will be only too glad.

Trusting that this may be useful to you, I remain

Yours sincerely,

R O'Leary

RoL/M
Enc.(2)

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CANADA

056690

Petite Aldouane, N. B.

Fev. 23, 1924.

Hon. Erneste Lapointe,

Ottawa.

Cher Monsieur Lapointe:

J'ai recu votre lettre du 25 Jauvier, et ayant maintenant attendu un mois, je voudrais encore vous rappeller la promesse personelle que vous m'avez faites lors que vous envoyiez me chercher pour venir vous rencontrer a l'Empress Hotel, Richibuctou, pendant l'election federal qui se faisait ici au mois Decembre dernier.

La promesse que vous me donniez a cette occasion etait que vous me rendreriez $500. du montaut qui m'avait été enleve par votre departement a cause de Homards saisis par vos officiers.

Passé trois mois se sont ecoulés depuis ce temps la, et je n'ai pas encore été rembourse.

J'ai votre parole de ministre de la couronne, et surement que cela devrait être suffisant; mais l'argent ferait beaucoup mieux mes affaires.

Attendant done que vous me le ferrez avoir as plustot

Je demeure

respectussement

votre humble serviteur

(Signed) Eelime Robichaud

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CANADA

056691

28/

Ottawa, February 27, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Thanks for yours of the 25th instant. This matter is running along quite a while. Please secure for me the reply when it comes.

Yours very truly,

R. O'Leary, Esquire,
Richibucto, N. B.

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CANADA

056692

28

CONFIDENTIAL.

Ottawa, February 29, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Your letter of the 27th instant is a very interesting epistle. Yesterday the party you referred to came over and shook hands in the most friendly way with me. I will keep the whole thing in mind and of course absolutely to myself.

Yours very truly,

Richard O'Leary, Esquire,
Richibucto, N. B.

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CANADA

056693

(28)

Ottawa, March 4, 1924.

Dear Mr. Black:

Many thanks indeed for your letter of today with telegrams attached.

I am taking this matter up now with Mr. Baxter.

Yours very truly,

~~Halifax Elevator~~ file

W.A. Black, Esquire, M.P.,
House of Commons
Ottawa.

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CANADA

056694

28

Ottawa, March 6, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Thanks for yours of the 4th inst. with regard to the Lapointe matter.

I shall be glad indeed to get anything you are able to send on this matter.

Yours truly,

R. O'Leary, Esquire,
Richibucto,
N.B.

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CANADA

056695

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

March 4, 1924.

Rt. Hon.Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

I have yours of the 28th and 29th ult. both of which are carefully noted.

I imagine that as soon as Robichaud gets a reply from Mr. Lapointe, he will bring same in to me, when I shall be pleased to pass along copy of it to you. He has promised to bring this in, and of course I can only give you the information as I get it.

One very serious feature which we seem to have lost sight of in our different exchanges, is the fact that Mr. Langlois, the Hon. Ernest Lapointe's secretary, remained in the county holding political meetings, after Mr. Lapointe had left here. It strikes me that this is a very peculiar position for a minister's secretary to assume.

Yours very truly,

R O'Leary

RoL/M

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CANADA

056696

28

Ottawa, March 19, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Yours of the 7th inst. reached me this morning. I am indeed sorry Robichaud did not bring you the cheque received from Mr. Lapointe. If possible I wish you would get from him a copy of Lapointe's reply to the communication of which you sent me a copy in your last letter.

Yours very truly,

R. O'Leary, Esquire,
Richibucto,
N.S.

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CANADA

Kent Election
056697

R. O'LEARY & SON

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

March 7, 1924.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

Re: Hon. Ernest Lapointe & Selim Robichaud.

I regret very much to say that this party, Selim Robichaud, did not bring me in the check, as he had promised to do, which he got from Mr. Lapointe.

He got this check from the Dept. of Fisheries through the Local Fishery Officer at Newcastle, a couple of days ago, for $500.00, and instead of bringing the check to me, as promised, he got it cashed at the bank, then told me so. Why he did not bring it, I do not know, because I had advanced him the money at the time that he required it. However, the fact remains that the check has been sent in by the Fisheries Dept. for $500.00 to him.

Now, the claim which the Department is going to make is that Robichaud represented that those lobsters were packed by him during the season and carried over. Such is not the case. The facts are that the lobsters were packed illegally after the season. Just at the close of the season he brought in to us what we believe, and were led by him to believe, were the balance of his pack of lobsters, and we do not believe, therefore, in fact we know it to be a fact, that he had no legally packed lobsters carried over. Of course, it is going to be a pretty hard matter to establish; but I mention the fact as that will be the argument which the Dept. of Fisheries will make,- that he represented to them that the 25 cases, for which the $500. has been returned to him, were legally packed in season.

The fellow has told the story so often, now, that actually he has come to believe it himself. He repeated it to me yesterday, in my office; I believe honestly thinking that it was correct, because he has, as above stated, made the same statement so frequently.

I regret that I could not have mailed you this check, as I looked forward to doing; but some of those fellows

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056698

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen

3/7/24

have not got much word.

Yours very truly,

RoL/M

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R. O'LEARY & SON

056699

RICHIBUCTO, N.B.

March 17, 1924.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

I have yours of the 10th inst. in a belated mail.

The storm that we had here last week tied up our branch line for four solid days, and we were without communication with the outside world.

As far as I can find out from Robichaud, there was no reply to his letter to LaPointe, except the check which came through the fishery officer, Mr. Randolph Crocker at Newcastle.

I was rather pleased to see that our friend Mr. Doucet acquitted himself fairly well in the House a few days ago.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

R O'Leary ~~to~~

Can you keep Doucet in getting this Kent N. Ry taken over? not town cookated for four days last week RoL

RoL/M

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Cent Bye-elect

28

056700

Ottawa, March 20, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Apparently no reply was sent to Mr. Robichaud's letter, consequently one can assume that Mr. LaPointe did not take any exception to the allegations made by Mr. Robichaud. On an appropriate occasion this matter will be gone into in the House. You are quite right regarding Mr. Doucet. He did excellently in his speech and will do better in the future. He seems undoubtedly to have courage and energy as well as ability.

Yours very truly,

R. O'Leary, Esquire,
Richibucto,
N.B.

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28 - 10

056701

Ottawa, April 28, 1924.

Dear Mr. Boyd:

Herewith I am enclosing copy of Hansard of Friday last in which you will find some remarks by Mr. Copp dealing with what happened in the Kent election. I have no doubt it will be easy to prove the truth of the despatches at that time.

Yours faithfully,

J.S. Boyd, Esquire,
Editor, Moncton Times,
Moncton, N.B.

Private Secretary.

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CANADA

056702

Ottawa, April 28, 1924.

Dear Vineberg:

Herewith I am enclosing copy of Hansard of Friday last in which you will find some remarks by Mr. Copp dealing with what happened in the Kent election. I have no doubt it will be easy to prove the truth of the despatches at that time.

Kindest regards from me.

Yours faithfully,

Abel Vineberg, Esquire,
The Montreal Gazette,
Montreal, P.Q.

Yours faithfully.

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Note 28

056703

MEMORANDUM **********HALIFAX ELEVATOR

Call for tenders issued October 5th

To be in by November 7th

November 2nd extension given

until November 15th.

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056704

28

Ottawa May 10, 1924.

Abel Vineberg, Esq.,
The Gazette,
Montreal.

Dear Vineberg:

Yours of the 9th hastjust reached me. The Chief is rather anxious to read this if you have no objection. He suggests that you write it again but leave out the last sentence of the first paragraph. Otherwise the letter may be the same.

Yours faithfully,

Two letters of Vineberg returned him

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The Gazette

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056705

28

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

May 9th, 1924.

Dear Merriam:

In answer to your letter of the 28th of April, which reached me Wednesday only, and accompanying copy of Hansard of April 25th regarding the Copp speech at Richibucto, Kent county, it certainly has taken Mr. Copp a long time to get around to a denial.

Your chief can be quite certain that the quotation is accurate. It quotes him in the first person, which shows that I took it in shorthand, and I realized the importance of it sufficiently well not to take a chance of error.

yours sincerely,

Abel Veniberg

A.W.Merriam, Esq.,
Ottawa.

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Dr. Tolmie says this should have been looked after by Senator Webster months ago.

H 56706

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056707

Ottawa, October 7, 1924.

My dear Hanson:

I congratulate you warmly on your victory. This is all the more enthusiastic because I had heard that the going had been very difficult through the trial. What I regret is the trial was fixed at such a time as to prevent both Mr. Baxter and yourself taking part in Northumberland. Will not hear the results for twelve hours, but, while all the news is good, I fear we have scarcely thrown enough speaking force into the riding. The Liberals have simply flooded the place.

Anyway your victory will do us very considerable good, and, coming on the eve of the contest, ought to be partially helpful there also. I am very much relieved and delighted over your success. I am sure it must be a very great source of joy to Mrs. Hanson.

Yours very truly,

R.B. Hanson, Esq., M.P.,
Fredericton, N.B.

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056708

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Ottawa, October 7, 1924.

My dear Baxter:

I am delighted to get word this morning that you have won the action against the Gleaner. Had received word that the going was very hard. Too bad both yourself and Hanson were kept out of Northumberland, but it was most important to win this suit from every point of view.

Yours very truly,

Hon. J.B.M. Baxter, M.P.,
St. John, N.B.

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CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

TELEGRAM

FORM T. D. 1

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

RA 220 5 RUSH

FREDERICTON NB OCT 6/24

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA ONTARIO

WON OUT HANDSOMELY GREAT VICTORY

R B HANSON

812 P

406

056709

PHONED

By..... Time.....

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28

056710

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MEIGHEN

KENT BYE-ELECTION

Mr. Lapointe, speaking at Richibucto on December 13, one week before polling day - announced that "commencing on the 15th of this month, the fisheries inspectors of this Province would not have to report to the Chief Inspector at Halifax, thus ending a troublesome connection for the New Brunswick Province, and a condition due to a former Conservative Government."

In the same speech he announced that he would see to it the Mounted Police were not used again for the purpose of protecting the Fisheries, see Gazette, 14 December, 1923.

PREMIER VENIOT, speaking at Richibucto, the same evening stated that "only recently a delegation from Richibucto had "waited on the Provincial Government and he had issued orders "that the engineers of the hydro system make a survey and see if "it were possible for the Government to acquire the civic "power system and link it up with the hydro system, and thereby "give the people of Kent good government.....see Gazette Dec. 14, 1923.

Mr. COPP, dealing with the Kent Northern Railway, at Richibucto December 13th stated the Government had attempted to get money through Parliament to build branch lines in other ~~xxxxx~~ parts of the Country, but did not succeed. He admitted no money had been included for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ better transportation facilities for Kent but "the bill would have "been killed even if it had been included". In conclusion he stated

"Now I want to ask you in all fairness who will be "your representative? Who will be more apt to get a more "reasonable and fair consideration for you, Doucette, the "Conservative Candidate, or Bourgeois? It is to your very "great advantage, ~~but~~ and I believe it is your bounden duty, "if you want better railway facilities for this part of Kent, "to elect Mr. Bourgeois, who will co-operate with me and my "colleagues to give the people of this county what they deserve "and what they want."

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056711

The Regina Leader, December 17th, 1923, dealing with these promises by Lapointe, Copp and Veniot says editorially - copy of editorial attached hereto - fit (the government) has no right to barter public moneys for party support which is what Hon. Mr. Copp seems to have attempted in the present campaign." and has no hesitation in saying the government candidate should be defeated at the polls, and has no intention of condoning this conduct in the present present government as the practice is absolutely indefensible.

CARDIN AT Buctouche, Dec, 18th, appeals for unity between the French Canadians and Acadians to "secure the "realization of legitimate aspirations". The doctrines of the Liberal party were always the same in all the provinces in 1911, 1917, and 1921. He stated "Premier King deserved credit for being a candidate in North York in 1917, while Doucette's friends had sent soldiers into his riding to create trouble at his meetings."

There was much to do to repair the ruin of 10 years Conservative rule, and while the Liberals had not healed all the wounds created by the late Government, or completed its work they would eventually save the country. Speaking of the party platform of 1919 he stated "the conditions of the country "have changed very much since 1919, "when the principles were "adopted, and the programme must submit to modifications, "according to circumstances, until the time came when we would "apply the principles.

"It is necessary to take steps to ascertain the "needs of the country before legislating, Because of changed "conditions, because of contradictory influences it is impossible "to apply the 1919 programme, or at least the whole cannot be "applied at once.

Dealing with the railway question he said the policy of the Government is to give the railways a fair deal and

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if they were not successful they would take some means of relieting the people of the burden. "I hope you people of Kent will not embarrass the Government and will give Mr. King a chance to continue his railway policy.

Dealing with the emigration of Canadians he laid this in a measure at the door of the Borden and Meighen administrations as if reciprocity had carried we would have had a market of 100,000 people and it would not be necessary for Canadians to leave.

In conclusion he dealt with the War Time Election Act and pictured the Government getting blood stained ballots from soldiers in the trenches, probably the last act the soldier performed, butthat mattered not to Mr. Meighen and his friends who hurried back with the blood stained papers to keep themselves in power for the benefit and profit of their friends.

E. THERIAULT, M.L.A. for L'Islet, Que., speaking at Buctouche, Dec. 18, 1923 in a speech appealing, largely, if not entirely, to racial prejudice stated "he brought them "a message from the province of Quebec to vote against Meighen, "because in the opinion of Quebec and the other Provinces, "Meighen was the representative of all that was 'Boche' in Canada". Proceeding he dealt with the present economic difficulties in Canada and stated a mistake had been made in defeating reciprocity in 1911 as the French and other Canadians would in that event not have had to leave Canada today. Resurrecting old issues he blamed "Meighen for the closure system" and stated it was he also "who prepared the War Time Election Act to prevent the people chasing the Conservatives out of power even as Christ had driven the money changers from the Temple."

Speaking of Conscription he stated "it was not to get "more soldiers since United States had come into the war, but "his idea was it was for the purpose of getting through the "Canadian Northern deal." Again he said "It had been Meighen

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056713

who protested against a clause in the conscription law exempting Seminary students" and "it was Meighen also who had objected to an indemnity being given to the widows and families of poor workingmen killed in the Quebec riots in 1917. See GAZETTE December 19, 1924.

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056714

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THE SENATE
CANADA

Dear Mr Meighen:—

Like silver sunlight shining through a cloud, a little levity helps to make public service endurable—

The following extract from a letter just received is good. After giving me useful information respecting unemployment in the St Catherines district the

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letter concludes:

"May state in the
"Rebellion of 1837 my
"Grandfather was against
"Mackenzie and in the
"clash shot Mackenzie
"in the neck but
"unfortunately did not
"put him out of business,
"If it had King would
"not be here today."

Cox

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"Magazine of Wall St." July 31

Canada Faces Momentous Decision

At the Parting of the Ways—Will She Continue to Go Along with Great Britain or Become Entirely Independent?

King

By E. D. KING

The author of this article has just returned from Canada where he has had the opportunity of studying at first hand the extraordinary political conflict unfolding across the border. With billions invested in Canadian enterprises, a situation of this sort must keenly interest Americans. It seems that world history is in the making in Canada and nothing less is at stake than whether Canada is to continue in the British Empire, or gradually cut loose.

To which is appended the views of

Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Ex Prime Minister of Canada

A vast political drama in Canada is entering its crisis. For the moment, the principal actors loom up strongly, but even their vivid personalities are overshadowed by tremendous issues, the outcome of which may deeply affect the Canadian and British people. And back of the shadows cast by these issues, always looms the enigma of the future relations between Canada and the United States.

Canada is increasingly confronted with a problem which becomes more urgent as the years pass. Shall she stay in the British Empire or take further steps to secure definite independence? Obviously, the solution of such a large-scale problem cannot come about in a short time but it seems that the nature of the solution in considerable degree will be settled at the forthcoming national elections.

These elections are precipitating the bitterest political battle in the history of Canada. The great parties, Liberal and Conservative, are racked by internal dissension. Cynically aside stand the Western Progressives, a new farm party, hostile to the aims of the industrialized East.

The tariff, of course, is one of the shibboleths of the campaign. Shall Canada raise or lower its tariff, shall she offer preferential tariffs to the British Empire, shall she seek reciprocity with the United States, shall she go free trade altogether? There are many to adhere to each of these viewpoints and they will be found in each of the two older parties.

On the human side is the gulf between the French-Canadian, inspired by a practically established French tradition, and the British Canadian still loyal to the British Empire. Then again, principally among the Western farmers, will be found a decided sentiment for breaking away completely from the British Empire.

This complexity of motives, political and economic antagonisms, marks Canada today. The Liberals, largely recruited from the French-Canadian population in the East, are led by Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Harvard graduate and former head of the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. King and his followers are opposed to the protectionist principle and are nationalist in sentiment; that is, they believe Canada ought to be entirely independent and free of British influence. They do not admit it so openly but nevertheless all their policies are colored by this general objective.

The Conservatives, a high tariff party, largely recruited from Canadians of British stock, especially in the province of Ontario, are led by the present Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, an able politician who cannot see a future for Canada except under the British ægis.

The progressives, still a minority party, are hostile to the East, and are for the farmer, first, last and all the time. They are free trade and quite sympathetic to the idea of a closer union with the United States. They are recruited from the great wheat provinces of the West and many of them are Americans, now naturalized Canadians.

These facts may not be known to the rank and file of Americans, who have never betrayed any particularly lively interest politically in the affairs of our northern neighbor. Yet American investments in Canada are variously estimated from 3.25 to 4 billions. Our trade with Canada is only second to that of our trade with the United Kingdom. One does not require statistics to understand the extent of our economic penetration of Canada. Wherever one goes across our northern boundary he is met with the physical fact of the activities of typically American corporations. Our mutual economic relations are extremely intimate.

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between the industrial United States and industrial Canada is an anachronism, that the welfare of the one is so bound up with the welfare of the other, that there should be no tariff wall. Certainly, eastern (industrial) Canada is economically much closer to eastern industrial United States than Western agricultural Canada.

The recent Liberal Government made a moderate cut in the duties on imported automobiles and raised a terrific outcry from the Conservative protectionist camp. Their view was that Canadian manufacturers of automobiles be protected against foreign invasion. Yet the bulk of the cars manufactured in Canada are by subsidiaries of American companies. The parent companies thus stood to profit regardless of the outcome. The Liberals could properly say that in this case there was no special need for protection and that if Canadian industries could not compete with foreign industries in the home market, they should not be encouraged.

Canadians, even in the conservative camp, fear to impose excessive tariffs. The United States is the principal Canadian market. If American goods are shut out, they fear possibilities of reprisals. Then, the more moderate of them feel, where would Canada be?

It is plain that no great economic issue in Canada can be settled without considering the possible effect on trade with the United States. The Canadians, being so much closer to us, are far more dependent on our markets than they are on those of the United Kingdom. This is the great influence which is constantly coloring the viewpoint of the Liberal nationalist party and which must inevitably make them feel that Canada is in reality part of the economic sphere of the United States.

Against the economic factor is pitted that of loyalty either to the Canadian standard itself or to that of the United Kingdom. Only in the West do they think in terms of annexation to the United States, and there are few Canadians who really want it. But the camp of these who believe in a Canada entirely free of British influence is daily growing. What is England doing for us, they ask. At the time of the war, Canada responded with more than her share to the British call. Canada has totalled up her war casualities, in man power and money, and feels that the result has not been worth while.

She gazes out across the ocean to an industrially and financially weakened mother country. She daily grows more apathetic to the newer appeals for co-operation. Shortly, the heads of the various British commonwealths will meet in London to take steps to bring these various nations into a more solid hegemony. They will try to build an edifice of economic British solidarity perhaps even going to the extent of fostering free trade between the British nations and dependencies, at the same time throwing up a tariff wall to keep the goods of other nations out of this ring. The edifice will be strong only if the British can count on Canada being in. At present, this is a most un-

Canada's Political Battle

As Seen by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,

Ex-Prime Minister of Canada

Note: In this statement, the Canadian ex-prime minister gives tersely but dramatically the essential issue on which the Liberals are prepared to wage political battle during the forthcoming elections. One can read through his statement a stern resolution that nothing will be permitted to interfere with Canada's sovereign rights as a nation. It is a viewpoint which, despite its apparent local atmosphere, is bound to have repercussions in England.

THE present conflict between the Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada has many phases but none more crucial than the question of constitutionality raised by Mr. Meighen, the present prime minister. As stated in my recent speech in Ottawa there must be equality of status between the governments of Britain and the self-governing Dominions. No individual is so exalted as to take upon himself the responsibility of acting as sole advisor either of Britain or the Dominions. The question before the Canadian people is to decide whether representative institutions can be threatened in Canada without their being threatened everywhere. As I said in Ottawa "If Mr. Meighen's unconstitutional course is permitted to go unchallenged —then may the question be raised on behalf of all self-governing British communities whether the British constitution may not become a phantom to delude to destruction, instead of being, as we believe it is, the day-star of our dearest liberties." (Mr. King alludes in this to Mr. Meighen's rather unprecedented action on the recent occasion when he assumed office and shouldered the responsibility of administration without a single Minister sworn to office, save himself.—Editor's note.)

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"Magazine of Wall St" July 31

Canada Faces Momentous Decision

At the Parting of the Ways—Will She Continue to Go Along with Great Britain or Become Entirely Independent?

King

By E. D. KING

To which is appended the views of

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The author of this article has just returned from Canada where he has had the opportunity of studying at first hand the extraordinary political conflict unfolding across the border. With billions invested in Canadian enterprises, a situation of this sort must keenly interest Americans. It seems that world history is in the making in Canada and nothing less is at stake than whether Canada is to continue in the British Empire, or gradually cut loose.

A vast political drama in Canada is entering its crisis. For the moment, the principal actors loom up strongly, but even their vivid personalities are overshadowed by tremendous issues, the outcome of which may deeply affect the Canadian and British people. And back of the shadows cast by these issues, always looms the enigma of the future relations between Canada and the United States.

Canada is increasingly confronted with a problem which becomes more urgent as the years pass. Shall she stay in the British Empire or take further steps to secure definite independence? Obviously, the solution of such a large-scale problem cannot come about in a short time but it seems that the nature of the solution in considerable degree will be settled at the forthcoming national elections.

These elections are precipitating the bitterest political battle in the history of Canada. The great parties, Liberal and Conservative, are racked by internal dissension. Cynically aside stand the Western Progressives, a new farm party, hostile to the aims of the industrialized East.

The tariff, of course, is one of the shibboleths of the campaign. Shall Canada raise or lower its tariff, shall she offer preferential tariffs to the British Empire, shall she seek reciprocity with the United States, shall she go free trade altogether? There are many to adhere to each of these viewpoints and they will be found in each of the two older parties.

On the human side is the gulf between the French - Canadian, inspired by a practically established French tradition, and the British Canadian still loyal to the British Empire. Then again, principally among the Western farmers, will be found a decided sentiment for breaking away completely from the British Empire.

This complexity of motives, political and economic antagonisms, marks Canada today. The Liberals, largely recruited from the French-Canadian population in the East, are led by Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Harvard graduate and former head of the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. King and his followers are opposed to the protectionist principle and are nationalist in sentiment; that is, they believe Canada ought to be entirely independent and free of British influence. They do not admit it so openly but nevertheless all their policies are colored by this general objective.

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Bolstering the Market Through Refunding Operations

Corporations Converting Seven Per Centers Into Five Per Centers—Direct Benefits to Common Stockholders

By GEORGE B. COLLINGWOOD

IN this article, investors are urged to look into refunding operations by the larger corporations as a source of higher prices for common stocks. The writer urges that reduction of fixed charges on bonds or on preferred stocks is an important bullish factor today, and will have a tendency to limit market recessions in the future.

FOR more than two years, barring one or two relapses we have had a strong stock market. While recessions were important, and, no doubt quite significant, yet, from the long-term viewpoint, stocks have been rising since the spring of 1924. Such sustained strength is extraordinary and would seem to indicate that more than one factor has operated in favor of advancing quotations. There have been, actually, three important factors, of which two have been studied and one has been practically ignored. Yet, this latter factor has been in many respects more constructive than the others, and, what is more, it seems that it will have increasing market importance in the future.

Markets advance either on realized or anticipated earning power of common stocks. The 1924-6 bull market has proved no exception. Increase of asset values, or hidden assets, as such, do not create a market. Assets are always considered to be of value only insofar as they are reflected in earning power. The only possible exception to the rule consists in the accumulated surpluses that finally emerged as earnings, after their hiding under oppressive post-war taxation. But this has been greatly overrated as a sustaining force. The proof is that companies which had admittedly fared badly in 1921—such as the General Motors Corporation—advanced upon actual operating profits that emerged throughout the length and breadth of the bull market. The axiom remains fixed—the bull market since 1924 was sustained by anticipated and realized earning power per share of common stock.

This earning power was compounded of three elements. The first was actual profits due to large sales at good prices. The second consisted of operating economies due either to lower wage costs, greater efficiency or reduced raw material costs. The third and neglected factor was the volume of refunding manifesting itself after 1923, which reduced charges on prior capitalization and so added to the earning power of the common stock.

How important this last factor may be can be shown by one theoretical example. Suppose a corporation has a total capitalization of ten millions, of which six millions are in senior, fixed charge obligations (bonds and preferred stock) and four millions in forty thousand shares of common stock, par $100.

A reduction from 7 to 5% on these senior obligations would mean $120,000 per annum or $3 per share on the common, which the market could capitalize at $30 per share. If stock had previously earned $3, such an item alone would amount to a 100% price advance. And all this without additional profits or greater economies!

To turn from theories to living market facts, one has to inspect the table accompanying this article. Considerations of space have prevented listing anywhere near all of the refunding activities of corporations in the last three years, but the list is well sampled, and shows a considerable number of common stocks in which notable advances per share can be traced directly to such refunding operations.

Future of Refunding Operations

It is abundantly obvious then that refunding has been an important cause of high stock quotations. Will it continue to exert such an influence on future quotations?

The first factor that has sustained stock quotations, gains in net profits due to great business activity is continuing, but not likely to be augmented. The second, operating economies due to reduced labor costs, raw materials' costs, etc., is likely to continue at a more pedestrian pace. The third factor is quite likely to become a more important factor than it has been in the past.

Refunding operations have barely begun, for it is not merely 7% and 8% bonds and preferred stocks that are involved. For the better companies even 6% securities may be refunded, as 5.25%, say, comes to regarded as a good common stock yield on a prime industrial. Naturally, however, the 6½% securities and those with higher coupon rates will bear the brunt of future refunding. A very large section of bonds are affected by this situation, and perhaps a clear majority of preferred stocks. Continued low interest rates will either compel their refunding or their progressive maturities will effect a compulsory refunding. In either case the common stock will reap the benefit.

What Borrowing Has Cost the Larger Corporations

Rarely have bond yields been as high as in 1920-1, following the post war inflation. Seldom, as when corporations faced staggering losses in 1921, was the need for large financing as urgent as it was at the very moment that interest rates were at their peak. So unfortunate a conjunction of circumstances led to financing at rates that have weighed upon industry ever since.

Despite the burden of these charges, profits were such that common stock earnings have scored considerable advances, but the mitigating factor was undoubtedly the amount of refunding actually accomplished and the amount that appeared prospective as the interest rate began to tumble. Hence, it may be fairly stated that the greatest results of refunding are yet to be manifested, since the actual lifting of the burden of high fixed charges has not been accomplished except in comparatively small part.

Added to these burdens were the high financing costs encountered in the 1920-1 orgy of finance. An 8% preferred stock of a company little short of the best, would often be sold to the bankers at 88, leaving the net cost to the company 9.11% annually, and ultimately much more whenever redemption was attempted. Such a figure was not at all exceptional. Fortunately, financing costs have have declined along with most costs and banker profits are now

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These elections are precipitating the bitterest political battle in the history of Canada. The great parties, Liberal and Conservative, are racked by internal dissension. Cynically aside stand the Western Progressives, a new farm party, hostile to the aims of the industrialized East.

The tariff, of course, is one of the shibboleths of the campaign. Shall Canada raise or lower its tariff, shall she offer preferential tariffs to the British Empire, shall she seek reciprocity with the United States, shall she go free trade altogether? There are many to adhere to each of these viewpoints and they will be found in each of the two older parties.

On the human side is the gulf between the French - Canadian, inspired by a practically established French tradition, and the British Canadian still loyal to the British Empire. Then again, principally among the Western farmers, will be found a decided sentiment for breaking away completely from the British Empire.

This complexity of motives, political and economic antagonisms, marks Canada today. The Liberals, largely recruited from the French-Canadian population in the East, are led by Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Harvard graduate and former head of the Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. King and his followers are opposed to the protectionist principle and are nationalist in sentiment; that is, they believe Canada ought to be entirely independent and free of British influence. They do not admit it so openly but nevertheless all their policies are colored by this general objective.

The Conservatives, a high tariff party, largely recruited from Canadians of British stock, especially in the province of Ontario, are led by the present Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, an able politician who cannot see a future for Canada except under the British ægis.

The progressives, still a minority party, are hostile to the East, and are for the farmer, first, last and all the time. They are free trade and quite sympathetic to the idea of a closer union with the United States. They are recruited from the great wheat provinces of the West and many of them are Americans, now naturalized Canadians.

These facts may not be known to the rank and file of Americans, who have never betrayed any particularly lively interest politically in the affairs of our northern neighbor. Yet American investments in Canada are variously estimated from 3.25 to 4 billions. Our trade with Canada is only second to that of our trade with the United Kingdom. One does not require statistics to understand the extent of our economic penetration of Canada. Wherever one goes across our northern boundary he is met with the physical fact of the activities of typically American corporations. Our mutual economic relations are extremely intimate.

There are many in Canada who feel that a tariff boundary

Will It Come to This?

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between the industrial United States and industrial Canada is an anachronism, that the welfare of the one is so bound up with the welfare of the other, that there should be no tariff wall. Certainly, eastern (industrial) Canada is economically much closer to eastern industrial United States than Western agricultural Canada.

The recent Liberal Government made a moderate cut in the duties on imported automobiles and raised a terrific outcry from the Conservative protectionist camp. Their view was that Canadian manufacturers of automobiles be protected against foreign invasion. Yet the bulk of the cars manufactured in Canada are by subsidiaries of American companies. The parent companies thus stood to profit regardless of the outcome. The Liberals could properly say that in this case there was no special need for protection and that if Canadian industries could not compete with foreign industries in the home market, they should not be encouraged.

Canadians, even in the conservative camp, fear to impose excessive tariffs. The United States is the principal Canadian market. If American goods are shut out, they fear possibilities of reprisals. Then, the more moderate of them feel, where would Canada be?

It is plain that no great economic issue in Canada can be settled without considering the possible effect on trade with the United States. The Canadians, being so much closer to us, are far more dependent on our markets than they are on those of the United Kingdom. This is the great influence which is constantly coloring the viewpoint of the Liberal nationalist party and which must inevitably make them feel that Canada is in reality part of the economic sphere of the United States.

Against the economic factor is pitted that of loyalty either to the Canadian standard itself or to that of the United Kingdom. Only in the West do they think in terms of annexation to the United States, and there are few Canadians who really want it. But the camp of these who believe in a Canada entirely free of British influence is daily growing. What is England doing for us, they ask. At the time of the war, Canada responded with more than her share to the British call. Canada has totalled up her war casualities, in man power and money, and feels that the result has not been worth while.

She gazes out across the ocean to an industrially and financially weakened mother country. She daily grows more apathetic to the newer appeals for co-operation. Shortly, the heads of the various British commonwealths will meet in London to take steps to bring these various nations into a more solid hegemony. They will try to build an edifice of economic British solidarity perhaps even going to the extent of fostering free trade between the British nations and dependencies, at the same time throwing up a tariff wall to keep the goods of other nations out of this ring. The edifice will be strong only if the British can count on Canada being in. At present, this is a most un-

Canada's Political Battle

As Seen by

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,

Ex-Prime Minister of Canada

Note: In this statement, the Canadian ex-prime minister gives tersely but dramatically the essential issue on which the Liberals are prepared to wage political battle during the forthcoming elections. One can read through his statement a stern resolution that nothing will be permitted to interfere with Canada's sovereign rights as a nation. It is a viewpoint which, despite its apparent local atmosphere, is bound to have repercussions in England.

THE present conflict between the Liberal and Conservative parties in Canada has many phases but none more crucial than the question of constitutionality raised by Mr. Meighen, the present prime minister. As stated in my recent speech in Ottawa there must be equality of status between the governments of Britain and the self-governing Dominions. No individual is so exalted as to take upon himself the responsibility of acting as sole advisor either of Britain or the Dominions. The question before the Canadian people is to decide whether representative institutions can be threatened in Canada without their being threatened everywhere. As I said in Ottawa "If Mr. Meighen's unconstitutional course is permitted to go unchallenged —then may the question be raised on behalf of all self-governing British communities whether the British constitution may not become a phantom to delude to destruction, instead of being, as we believe it is, the day-star of our dearest liberties." (Mr. King alludes in this to Mr. Meighen's rather unprecedented action on the recent occasion when he assumed office and shouldered the responsibility of administration without a single Minister sworn to office, save himself.—Editor's note.)

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Mrs Adolphe de Blois Caron

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THE NATIONAL, LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION
ONTARIO

PHONE MAIN 5480

308 RYRIE BUILDING
CORNER YONGE & SHUTER STS.

TORONTO,

I thought you might want to use this for use tonight.

Y. Mack Smith

The enclosed is obtained through Power Financial Service of 33 Broadway N.Y. and accurately shows record of the Sugar & Steel Co in part -

I also enclose memo as to our purchases showing $145.90 per capita as against $47.22 per capita in the U.S. before the emergency tariff which should prove useful. I imp think that you should use the matter in Kings United States circuit so as to get proper publicity

in great haste

W L Mackenzie King

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King in his speech on his war services delivered in the House April 1920. Hansard Page 1405. As shewing the excellence of his work.

Letters were read from :-

(1) J. F. Welborn, President King of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co, Denver. This company he stated employed in the neighbourhood of 12,000 men in coal mines, iron mines and steel works. This company owned by the Rockfeller interests referred to in the report of the Washington Committee, the place where the women and children of the strikers camp were shot.

(2) Mr. J. W. Powell, President of the Bethlehem Ship Building Corporation of Bethlehem, employing 70,000 men.

(3) From E. J. Grace, President of the Bethlehem Steel Co. of South Bethlehem, employing about 50,000 workers.

(4) From the General Electric Co., Wednyn, Mass., employing 50,000 men.

(5) From the Great Western Sugar Co., with factories in Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Montana, 14 in all, employing some 7,000 men.

(6) From Harold F. McCormack, President of the International Harvester Co., employing 35,000 men in the States and also in Canada; King work being done in the States.

(7) From J. H. Wheetright, late President of the Consolidated Coal Co., employing 8000 workers.

(8) From S. C.Robinson, Vice-President, the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. of Youngstown, Ohio, employing about 10,000.

King's services. King's retainer, as stated by himself, was as Industrial Adviser to these large corporations, some of whom can be fairly looked upon as war babies, and war profiteers of the worst kind. They were grateful for his services. They had the right to be. The war history of these friends of Mr. King was exceedingly profitable. Two illustrations will suffice. Mr. King left Canada in 1914, shortly after the outbreak of the war. He is supposed to have terminated his American activities in 1919, after being elected Liberal Leader. The Great Western Sugar Co. , which certified so cheerfully to Mr. King's abilities as an Industrial Adviser, shows the following progress :-

Year.	Capital		Dividends.	
	Common	Preferred	Common	Preferred.
1915.	$10,544,000	$13,630,000	5%	7%
1916.	15,000,000	13,630,000	5% to April 1916 7% balance of year	7%
1917.	15,000,000	13,630,000	7% regular 10% extra May 1917 10% " July 1917 10% " October 1917	7%
1918.	15,000,000	13,630,000	7% regular 10% extra Jan.2. 10% " April 2, 10% " July 2. 10% " October 2,	7%

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Year.	CAPITAL Common	Preferred.	DIVIDENDS. Common	Preferred.
1919.	15,000,000	13,630,000	7% regular 10% extra Jan. 2 10% " April 2 10% " July 2 10% " Oct. 2	7% In Liberty Bonds. In cash " "

It will be noted that while in 1915 the common stock received a dividend of 5% that ~~amounted~~ to 7% in 1916, to 37% in 1917, to 47% in 1918, and 47% in 1919, when Mr. King's services presumably terminated. Putting the situation concretely during the five year period ending December 31,1914, preferred dividends at 7% and common at 5%, total $7,406,000; while for the five year period ending December 31, 1919, dividends, disbursements and cash were $25,732,000, and in stock $4,428,000, or a total of over $30,000,000.

BETHLEHEM STEEL CORPORATION. The record of this client of Mr. King's is as follows :-

Year.	Capital. Common	Preferred.	Earnings after Deprec. Chges. etc.	Depreciation etc.
1914	$14,862,000	$14,908,000	$4,844,620	$1,847,273
1915	$14,862,000	14,908,000	16,719,253	4,716,000
1916	$14,862,000	14,908,000	42,550,408	14,350,786
1917 X	14,862,000. 8% pfd. 44,586,000 (B) 7% "	29,724,000 14,908,000	25,682,697	17,911,641
1918	59,448,000 Common & 7% & 8% and Class B	44,908,000 ~~Common B~~. pfd.	12,489,031	31,510,366
1919.	59,862,000 " & 7% & 8%	44,908,000 " B. pfd.	11,913,300	12,566,152

Year.	Dividends on Common	Surplus to Capital.
1914.	nil.	$4,944,620
1915.	nil.	16,719,253
1916.	$4,458,600 (30%)	38,091,808
1917.	2,749,450 17½% 3,789,810 7½% Class B. 30,000,000 200% stock dividend.	19,143,417
1918.	1,486,200. 10% Common 4,458,600. 10% Class B.	6,544,231
1919.	1,040,340. 7% Common 3,126,195. 7% Class B.	7,746,765.

It will be noted that for the obvious purpose of

X. Note - On February 14th, 1917, an issue of $45,000,000. Class "B" Common Stock was authorised. Of this, 200% or $30,000,000. was given to common stock shareholders of record February 16, 1917, as a bonus. The remaining $15,000,000. was subscribed at par. In August 1917, the issue of an additional $30,000,000 of 8% cumulative preference stock was authorised and offered at par to shareholders.

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It will be noted that probably for the purpose of covering enormous profits, the amount written off for depreciation grew from $1,847,273 in 1914 to a maximum of $31,510,366. Over and above all this a 200% stock dividend of $30,000,000 was declared by this client of Mr. King, and while there was no dividend whatever on the common stock in 1914 and 1915, dividends were declared in cash and distribution made to the large amounts above set out.

Again stating position shortly, for the five year period ending December 31, 1914, and before Mr. King's advent into the American industrial world, earnings after interest charges were $23,000,000. In the five years ending December 31, 1919, $198,000,000. In the four years, 1916, 1917, 1918 and 1919, dividends were paid to the common stockholders alone to the amount of $21,109,000 in cash and $30,000,000 in stock, a total of $51,000,000, or about 350% on the stock outstanding at December 31, 1914. From January 1st, 1915, to December 31, 1919 $102,800,000 of earnings were carried to surplus and reserves for additions, etc.

Mr. King declares himself the enemy of the "big interests". His enmity is confined to Canadian. He is the friend of the American, to whose activities he desires to open these markets.

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CANADIAN PURCHASES OF SOME UNITED STATES AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

		in 1st 6 months of 1920.	in 1st 6 mos.1921.
Butter	lbs.	351,524	1,057,757
Cheese	"	215,130	451,084
Mutton & Lamb	"	1,489,856	2,067,625
Pork (fresh)	"	4,754,572	14,261,977
Bacon & Ham	"	2,793,447	4,766,574
Canned Meats	"	212,967	343,282
Potatoes	bushels	357,659	423,342
Tomatoes	"	171,053	275,339
Grapes	lbs	1,563,868	1,623,495
Pears	"	7,698,105 015	8,029,758
Peaches	"	5,563,223	10,230,966
Eggs	Doz.	2,283,723	1,476, 635
Honey	lbs	44,908	136,384
		27,499,945	45,124,218
			27,499,945
Quantity increase in 6 months --------			17,624,273

or an increase in our purchases of over 63% in the above commodities.

THE OTHER SIDE: AMERICAN PURCHASES OF CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL Products SHEWING THE EFFECT OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE EMERGENCY TARIFF, NOW EXTENDED INDEFINITELY AND AIMED AGAINST CANADIAN FARM PRODUCTS.

	Four months 1920.	Same 4 months this year under Emergency Tariff.
Butter	$1,907,303.	$ 109,047
Cheese	84,512	6,831
Meats (fresh or frozen)	2,677,768	1,066,758
Meats (prepared)	304,064	74,622
Potatoes	1,060,198	159,475
Cattle	7,421,708	835,982
Sheep	635,665	226,695
Wheat Flour	1,059,697	119,224
Wool	716,620	2,948
Milk (preserved or condensed)	1,078,548	118,861

The above are samples. The total exports of farm commodities prejudicially affected by the U.S. Emergency Tariff and exported to the U.S. last year for the same four months as the first four months under the U.S. Tariff this year was $33,546,362. This year our exports to the U.S. under their new tariff for the same four months dropped to $10,070,068. The drop is then $23,476,294, a very startling contrast to the increase in the purchase of American farm produce in Canada, as above indicated.

The Wood Crerar party and the King Party tell us that unless we buy we cannot sell; that the basis of international commerce is the exchange of commodities. Well the United States have greatly prospered and worked up a great export trade. The total imports into the United States for the year 1869-70 were $11.77 per capita, for the year 1879-80 were $12.57 per capita, for the year 1889-90 were $12.28 per capita and for the year 1900-01 were $10.23 per capita. Their whole imports for 1919-20 before their emergency tariff shuting out agricultural imports, amounted to $47.22 per capita.

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Canadian imports for the year 1920-21 amounted to $145.90 per capita. Instead of underbuying we have obviously overbought unless indeed the Wood-Crerar and King parties will be satisfied with nothing short of the elimination of the city's industrial life and the complete abandonment of our domestic markets to the foreigner.

The home market is of importance to the farmer as well as the industrial worker. The estimated daily consumption of milk in Toronto for instance, is 5,200 cans, and of butter 52,000 pounds. The gross value of the agricultural production of all Canada in 1919 was $2,092,397,106. The whole amount exported was $472,960,213 and $1,619,436,893 worth was consumed in Canada. Of our butter production 91.3 per cent was consumed in the home market and only 8.7 per cent of our butter exported. Of our poultry and eggs production 88.7 per cent was consumed in the home market and only 11.3 per cent exported. The Canadian farmer cannot afford to lose his home markets created by our industrial activities. Our cities are his markets - not his enemies.

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Extract from Mackenzie King's
Statement Dec. 29th, 1921, published in the
Ottawa Citizen, Dec. 30th

"It is further understood that at the opening of parliament, the Hon. Rodolph Lemieux will be selected as speaker of the House of Commons. Mr. Lemieux was urged to become a member of the new administration, but preferred to be relieved of again assuming office as a minister of the crown."

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p. 1-13

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

TARRIFF COMMISSION

FARMER - LIBERAL COALITION.

GRENVILLE BY-ELECTION.

THE NATIONAL LIBERAL and CONSERVATIVE PARTY,
HEADQUARTERS
INFORMATION OFFICE,
431 Jackson Building. OTTAWA.

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MACKENZIE KING
ON
TARIFF COMMISSION.

(At Toronto, August 15th, 1920.)

"What we want to know is not what is desired, but how the end is to be attained. Well, here we come to the admission of Mr. Meighen that on the all-important aspect of the matter neither he nor his Government has any views. He says: 'We are starting now an inquiry, the most thorough we can make, to determine what is absolutely necessary to secure these ends.'

"Starting an inquiry! that is what Sir Robert Borden said he intended to do three years ago. That is what every government that has no policy of its own sets out to do. What we want in Canada is not more inquiries and government by commission, but government by a Government which has a policy that is known and approved, and which helps to meet the necessities of the hour. Mr. Meighen says: 'Wherever there is a tax or schedule that is not absolutely necessary it will be wiped away.'

"A lot of consolation there is in the phrase to the consumers and the producers of Canada, who today through the high cost of living are suffering from the taxation of the necessaries of life and the implements of production in a manner which is wholly unjustifiable.'

"In contrast to this evasive and meaningless phrase of the Prime Minister's, which denotes an absence of all policy on the all important question of tariff revision and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal Party's position in this matter as it found expression at the great Liberal convention held in Ottawa over a year ago, and as it

has been/

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has been contended for in the House of Commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In that revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life, in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties.

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MACKENZIE KING

ON
TARIFF COMMISSION.

(In the Victoria Pavilion, Calgary, Alta., Oct. 11, 1920)
(Vide Calgary "Albertan," Oct. 12th.)

"We believe, however, that the tariff as at present existing needs revision, and that the direction in which the revision should be made is downwards. We feel that there is no necessity for tariff commission or any other like expedients to point the way to what is obviously demanded in the interests of consumers and producers as respects the necessities of life and the instruments of production; but that a downward revision of the tariff and, in some instances, its complete elimination should be immediately effected."

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MACKENZIE KING
ON
TARIFF COMMISSION

(At Vancouver, B. C., September 29, 1920.)

"We are asked: 'What do you propose instead?' I say cut down the extravagance of the government, cut it down by half all along the way, and you can secure every cent of the duties that is cut off by a revision of that kind. Now gentlemen, we don't need any tariff commission to tell us what to do in that regard."

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COALITION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Melville, Saskatchewan,
Nov. 13, 1921.
(Canadian Press Despatch,)
(Montreal Gazette,Nov.14)

"The country is sick of coalitions" declared Mr. King. "If the Progressives have any idea of seeking to work with the Liberals they should seek to work with us in a campaign now, rather than in dividing forces opposing the Government and then hoping to make overtures later."

"The Progressives, said Mr. King, gave the people the idea that they had no use for either of the old parties. If that was the line the Progressives took, said Mr. King, then they could not hope that either of the old parties would "have any use for them." The Liberal party, declared Mr. King, was coming into power with a strong representation from all the provinces. Quebec was as strongly Liberal as ever, as also were the Maritime Provinces. British Columbia would return more than half the Liberal members, and in Ontario the Liberals were looking forward to winning many of the seats. In the Prairie Provinces the indications were daily more favorable for the Liberals, so that there was little doubt that the Liberal party would be returned with strength sufficient to act independently of any coalition. The Progressives were heading toward what could only be more or less complete isolation of the prairie provinces, said Mr. King, and by bringing about three-cornered contests in seats which the Liberals were almost certain to win they were making it possible for the remnant of a "Tory force" to remain where otherwise it would be practically wiped out."

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COALITIONS.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Calgary, Nov. 15, 1921.
(Calgary, "Albertan" Nov. 16, 1921.)

"Do you want to combine with the Farmer party?" shouted another man.

"The Liberal party after December 6 will be independent and dependent on no one," was the reply.

"How about the Labor party?" another shouted.

"Labor is showing sound sense when men like Murdock come and take the Liberal platform," said Mr. King.

"It is a group representation and not group government," someone roared.

"I think men should be outstanding and represent all the different reflections of the country. Representation should be for labor, farmers, veterans, business and professional people in corresponding numbers to their proportion in the population."

"Question: 'Are you sure the Progressive party will not represent all the people?"

"Answer: "Iam perfetly sure they will not. How about the difference between Mr. Wood and Mr. Crerar? This is the last province such a question should come from."

"The speaker was then allowed to proceed in silence and expressed the opinion that coalitions were most expensive and meant increased taxation. One party would demand that a favored supporter should be made a judge, then another party would insist that its favorite should also get a wig and so it went on. It was simply a case or compromise all the time and the people had to pay."

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COALITION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Regina, Nov. 16, 1921.
(Regina "Leader", nov. 17/21.)

"They are saying to me today,'If you come into power you will make overtures to the Progressives and form a government of Liberals and Progressives.' I want to ask you how easy is that task likely to be; If as the result of the election a certain number of Progressives and Liberals are returned and the Progressive has to stand out before his fellow members in Parliament as the man who had no use for either of the old parties? The Progressives are making their whole campaign on the grounds that the do not want to vote for either of the old political parties. They are doing what they can to destroy the Liberal Party. Do you think human nature would make it possible for any man to turn around and immediately embrace those who had sought to destroy him. That must be thought of. There is no mistake about this; the Liberal party is going to have a lead to the extent that it will be independent and above the Progressives and every other party; and I want to say to you in the West for your own interest, send to Parliament as many supporters of the Liberal party as you can, because only in supporters of the Liberal party can you unite all classes together."

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COALITION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
(Vide "Citizen", Ottawa)
Nov. 26, 1921.

"Referring to talk about coalition, Mr. King declared 'If there is one thing this world is sick of, it is coalition. Coalition means expensive government, it means lack of decision in matters of policy, it means costly administration, it means you don't get quickly progressive legislation. The only way in which we will carry on in Canada and get a sort of government that is going to help our country in the future is by having one party so strongly supported in parliament that it will be able to have a policy of its own, a mind of its own and carry out that policy in the eyes of the people and go before the people on its record in its administration.'"

(In a speech at Chesley, Ontario, November 25th, 1921.)

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COALITION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie,
At North Bay, Ontario
December 1st, 1 9 2 1.

(Vide Ottawa "Citizen" Dec.2/21.)

"Again the Liberal leader told his audience that there would be no coalition after December 6th. 'The country is sick to death of coalitions with their log-rolling and expensive attempts to satisfy this and that party to them. What this country needs today is a strong, stable government, composed of the best minds that can be secured, which will not be afraid to lay down a policy and follow it out. And afterwards it must not be afraid to face the people on its record as a government,' he said."

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COALITION.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
At Newmarket, Ont., Jan. 19th, 1922.
(Toronto Globe, Jan. 20, 1922.)

Referring to his negotiations with the Progressives Mr. King said he would "take his constituents into his confidence."

"In forming a cabinet he had striven above all else to secure National Unity. Opinion in the Dominion was divided in a geographical way, and to secure representation from all parts of the Dominion was necessary to achieve his aim. 'Every province but one is now represented' he said, 'and I hope that that province will soon be represented' he added.

"Over and over again I have said that the Progressive Party was a sort of advanced Liberal group. I decided I would be true to what I said in that regard and I made known to Progressive leaders that I was prepared to take into my cabinet representatives of the Progressive Party on one condition; that they come into a Liberal cabinet. I was not prepared for coalition or compromise. I was prepared to take a broad interpretation of the word Liberal."

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C O A L I T I O N.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
At Quebec, February 21st, 1922.
(Montreal "Gazette", February 22/22.)

"Touching on the composition of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister stated that although they had been able to form a Liberal administration and thereby avoid any possible repetition of the costly compromises and expensive expedients of coalition, they must never lose sight of the fact that in the furtherance of their principles and policies and in their conflicts with the Tory opposition, they were assured only of an independent political support by a body of members larger than the Tory Opposition, who had not felt they were free to identify themselves with their party in either the framing or the administering of the nations policies. If they were to have national unity in Canada they could not afford to permit the citizens of any part of the country to feel that their interests and views were not given the fullest recognition in all matters of legislation. Such a circumstance might prove the most menacing of factors to the great purpose of Confederation itself. I did not belive that any problem could be satisfactorialy solved in the long run on any basis of coalition. I believed then and am more strongly convinced today that what Canada needs most is a government sufficiently one in its aims and purposes, sufficiently strong in tis personnel and policies, to be able to carry on without make or shift in any direction, but while I was unwilling to compromise with Western sentiment on a basis of coalition, I was ready in the formation of the Government, and shall ever be ready, to recognize Liberal opinion in the West or in any other quarter of the Dominion, whenever it is prepared to claim itself as such. I believe that the difference between ourselves as Liberals and many of our Progressive friends is a difference in name and not in aim, a difference in affiliation but not in political principle. Since it has not been possible to effect co-ordination in Cabinet council of the forces opposed to Toryism, we must strive the more earnestly to ensure in the House of Commons a merited co-operation in the making of the country's laws."

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GRENVILLE BYE-ELECTION.

Memorandum re Mackenzie King's Protest.

At Newmarket, on January 19th, 1922, Mr. King attempted to defend his action. Speaking at his nomination meeting, Mr. King said that his exception to Mr. Meighen's action was not intended as showing opposition to Mr. Meighen returning to parliament. According to THE TORONTO GLOBE of January 20th, 1922, Mr. King said:-

> " Had he consulted me I would have assisted him to secure a seat . . . . . But . . . . the will of the people must be respected. In the last election the people expressed their will in no uncertain terms. For Mr. Meighen to take advantage of still remaining in power to appoint any person to a position under the Crown in order to bring on a bye-election, no matter for whom, I regard as an act of usurpation. It was to that act only I took excpetion in the statement issued when I learned what he had done."
>
> "Could you imagine Sir Wilfred Laurier doing that in 1911 if he had been defeated in his own constituency? A Liberal would not have contemplated an act of that kine. On the other hand Me. Meighen told the electors of Grenville that he had chosen the seat because it was near Ottawa, a complete reversal of the proper attitude between leaders and the people."
>
> "Mr. King characterized the whole proceedings as a 'Tory autocratic act'. Mr. Meighen, he said, 'claimed a sort of God-given right to be the representative of Grenville, even if he had to resort to some method not wholly constitutional to bring that result about.'"
>
> "Mr. King declared he wished to see Mr. Meighen elected. 'He is such a firstclass Tory that I want no better opportunity to represent the difference between Toryism and Liberalism."

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GRENVILLE BYE - ELECTION.

Mackenzie King's Statement

Published December 29th,1921.

"If it be true, as the press reports of this morning indicate, that Mr. Meighen, in order to provide himself with a seat in the House of Commons, has appointed Mr. A. C. Casselman, the member elect for Grenville, to a position in the Department of Soldier's Civil Re-establishment, thereby creating a vacancy in the House of Commons, and has caused writs to be issued for a by-election in that constituency on January 26, I can only say at the moment that such a violation of constitutional proceedure can scarcely fail to bring the severest censure upon Mr. Meighen, a censure which the party he leads must also share if it countenances such an act."

"Just whether this high-handed and unwarranted course on Mr. Meighen's part can be defended on technical or legal grounds remains to be seen. That it is morally indefensible I do not hesitate to say. One thing is certain, the Canadian public will not fail to recognise, nor Canadian political history to record, that Mr. Meighen's last act as Prime Minister, like his first, was one of usurpation. When it is recalled that Mr. Meighen owes his personal defeat, and the defeat of his administration in considerable measure, to his previous usurpation of office, his attempt to regain a seat in the House of Commons by a like method of defiance of the expressed verdict of the Canadian people.

"I resent very strongly the statement which appears in the inspired despatch published in the press to the effect that there is reason to believe that what has been done was not without my knowledge. I had no intimation whatever that any act of the kind was contemplated, let alone perpetrated. If I had, I should never have countenanced it for a moment."

Handed to the press on evening of Dec.28th, 1921.

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LIBERAL POLICY IS FOR PEOPLE, NOT INTERESTS

Mammoth Meeting at Massey Hall Hears and Cheers Hon. Mackenzie King

MURDOCK SCORES COSTS

Tells How Ministry Blocked Commerce Board in Hunt for Profiteers

Liberalism made its appeal and met with enthusiastic response at Massey Hall on Saturday night. The great meeting and its overflow at the Labor Temple gave evidence of determined opposition to Meighenism and approval of the policies of Liberalism as presented by the Leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King; Mrs. H. H. Carpenter, President of the Women's Liberal Association of Ontario, and James Murdock, Liberal candidate in South Toronto, who was given a mighty reception.

The meeting was a monster demonstration, crowning Mr. King's Ontario tour, during which all his meetings have been large. The hall was filled half an hour before the meeting started, and hundreds were directed to the overflow. Hecklers were busy at intervals, but their questions and comment invariably proved boomerangs.

Stands for the People.

Part of Mr. King's address was criticism of the Meighen Administration and part a presentation of Liberal policy and the course to be pursued if the Liberal party were returned to power. He maintained that Mr. Meighen in pushing the tariff to the fore was trying to cover up sins of administration. His appeal for government for the mass of the people, instead of the favored few, struck a chord of democracy which brought the huge audience to its feet. The conviction that the present Government existed under the support and guidance of a few powerful interests was the charge of Mr. Murdock in his account of the hampering of the Board of Commerce.

Mr. King discussed the tariff and the railways. On the latter he repeated his declaration of past speeches that public ownership must be given a chance, and that the Liberal party would give it that chance. He declared emphatically that he was opposed to any monopoly of Canadian railways, and criticized the system of interlocking directorates in connection with the present management of the National Railways. On the tariff he maintained that the Liberals were for a tariff which protected the consumer and the worker—one that would bring down the costs of the necessaries of life without injury to any legitimate industry.

Neglected Toronto.

Lieut.-Col. A. E. Kirkpatrick, who presided, referred to Toronto as the "neglected child of the Tory party," confirming the neglect by mentioning the "negative Custom House" and "the inadequate Postoffice" facilities. Mr. J. B. Bartram read a message from Hon. W. S. Fielding which mentioned many reasons for the defeat of the Meighen Government.

Hon. Mr. King, introduced as the "next Premier of Canada," referred to the splendid meeting, saying that he took it as no personal tribute, but as evidence of the response of the people to the message of Liberalism which he and his colleagues were endeavoring to present to the country. That message, he said, contained a challenge of the common people to fight against the favored few. In Mr. Murdock as a Liberal candidate he saw the representative of a new democracy. Mr. King went straight into an attack on Mr. Meighen for his strenuous efforts to fasten the whole campaign on the tariff issue. "Since when in a democratic country has it been given to one to determine what is to be the issue in this campaign?" asked Mr. King. "He is trying to obscure the other issues and the record of his Government, which was autocratic in its usurpation of power. It is 10 years since we had an opportunity to discuss domestic questions. They were not talked of during the war period."

"Where were you during the war period?" asked a voice.

"Same place as Mr. Meighen," responded a returned soldier, amid laughter.

Problems for Electors.

"There is that vast army who were barely 21 when the war broke out who have not had a chance to vote on domestic questions. There are the men who were overseas and did not even get a chance to discuss them, and there are the women of the country who have been enfranchised. With this vast new electorate it is not for one man to determine the issue. Are women not to have a chance to discuss the high cost of living? Are soldiers not to have their problems discussed? (Cheers.) Are workmen not to have discussion on unemployment? Are we not to discuss railways, especially when the people have to pay the deficits? The Prime Minister forgets he is face to face with the people of Canada now, and not in Parliament with men behind him looking for life appointments, where he could adopt that high attitude because of the power of his following there. But he can't before the people. (Cheers.)

"Did you or anyone you know give Mr. Meighen and his friends the right to carry on the government of this country during the past 16 months? I have asked that question across a continent, and you will not find a man or woman who will say that she or he is either directly or indirectly responsible for the placing of that Government where it is."

"No, but we can place it elsewhere," shouted one in the audience.

"No wonder he wants to make free trade versus protection the issue. He wants the people to forget the record of his Government. It has always been the British custom to appeal to the people on the record of the Administration. By its refusal to do this the Government of Mr. Meighen stands condemned in its own eyes.

Asks Name and Gets It.

"The Government usurped its power, and under such conditions has been making appointments to the Senate and the Bench for the past 16 months, even since the announcement of dissolution."

"Name them," shouted a man.

"It would take 10 or 15 minutes," responded Mr. King, "but the last one was Sir Edward Kemp. If the Senate gets more men of the interests and class represented by Sir Edward Kemp, what hope has the democracy of Canada of getting through that Chamber the kind of legislation it needs? The trouble will be to get legislation of even any moderate kind through, if appointments like this one are made."

Policy of Secrecy In Railroad Policy

Coming to the question of the railways, Hon. Mr. King said that when the Liberal Government went out of office in 1911 this country owned 2,200 miles of railways. Today it was 22,000 miles.

"The people have had no opportunity of passing on that great question one way or another," he said. "All that is involved in the transfer of the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Railways the people have had no chance whatever of discussing. I say there was a complete ignoring of the rights of the people in the matter.

"What was even more unfortunate," Hon. Mr. King went on to say, "Parliament had had little or no say in the matter of that transaction. The Canadian Northern was taken over during the war, in the year of the extension of Parliament, when there was an explicit understanding that nothing controversial would be dealt with during that session. The people had had no chance of discussing that question one way or another, though the Government which was returned was a Government returned for the purpose of winning the war and could not be regarded as having a mandate to deal with questions of that sort."

When Sir John A. Macdonald was dealing with the construction of the C.P.R. he brought into Parliament the proposed agreement between the Government and the C.P.R. and laid it on the table for discussion by members of Parliament in order that they might have an opportunity of considering it. When the National Transcontinental Railway was constructed the same course was adopted by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Naturally, when Mr. Meighen, Sir Robert Borden and their colleagues were taking over the Grand Trunk, the members of the Opposition, who were trying to safeguard the rights of the people, thought they would meet with a favorable response when they asked that a similar course be taken. He (Mr. King) moved in Parliament that before the agreement was signed, sealed and delivered it should be laid on the table of Parliament and an opportunity given for discussion. (Cheers.)

Interests Before Public.

"Is there anyone in this audience," asked Mr. King, "who will say that that was not a right, proper and constitutional course to pursue? And yet, will you believe it, ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Meighen absolutely refused to allow that course to be taken. The agreement was signed, sealed and delieved without members of Parliament knowing what it contained.

The agreement, Mr. King pointed out, was sent over to England, was there submitted to the shareholders and bondholders of the Grand Trunk, whose solicitors were permitted to consider its contents. The shareholders passed upon it, and accepted it, and people in Canada got the terms of the agreement by the cable despatches. The shareholders and bondholders were given rights which were denied to the taxpayers of Canada who had to foot the bills according to the terms of that particular agreement.

"Is there a Conservative in this audience," asked Mr. King, "who will say that that is in accordance with Conservative traditions. I say it is violating the fundamental rights of the people."

Coming to the question of the method under which the Government controls the railway system, Mr. King said no one could be more desirous of seeing the railways of the country kept out of politics than he was. No one wanted to see such things as patronage mixed up with the administration of great public utilities. Mr: Meighen had placed the Canadian National Railways under a Board of Directors, though Mr. King did not think the act of Parliament which created that board had ever yet been put into force. He took no exception to the Government placing the management of the railways under a board rather than a departmental head, but what he wanted to bring out was that it did not matter whether the railways were run under the Department of Railways and Canals, or under a commission. So long as they were public property, so long as the money involved in the transactions was the money of the people, the people were entitled to an accounting on the floor of Parliament for every dollar that was spent. (Loud cheers.) If they could not have public ownership with publicity they could not have it at all in a democratic country. (Renewed cheers.)

People Pay Without Accounting.

Last year Parliament appropriated the immense sum of $165,000,000—the highest sum ever appropriated for railways and canals. What was the attitude taken by Mr. Meighen in regard to that sum of money? The position taken by Mr. Meighen was, that, as respects the manner in which that large sum of money should be handled, the people's representatives in Parliament were not entitled to an accounting on the floor of the House, in answer to questions put by members of Parliament. Could they imagine any greater subversion of the interests of the people?

Mr. King cited questions put to the Government by members of the Opposition—questions which the Government refused to answer on the ground that they did not want to bring the railways into politics. Questions such as whether any insurance had been placed on Govern-

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Mr. King cited questions put to the Government by members of the Opposition—questions which the Government refused to answer on the ground that they did not want to bring the railways into politics. Questions such as whether any insurance had been placed on Govern-

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ment railways, and, if so, with what companies, were not bringing the railways into politics. The question as to whether any contracts had been let was not bringing the railways into politics.

Wages and Profits.

"The public is being told that the reason the railways are so expensive is because the wages paid the men are so high. (Laughter.) My friends, **Labor is entitled to the same kind of a deal as Capital, and Capital to the same kind of a deal as Labor. If wages are made public, I do not see why the profits should not be made equally public.** (Prolonged cheers and a voice: "Get after the profiteers.")

"There are some evils in this world that publicity will cure better than penalty, and these evils of graft, greed and avarice are of that character, and I say in the whole handling of public business, particularly the handling of large sums of money, we cannot afford to have business carried on in secret councils and secret chambers." (Renewed cheers.)

In regard to all the questions which the Opposition asked the Government gave one and the same answer to them all. They said: "We have no information." They said the matter belonged to the Canadian National Railways, which was an incorporated company. When the Opposition finally found the Government would not give information, in order to put the matter clearly before the people, he (Mr. King) moved that, while there might be cases in matters of public administration where it was not advisable to disclose certain correspondence, etc., as a rule, in expenditure of public money, in accounting to the people there should be the same principle applied as in regard to other public expenditure.

How Toronto M.P.'s Vote.

"I ask you," said Mr. King, "is not that a right and fair position? If you ever depart from it there will be no control over taxation in this country. Mr. Meighen stood up and asked his following to vote against that resolution, and he voted against it. Every member from this city who was in his seat voted against it. The whole Tory party voted against it, and the resolution was defeated —a resolution to secure for the people the information as to how their taxes were being used in that expenditure."

They did not have to go far to find why that attitude was taken. The Opposition probed a little in committee, and found that $140,000,000 of insurance had been placed on Government railways. Of this sum, 30—odd millions were in connection with the fund the Canadian Northern had formed for insurance, but of the balance the greater part had been placed through one company, two of the directors of which were directors of the Canadian National Railways. When it came to the question of contracts it was found that contracts amounting to $11,000,000 had been given to a firm in the Maritime Provinces, and a director of that firm was a director of the National Railways. In this Province one firm had got contracts for $9,000,000, and one of its directors was a director of the National Railways. (Cries of "Shame!")

The charge, said Mr. King, which he brought was this: That a Government in dealing with public funds should take care that whatever method it adopted should be above suspicion. But he claimed that there was an interlocking of directorates dealing with public funds the like of which had never been known in the history of the world. (Cheers.)

Two Groups in Control.

"This country at present," he continued, "is in the hands of two groups: a group of industrial plutocrats and a group of political autocrats; working together in the administration of large sums of public money for their mutual advantage, as against the advantage of the people of the country as a whole. (Cheers.) **This combination of industrial plutocrats and political autocrats is the worst menace to freedom that any country can know, and until it is broken we can have no freedom in this country."**

Replying to an interruption regarding the lack of work in shipyards, Mr. King declared that the present Government had brought into being the Government Merchant Marine in face of general slacking-up in the carrying trade of the world and without reference to the taxpayers of Canada. There was on the statute books of the country, he went on, no law authorizing the marine service; $70,000,000 had been spent upon it, and not one tender called for by the Cabinet, which had placed orders on its own terms for no fewer than 62 merchant ships.

Appealed to in the House by the Liberals for free discussion of the marine estimates, the speaker said, the Prime Minister had refused to comply, but, by resort to the closure, had put through in two hours estimates for more than $70,000,000. It was no wonder, therefore, that the Government wished to restrain discussion of its record; if the present Prime Minister were returned to power, he would be the first to say that his methods on that and similar occasions had been endorsed by the people of Canada.

"You are not dealing with an old type of Conservative like Sir John Macdonald," said Mr. King, "but with a man who usurps the whole power of Parliament in defiance of Parliament and the people alike. A man who now asks for your confidence, but refuses to give you his regarding occurrences during the time he has been Prime Minister.

Must Be No Monopoly Of Railway Service

Turning again to the railway issue, the Liberal Leader denied that he or his party stood for the handing over to the Canadian Pacific Railway of the Government-owned lines. The Laurier policy had been framed to find a competitor to break the monopoly of the C.P.R.; to open up the Canadian West by means of a great competing system.

"So far as I am concerned, the Laurier policy will be maintained by the Liberal party when it is returned to power," declared Mr. King, amid applause. **"I am absolutely and irretrievably opposed to anything in the nature of a monopoly.** I would oppose a monopoly of the C.P.R. of all railways in this country, and equally would I oppose a monopoly of Government ownership of all railways in this country, because it is in the interests of Canada to have competition in the administration of the railway affairs of Canada. **What is essential is to prevent anything in the shape of absolute monopoly where you want to have anything approaching justice in administration of public affairs.**

"It is in the interests of the people of Canada that we give this system a fair trial. Let us see if we can't make it succeed. Whether public ownership is to succeed or not remains to be seen, but this is most essential: that it be given every possible chance to do so. **Public ownership is not having a fair trial today, but if the Liberal party is returned to power I shall do my utmost to see that, in so far as management of the Government railways is concerned, these railways are given all chance and fair play that would be given to any private system, and if we find that we cannot succeed we will make plain to the people of this country exactly wherein we find ourselves unable to do so."**

Where Does Meighen Stand?

Mr. King challenged Hon. Arthur Meighen to state publicly his attitude regarding the Government-owned lines. This, he declared, Mr. Meighen had not done. If returned to power, did he purpose to operate these lines under their present auspices, or intend, instead, to hand them over to private ownership? he asked. Surely the Dominion was entitled to a clear expression of the Premier's mind in this vital matter.

Secret diplomancy, the Liberal Leader stated, had marked the acts of the Government, even in such important issues as that of determining the status of Canada within the Empire. In the session before last, he said, Premier Meighen had told Parliament that Canada was to be represented at Washington by a Minister-plenipotentiary, who, in any absence of the British Ambassador, was to act in the capacity of that high official. That, said Mr. King, was a serious step for Canada to take, inasmuch as there was involved the final responsibility for any action taken by the Canadian Minister. Would Britain accept that responsibility or would that rest upon Canada? When the Liberals had raised the issue in the House they were told that Sir Robert Borden had "read all the correspondence, and that was all that was necessary."

"From that time up to the present," said the speaker, "the people of Canada have not seen one line in regard to the proposals then made in this matter." Resolutions proposed in the House of Commons with a view to safeguarding Canada's interests in negotiations at the conference had been voted down by the party in power. To this secret diplomacy there must be an end.

"Protection" of Whom? Asks Liberal Leader

"Talking about protection," Mr. King proceeded, "what do you mean by protection? **If you mean protecting the people, I am strong for protection; but if you mean protecting combines, monopolies, mergers and trusts by a tariff, by secrecy or any other method, then so far as I have any power in my body, and blood in my veins, I shall do my best to abolish that sort of thing.** (A Voice: "Hallelujah!" and cheers.) We have come to a time in the history of our country when the people have got, apparently, to fight for their rights against this power and privilege. There is something said in the Scriptures about the powers that work in darkness. Let me ask you this question, I asked earlier in the evening: 'Did any one of you have anything to do with giving Mr. Meighen the right to carry on this Government?' and there was not one said a word.

"Let me put this question: 'Do you think it possible for any man, let alone a young man like Mr. Meighen —the same age as myself—(hear, hear, and cheers)—to usurp the Government of this country and carry it on simply by the force of his own strength and will, unless there was some power and influence behind him to enable him to do what he is doing?' It is apparent as anything can be that there are influences, and powerful influences, but they are influences that dare not show their faces in public. There is not one that will come out in the open, and say 'Here we are. We are the ones that are controlling the situation. We are the ones enabling Mr. Meighen to carry on the Government.' These are the powers we are fighting—these powers working in darkness for their own selfish will, as against the people of the country at large. (Cheers.) We have a Government at Ottawa, a nominal Government, of which Mr. Meighen is the Prime Minister, and the gentlemen around him his colleagues, but behind that Government, controlling it, making it do its bidding, are these interests —special groups here and there that are invisible, but, nevertheless, the real Government of Canada today.

"Now, what we want in this country is a Government that the people will know all about from beginning to end—a Government that stands for the representatives of the people and represents the people in all transactions. (A Voice: "We are going to have one!") Yes, we are going to have one, sure." (Cheers.)

In regard to the tariff Mr. King said it was only one issue. There was no issue as between Protection and Free Trade.

"Who Stands for Free Trade?"

"Who stands for free trade in Canada today? How can the Prime Minister go on persisting and reiterating over and over again that the issue is protection or free trade when you cannot find any leader who will get up and say that he is advocating free trade? **Let me make it plain so far as the Liberal party is concerned, we do not stand for free trade—(loud cheers)—but we stand for a revision of the tariff—("Hear, hear!" and renewed cheers)—and we propose to see that the tariff, when it is revised, is revised in a manner that will protect the producers and consumers of this country, and not special monopolies, combines, mergers, and trusts.** (Cheers). What does Mr. Meighen say? (A voice: "Nothing!"). My friend has hit it exactly. (Cheers.) He has hit it exactly. Mr. Meighen says the issue is protection or free trade, but when he comes to state his own position as to where he stands on the revision of the tariff he has nothing to say. He put into

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the lips of the Governor-General at the last session Parliament that the Government had had a commission travelling the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific as to the need of a revision of the tariff, and he said that commission had found there was necessity for revision. He said, and his minister said, that it had been too long delayed, and he gave Parliament in the Speech to the Throne reason to understand that the tariff would be revised at this last session.

Why Meighen is Silent.

"Why was it not revised? Why! The answer is very apparent. He had to revise the tariff in one of two ways. If he had revised the tariff downwards, or, rather, let me put it the other way, if he had revised it upwards, as a good many people think it is his intention of doing, he would have got no support from the people of the country; but supposing he had revised it downwards he would have got no support from those invisible groups that are backing him at the present time, and who would have left him to fight his own battles. And that is why through this whole campaign he has not told people how he proposes to revise it."

A voice: "What about the posters? Where does the money come from?"

Mr. King replied that they had not got to look beyond the advertisements in the papers, and the posters, involving as these did vast expenditures, without seeing that behind Mr. Meighen, and his propaganda, there was a great deal of money which represented the power, not of the people, but of a few interests.

A voice: "Where does the money come from."

Hon. Mr. King: "That is the question, and I think the people will answer it when it comes to the vote." (Loud cheers.)

Liberal Tariff Policy.

Considerable amusement was caused by Mr. King's reference to the famous tariff query, as propounded by the Prime Minister. Whether he answered that query by yes or no, or if he failed to answer it at all, Mr. King said, he was declared to be "unfit for power" by the ingenious gentleman who had formulated it. The language of the question, he said, was not that of a statesman, but of a "police court lawyer."

The Liberal leader stated his own attitude in the words used by him at the acceptance of the leadership, in August, 1911. He then had said, and now repeated, that he would regard the Liberal platform as a chart on which was plotted the direction the Liberal party was expected to take, whether in or out of office. In using that chart, he said, he would surround himself with the wisest and best men available, and in their collective wisdom and experience he would find the compass to steer the ship of state. Liberals now, he said, found no fault with his stand in this regard, realizing that it was "the letter that killeth and the spirit that maketh whole," and that no unchangeable, arbitrary rule regarding tariff would suffice for a policy applicable at all times, regardless of circumstances that might arise.

"I challenge Mr. Meighen or any of his followers to produce any varying statements regarding the tariff made by me during the two years that I have been leader of the party," said Mr. King. "He cannot do it. The issue is not free trade or protection, but whether we shall have a tariff based principally upon protection, for the safeguarding of private interests, or whether we shall have one based principally on revenue, which, when framed in a fair and honest way, will give what protection is required for any legitimate industry in this country." (Cheers.)

The tariff, the speaker said, was merely a wall. If too high, it gave a few on one side a chance to profit at the expense of the many; a few became millionaires while the masses suffered deprivation and poverty.

Legitimate Industry Safe.

Hon. Mr. King pointed out that this year $560,000,000 had to be raised to carry on the business of the country.

"Let me say here," he remarked, "that no legitimate industry, earning a legitimate profit, need have the slightest concern as to how its business will be affected under any Liberal revision of the tariff." (Cheers.)

The public debt had to be paid off and how was it to be done? There was only one way, and that was by increasing production in the great industries of our country. In the great basic industries was all the wealth from which all our great industries had to develop, and from which the country would have to derive the revenues it needed in the future. The four basic industries were agriculture, mining, fisheries and lumber. What the Liberals said was that the way to build up our country was to make possible the development of these natural resources in the fullest manner possible. The men engaged in them had to have capital in the form of tools, instruments of production, and the Liberals would seek to have taxation bear as lightly as possible on the capital required for the development of the industries of the country. Was there a manufacturer who would like to have the capital of his industry taxed? A manufacturer would say that such a thing would be madness. If that were true of a manufacturing business of any character, it was equally true in developing the great natural resources of the country. It was for that reason the Liberals favored a revision which would aid producers by having taxation bear as lightly as possible on the instruments of production. Then there were the daily necessaries of life which all classes must have; and in the interest of the employers as well as the employees, in the interests of the towns as well as the country, it was desirable that on these necessaries of life taxation should bear as lightly as possible.

In Union Is Strength.

"I have always been a friend of Labor," said the Liberal Leader, amid applause. "Labor is one of the great components of any nation. In its ranks you will find the representation of the many humble homes, and a nation can be great only as its humble homes are happy. (Cheers.) We need today the co-operation of all classes and groups of the community, and no one group has any right or claim to monopoly. Party is not an end, but a means to an end, whereby men and women who think alike may unite to bring their views to bear upon the Government."

Warning was given by the speaker of the enormous power vested in the Government today by virtue of its control of patronage, the amendment of the Elections Act and the control of voting. Power was piled upon power, and the only hope of those desiring freedom and liberty lay in unity of thought and action. Such unity was impossible, he said, with diverse groups and parties, all of whose platforms held much in common. As in the great war, each separate ally in this fight was in the right, but the forces of freedom could hope to prevail only by the union of their strength in the face of a common foe.

Appeal of Woman.

Mrs. H. H. Carpenter, President of the Women's Liberal Association of Ontario, spoke briefly. She referred to the death of Lady Laurier, who was Honorary President of the Women's Association. Mrs. Carpenter attacked the Meighen Government for taking the credit of extending the franchise to all women. "The Union Government did it," she said, "and it was advocated by others before that." Mrs. Carpenter, speaking of the great advertising campaign being carried on for the Government forces, was interrupted with the question:

"Where does the money come from?"

"I don't know, but I think it might better be spent for unemployment and the soldiers."

Mrs. Carpenter was presented with a bouquet by little Miss Elizabeth Miller, daughter of the late Col. Armour Miller and Mrs. Miller.

Murdock Talks Out On Cost of Living

James Murdock, Liberal candidate for South Toronto, after receiving an ovation rivalling even that accorded the Liberal Leader, proceeded with his arraignment of the Government for its attitude toward the Board of Commerce when Mr. Murdock was a member. Although not personally desirous of the post, he said, he had accepted it out of a sense of responsibility, and commenced his duties as a commissioner in October, 1919.

The board found, he said, that there was great necessity for the curbing hand which he thought it was intended should be exercised, the necessity being especially in evidence in the case of sugar, wall paper, boots and shoes, building materials, textiles, cement and canned goods.

"The board found," he then proceeded, "that in certain cases when it appeared necessary to apply some remedy to correct certain exorbitant profits being made by certain individuals some quiet means were taken by some parties to prevent the cases from being handled farther, and we were told that, in certain cases, an agreed understanding between certain parties interested and the monopoly had been reached and that it would not be necessary to press certain cases farther.

Must Serve Interests.

"I have stated, and I contend, that the special and protected interests of the country are the Conservative party, and that theirs are the interests that must be conserved by those representing the Conservative party and the Government in the Dominion of Canada. It is my firm conviction that, whatever may be promised by the Conservative Government as a policy on the tariff or any other question, or whatever need for Canada may arise during the term of office of a Conservative party, and whatever crisis may arise or whatever development may be encountered in the nation's affairs, it will be the wishes, aims and ambitions of the special and protected interests of this country that will guide the Government and rule Canada through the Conservative Government."

In less than three months, said Mr. Murdock, the Government called a halt on the board, just when two of the commissioners were beginning to evolve order out of chaos. In an interview with "a veteran member of the Conservative party, then a Cabinet Minister," it was tactfully told him that the sacred domain of the plutocrat should not be invaded. Mr. Murdock had told the veteran Minister that, so far as he was concerned, there "was nothing doing."

Board's Doom Sealed.

"From that day," he proceeded, "the doom of the Board of Commerce was sealed, although we didn't at the moment realize this, but from then on it was beset with obstacles at certain times due to the slow machinery in the appointment of civil servants necessary for assistance which the board required, and we were handicapped at times in securing information from various sources until the information given would come too late.

"Daily we had proofs that a strong, persistent and carefully planned campaign was under way to render abortive all of the work undertaken by the board. The action of certain members of the Cabinet at this time was unmistakable."

Fight for Figures.

He recounted the futile efforts of the board to probe the textile firms, and proceeded:

"It had been stated, we were advised, that it would cost one and a half millions of dollars to prepare the data requested by the board, and that it would take three months to prepare the necessary information. But later, when the Cabinet decided not to interfere, as a result of our objection, these same textile manufacturers came across very promptly with the information requested, and disclosed a state of affairs that would have, if it had been known, incensed the people of Canada throughout its length and breadth. We found that certain of the textile manufacturers had, on their products sold to the consuming public of Canada, made several hundred per cent. profit, in many cases, and we found that in nearly every case what might be regarded as exorbitant and unfair profits had been made by these concerns.

"Practically the same situation developed in connection with building materials, and also in the case of cement prices investigation, which the board instituted. But, regardless of the necessity of putting in force some corrective measures in regard to textiles, building materials, cement, and in connection with a possible combine of the canners

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detrimental to the public interest, the board was powerless under the act to proceed farther.

A New Commandment.

"During the months of May and June, 1920, it became clearly apparent that the board was not to be permitted to do anything which would in any measure embarrass the business interests of the country, and that it was not to be permitted to prevent them from making all the profits that the business traffic would bear. It became evident to me that a new standard was set up for the guidance of the board, and that the policy of the Government was to ensure the application of an additional commandment, reading: 'Thou shalt not prevent our friends from preying on their fellow-men; neither shalt thou prohibit them from exploiting the nation's distress.'

"I had, in an interview with the veteran Cabinet Minister on December 19, 1919, absorbed the view that this was the intended policy of the Government, and every action of the Cabinet Ministers after that conversation, and until the day I resigned from the board, indicated the intent of the Cabinet's decision."

Premier "Surprised."

On June 17, 1920, and later, Mr. Murdock had interviews with the Prime Minister, and had placed the facts before him. "The only result, however," he said, "was an expression of surprise on the part of the Prime Minister.

"I had advised that gentleman, at my meeting with him on June 17, that unless action was taken within one week to permit the board to function untrammelled, I would decline to accept a salary from the people of Canada if I was not to be permitted to give service. No results developed from the conversations with the Prime Minister, and so my resignation was sent to him on June 24.

"In that resignation I gave sufficient, in my judgment, to warrant some reasonable investigation of the allegations made, and stood prepared to present further evidence and facts in connection with the situation on request. It should be noted that I had previously given to the Prime Minister all the facts in connection with the various actions which I alleged had been committed by members of the Cabinet in preventing the board from doing its duty.

Charge Against Meighen.

"I charge that both Mr. Doherty and Mr. Meighen knew, when they referred to the matter in the House of Commons, that the Board of Commerce could not proceed to do the things which the Combines and Fair Prices Act said ought to be done, for the reason that the board was then without a Chief Commissioner.

"The entire situation of the work and efforts of the Board of Commerce might be summed up simply by saying that the act was passed by Parliament evidently to allay a feeling of unrest throughout the length and breadth of Canada, but that it was determined in advance—no doubt, as was demonstrated during the time the board was trying to perform its duty, that various members of the Government had made up their mind in advance—that no interference with the business interests, their friends, would be tolerated.

In concluding Mr. Murdock poked some fun at The Mail and Empire, and recalled its publication of the utterance of a prominent American to the effect that hard times were produced "by monkeying with the Ten Commandments." That, he said was exactly his position. "Men in high places in Canada were permitting special and protected interests to steal from the people of Canada unfair profits. They were violating the spirit of the Eighth Commandment."

"By Their Fruits" Judge All Tariffs, Says Mr. Fielding

It had been hoped that Hon. W. S. Fielding, veteran Liberal and Minister of Finance during Canada's period of greatest prosperity, would be a speaker at Massey Hall on Saturday evening, but, as he had previously arranged to be in Nova Scotia, he could not be present. However, he sent a message to the Ontario electorate, which, when read by J. B. Bartram, President of the Central Liberal Association of Toronto, was enthusiastically cheered.

The message follows:

"I regret that, being obliged to leave tomorrow to fill engagements in Nova Scotia, I cannot respond to your invitation to speak with Mr. King at the Toronto meeting tomorrow night. There are many reasons why the Meighen Government should not receive the confidence of the people. Not the least among them is the systematic misrepresentation of the tariff question, which Mr. Meighen says is the great issue of the campaign. There never has been, and probably never will be, free trade in this Dominion. No platform of any political party proposes free trade. No political leader of any party proposes free trade. In the face of these indisputable facts, Mr. Meighen, in his speeches, and his Publicity Committee, in its advertisements, represent that free trade is the issue, and ask the electors to vote against free trade. It is amazing that a gentleman holding the position of Prime Minister of Canada should persist in such palpable misrepresentation, but he and his authorized committee are doing this for the undisguised purpose of misleading manufacturers and workingmen.

"By their fruits the public shall know the policies of the two political parties. The Liberals took office at a time of depression in 1896. Under their tariff policy, which was not the National Policy, as is now claimed by Conservatives, but a reformed and (except as to a few luxuries) a reduced tariff, the country prospered as never before. The period from 1897 to 1911 was one of the full dinner pail to the workingman. Workmen who read the hysterical newspaper advertisements and street posters of the Government party will remember that substantially the same methods were employed by the same party in 1896. The Liberal party has given the country abundant proof of the moderation and wisdom with which it treats tariff questions, and there is no reason to suppose that if again placed in power it will not, as before, frame its economic policy with due regard to the needs of all classes of the Canadian people."

Toronto Globe
Monday Nov 7th/21

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MEMORANDUM

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The attached was handed me by Senator Robertson with the request that it be placed before you. He would like if you would go through it at your leisure, and, if you think, it could be used to advantage turn it over to Hugh Clark.

The Senator's opinion was that it might be shown how similar the actions of Mr. Mackenzie King were to those of his grandfather. All the extracts are accurate and taken from William Lyon Mackenzi's own publication while an exile.

A.W.M.

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Following are extracts taken from The "Caroline Almanack" for 1840 published by W.Lyon Mackenzie while a fugutive from Canada and residing in Rochester N.Y. Issued in 1839.

Jany 8th- Year 1815- BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, amost glorious American victory over a cruel and sanguinary enemy whose watch word was " Beauty and Booty" and who had resolved, if successful, to deliver up the city to the soldiers to gratify their cupidity and lust. No treaty can bind the faithless and brutal governmant of England. We have read the mystery of Babylon in the 17th chapter of Revelations, attentively, and are satisified that "the Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth" there spoken of, is England, the bloody English power, which has ascended out of the bottomless pit; and that the prophecy of its destruction will speedily be fulfilled.

Jany 10th. Year 1815. English Army evacuate New Orleans. - 1645- Archbishop Laud, an intolerant, preur political Archbishop who had spent a long life persecuting the English people whose belief did not accord with the sreed of the national church, was beheaded this day. Doctor Strachan over at Toronto is a character very like Laud.

Jany 18th. Year 1839- Battle of Cowpens. Five Canadian worthies suffered martyrdom at Montreal, for their love of freedom, and their hatred of English tryanny. All these murders of virtuous Canadians are urgen on by the bloody Queen of England, who is as keen for spilling blood as her mad old grandfather.

(Note) Some one elses grandfather seems to have been mad also.

Feby 2nd. Year 1839- Victoria Melbournes bloody divan endorse Sir George Arthurs barbarous of Von Schoults, and other prisoners of war taken at Prescott.

Feby 15th. Year 1839- This day was also marked by the martyrdom at Montreal, of Francois Nicolas, Teacher of St Marguerite, who had risen but once to chase Vbctorias bands from a land which they hold by the same right as the highwayman holds the travellers purse whom he has just murdered;

(NOTE)
Yet how did this Puritan propose to wrest Canada and ingnominieacously fail ?

Feby 17th. Year 1815. Peace between England and France ratified. - 1778, Lord North proposes a bill to the English parliament solemnly pledging the national faith never to tax any North American Colony thereafter without its consent. It passed; and that is one reason why I would not be sorry to see the English Peerage, Parliament, men and Ministry begging their bread in foreigh lands.

Feby 22nd. Year1838- The attempt to join the patriots this day in arms in Upper Canada, with the refugees and American

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Feby 22nd. Year 1838- The attempt to join the patriots this day in arms in Upper Canada with the refugees and American volunteers from French Creek failed. It was the most promising of all the attempts to give the republicans possession of Canada.

March 5th. Year 1770. THE BOSTON MASSACRE. The English soldiers in a scuffle with the people fired upon them and 11 men fell. The same horror which seized the people of Montreal on the fatal 21st of May 1832, now filled mens minds in Boston. and the blood then shed was avenged in the revolution, as that recently shed in Canada will soon be on this continent.

Arril 12th. Year 1838- Messrs Lount and Matthews, two of the bravest Canadian patriots were executed this day, by order of Sir George Arthur, and at the urgent request of the Executive Council. Petitions to Arthur were presented asking him to spare their lives, but in vain. He knew that Victoria, and the English Ministry and Peerage thirsted for Canadian blood and he obeyed orders.

May 18th. Yearm 1804- Bonaparte declared by the French as their Emperer, by nearly a unanimous vote.-1803; England, urged thereto by her hatred of free institutions, and fearful of the spread of republicanism in France, declares was on France- 1824; Mackenzie commences " The Advocate" newspaper which was printed at Lewiston N.Y., by Oliver Grace, and circulated from Queenston Ont.

June 2nd. Year 1628- Bill of rights granted to the people of England by Charles 1st. The impious and hypocritical government of England, kept those rights from the Canadians 1837-38 at the cost of 35,000 bayonets, while they pretended to give liberty to the colored man in Jamica.

June 8th. Year 1826. The Advocate Press destroyed, the types thrown into Lake Ontario, and Mr Mackenzie's dwelling house broken open by violence by a loyal mob of 16 Government officers.

June 13. Year 1838. Colonels Maitland and Netherall knighted by Victoria, for their barbarity to innocent Canadians.

June 30th. Year 1829- The Tariff bill, a base scheme to obtain many millions yearly out of the industry of the people for purposes of corruption, under the control of the party in the majority for the time being, burnt by the people of Columbia, S.C. with the effigies of Clay and Webster its advocates;

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July 4th. Year 1836. Mr Mackenzie issues first number of "The Constitution" a republican journal, for an article published in which the government, immediately beforethe revolt, resolved to arrest him for high treason- The Reformers of U.C. defeated at the elections, by the purchase of the Methodist conference leaders by Sir F. Head and Lord Glenelg.

The Methodists concluded to publish a conference paper in which, by mixing up religion and Methodism with Canadian politics, they could add to their influence and Ryerson was chosen Editor. ----- In 1833 he went to England on spiritual business,where Mr.Mackenzie introduced him to Messrs, H. Ellice, Hume and other eminent men. This introduction was artfully used to injure the reform interest;aided materially to place the Canadian Methodists under the power of the English conference; got large grants of money out of the Canadian revenue from the English government to prop his order,under the guise of mission grants;returned to Canada; slandered his old reforming friends;carried a majority of the methodist preachers on conference with him;held out to them hope of pecuniary benefit to their order, independent of the people. ------ It is owing to the selfish and mercenary influence of the brothers Ryerson, with the conference press, the Christian Guardian, under their control,that the reformers lost the elections. Egerton Ryerson,then in England, was unwearied in his efforts to promote Sir Francis Heads interests against that of the people, as his letters and conduct fatally show.

July 5th. Year 1814- The Americans defeat the forces of the tyrants of England,who retreat.

July 6th. Year 1779- Fairfield Conn; burnt by the English and American Loyalists---- People of America, your cause and that of Canada is one. If the Canadians are enslaved through your apathy,hope not to escape the punishment your selfishness will have merited.

July 8th. Year 1837- Great meeting of reformers at Doel's brewery Toronto. They applaud the Lower Canadians,resolve to make common cause with them in their opposition to English tyranny;propose a convention of reformers, a delegation to Lower Canada and the division of the colony into districts and societies,on the Irish plan of '98.

July 31st. Year 1837- Adjourned meeting of reformers of Toronto at Doel's brewery;they agree to a declaration of grievances, rights and duties,recommend auxilliary associations, a convention and to stand by the Lower Canadians. Mr Mackenzie appointed agent and corresponding secretary,a committee of vigilence nominated,members of convention elected for city,and resolutions for non consumption of English manufacturers agreed to.

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Aug 8th. All weather prophets are cheats and dupes of others. No man living can tell what the weather will be the week after; We are sorry to see the Anti-slavery Annanack filled with weather predictions, which its editors know to be an insult and a mockery of their benevolent readers understandings.

Aug 14th- Year 1795 NATIONAL GRATITUDE- That without the men, ships, arms, and treasure of France, the United States could not have achieved their independence is clear. Yet what was the return they made that gallant nation when struggling for a like freedom from foreign and domestic tyranny.? This day the President and Senate ratified a treaty of perpetual friendship, navigation and commerce with Englands aristocracy, America's ancient tyrany, broke faith with france in her hour of trouble.

Oct 3rd. Year 1691. Treaty pf Limerick between William of Orange and the Irish independent forces, agreed to this day. It was an unfortunate agreement for Ireland, and only made to be betrayed by the faithless English bank note aristocracy.

Oct. 15th. Year 1794. Marie, Queen of France, sister of the Emperor of Austria, conveyed ina cart to the place of execution, her arms tied behind her, and beheaded, no man or woman showing a sign of pity. She had been the peoples awful enemy; and the she-wolf Victoria who has spilt blood like water "may profit by her example".

Oct 20th. Year 1837- The English suddenly take and destroy the Turkish fleet at Navarino without war or provocation; although Admiral Coddrington, in his despatch published by the Government, declares, that his object was to "induce Ibraham Pasha to discontinue the brutal war of extermination. What else has the English war in Canada been but a "war of extermination" ?

Nov 17th. Year 1837- The Priests of the Seminary, Montreal, subscribe large sums to feed and clothe the tory volunteers who were murdering and plundering their countrymen at St Eustache.

Nov 25th Year 1783- New York evacuaten by the English army. England has since sent a far more dangerous force of Jews, brokers, bankers, importers, agents quacks and speculators, in place of the other, who teach the Americans those infernal arts which undermine national virtue and take away that peace and happiness which can never be restored.

Dec 2nd. Year 1805-Battle of Austrelitz gained by Napoleon. Among other villans killed by this battle was that traitor Wm. Pitt. Austrelitz sickened him-Pitt-he took to bed- and on 23rd of July 1806 joined the bloody crew he had hired to war against liberty on this side of the grave.

Note;- The Almanack for the month of December is too long to even quote briefly as it deals almost entirely with the rebellion in both Upper and Lower Canada and can only be appreciated when read in full.

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Reviewing the foregoing extracts from the written record one is fosibly impressed with the outstanding arrogancy of the writer;of his contempt for the views of all others; his utter disregard for truth;his unbridled hatred for and toward all who do not agree with and follow his lead blindly.

Throughout, he rails against England, Englands Queen and Her Majesties rulers in England and Canada. He lauds Napoleon and charges France with ingratitude toward the United States and conversly charges the United States with ingratitude toward France. He condemns English church Bishops,Roman Catholic priests and Methodists alike; throws a fit when men like Clay and Webster advocate a protective tariff policy in their own country, while Mackenzie the writer,wasa fugutive therein.

The closing pages of the Almanac contain a long letter written by Mackenzie addressed to the"People of Upper Canada". In he sums up his hatred for England and all things connected with English political,financial of judicial institutions. He speaks with disappointment concerning the United States and forecasts disaster to them for having imitated English laws and practices, political and commercial. One sentence worthy on note in passing and indicating Mackenzies ruling passion reads, " My darling wish for twenty years was to see one great federal union of the nations of North America,by which I expected to see perpetual peace maintained. But the time is not yet come. The sooner we get rid of English,power, the nature of which this Almanack described,the better."

Nearly one hundred years have elapsed since then. Today we have a grandson replica of Mackenzie of 1837, posing as the only saviour of his beloved country. He rants against the tories just as his illustrious grandsire did and with equal eloquence. He solicits the sympathy and aid of Progressives for four years and after receiving it,now proposes to throw them into the discard because he senses that their further aid is harmful and not helpful to Mackenzie. Just so did Mackenzie the first seek aid of the United States,himself become a fugitive therein and then proceed to publish condemnations of that countries instititions,laws and public men.

Mackenzie the first, constantly posed as a patriot,all others being parisites; How like his grandsire is Mackenzie the present? when posing as a partiot.
On landing from England in a dense fog and missing the dock at Halifax,he kisses a rock and pledges his life on the alter of his countries service,(After the war is over); On Aug 6th 1914 he wired John D.Rockfeller Jr. at New York, that he was ready to enter the service of that gentleman any time he might send for him(the war was then 48 hours old). How similar was the patriotism of the first and second edition of Mackenzie's? where the British Empire was concerned.

Mackenzie the original Canadian patriot,writes to the people of Upper Canada saying it was his"darling wish for 20 years to see one great federal unionin North America"and that the sonerCanada can get rid of English power the better. If the people of Canada today will just sit down and review the acts of commission and omission which might reasonably indicate the attitude of the present patriot ~~mmmmMackenzie~~ they will be amazedm at the resemblance between the obvious desires of the latter as compared with the expressed desire of the former

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Form No. 2.

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH SERVICE,

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,

DOMINION OF CANADA.

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D. H. KEELEY, *General Superintendent*

Sent by	Received by	Time	Check
		9 A.M.	H. L.

No. _____ Dated Ottawa Oct 20th 191

Received at _____

To Hon. Arthur Meighen
Tadoussac

Secretary of state for the Colonies has advised me by cable that you have represented to the Prime Ministre of great Britain through him that you are most anxious to give publicity to the proceedings of the imperial meeting of July 29th 1921 on the question of the embargo on Canada cattle I have informed Mr Churchill that the Government is

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D. H. KEELEY, *General Superintendent.*

Sent by ..... | Received by ..... | Time ..... | Check 056740

No. ..... Dated 191

Received at .....

To .....

agreeable to publicity being
given the proceeding in ques-
tion and he has been always
that the whole of the proceedings
at meetings 32 & 33 will be pu-
blished tomorrow except
middle part of page three
which deals with proceedings

W L Mackenzie King

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056741

Ottawa, Ont. January 27th. 1922.

Dear Mr. King:

I think I owe it to Messrs. Armstrong, Buskard and Boyce to speak to you as to their qualifications, etc. in respect of their services.

I have been trying to get you since Saturday without success. Might I ask that their positions be not jeopardized until I have at least had an opportunity of speaking to you.

Yours very truly.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King
Ottawa, Ont

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M. King

056742

Ottawa, Ont. March 20th. 1922

Dear Mr. Roaf:

I have your letter of the 18th. inst., and thank you for the suggestions contained therein. One must, of course, wait for the proper time, but it is not difficult to surmise that the time might easily come for their adoption.

Yours very truly,

Jas. R. Roaf, Esq.,
95 King Street, East,
TORONTO, Ont.

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Jas. R. Roaf
Barrister, Solicitor, Notary &c
Commissioner for Quebec

95 King Street East,
Toronto.

Telephone Main 516, 517.
Cable Address "Roaf"

056743

18th Mar. 1922.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:

We hear remarks about the leader of the Government being the grandson of his grandfather and also that he is the successor of and has Sir Wilfred Laurier's mantle of oratory upon him.

Allow me to suggest that King David was a reformer, in that the oppressed and those in debt fled to him for relief and that later on he had a grandson Rehoboan.

As to the mantle of oratory there is a fable of Aesop in which he tells of a certain animal admired by the children on the English Seaside places, that heard a lion roar and thought he would like to roar in the neighbourhood of the barnyard and put a lion's skin upon him before roaring but when he did roar the animals did not find it the roar of a lion but knew it as the bray they were accustomed to.

A little absurdity can sometimes be suggested in a political speach and if the above parallels had not accured to you I take the liberty to suggest them.

Yours truly,

Jas R Roaf

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056744

"LA MINERVE"

Montreal, July 22, 1922.

TRANSLATION

WHAT DID MR. KING DO AT WASHINGTON?

Is is true that he was preparing to behead Sir Lomer in revenge for the dickerings of the latter with Mr. Meighen during the electoral campaign?

Ottawa, 22nd. - On his return from Washington Mr. Mackenzie King hastened to state that there was no talk on the tariff during his trip.

Then Mr. Mackenzie King would do well to exercise a more rigid control on the Committee styled National Liberal Convention, with quarters at 115 Sparks St., Ottawa, and which edits and sends to the press a weekly political letter.

While Mr. King was at Washington, and could not intimate to his scribes what should be published and what should be kept quiet, they wrote:

> "The Hon. Mackenzie King discussed with the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, the revision of the Rush-Bagot agreement, and news from Washington also states that the Prime Minister of Canada has been invited to dine with Senator Gery of Rhode Island. There is no doubt that in such company discussion on tariff legislation as at present in force, was broached.

"The Hon. Mr. King" - mercilessly continues the Bulletin of the National Liberal Convention - "has

> always been in favor of greater intimacy in the closest relations between the United States and Canada. His visit was made so as to avoid the friction which certain laws might have entailed, and to prepare the path towards a better understanding not only from the standpoint of international relations, but above all from the standpoint of commercial relations."

How had Mr. Mackenzie King the nerve (cheek) to declare on his return, that there was no question as to the tariff while he was at Washington when his own organ expressly stated that that was the principal objective of his trip?

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 056745

It was because, during his absence, an important event had transpired. The "Minerve" made its first echo last week when it said:

> "A big party play is on at this hour because the two problems of tariff and coalition are so intimately allied together that we have every reason to believe that if Mr. King went a-seeking to Washington it is the guarantee exacted by the Progressives, partisans of reciprocity. If he obtained what he sought, well, they could go over (dispense with) Mr. Gouin's head."

Only Sir Lomer was unwilling that we go over his head, and he put his good protectionist friends agog so as to destroy the consequences of Mr. King's trip to Washington. The newspapers are devoted to Sir Lomer, without seeming to be, as for instance the "Montreal Star" which recalled to Mr. Mackenzie King that Reciprocity had already made Sir Wilfrid and Mr. Fielding descend from their pinnacle, and advised him to go to Washington, the reciprocity cemetery where he could find the blanched bones of its defenders.

That is why, on his return, Mr. King conversed with us but on the Rush-Bagot agreement, a treaty of about a hundred years old, which reposed tranquilly in its pigeon-hols until Mr. King - by what inspiration of Heaven? - considered all of a sudden that it should be revised.

Relations will remain none the less strained, under an apparent tranquillity, between the Prime Minister and Sir Lomer Gouin, and it can be believed that the latest events have not mended matters any.

It is whispered to-day that the cabal between Sir Lomer and Mr. Meighen towards a Liberal-Conservative-Protectionist coalition against the Progressives and the Free-Traders of all shades dates not but to yesterday, but that Sir Lomer met Mr. Meighen at Montreal, while the electoral campaign was in full swing, before making his dive at Laurier-Outremont, and that Mr. King, being warned, ran in great haste just in time to separate the unionists.

And you can readily understand that since Mr. Mackenzie King has not sinned through an excess of confidence.

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056746

"La Minerve," Montreal
Sat. July 22/22

QUE FAISAIT M. KING A WASHINGTON?

Est-il vrai qu'il se préparait à scier le cou à sir Lomer, pour se venger des tractations de celui-ci avec M. Meighen en pleine campagne électorale?

Otaawa, 22 — A son retour de Washington M. Mackenzie King s'empressa de déclarer qu'il n'avait été aucunement question, pendant son voyage, de tarif.

Alors M. Mackenzie King ferait bien d'exercer un contrôle plus sévère sur le comité dit libéral national, qui a ses quartiers 115 rue Sparks, Ottawa ,et qui édite une lettre politique hebdomadaire envoyée aux journaux.

Pendant que M. King étant à Washington ne pouvait intimer à ses scribes ce qu'il fallait dire et ce qu'il fallait taire, ceux-ci écrivaient:

"L'honorable Mackenzie King a discuté avec le secrétaire d'Etat Hughes la révision de l'accord Rush-Bagot, et les nouvelles de Washington nous apprennent également que le premier ministre du Canada a été invité à dîner par le sénateur Gery, du Rhode-Island. Il n'y a pas de doute qu'en telle compagnit on a abordé la discussion de la législation tarifaire actuellement en vigueur.

"L'honorable M. King—continue impitoyablement le bulletin du Comité libéral national — a toujours été en faveur d'une plus grande intimité et de relations plus étroites entre les Etats-Unis et le Canada. Sa visite a eu pour but d'éviter les frictions que certaines lois auraient pu occasionner, et de préparer les voies à une entente plus parfaite non seulement au point de vue des relations internationales, mais surtout au point de vue *des relations commerciales.*"

Comment M. Mackenzie King a-t-il eu le culot de déclarer, à son retour, qu'il n'avait aucunement été question de tarif à Washington, alors que son organe déclare expressément que c'était le but principal de son voyage?

C'est que, pendant son absence, une importante nouvelle avait transpiré. La "Minerve" s'en faisait la première l'écho, la semaine dernière, lorsqu'elle mentionnait:

"Il se joue une partie grosse à cette heure, car les deux problèmes de tarif et de coalition sont intimement liés l'un à l'autre, et nous avons tout lieu de croire que ce que M. King est allé chercher à Washington c'est la garantie du gage qu'exigent les progressistes, partisans de la réciprocité. S'il l'obtient, eh bien, il pourra se passer de M. Gouin.

Seulement sir Lomer n'entend pas qu'on se passe de sa tête et il a mis aussitôt en branle ses bons amis protectionnistes afin d'annihiler les résultats du voyage de M. King à Washington. Les journaux à la dévotion de sir Lomer, sans qu'il y paraisse, tel le "Star" de Montréal, ont rappelé à M. Mackenzie King que la réciprocité avait déjà descendu sir Wilfrid Laurier et M. Fielding du pinacle et lui ont conseillé d'aller visiter à Washington, le cimetière réciprocitaire où il porrait trouver les os blanchis de ses devanciers.

Voilà pourquoi, à son retour M. King ne nous a entretenu que du traité Rush-Bagot, un traité vieux de cent ans qui dormait bien tranquillement dans les cartons lorsque M. King — par quelle inspiration du ciel? — s'avisa tout à coup qu'il devait être revisé.

Les relations n'en demeurent pas moins fort tendues, sous une tranquilité apparente, entre le premier ministre et sir Lomer Gouin, et l'on peut croire que les derniers évènements n'ont rien réparé.

L'on chuchote aujourd'hui que les conciliabules de sir Lomer avec M. Meighen en vue d'une coalition libérale-conservatrice protectionniste contre les progressites et les libre-échangistes de toute nuance ne datent pas d'hier, que sir Lomer aurait rencontré M. Meighen à Montréal en pleine campagne électorale, avant de faire le plongeon dans Laurier-Outremont, et que M. King, averti accourut en grande vitesse juste à temps pour séparer les conjoints.

Et vous comprendrez facilement que depuis M. Mackenzie King n'ait pas péché par excès de confiance.

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056747

Ottawa, Ont. July 29th. 1922.

Dear Mr. King:

I duly received your telegram of the 28th. instant, addressed to me at Tadoussac, and am pleased that it has been arranged to make public at least this much of the proceedings of the Conference.

Yours very truly,

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056748

Ex Ottawa Journal,

Sat. Aug. 26, 1922.

MR. KING AS LIBERATOR.

Mr. Mackenzie King, our talented young Premier, has been discovered in a new role. The discovery has been made by Mr. King himself: and the role is an heroic one. How the find was made, and the news given to the world, is a curious round about story. One day, after Ireland was set free, and the Sassenach was leaving Dublin Castle, an Hiberian editor in far-off Tuam set down and wrote to Mr. King. He was a practical sort of Celt probably originally a Scotsman, and wanted to know whether Canada could buy from or sell anything to Old Ireland. Whereupon Mr. King sat down to his desk, and this is what he wrote:

> "I have regarded it as a happy circumstance that the return to power of the Liberal administration in Canada should coincide with the inauguration of the Irish Free State. I am sure that the larger freedom which this is certain to mean to the peoples of both countries cannot do other than strengthen the ties of friendship between them. I am not less confident that the Dominion will lend every encouragement to the fostering of intercourse, commercial and otherwise, between the two countries."

And so poor Mick Collins and Griffith and the other Sinn Fein heads had nothing on young Mr. King. They might drive the Black and Tans from the passes of Wicklow, but didn't our "Little Billy" drive Meighen's tyrants from the offices on Parliament Hill? Two tyrants collapsed simultaneously; Ireland and Canada freed on the same day! Hail to the Canadian Liberator!

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056749

"L'EVENEMENT"

Sat. Sept. 9, 1922.

TRANSLATION.

NOTICE TO MR. KING.

In the Alberta farmers' Bulletin Mr. H.W. Wood, with the incontestable authority which he exercises over the Progressives, peremptorily refused the offers past, present or future of the Prime Minister and declares war to the knife on whoever of the Members of the new party allow themselves to be tempted to an alliance with the Liberal party. In order that his ultimatum would receive the greatest possible publicity Mr. Wood took care to address a copy of his article to all dailies in Canada. From this step it can be judged that the man from Missouri, to use one of his favorite expressions, means business.

This new rebuff is not of a nature to raise the prestige of the Prime Minister. Without much regard for the feelings of the French Canadian Liberals of the East who put him into power, Mr. King has already shown too much sympathy for the Progressives and for their ideas. It is time that he change and be no longer the friend of a class but the man of government which the country needs. He should cease deluding himself as to the means, renounce trying to charm the irreducible so as to give his care to the grave problems in which the whole nation is interested, and show more firmness than he has up to the present.

By the very fact that he has so often flirted with the radical element the Chief of the present government has indicated his opposition to all alliance with the Conservative party. That is his affair. The people will

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be satisfied with a Liberal government so long as it offers guarantees of moderation and stability. But to make up the deficiency in numerical strength which it lacks in Parliament, the Liberal party would need to go before the electorate again and ask for a more definite mandate, or for at least a sufficient number of Members that would permit of its attaining its goal without further oscillations.

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056751

L'Evenement, Sat. Sept. 9/22.

AVIS A M. KING

Dans le bulletin des fermiers albertains, M. H. W. Wood, avec l'autorité incontestable qu'il exerce chez les progressistes, refuse péremptoirement les offres passées, présentes ou futures du premier ministre et déclare une guerre au couteau à quiconque des députés du nouveau parti se laisserait tenter par une alliance avec le parti libéral. Afin que son ultimatum reçoive la plus grande publicité possible, M. Wood a pris soin d'adresser une copie de son article à tous les quotidiens du Canada. On est à même de juger par cette démarche que l'homme du Missouri, pour nous servir d'une de ses expressions favorite *means business*.

Cette nouvelle rebuffade n'est pas de nature à relever le prestige du premier ministre. Sans trop d'égard pour le sentiment des libéraux de l'Est canadien qui l'ont porté au pouvoir, M. King a déjà marqué trop de sympthie aux progressistes et à leurs idées. Il est temps qu'il se se ressaisisse et qu'il se montre non plus l'ami d'une classe mais l'homme de gouvernement dont le pays a besoin. Qu'il cesse donc de s'illusionner sur ses moyens, qu'il renonce à charmer les irréductible, pour donner ses soins aux graves problèmes qui intéressent toute la nation et qui réclament plus de fermeté qu'il n'en a montrée jusqu'à présent.

Par le fait même qu'il a tant flirté avec l'élément radical, le chef du gouvernement actuel a témoigné son opposition à toute alliance avec le parti conservateur. C'est son affaire. Le peuple sera satisfait d'un gouvernement libéral, pourvu qu'il offre des garanties de modération et de stabilité. Mais pour suppléer à la force numérique qui lui manque au Parlement, le parti libéral aura besoin de retourner devant l'électorat et de lui demander sinon un mandat plus défini du moins un nombre de députés suffisants pour lui permettre d'atteindre son but sans plus d'oscillations

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056752

Ottawa Journal, Wed. Sept. 13/22.

WHILE MR. KING DINES.

Rt. Hon. MACKENZIE KING leaves Ottawa this evening en route for Kitchener, where he will spend Wednesday and Thursday. At Kitchener a banquet has been arranged in his honor and the Prime Minister will afterward deliver an address. On Friday Rt. Hon. Mr. KING will attend a celebration at Stouffville, in York County, and on the following day he will be present at the annual meeting of the York County Pioneers at Sharon. There will be no meeting of the Cabinet Council before the return of the Prime Minister to Ottawa on Monday next.—*News Report.*

Meanwhile, and while Mr. KING's exuberant eloquence is made more fervent by good hosts, good dinners, and the invariable enthusiasm of the party faithful, the National Railways go on under their dismissed management, and Senator DANDURAND, down in Montreal with Sir LOMER, talks hopefully of "getting rid" of public ownership.

In his speech at Woodroffe last Saturday Mr. MEIGHEN expressed the opinion that the Government did not have the courage to dish the National System. He failed, we think, to properly gauge the resources of his enemy. One of the ways to get rid of the National Railways is to make the public sick of them; and this, from all appearances, is the Government's present aim.

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056753

Wednesday, September 13, 1922.

Mr. King and Responsible Government

No man prates more about responsible government than Hon. Mackenzie King. He seems to regard himself as the inherited defender of responsible government, and, as a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie and a student of British and Canadian history, he should be thoroughly posted on the principles which underlie our system of government.

One of the foundation principles of responsible government is that the Cabinet shall as a unit take its ground on certain policies and stand or fall by them. Hon. George Brown, the great leader of the Reform party, whose name is doubtless revered by Mr. King, was a firm and consistent believer in this principle. John Lewis, who wrote the biography of Brown in the "Makers of Canada" series, quotes him as declaring in Parliament:

> "There is no theory in the principle of responsible government more vital to its right working than that parties shall take their stand on the prominent questions of the day, and mount to office or resign it through the success or failure of principles to which they are attached. This is the great safeguard for the public against claptrap professions."

Yet Mr. King at the present time is pursuing a policy which is contrary to this very foundation principle of responsible government. It is an outcome of the fact that Mr. King was returned to office by protectionists and free traders, anti-public ownership and public ownership advocates. To hold office Mr. King must dexterously balance between the various wings, so he makes no attempt at party or Cabinet solidarity. He takes the stand that the Liberal party is broad enough to contain everyone, no matter what the views.

As for the Cabinet, he declares in high-sounding terms, which appear the acme of democracy, that it is simply a committee of the House prepared to carry out the views of Parliament. As for differences in the Cabinet, that is a matter of no importance. If a majority wants oleomargarine it can have it; if the majority wants a wheat board, give it to them, or if the majority wants either protection or free trade, let them have it. There is nothing wrong for Hon. W. R. Motherwell to advocate a smashing of protection and Sir Lomer Gouin to eulogize it, or for Mr. King to announce that public ownership of railways will be given "a fair trial" and for Senator Dandurand to denounce such a policy.

This may be Mr. King's view of responsible government, but it was not the conception of Hon. George Brown, nor was it the idea of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who did not take long to give such a strong man as Hon. Israel Tarte his walking ticket, when he discovered on his return from Paris that his minister of public works was enunciating views on fiscal matters contrary to the principles of the party and the Cabinet.

Nor is it the view of The Toronto Globe of to-day, which, despite its staunch support of the present administration, feels called upon to protest against the present drift of affairs. The Globe says:

> "It would be well were Mr. King to tell Senator Dandurand, and one or two other ministers who are going out of their way to decry public ownership of railways, that the policy of public operation, experimentally at least, is the policy of the Government, and that attacks made upon it must not come from persons who have as ministers accepted responsibility for the carrying out of the Government's declared policy in an honest and sincere way. Speeches such as Senator Dandurand's violate the first principles of Cabinet responsibility."

The Manitoba Free Press, also, apparently does not agree with Mr. King, but shares the views of such men as Brown and Laurier. The Free Press, in a recent editorial, points out that S. W. Jacobs, M. P., at a luncheon given him by local Liberals, denounced Government operation of railways and proposed his willingness to turn the system over to the Canadian Pacific, and advocated the wide-open door for immigration. A local Liberal, who disagreed with Mr. Jacobs on these points, cited it as a proof of the breadth of the Liberal party that both he and Mr. Jacobs could be members of it. The Free Press makes this comment:

> "If a party is merely a debating organization the point is well taken; but if it is an instrument of government, how is there to be resolute policies upon great issues, such as the railway question, if there is no distinctive belief to which the members adhere?"

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London Free Press Sept 16/22

PREMIER KING STILL TALKING PARTY MERGER

Stresses Advisability of Co-Operation or Union Between Liberals and Progressives

SPEAKS AT GATHERING OF NORTH YORK ELECTORS

Forecasts Early Announcement of New Head of Canadian National Railways

STOUFFVILLE, Ont., Sept. 15.—(Canadian Press Dispatch)—Forecasting early announcement of the new head of the National railways; announcing that in efforts to widen Canadian markets one of the Cabinet ministers was shortly proceeding to Australia to negotiate a reciprocal trade treaty, declaring that revenues were increasing, and predicting the removal of the embargo on Canadian cattle before the new year, Premier King gave an accounting of his stewardship to a large gathering of the electors of North York here this afternoon. The occasion was the celebration of Mr. King's first visit to his constituency since his election in December last. The prime minister, who made the trip up from Toronto by automobile, was met by a motor parade on the outskirts of the town and escorted to the fair grounds by flag-waving school children, mounted returned soldiers, boys on decorated bicycles and by the band of the 48th Toronto Highlands.

The premier took advantage of the opportunity to reply to recent statements leveled against him by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen. The last election, he said, showed that the country was tired of "Toryism." In six of the nine provinces Mr. Meighen did not count a single supporter in Parliament. The East was Liberal and the West was Progressive. Mr. King said he would not have mentioned this but that Mr. Meighen had charged that the people had been "humbugged."

HIS VIEW.

"I think," he charged, "that Mr. Meighen is leading the remnants of his party to destruction just as fast as he can by his continued policy of vituperation."

Stressing the advisability of a close co-operation and even a union between the Liberals and the Progressives, the premier declared that the dictionary showed the word "liberal" to mean "progressive" and the word "progressive" to mean "liberal." It was for this reason that he had invited the Progressives to participate at the council board, and, while the Progressives had not seen fit to take advantage of the opportunity, they had promised support.

One session of Parliament has developed that the Progressives had nothing in common with the Conservatives, but very much in common with the Liberals. It was better for men and women of broad thought to work together in the forces of democracy. His supreme aim would always be to unite those who stood for broad, liberal principles. The Government had restored the deliberative quality to the Commons, a quality which was lost during the regime of the late "autocratic" Government.

The Government was continually striving for economy and efficiency in the public service. This was shown by the amalgamation of the departments of defense, in the reduction in the estimates and in other ways.

THE TARIFF.

Turning to the tariff the prime minister asserted that his Government was fortunate in having Hon. W. S. Fielding as minister of finance, and while the last budget had not pleased everybody it was proving a success. Under the tariff, as reduced last session, the revenues were increasing and a period of prosperity was dawning. The United States had seen fit to make trading with her difficult for Canada, but Canadians were not dependent on any one market. The world was open to Canadian trade. In this connection it was expected the British embargo on Canadian cattle would shortly be removed. Mr. Fielding and Hon. Ernest Lapointe would shortly attend a conference in London, at which it was hoped the details of the removal would be arranged.

The first of the new year might see Canadian cattle going into Britain. In another effort to open up Canadian trade Mr. Fielding was negotiating the details of a trade treaty with France and within a week or two a member of the Dominion Cabinet would be going to Australia to arrange a reciprocal treaty with that commonwealth.

The board of directors of the co-ordinated Canadian National Railways would be announced shortly. Difficulty was experienced in securing the right men. The men who sought the directorships were not the men wanted and the men who were wanted were hard to secure. It was no easy task to discover a man worthy and able to manage 22,000 miles of railway. If a man was chosen from the C. P. R. the Government would be charged with having sold out to the C. P. R., while if the new head was selected from the Canadian Northern staff the charge would be made that the Government had delivered the country body and soul to Mackenzie and Mann. The Government desired a man experienced in managing railways on a continental scale and one with a broad knowledge of finance. That kind of man was not easy to discover and delay was due to this.

ANNOUNCEMENT SOON.

"I believe we have been successful," Mr. King declared, "and I hope soon to announce the head of the railways and the personnel of the board."

Contrary to charges leveled against it, the Government's policy was to provide the national lines with every opportunity of success. He had never denied that there were those in the ranks of the Liberal party who were not sanguine of success. This was also true of all other parties. Here the prime minister referred to the statement attributed to Right Hon. Mr. Meighen that the national lines were being managed by enemies of public ownership. This charge was neither courteous, patriotic nor true. The roads would be kept out of politics.

A comprehensive immigration policy was necessary to the success of the railways and of the country. Men and women of the right character must be brought out to Canada. Quality was more important than quantity. Careful control and supervision was necessary after settlement and the most complete co-operation must exist between the provincial and federal governments and with governments overseas if that was possible. Canada did not want those who had failed to make good in their own lands. Canada must decide who could enter and who must stay out. If the British Government or any private concern wished to assist on that understanding they could. Those who were allowed to enter must settle on the land. The prime minister referred to the work proposed by the Western Canada Colonization Association and said that this organization was working in co-operation with the British, federal and provincial governments.

IMMIGRATION

"I believe that in the course of the next few years thousands of settlers will be placed on the land and that thousands of acres will be opened up," he asserted.

The veterans who had acted as mounted escort that afternoon constituted a symbol of the work of the Canadian corps overseas, where they fought for civilization. It was the duty of all, and the Government, to keep the trust, to see that the veterans were cared for and advanced as opportunity offered.

In a short address, Wellington Hay, Ontario Liberal dealer, declared that all the parties and groups must give consideration to what was best for the people. This was the policy of the Liberal party. The Liberals in Ontario had been unfairly beaten out of the reins of government in 1919, but were always ready to assist any measure for the good of the peole.

R. H. Halbert, Progressive member for North Ontario, also delivered a short address.

After the meeting the prime minister presented a silver cup emblematic of the bowling championship of his riding to the Stouffville bowling team. Mr. King put this cup up for competition.

In the evening the prime minister motored to Aurora, where he presented athletic prizes and his challenge cup to the Aurora baseball nine. This cup is emblematic of the baseball championship of his riding.

At the demonstration Mr. King thanked the people for their welcome and expressed his appreciation of the demonstration. He would strive always to be worthy of it. Good-will must replace ill-will everywhere. The strength of the nation was in the homes, the churches and the schools. It was not to the Gopernment, but to the homes the people must look for their prosperity.

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CANADA

King Wilson

Ottawa Journal Sept. 16/22

MINISTER GOES TO AUSTRALIA FOR TRADE PACT

Prime Minister Announces Canada Seeks Reciprocal Agreement With Antipodes.

GOVERNMENT HAS CHOSEN BOARD FOR C.N. RAILWAYS

Great Difficulty In Selecting Proper Leader — Many Office Seekers Are Rejected.

STOUFFVILLE, Sept. 15.—Forecasting early announcement of the new head of the National Railways, announcing that in an effort to widen Canadian markets, one of the Cabinet Ministers was shortly proceeding to Australia to negotiate a reciprocal trade treaty; declaring that revenues were increasing, and predicting the removal of the British embargo on Canadian cattle before the new year, Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, gave an accounting of his stewardship to a large gathering of the electors of North York here this afternoon.

The occasion was the celebration of Mr. King's first visit to his constituency since his election in December. The Prime Minister, who made the trip up from Toronto by automobile, was met by a motor parade on the outskirts of the town, and escorted to their fair grounds by flag-waving school childred, mounted returned soldiers, boys on decorated bicycles, and by the band of the 48th Toronto Highlanders.

The Prime Minister took advantage of the opportunity to reply to recent statements levelled against him by Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen. The last election, he said, showed that the country was tired of "Toryism." In six of the nine provinces Mr. Meighen did not count a single supporter in Parliament. The east was Liberal, and the west was Progressive. Mr. King said that he would not have mentioned this but that Mr. Meighen had charged that the people had been "humbugged."

"I think," he declared, "that Mr. Meighen is leading the remnants of his party to destruction just as fast as he can by his continued policy of vituperation."

Support of Progressives.

Stressing the advisability of close co-operation, and even a union, between the Liberals and the Progressives, the Prime Minister declared that the dictionary showed the word Liberal to mean progressive, and the progressive to mean Liberal. It was for this reason that he had invited the Progressives to participate at the council board and while the Progressives had not seen fit to take advantage of the opportunity, they had promised support. One session of Parliament had developed that the Progressives had nothing in common with the Conservatives, but very much in common with the Liberals. It was better for men and women of broad thought to work together in the forces of democracy. His supreme aim would always be to unite those who stood for broad liberal principles. The Government had restored the deliberative quality to the House of Commons, a quality which was lost during the regime of the late "autocratic" Government.

The Government was continually striving for economy and efficiency in the public service. This was shown by the amalgamacion of the departments of defence, in the reduction in the estimates, and in other ways.

Turning to the tariff, the Prime Minister asserted that his Government was fortunate in having Hon. W. S. Fielding as Minister of Finance, and while the last budget had not pleased everybody, it was proving a success. Under the tariff, as reduced last session, the revenues were increasing and a period of prosperity was dawning.

Broadening Markets.

The United States had seen fit to make trading with her difficult for Canada, but Canadians were not dependent on any one market. The world was open to Canadian trade. In this connection it was expected that the British embargo on Canadian cattle would shortly be removed. Mr. Fielding and Hon. Ernest Lapointe would shortly attend a conference in London at which it was hoped that the details of the removal would be arranged. The first of the new year might see Canadian cattle going into Britain. In another effort to open up trade, Mr. Fielding was negotiating the details of a trade treaty with France, and within a week or two a member of the Dominion Cabinet would be going to Australia to arrange a reciprocal trade treaty with that commonwealth.

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Has Met Success.

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Sees Prosperity Ahead.

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LA MINERVE

Montreal, Sat. Sept.16,1922.

TRANSLATION

MR. KING'S INERTIA

Despatches give us this week news that the coal strike had at last been settled, and that the anthracite coalminers were returning to work. In fact since the middle of the week they had returned to work.

It would be difficult to say just to what point they can catch up with the lost time. The strike lasted upwards of five months and the production of anthracite coal is so far this year 40,000,000 tons behind the average production of past years. If to this factor is added the difficulties of transportation resulting from the railway strike, a strike which is not yet settled, it would be hazardous to say that all disquietude has disappeared as to the supplying of coal for next winter.

It is incontestable, however, that the settling of the coal strike has caused a quite natural joy, the more easy of conception to those who were "au courant" of the situation; the scarcity of coal with which we were threatened was very serious, more serious even than the majority of the people suspected, and the sufferings and privations which it would have caused might have taken on the proportions of a national calamity.

This situation was the more menacing if we judge by the declarations which Hon. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, made in two different interviews that the government at Ottawa should not take any of the urgent measures which were necessary to remedy the situation, and that we would have from that side no help, no aid to look forward to.

The Hon. Mackenzie King, in effect, contented himself with making a cry of alarm, which but increased the anxiety

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which already reigned among the population of Canada. As to remedies to the situation which, on his own word, menaced to become very grave, he suggested not one, or rather he confined himself to ask of every citizen to look out for himself.

Would we not have been right in expecting that he who made himself champion of federal intervention in smaller and often purely local questions, would also take the same policy and attitude when it would be a question of a problem that interested the entire nation?

But no, faithful to the liberal policy, policy made of opportunism, which permits them of executing all possible somersaults, Mr. Mackenzie King, champion of nationalism as he was yesterday, has become today the protagonist of absolute individualism. He who prided himself with always taking count of the desires expressed in public opinion, he was ready to take no notice of their desires, for once clearly formulated.

But there are grave and exceptional circumstances where, under pain of failing in its task, a government should take in hand the direction, and co-operation of individual efforts, if it is not desired that these efforts be avowedly powerless.

The Hon. Mackenzie King pretended that there was no law to authorize the government to concern itself with the coal problem. The necessity of safeguarding the interests of a Canadian people, interests menaced by a strike which might become the most disastrous that has ever been seen, was not that the law supreme which under the circumstances clearly pointed out his duty? Such energetic measures would certainly have given the Canadian people much more satisfaction and comfort than the senseless declarations which the Prime Minister made at Toronto.

It is another proof that a regime in public power, whatever form it takes, is not worth more than worth the individual

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individuals who are at the head of that government. The Liberals have not ceased to criticize the ministerial edicts adopted by the Conservative government in those grave and tragic hours when the success of our participation in the war depended on prompt and energetic measures being taken. And yet it is thanks to these ministerial mandates that the Conservative and Unionist governments were able to accomplish a colossal task with an ability the which all those who are not blinded by party spirit are unanimous in rendering hommage.

We had then to govern us strong men of State whereas now we have nothing but theorists and demagogues incapable of settling any question when they find thenselves faced with a difficulty to be surmounted.

If we had one counsel to give to Hon. Mackenzie King it would be to ask him to come down a little from his domain of nebulous theories to the earth of practical reality, to consult a little less his books and a little more business men who could be well-advised and experienced counsellors.

In the meantime it is lucky that the strike is settled, for if we had had to count on Mr. King to face the coal problem, it would probably have ended by our having to warm ourselves at the fires of an electoral fight.

P. DUROSAY.

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La Minerve

Montreal, Sat. Sept 16/22

L'inertie de M. King

Les dépêches nous ont apporté cette semaine la nouvelle que la grève des charbonnages était enfin réglée et que les mineurs de charbon anthracite allaient se remettre incessamment au travail. De fait depuis le milieu de la semaine ils sont retournés à l'ouvrage.

Il serait difficile de dire jusqu'à quel point ils pourront ratrapper le temps perdu. La grève a duré au-delà de cinq mois et la production du charbon anthracite est cette année déficitaire pour le moment de 40,000,0000 de tonnes comparée à la production moyenne de ces dernières années. Si l'on ajoute à ce facteur celui des difficultés du transport résultant de la grève des chemins de fer, grève qui n'est pas encore réglée, il serait téméraire d'affirmer que tout inquiétude ait disparu au sujet de l'approvisionnement du charbon pour l'hiver prochain.

Il est incontestable cependant que le règlement de la grève des charbonnages a causé une joie bien naturelle et d'autant plus facile à concevoir qu'au dire de tous ceux qui étaient au courant de la situation; la disette de charbon, dont nous étions menacés, était très sérieuse, plus sérieuse même que la majorité de la population ne le soupçonnait et que les souffrances et les privations qu'elle aurait causées auraient pris les proportions d'une calamité nationale.

Cette situation était d'autant plus menaçante que si l'on en juge par les déclarations que l'Hon. Mackenzie-King, premier ministre du Canada, a faites récemment à deux reprises différentes, le gouvernement d'Ottawa n'aurait pris aucune des mesures urgentes qui s'imposaient pour y remédier et que nous n'avions de ce côté-là aucune aide, aucun secours à attendre.

L'honorable Mackenzie-King s'est en effet contenté de jeter un cri d'alarme qui n'a fait qu'accroître l'anxiété qui régnait déjà parmi la population du Canada. Quant aux remèdes à apporter à une situation qui, de son propre aveu, menaçait de devenir très grave, il n'en a suggéré aucun, ou plutôt il s'est borné à demander à chaque citoyen de voir par lui-même à y faire face.

N'aurait-on pas été en droit de s'attendre à ce que celui qui s'était fait le champion de l'intervention du pouvoir fédéral dans des questions d'une portée restreinte et le plus souvent purement locale, prônerait la même politique et prendrait la même attitude lorsqu'il s'agirait d'un problème qui intéresserait la nation toute entière ?

Mais non, fidèles à cette politique des libéraux, politique toute faite d'opportunisme, qui leur permet d'exécuter toutes voltes-faces possibles, M. Mackenzie-King, de champion du nationalisme qu'il était hier, est devenu aujourd'hui le protagoniste d'un individualisme le plus absolu. Lui qui se vantait de toujours tenir compte des désirs exprimés par l'opinion publique, il était prêt à ne faire aucun cas de ses désirs, pour une fois, nettement formulés.

Sans doute, ne faut-il pas être de ces théoriciens qui croient que le rôle de l'Etat est infini et peut s'étendre à tout. Mais il est des circonstances graves et exceptionnelles où, sous peine de faillir à sa tâche, un gouvernement doit prendre en main la direction, la coopération des efforts individuels, si l'on ne veut que ces efforts soient d'avance voués à l'impuissance.

L'hon. Mackenzie-King a prétendu qu'il n'y avait pas de loi pour autoriser le gouvernement à s'occuper du problème du charbon. La nécessité de sauvegarder les intérêts du peuple canadien, intérêts menacés par une grève qui eut pu devenir la plus désastreuse que nous ayons jamais vue, n'était-elle pas la loi suprême qui en ces circonstances lui traçait nettement son devoir ? Et, d'ailleurs, s'il n'y avait pas de loi, qu'est-ce qui aurait pu empêcher le premier ministre de convoquer d'urgence le parlement pour en voter une ? Ces mesures énergiques eussent certainement donné au peuple canadien beaucoup plus de satisfaction et de réconfort que les déclarations insensées que le premier ministre a faites à Toronto.

C'est là une preuve de plus qu'un régime de pouvoirs publics, quelle que soit la forme qu'il revête, ne vaut que ce que valent les individus qui sont à la tête du gouvernement. Les libéraux n'ont cessé de critiquer les décrets ministériels adoptés par le gouvernement conservateur en ces heures graves et tragiques où le succès de notre participation à la guerre dépendait des mesures promptes et énergiques que l'on prenait. Et cependant c'est grâce à ces décrets ministériels que le gouvernement conservateur puis le gouvernement unioniste ont pu accomplir une tâche colossale avec une habileté à laquelle tous ceux que n'aveugle pas l'esprit de parti ont été unanimes à rendre hommage.

Nous avions alors pour nous gouverner de vrais hommes d'Etat tandis que nous n'avons plus que des théoriciens et des démagogues, incapables de régler aucune question, lorsqu'ils se trouvent en face de difficultés à surmonter.

Si nous avions un conseil à donner à l'hon. Mackenzie-King, ce serait de l'engager à descendre un peu du domaine des théories nébuleuses sur le terrain pratique des réalités, de consulter un peu moins ses livres et un peu plus les hommes d'affaires qui pourraient constituer pour lui des conseillers avisés et expérimentés.

En attendant il est heureux que la grève soit réglée, car si nous avions dû compter sur M. King pour faire face au problème du charbon, il est probable que l'ultime ressource eût été de nous réchauffer aux feux d'une lutte électorale.

P. DUROSAY.

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La Minerve,
Montreal, Sept. 23/22

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Démolisseur

M. KING vs: LA MAISON DE LAURIER LE PARTI LIBERAL LES INSTITUTIONS BRITANNIQUES ET... LUI-MEME

Le citoyen d'Ottawa que le hasard de sa promenade amène sur l'avenue Laurier, ne voit pas sans mélancolie et sans tristesse les transformations que M. King fait actuellement subir à la maison de sir Wilfrid Laurier, dont lady Laurier lui a légué l'usufruit par testament. A tous il apparaissait que la vieille demeure devait être conservée religieusement comme le plus précieux souvenir du grand disparu, et que, transformer sa maison, c'était porter atteinte à sa mémoire.

A son successeur immédiat surtout, la moindre délicatesse, le plus simple respect interdisaient d'y toucher, aussi longtemps du moins que vivraient les compagnons des luttes et des travaux du chef disparu. Et si M. King avait professé pour Laurier la moitié de la vénération qu'il affiche, il se serait empressé d'acquiescer au désir, muet mais confiant, de tout un parti, même de tout un peuple.

Mais le jeune théoricien assoiffé d'innovations et de changements que le pays s'est donné pour maître a fait prestement litière des sentiments les plus nobles comme les plus naturels, et, habitué qu'il est à chercher son inspiration dans les nuages, déménage sous les combles son cabinet de travail... et de rêverie.

A-t-il voulu faire acte de possession, rappeler à ces partisans indisciplinés qu'après tout il est leur chef, ou obéit-il simplement à un instinct qui le pousse, irrésistiblement semble-t-il, à brûler ce que ses devanciers ont adoré avant lui ?

Il semble que les deux propositions soient vraies.

Jamais chef, en effet, ne fut plus ignoré, moins estimé de ses partisans que l'est aujourd'hui le premier ministre. Il ne commande à aucune des trois factions qui se divisent son parti, mais s'est simplement ralliés à l'une d'elles, celle qui devra lui assurer la possession du pouvoir si elle triomphe.

Dans toutes les combinaisons qui s'échafaudent tour à tour dans les conciliabules, on ne tient nul compte de sa personne, on ne lui fait pas même l'honneur de le considérer comme un obstacle. Si l'arrangement définitif exige un jour sa disparition, ce sera sans le moindre regret qu'on le jettera par-dessus bord, et sa chute et la trace qu'il laissera seront tout juste celles d'un caillou qui tombe dans l'eau.

On conçoit dès lors ce besoin chez lui de s'affirmer à lui-même et aux autres qu'il existe encore. Ce qu'il a trouvé de mieux pour cela, c'est d'entrer dans la maison de Laurier en en brisant les fenêtres.

Mais M. King obéit à plus que cela. Il semble y avoir chez lui un instinct d'innovation et d'instabilité qui le pousse invinciblement à faire table rase de ce qui existait avant lui, pour faire place aux théories audacieuses, écloses un soir d'orage en son cerveau, et devant qui la tradition et les conseils des anciens s'enfuient effrayés; à l'application, elles se révèlent aussi vides d'efficacité qu'elles étaient pleines de vent, et le résultat de leur mise en pratique, qui devait être une réforme, ne se trouve plus être qu'une démolition.

Tel M. King fait de la maison de sir Wilfrid, tel il a fait et continue de faire avec le parti libéral. Ce dernier, quelques mois à peine après sa bruyante victoire de décembre, est en proie à la désintégration la plus complète, et doit chercher ici et là des alliances afin de consolider sa position et rétablir son unité. Il n'y a plus de parti libéral avec une doctrine, un programme, une action, il n'y a plus que des libéraux avec un programme conservateur, et d'autres avec des idées radicales-progressistes. Et lorsque les chefs de l'une ou de l'autre faction parlent de s'assimiler l'un ou l'autre des partis, on leur demande avec surprise et amusement s'ils croient sérieusement qu'une grenouille puisse absorber un boeuf. Les divisions sont plus profondes au sein du parti libéral qu'elles ne le sont entre les partis et tout mouvement dans un sens ou dans un autre devra amener une scission. Et cet état de décomposition prématurée est attribuable, pour la plus grande partie, aux savantes évolutions de M. King sur le terrain de la diplomatie politique. Pour avoir voulu commander à deux partis, il voit le sien se désagréger derrière lui, et lui faire la place très large... entre deux chaises.

Nous le regrettons sincèrement pour le parti libéral, dont nous ne souhaitons pas la disparition, mais seulement la défaite; si son passage au pouvoir doit être de courte durée, il pourrait encore fournir dans l'opposition une belle carrière.

Mais le pic démolisseur de M. King s'est porté jusque là, et c'est, de toutes, la plus grave destruction qu'il est en train d'opérer, la plus désastreuse dans ses conséquences: celle du système parlementaire britannique.

Jusqu'ici au Canada, — comme en Angleterre depuis des siècles — le parti triomphant aux élections prenait en quelque sorte la responsabilité du gouvernement en fournissant à la Couronne, comme conseillers ou ministres, ceux parmi ses membres qu'il jugerait les plus dignes et les plus capables d'exercer ces hautes fonctions.

S'il arrivait que deux partis distincts s'unissent, chacun assumait sa part de responsabilités en acceptant sa part de représentation dans le ministère.

Et le gouvernement ainsi formé gouvernait, exécutait le programme qu'il avait placé devant l'électorat, sûr de l'appui de la majorité aussi longtemps qu'il ne s'en écartait pas. S'il s'en éloignait trop, le parti pouvait le rappeler au devoir, et si le parti oubliait lui-même le sien, le peuple pouvait l'en châtier aux élections suivantes.

En face du gouvernement, l'opposition, active et vigilante, surveillant le ministère, signalant ses fautes et ses erreurs, dénonçant les abus, et participant dans cette mesure au bon gouvernement du pays.

En droit parlementaire britannique comme en saine logique, la mission du gouvernement est de gouverner, celle de l'opposition "d'opposer", et celle du peuple de choisir les législateurs — mais non pas tout simplement des mandataires.

Les ministres une fois choisis doivent gouverner et administrer eux-mêmes, prendre l'initiative et la responsabilité des lois, et, s'ils ne peuvent réussir à les faire adopter... s'en aller.

Qu'est devenu cet ensemble de traditions et de principes aux mains de M. King ? Un amas de débris.

Avant comme après son accession au pouvoir, il a refusé de formuler un programme net et défini, il a refusé même d'adhérer à celui adopté par son parti en 1919, il a permis qu'on prêchat sous sa direction les doctrines les plus diverses et les plus contradictoires.

Une fois placé à la tête du gouvernement, il a accepté la collaboration et l'appui du parti agraire, sans exiger que celui-ci participât aux responsabilités, en permettant à quelques-uns de ses membres d'entrer dans le ministère.

Puis il a tenté de conduire sa barque à bâtons rompus, s'orientant tantôt à droite et tantôt à gauche, n'osant prendre lui-même l'initiative d'aucune mesure importante, poussant jusqu'à la volte-face et à la reculade humiliante sa docilité aux influences extérieures et extrêmes. Témoin: la loi créant la commission du blé, et celle concernant les taux des chemins de fer, toutes deux injustes, toutes deux imposées au peuple par une minorité, par une faction égoïste et ignorante.

Le peuple, au mois de décembre, avait demandé à être gouverné par les libéraux, il l'a été ni par les libéraux, ni même par le parti parlementaire agraire, mais bien par une poignée de dictateurs, genre Wood et Morrison, qui se tenaient à l'arrière-plan, brandissant le fouet sous lequel M. King dansait et faisait danser avec lui le Canada. Le gouvernement commençait à dire oui le matin, et si les pseudo-progressistes disaient non le soir, le gouvernement disait non avec eux le lendemain matin.

Souvenir du grand chef, parti, constitution, King le novateur enfonce son pic partout, est en train de tout démolir; si on ne l'arrête, il trouvera le moyen de niveler les Montagnes Rocheuses, pour qu'il n'y ait plus de Pyrénées.

Seulement, il est en train de se détruire lui-même auparavant.

DUROC.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Mackenzie King. Criticisms

London Free Press, Tues. Oct. 3/22

056761

Mr. King as a Foreign Minister

The Ottawa correspondent of The Farmers' Sun, who writes under the initials J. A. S., in a special article dealing with the situation at the capital in regard to the Turkish question, throws some illuminating light on the conduct of Hon. MacKenzie King, which is not particularly creditable to that statesman. In fact, if the charges he makes are correct, Mr. King should resign, at least, as minister of external affairs, and put in charge of that portfolio some one who will take the time to make a study of international and imperial problems as they affect Canada.

The Sun's correspondent, who is one of the best posted men at the Canadian capital, points out that Mr. King, like Sir Robert Borden and Hon. Arthur Meighen before him, occupies the portfolio of minister of external affairs, as well as that of prime minister. He states that Mr. King is profoundly innocent of a knowledge of foreign affairs and has made no attempt to acquaint himself with the details of this important portfolio. He adds: "Since Mr. King's advent to office he has taken a minimum of interest in the special department of which he took charge and such a stickler is he for supervision of the pettiest details that he has been unwilling to delegate the work to such subordinates as he possesses." The Sun's correspondent charges that "sheer ignorance is at the root of the Governmental indecision which has plunged the country into a fortnight of disquiet and restlessness."

The correspondent of The Sun emphatically denies the statements of Mr. King that he has been without information from the British war office to form any opinion on the subject. He declares that the British Government from the first has sent regular information to the department of external affairs on the progress of events in the Near East and that all data has been available for the prime minister and his Cabinet to form an opinion. He states that if "the prime minister and the Cabinet had been properly performing their duties they would have known of the situation." On this point he writes.

"The British foreign office has certainly sent regular information regarding the progress of events in the Near East, and that data have been available on which a judgment about our course could be formed. We have a department of external affairs, of which the prime minister is in charge, and it can by direct communication with the British Cabinet maintain a regular channel of information about events in Europe. There is reason to fear that this channel has been hopelessly clogged up for the last six months. Information must have been sent from London about the serious cleavage between French and British policy in the East and its effect upon the Greco-Turkish situation, and our premier and Cabinet, if they had been properly performed their duties, should have known of it. From them information and guidance should have reached the Canadian people, so that they might have formed some conclusion and given some evidence of their attitude upon a situation which has come to so dangerous a pass."

The correspondent of The Sun also charges that the only competent official in the department of external affairs, "who has had almost an unique experience and knows more about international problems than the whole Cabinet together, for some obscure reason, has been steadily ignored by the prime minister."

The Sun's correspondent is undoubtedly referring to Loring Christie, the legal adviser of the department of external affairs. Mr. Christie is a brilliant young Nova Scotian, who, after studying law in Canadian universities and at Harvard, entered the state department at Washington. When the department of external affairs was organized Sir Robert Borden brought him to Ottawa. He was the adviser of the Canadian delegates at the peace conference at the Washington disarmament conference. He has attended the League of Nations and was present at the imperial conferences of 1917 and 1921. Mr. Christie has, as The Sun says, had unique opportunities to become posted on imperial and international questions, yet apparently he is ignored and not called into council.

If the charges of The Sun are half correct, then Hon. Mr. King is manifestly not attending to his duties. If he is too busy or not interested, let him appoint some other minister or else abandon the machinery of this department and return to the old colonial status when Canada assumed no responsibilities in regard to the empire as a whole and asked for none. There is no use demanding national status in the empire and preaching about automony if we are not prepared to assume our share of responsibility of the defense of the empire.

Coming from The Farmers' Sun, official organ of the U. F. O., and the organ of the party which Mr. King hopes to see fused with the Liberals, the charges are even more serious than if made by a Liberal-Conservative leader or paper. They are of such a nature they cannot be ignored. The people of Canada will forgive honest mistakes in policy, but they do object to a policy of "ostrich-like indifference" when it comes to dealing with imperial matters.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Mackenzie King; criticism

056762

Edmonton Bulletin

Thurs. Oct. 5/22

Current Comment

AS TO LEADERSHIP

Westerner Calgary:

It is plain that the efforts of the Hon. Mackenzie King to retain his party in power without commanding a majority of the votes of the house, has changed the atmosphere of the House of Commons to such an extent that Hon. Members have been heard to congratulate the prime minister upon having put it over the Progressive party by handing them the wheat board, though he expressed grave doubts as to the possibilities of its success, but as the financial losses, if any, would fall upon these overburdened provinces, and as in the deal he was able to do some service for his Eastern friends by way of preventing the Crow's Nest Pass agreement coming into full force and effect, he felt satisfied. Can this be called "leadership?"

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056763

Moose Jaw Times

Oct. 6/22

PREMIER KING A TRUE LIBERAL WHO DESIRES LIBERAL UNITY

The Montreal Witness, Independent Liberal, is apparently in favor of a fusion of the Progressives with the Liberals, with the expectation that certain elements in the Liberal party would depart, leaving it a Liberal party in the true sense of the word. Replying to Mr. John Evans, M.P., for Saskatoon, who is against such fusion and suggests that the true Liberals should join the Progressive party, the Witness says it believes Mr. King is a true Liberal and desires a union of all those of the same mind. It continues:

"He has lost no opportunity of seeking such fellowship with the Progressives as would enable him to come out with a much more Progressive programme than is possible with a party with a bare majority, in which there are many whose Liberalism is traditional rather than real, and which is deeply inwrought with political practices that ought to be left behind. In the face of his dependence in Parliament on such questionable stuff, he very frankly gave his own definition of what he regarded as true Liberalism when he declared it to be identical with the aims and purposes of the Progressives.

"Political ends are only to be gained by people who differ yet co-operate to secure those ends on which they are agreed. It is so far a matter largely of judgment as to the most hopeful method of accomplishing an end. Shall the Progressive party merge itself in the Liberal or just continue to co-operate with it insofar as it works for Liberalism? Which would best gain Liberal and Progressive ends?

"We were not prepared for the damnatory statement of Mr. Evans, that in the Liberal party in Parliament not more than two at the most are prepared to reveal the sources of their election expenses, and by implication are not under bonds to the service of privilege. Surely, if conditions be as rotten as that there must be men who have found themselves caught against their will in the meshes of the party funds, and who would gladly be delivered from such bondage. It is to these that Mr. Evans holds out an opposing olive branch inviting them to join the Progressive party. Presumably he would include Mr. Mackenzie King among the elect. In the fusion that the Premier proposes Mr. Evans says the Liberal party has nothing to lose, the Progressives everything, in the sacrifice of their testimony against the politics of privilege and patronage. We are not so sure that the Liberal combination has nothing to lose by such a fusion. It could not possibly come about without estranging those practical politicians, be they as many as he thinks or be they few, who are politically in the pay of privilege and whose role has been to bring the Liberal party over to the hired service formerly performed by the Conservatives. It would, we think, involve a great cleaning out, and would exile the self-seekers to where they belong.

"Mr. Mackenzie King seems to feel as much as we do the need of some change in the parliamentary balance that will give Progressive ideas a better chance than they now have. What is difficult is to know how to bring it about."

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

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CANADA

Algoma News

056764

Sat. Oct. 7/22

Premier King's Double Parts

An exchange says that Premier King is a man of "many parts." Yes, rather too many for the country's honor. When asked by Lloyd George to commit Canada to the support of the mother country in a clash with the Turks should a clash occur, his reply was "I can't promise Canadian help, I must first see what parliament says about it." As a matter of fact, if Lloyd George saw it was necessary for Mr. King to call parliament together before he could give an answer, he would undoubtedly have put his suggestion in another form—he would have said: "Call parliamant together, and ask it if it is willing to help us in case help is required." Premier Hughes of Australia did not require the mandate of parliament before he gava his answer, when asked the same question his reply was "yes." He knew that constitutionally he had authority to speak for his country and he spoke. Premier King on the other hand either does not know constitutional authority of the Premier of Canada, or knowing it he shirks responsibility for fear of "losing his job." He probably remembered the attituda of some of his French supporters, when they opposed enlistment for the German war on the ground that "Canada had no right to halp Great Britain in any of her foreign wars." If those gentlemen have retained their old patriotism, they will when parliament meets oppose helping Great Britain in a war with the Turks and then what? Will Mr. King decline to help and shirk constitutional responsibility, simply to avoid his defeat in the House. This is Mr. King in one of his parts, and now for the gentleman in another. A few weeks ago just after the close of the session, he not only allowed his colleague Mr. Fielding to go to Washington but he encouraged him in the move to secure what the peopla of Canada said emphatically eleven years ago they did not want and would not have, Reciprocity.

Mr. King knows that the people of Canada, as a whole, will endorse any government in helping Britain to fight the Turks when fighting is a national obligation, when they assisted her in fighting Germany under much less obligation, simply a matter of honor. Now supposing the present parliament so misrepresents the loyalty of the people of this country as to say, should parliament be called together for its expression of opinion on this matter of help, no we will not send help overseas, where would Mr. King stand? Would he say "me too" and not only ignore the wishes of the people of the country but force them into utter contempt merely to retain the support of his French following in the House? As said above we have every reason to believe that when the French opposed help in the one case they will do it in the other, and where? Oh, where will the great Premier Mackenzie King stand not only in the estimation of the Canadian people but in that of the civilized world?

Again, before asking parliament what he should do in case the mother country called for help, he called to his aid his twin brother, Mr. Crerar; and of course if Mr. Crerar, Mr. King's majority in the House, opposed help, Mr. King's courage would go like that of Bob Acres, it would ooze out at his fingers' ends. If Mr. King really wanted help in his present shivering shoes, why did he not go where he could have got it, and backed up by a patriotism to which he himself is an absolute stranger. Why did he not send for Mr. Meighen, an ex-premier, who was in harness during the German war Mr. Meighen would not only have said yes with a big "y," but would have pointed out to Mr. King his authority without consulting parliament. All the country can say in this matter is that while Mr. King is a big man in shadow, his identity is in shadow only.

Canada is a large, important country in substance, but is at present in a humiliating position politically—the leaders of its largest advisory council residing in shadow land alone.

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CANADA

La Minerve
Sam. Nov. 4/22

Réfléchissez et agissez

Monsieur King est-il l'ami des Canadiens ?

Jeunesse libérale de la province de Québec, qui, avec l'ardeur des jeunes années, vous jetiez dans la mêlée électorale, au moment des élections générales dernières, qui portèrent au pouvoir M. King; rappelez-vous ce que disaient les chefs libéraux dans la province de Québec. M. Arthur Meighen était l'ennemi juré de votre race, de votre foi et de votre langue, tandis que le chef du parti libéral était, soi-disant, tout dévoué à vos intérêts. M. King au pouvoir; c'était le respect du français assuré à Ottawa, et, sincères et croyants comme on l'est à vos âges, vous avez fait campagne pour M. King et ses amis, votant vous-même, et faisant voter votre entourage, pour tous les candidats se déclarant partisans du chef libéral. Vous vous en souvenez, n'est-il pas vrai? Et, deux ans ne se sont pas écoulés, depuis que Québec tout entier, faisant confiance à M. King, envoyait siéger aux Communes tous ses partisans, que le français est bafoué à Ottawa, par l'administration libérale, au point que le *Soleil*, l'organe le plus libéral de la province, à Québec, écrivait samedi dernier, un article, dans lequel il dit sans ambages :

"*L'éternelle persécution du français, dans l'administration fédérale, se poursuit comme au plus beaux temps du régime Tory.* Pour désagréable, basse et repoussante qu'elle nous apparut toujours, elle n'en est pas moins surprenante sous un régime libéral."

Voilà comment, arrivé au pouvoir, le chef du parti libéral, tient compte de la province de Québec, dont pourtant la députation aux Communes, forme le plus fort appoint de sa maporité. Nous savons bien que le *Soleil* exonère M. King et son ministère de tout blâme et rejette la faute sur des employés sulbaternes de son administration. Mais, nous ne comprenons pas bien, comment les gouvernements conservateurs porteraient, eux, devant le public, les fautes de leurs subordonnés et que, M. King et ses ministres ne seraient pas responsables, devant le public, des fautes commises par les fonctionnaires de son administration.

Supposons un instant, qu'au lieu de supprimer les titres de rentes en français pour le renouvellement de l'emprunt de 1917, on eut supprimé, par exemple, dans le ministère des Douanes, dont l'hon. Jacques Bureau détient le portefeuille, les déclarations de Douanes rédigées en anglais, pour n'en offrir au public que des formules écrites en français, même seulement dans la province de Québec, où cela n'eut pas gêné beaucoup de monde, croyez-vous que les choses se seraient passées ainsi, que l'on se fût borné à quelques réclamations dans les journaux et quelques explications embrouillées pour expliquer que la faute en incombe à des subalternes de ce ministère ? Si vous le croyez, vous avec une dose de naïveté qui dépasse l'imagination. Si les droits de la langue anglaise, qui sont égaux à ceux de la langue française avaient été le moins du monde lésés, M. King lui-même s'en serait ému. Il aurait voulu savoir quel était ce fonctionnaire, qui prenant sur

faute commise sur des subalternes pour innocenter le grand patron et nous ne voulons pas lui chercher noise pour si peu de chose, sa malice étant cousue de fil blanc. Nous ne pouvons, que le féliciter, de n'avoir pas été aveuglé par l'esprit de parti, au point de garder le silence sur cette persécution du français à Ottawa. Sa protestation est une preuve que le mal est plus grand que beaucoup de gens ont pensé, quand le *Devoir* et nous ensuite, avons signalé la chose.

Mais voici venir des élections partielles au fédéral. Si les Canadiens de la division Jacques-Cartier ont, comme nous en sommes convaincus, du sang dans les veines, ils profiteront de l'occasion, qui leur est offerte de donner une bonne leçon à M. King, qui se croit tout permis avec eux. La composition du comité de direction des chemins de fer en est encore une autre preuve tangible; et ils voteront en masse contre le candidat de l'administration King. Agir autrement, c'est faire le bon apôtre, qui, frappé sur une joue immédiatement tend l'autre.

Electeurs de la division Jacques-Cartier, êtes-vous prêts à tendre l'autre joue à M. King parce que les chefs libéraux de Québec vous conseilleront de le faire ? C'est ce que nous saurons au mois de décembre prochain.

A. de la HARLAYE.

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 27, I, Volume [illegible])

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

THE GLOBE.

056766

Probabilities: M

The sun rises at 7.3

PREMIER WELCOMED TO CARLETON PLACE BY CHEERING CROWDS

Urges Support of Liberal Candidate to Give Government Majority

DEBATE NOW RESTRAINED

Neither Supporters of Administration Nor Opponents Free to Act

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Carleton Place, Nov. 30.—Lanark county, somewhat indifferent to Liberalism in the past, tonight gave Right Hon. Mackenzie King the greatest reception it has ever given a Prime Minister. In the towns of Almonte and Carleton Place he was received with tremendous enthusiasm. In Carleton Place, as in Almonte, the Town Hall was incapable of accommodating the crowds. Hon. James Murdock, Minister of Labor, shared in the great reception, and David Findlay, Liberal candidate, was cheered to the echo here in his home town and in the neighboring town of Almonte.

The Prime Minister announced that within the last 24 hours he had received word from the Duke of Devonshire that the Government of Britain would introduce at this session of Parliament a measure doing away with the cattle embargo. In reply to Mr. Meighen's attacks on the new Railway Board, the Prime Minister said the Leader of the Opposition would be better employed trying to help than trying to sow seeds of discord among the people over Canada's great nationally owned railway system. He defended the Government in the reduction of freight rates on grain, and said again he was prepared to overlook any differences between Liberals and Progressives in the accomplishment of aims they had in common.

Tremendous Reception.

The Prime Minister was given a tremendous reception. He was escorted to the Town Hall from the station by a band and a torchlight procession. His arrival on the platform was greeted with prolonged cheering from a huge audience, which packed the hall and overflowed into the street outside. Several hundred persons were unable to gain admission to the building.

The Prime Minister first of all paid a tribute to the late Hon. John A. Stewart, whose death makes the vacancy. "In the death of the late Hon. J. A. Stewart our Parliament has lost one of its ablest and most highly respected members, and our country one of its foremost citizens. Mr. Stewart was not for long a member of the House of Commons, but in the short period of his public career his fine public spirit and exceptional talents won for him a first place in the councils of the nation. I fear it is only too true that it is to the fidelity and zeal with which he sought to discharge his public duties we must attribute the shortness of his days.

"There are few who realize the physical and nervous strain which public life imposes upon those who seek to discharge its high responsibilities aright.

"I should like to take this earliest opportunity on behalf of the party

(Continued on Page 2, Column 2.)

Another Fire Starts In Montreal University

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Montreal, Dec. 1. — Laval Dental College, connected with the University of Montreal, but separate from the main building of that institution is on fire.

The college will be completely destroyed. The fire was not under control at 1.30 this morning. A general alarm for all fire brigades of the city was sent out at midnight. The value of the building and equipment stored in it is placed at half a million dollars.

Colonel McFee Succumbs In Hotel at Belleville

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Belleville, Nov. 30.—Col. J. B. McFee, travelling salesman for Barrie Tanning Co., expired in the rotunda of Hotel Kingsley last night after returning from Picton. He had just spoken of feeling unwell and had sat down when Manager Kingsley went to him and found him dying. Dr. Royce, Coroner, decided that an inquest was not necessary.

Col. McFee served in 157th Battalion, C.E.F., in the war. He was a prominent Mason and Shriner, and leaves a widow and two children. He was 57 years of age and an Anglican in religion. The body was this afternoon shipped to Barrie for

John Bull Kee

(Special Cable to The Globe a

LONDON, Nov. 30.—Con

pressed in naval circles here over a d

ing to the United States State Depa

aware that any country signatory to

Treaty had already begun the scrap

All British battleships except th

of the treaty to immediate destructi

breakers' hands or are on the way t

shipbreakers are the Commonwealth,

Vincent, Inflexible, Hercules, Indomi

have been rendered useless for furthe

Orion, New Zealand, Monarch, Con

more—Agincourt and Erin—will b

the year.

The first eight mentioned, and

the official navy list, and the Agincou

MORE ARRE BY GREEK C OVER ANAT

Athens Revolutionary Authorities Are Continuing Trial of Officials Charged With Defeat of Hellenic Armies by Kemalist Forces — Prince Andrew to Be Court-martialed Next Week

NO MORE EXECUTIONS, LONDON IS INFORMED

Efforts Will Be Made From London to Rescue King George and Prince Andrew—Venizelos Still Continues Representative at Lausanne

(Special and A. P. Cables.)

Athens, Nov. 30.—Inquiry into responsibility for the Anatolian disaster continues, and the arrest of General Papoulas and other officials was due to new evidence said to have been found.

The Commission of Inquiry has forwarded the report of its investigations into the actions of Prince Andrew during the campaign to the Revolutionary Committee, which, in conjunction with the Greek Government, will make arrangements for his trial.

Prince Andrew's Trial.

The following official statement was issued today:

"General Dousmanis, former Chief of the General Staff, and General Valettas, former Chief of Staff in Asia Minor, have been arrested, and a warrant has been issued for the arrest of General Papoulas, former Commander-in-Chief of the army in Asia Minor.

"The trial of Prince Andrew (brother of former King Constantine), who commanded an army corps at the time of the Sakaria operations, begins next week."

May End Death Sentences.

London, Nov. 30.—A despatch to The Daily Mail from Athens, referring to impending new trials of former officials and others, says it is not likely there will be any further death sentences imposed.

The despatch adds that it is impossible yet to state the condition of Greek public opinion regarding the recent executions, but that many persons were startled by Great Britain severing relations with Greece.

An Exchange Telegraph despatch from Rome says Premier Mussolini informed the Italian Cabinet today that he planned to protest to the Greek Government against the

(Continued on Page 2, Column 4.)

ONTARIO TAKES PART IN BEER-PRICE WAR

Brewers of This Province to Meet Cut by Quebec Rivals

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Montreal, Nov. 30.—A price-cutting war between rival Canadian brewing interests selling products in Quebec is believed to be imminent. The rumor to this effect forced down the price of shares of National Breweries of Montreal on the stock exchange today.

Quebec brewers will, it is said, fire the first gun by reducing the price of beer here tomorrow by five cents per dozen pints. The opposition in the battle is said to come from Ontario brewers doing business here.

In the meantime the Quebec Liquor Commission announces a cut in the price of wines and spirits.

and Fathers

ought to be a place somewhere in
ones of the home circle are sure
light them.
nother" to her old rag dolly is
itself.
child will love "Raggedy Ann,"
lack, shoe-button eyes.
Andy," is likewise a great fa-
too.
nd parent that Johnny Gruelle's
re the best child's stories on the
little "readers."
issue and continue each day.
They will delight the children—
over them, too.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CHEERING CROWDS WELCOME PREMIER

(Continued from Page 1, Column 5.)

which I have the honor to represent, and on my own behalf, to express to the electors of Lanark, irrespective of party, my sympathy for the loss the constituency has sustained in the death of one who has brought honor to his own name and to those whom he represented in Parliament. I need scarcely say that for Mrs. Stewart in particular the strongest measure of sympathy is felt.

The Lanark By-election.

"In a general election everything is uncertain, or very largely so. No one can say what effect upon the relative standing and strength of the different parties a general election may have. In a general election an entire party suffers defeat or victory. Governments are sustained and overthrown. That is why, at a time of general elections, the party spirit is quickly aroused and is necessarily strong.

"It is not so in the case of by-elections. By-elections determine the fate of Governments only in quite exceptional circumstances. In the main they furnish opportunity to a limited number of electors to say whether a Government in office is deserving of censure or support for the manner in which it is carrying on the business of the country."

Mr. King pointed out that, since five by-elections had occurred and in three cases Liberals had been elected by acclamation, in another seat no Conservative had been nominated and in Lanark only was there an election, he thought a good showing had been made for one year of government by the Liberals.

"But we have not only the general opinion of the country as expressed in by-elections since the present Administration took office to guide us at the present time. We have the attitude and opinion publicly expressed of the very party which is opposing us in this riding. If a Government candidate is deserving of defeat in Lanark he is equally deserving of defeat in the Province of Quebec, in the Province of New Brunswick and in the Province of Nova Scotia as in Ontario. Why have the Government candidates been permitted to be returned by acclamation or unopposed in these other Provinces?"

Deserving of Fair Show.

Mr. King quoted Hon. Rudolph Monty as stating that the Conservatives should be prepared to give the Government ample time to complete its program. Halifax Conservatives, where there had been no Conservative candidate, had also agreed to give the Liberals opportunity to finish what they promised.

"The total representation in the House of Commons is 235. As a result of the last elections 117 Liberals were returned, 66 Progressives and 50 Conservatives, with two representatives of Labor. The Speaker was chosen from the ranks of the Liberals, which leaves 116 on the Government side, and opposite 118. You can see at a glance the effect this has upon the attitude of members, whether on the Government, Opposition or Progressive benches. No serious-minded person in the country wants a general election at the present time. He wants the country to have time to settle down, to get back to the normal state, and members of Parliament are even less anxious for unnecessary political contests than the general public.

"What is the effect of this upon proceedings in the House of Commons from the point of view, not of the Government, but of those who wish to criticize the Government in a fair and open manner? Had the Government a majority of its own this would immediately give to members of Parliament on the Government side, equally with those opposed to co-operating with the Government, a sense of freedom in the matter of discussion and criticism which they do not at the present time enjoy. An individual member on the Government side may well hesitate to precipitate a debate which might be wholly in the public interest lest his seemingly independent action might be taken unfair advantage of by those opposite.

Members Under Restraint.

"Members opposite, whether of the official Opposition, or more particularly of the Progressive group, may equally hesitate lest, having stated a position and forced a division, the Government should suffer defeat, which might mean the necessity in their own case of going back to their constituents for re-election. Freedom of debate is all-important to good government, and where freedom of debate is threatened from any cause—whether it be in the nature of autocratic action on the part of a Government toward its own followers, or inherent fear from any cause on the part of those opposite—the public interest is certain to suffer in the long run. What we are, therefore, requesting of you in the present by-election is to increase freedom of debate in the House of Commons

"Perhaps, too, I should point out that in the public interest it is not well that individual members of the House of Commons, no matter to which party or group they belong, should be in a position to demand special favors or special consideration for themselves or their constituents as a condition of their support. I am not saying that any such demands have been made, but human nature is human nature, and where a Government is without a majority on which to some degree it can rely it is inevitable that a certain amount of log-rolling should result to ensure the support of individuals and groups; and log-rolling, while it may help to keep a Government in power is an expensive business for the nation. It is the taxpayer, in the last analysis, who pays.

For Benefit of People.

"What we ask, therefore, is not only that there should be increased freedom in debate in the House of Commons, but that in the public interest the Government in seeking to administer public affairs, and especially in its efforts to effect retrenchments and economies in public expenditures, be given increased freedom of action. The first to benefit will be the people themselves. A majority of one is not very much to ask for. We are not likely to run away with the public treasury in virtue of any such abnormal following. It will, however, be sufficient to afford to any one man, who in a crisis might be tempted to put a premium on his support, just sufficient of a pause to remove the temptation. It is always well to remove temptation, even from the path of politicians.

"I have been looking over the record of by-elections in Lanark, and I find that, running back, the by-elections have generally gone wholeheartedly with the Government of the day. Indeed, I find that in the last two by-elections—the by-election in 1913, when the late Dr. Hanna was first returned, and the by-election of 1918, when the late Mr. Stewart was first returned, these gentlemen were permitted to take their seats without any opposition from the Liberals of the riding. The Liberals evidently felt that there was everything to lose and nothing to gain by factious opposition."

Mr. King pointed out that during the regime of the Meighen Administration there had been as many as eight vacancies in the House of Commons. With the present by-elections being held there would be no vacancies this session.

Removal of Cattle Embargo.

Regarding the cattle embargo in Great Britain the Premier made an important announcement. "I am prepared to state now, because I have learned within the last 24 hours from the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary for the Colonies, that the British Government will introduce at the present session a bill on the removal of the cattle embargo agreed to by Messrs. Fielding and Lapointe. We will also put through a measure this session. The market that has been lost to us for 30 years has at last been secured. I do not say that the Government is entitled to all the credit, but I believe it is entitled to some because of the good work of the High Commissioner, Hon. P. C. Larkin."

The Prime Minister defended the freight rates agreement secured. He thought that what benefited the West would be of benefit to the East. He said this was always his policy: that what was good for one place was good for another.

"I was prepared to forget whatever differences there are between the Progressives and Liberals," he added. "I would have been glad to have representatives from the Progressive group in the Cabinet; we found we had East and West divided into Liberals and Progressives. I will always make it my first effort to try to see a united Canada." Mr. King expressed disappointment over Mr. Meighen's sneering at Liberal Ministers going out in the world trying to get better markets for Canadian products.

The Prime Minister continuing, said that during the year conditions in Canada had improved, and that some credit must be given to the policies of the Government. Canada, as Britain, was trying to get back to normal. It was a curious method of attack by Mr. Meighen to criticise the Government for not doing what he argued was wrong. All tariff changes had been downward in fulfilment of party policy. The reduction, admittedly, was small, but it was a reduction. Mr. King said the revenue was increasing, and the expenditure decreasing.

Mr. Meighen's Railway Outburst.

In connection with Mr. Meighen's attack on the Railway Board, the Prime Minister said that no public man should speak lightly of the railway problem. No public Minister should try to destroy the trust of the people in the railways, said Mr. King. Mr. Meighen has not even waited for Sir Henry Thornton to reach Canada.

"But I will leave criticism of Mr. Meighen because of that attack to his own friends," said the Prime Minister, who then quoted The Montreal Gazette in criticism of Mr. Meighen for his attack on the Railway Board. He would ask Mr. Meighen, however, when he criticizes Sir Henry Thornton whom he would put in his place.

"Can he find any better man? If he can let him name him. If he cannot, then let him be silent. We wanted someone to unite the railways and their employer. We needed a man to bring the groups together. If we had taken a C.P.R. man we would have been told we had sold out to the C.P.R. If we had taken a C.N.R. man or a G.T.R. man there would have been disappointment with the other body.

"I say now that no single appointment in Canada has received more general approval than the appointment of Sir Henry Thornton. Mr. Meighen, instead of endeavoring to sow the seed of discord on the railway question, would do a great patriotic work if he came and helped."

Mr. King said the board might be enlarged later, and that its members had been chosen for their business ability and integrity.

Replying to criticism that they were not all railwaymen, Mr. King said: "You don't appoint a School Board all of teachers; you want those who know what scholars and teachers need and want."

Parliament's Right Upheld.

Speaking of the Near East question, Mr. King said that in the last election he had taken a decided position on the matter of Parliament deciding the right of the question of war.

"It was part of Liberal policy," he continued, "to put an end to secret diplomacy. The British Government which had dealt with the question and sent cables to Canada had itself been defeated."

He asked if Canada should always put its O.K. on a meaningless request of the kind recently made. If so, he thought it a great weapon for the destruction of the British Empire. "We do not want that weapon," said Mr. King. "I believe that Parliament should be supreme in these matters. We do not need to boast of our Canadian spirit of loyalty. But there is a difference between jingoism and patriotism; jingoism means nothing; but patriotism means everything."

The Prime Minister paid a glowing tribute to the qualifications of Mr. Findlay to be a member of Parliament. He said Canada needed him in its councils.

Mr. Murdock's Vigorous Speech.

Hon. Mr. Murdock made a vigorous defense of the Government's policy and accomplishments in connection with Labor. "I want it understood that in an election campaign I will not throw out insinuations or false appeals to prejudice. If we cannot win by a presentation of the facts and by fair criticism, then we do not want to win."

Mr. Murdock brought the audience to its feet with his story of how the Grand Trunk strikers of some years ago were restored their seniority rights. He also spoke of other matters of vital Labor importance.

Mr. Findlay spoke briefly, telling of his adherence to Liberal principles and his sympathy with the Progressives. The latter he had supported. He dealt with his efforts to improve the municipality and county, and appealed to the electorate to return him to the support of the King Government on December 4.

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Globe Toronto Dec 1/22

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

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Ottawa, Ont. December 13th. 1922.

Dear Mr. King:

Would you kindly advise me with as close an approximation as you can, of the date of the opening of the next session of Parliament.

Yours very truly.

The Rt. Honourable W.L.Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

CANADA

Ottawa, December 14, 1922

The Rt. Honourable Arthur Meighen, K.C.,M.P.,
Leader of the Opposition,
O t t a w a.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

Replying to your letter of yesterday, received this morning, I would say that the date of the opening of the next session of Parliament will, in all probability, be sometime during the last week of January.

Yours sincerely,

W. L. Mackenzie King

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Halifax Herald Dec. 28/22

056769

The Making of a Premier

An outline of the life story of the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G. By Owen E. McGillicuddy, Toronto. The Musson Book Company.

By DR. H. L. STEWART.

THE writer of this biography has rendered a distinct service to the public. We naturally desire to know the personal record of our Premiers, and this interest should be quite unaffected by those differences of party attachment which separate Canadians from one another. It is a sign of national health that disputes on policy should be vehement, and that men on either side should be tenacious of their rival convictions. But the Prime Minister is, in a special sense, representative of the whole country. It is of an immense achievement for any man to have been judged worthy of so great an office, and the personal brilliance of the first citizen of Canada is a fit ground for national pride. It is in such a spirit, and with complete freedom from the narrowness of the mere partisan eulogist, that this biographer has done his work. He has not concerned himself with conflicting programmes, but has given us a human study of those qualities of mind and character which—in his view—have raised Mr. Mackenzie King to the leadership of his country.

FOR the subject of this book is "The Making of a Premier," and we are here shown how the present Premier had an unusual sort of preparation for his high task. The assuaging of industrial strife has become more and more clearly a central problem of government, and Mr. King has had long training as a conciliator. The book emphasises his introduction to public life through discipline first in economic theory and afterwards in intimate practical contact with the world of labor. Mr. McGillicuddy tells us of his family tradition and influences, of the gracious surroundings of his home, of his father's desire to make him a practising lawyer, and of the impulse towards political conflict that may well have descended to the grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie. We hear, too, about his school, his schoolfellows, his classmates at the University of Toronto, about his keen appetite for games and his still keener appetite for debate, about his fellow-students' habit—when the shadow of examinations began to fall—of "relying on King" to clear up knotty points in their lecture notes. But, though he took a law course and was called to the bar, it was another interest that really fascinated him. His biographer sets him before us as absorbed even from student days in the enormous problems of industrial relations. For him economic principles and social laws, studied with intensity in the abstract, derived their chief significance from their bearing on industrial contentment, prosperity and peace. Not as an "arm-chair" economist, but as one resolved to make practical application of knowledge, he plunged into a great city slum.

MR. McGillicuddy lays stress upon Mr. King's period of study at Chicago. The years spent there were divided between attendance at lectures and work in the Hull House Social Settlement where he lived, and where in daily reflective contact with the foreign population of many nationalities jostling for a livelihood he took perhaps his most important "post-graduate course". Colonies of workpeople speaking many languages, the life of the overcrowded tenement, the lure of the saloon, the struggle for existence as these toilers beset alike by outward hardship and by inner thriftlessness came to know it—here was indeed instruction of the sort which a college lecture-room cannot give. When Mr. King returned to Toronto, with the memory of Chicago vivid in his mind, he began to consider "tendencies toward possible similar development in Canadian cities." And he began with the concrete, with an actual case—the apparently slight matter of rates of pay awarded under government contract for making uniforms for letter carriers. It is in this character, never forgetting and yet never becoming lost in abstract "general principles," that the Prime Minister is portrayed to us.

THE successive steps by which Mr. King rose high in public notice, first as a journalist, then as Deputy Minister, then as Minister of Labor, are exhibited in clear sequence. An account is given of his share in framing the Industrial Disputes Act, of his mediating in strikes, of his appointment by the Rockefeller Foundation to investigate and report upon those unfortunate condition in Colorado which had led to the riots of 1914. Mr. McGillicuddy too, has much to say about his literary publications, his economic treatise "Industry and Humanity" that brings together the lessons learned from experience of intervention in over forty strikes, and his touching memorial brochure "The Secret of Heroism" dedicated to the memory of a friend who had sacrificed his life in an effort to rescue another from drowning. For this book is, first and foremost, a human document, and the record throughout is of a personality. The reader learns to know Mr. King himself, and for intricate discussion of policies he can look elsewhere.

THUS we have to thank the writer for this pleasing interlude in party warfare, and for a real portrait of the dominant figure in Canadian public life today. The book suggests one very interesting problem. We have long been accustomed to regard the world of law and the world of business as supplying our political leaders. Within the last few years we have been familiarized with an irruption into the same field from the world of agriculture. But here is one who comes into Canadian affairs, not as lawyer, merchant, agriculturist. Here is one who began as an expert in sociology. It is a significant experiment, and the suspicious of the practical man towards the "professor" are sure to be aroused. Mr. McGillicuddy, however, has drawn for us a sociologist whose most intensive training has been in the management of actual industrial di[illegible]tes. To combine such experie[illegible]

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Winnipeg Tribune Dec. 28/22

056770

The Making of a Premier

THE student of eugenics will be tempted to say that W. L. Mackenzie King could not avoid politics. His father, the late John King, K.C., was making a speech at a political meeting in Waterloo county, Ont., when the future premier was born. On his mother's side also, there was a political inheritance. Before her marriage his mother's name was Isabel Mackenzie; she was the youngest daughter of William Lyon Mackenzie, leader in the Rebellion of 1837, and first mayor of the city of Toronto. But, according to Owen E. McGillicuddy, author of "The Making of a Premier" (The Musson Book Co.), a brief biography, Mackenzie King had a strong inclination to devote his life to academic work. While an undergraduate in Toronto university, he became greatly interested in the study of labor problems. Subsequently, he made such a mark in the graduate school at Harvard that he was offered a position there as instructor in Political Economy. About the same time he received a telegram from Ottawa offering him the editorship of "The Labor Gazette," and with it the position of first lieutenant in the Labor department, which in 1899 was really in process of formation. When he set his face towards Ottawa the die was cast; he was fated to be a politician rather than a professor.

* * *

And yet, when Mackenzie King settled down to his work as deputy minister of labor in 1900, it probably neither occurred to him nor to any one else that he would ever take a hand in active politics. It very seldom happens that an official in the civil service has the opportunity or the inclination to "run for parliament." So from 1900 to 1908 the young deputy minister gave all his energy to the new department of labor. It was rather a stormy period industrially and Mr. King had many difficult tasks to perform. He served on several royal commissions, such as the one organized to inquire into the anti-Asiatic riots in British Columbia and another to investigate the conditions of labor among telephone operators. In 1908 he was appointed by the British government as one of the members of the International Opium Commission which met at Shanghai, China. But he found his chief work in the settlement of disputes between labor and capital in Canada. In those eight years he adjusted satisfactorily some forty strikes. His most important service while he was deputy minister of labor was his framing of what is now known as the Industrial Disputes Investigation act, which was passed on his recommendation on March 22, 1907. This act has attracted widespread attention in many countries.

* * *

His personal popularity and his success in the department of labor led to Mackenzie King's appointment as minister of labor by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in June, 1909. We are told in this biography that he declined Sir Wilfrid's offer to find him a safe seat and decided to run in his father's old constituency, North Waterloo, a Conservative stronghold. After a vigorous campaign he was elected. Mr. King never had much chance to distinguish himself in parliament or as minister of labor, for his party went into the wilderness of opposition in 1911 and he himself went down to defeat in North Waterloo. For the next two years he was free to resume his economic studies, but in 1914 he was appointed under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation to investigate the mutual relationship between labor and capital in the coal and iron fields of Colorado. The problems which he solved during the next few years as the result of his studies in various industrial centres in the United States are set forth in his book, "Industry and Humanity," which was published in 1918.

* * *

Mr. King's succession to the leadership of the Liberal party and the various steps by which he became premier of Canada are reviewed in this book with considerable detail. There are very few stories concerning the premier's personality or habits, material which we usually look for in a book of this kind. The author would certainly have made his hero more lovable, at any rate more attractive, if he had introduced more human interest stories. I close with this little item of human information,—"He is not a pleasure motorist, but uses a motor car largely as a business necessity. When I visited him recently at Ottawa he assured me that he had got more pleasure from riding a horse. 'I keep at it most of the year, and couldn't do without it,' he assured me. 'You know, there is life to a horse, and a horse and a man can soon develop a common understanding. When I was in the department of labor I used to go in more for long walks, but two of my best walking companions—Bert Harper and Wilfrid Campbell—are gone. I have found a life in the open the only one to renew one's energy for the work one has to do.'"

Ivanhoe

MACKENZIE PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 93)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Moose Law Times Jan. 4/23

056771

COUNT YOUR BLESSINGS

Now Canadians know exactly where they stand. The Hon. Mackenzie King has just broadcasted a New Year's message to the people of the Dominion. In it he says: "The New Year in Canada dawns upon conditions of national prosperity unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe. As a people we cannot be too thankful to Providence for the many blessings we enjoy." Among the greatest of these blessings is, of course, the Mackenzie King Government. At the same time Providence must have been rather doubtful as to how that Government would turn out, or possibly it might have given it something in the way of a majority with which to work. Or is Providence trying to make up for an apparent lack of confidence in our Prime Minister by letting "Progressive" fish flop over into its net?

It is quite probable that Mr. Mackenzie King really intends to infer that the people should regard the Government as Providence, and to be thankful to it for the "many blessings we enjoy." Consequently he says to the people of the Dominion: "Count your blessings, count them one by one." It is to be feared, however, that many of those who try to do so will finish up by coming to the conclusion that the majority of these blessings will seem like a Christmas present bought at a five-cent store. Quite a number of them are today being stuck on documents like receipts, in the shape of two-cent stamps, or like a game of tax-spillikins, either of which is good for the building up of a national character inasmuch as it is a great inculcator of the mental and moral benefit of the exercise of patience.

It may be conducive to our well being to take some of the blessings we have received from the Mackenzie King cherubims who sit up aloft at Ottawa and watch over the life of poor Jack Canuck, and "count them one by one." The King Providence has now been handing out its blessings for just over twelve months. One of these was what was called a Wheat Board, which must have been manufactured in Germany, for, after it had been given to those who had been praying for it, and the machinery had been investigated, it was found that it would not work. Now Premier Dunning, one of the believers in the Providence at Ottawa, has come along and suggests that in its place there should be something in the way of a home production, a something of which every man who desires can pull the string and see the figure jump. If it does not work properly the cost can be taken out of the taxpayers, who, perhaps, might be prevailed upon to lick some more stamps. That would be a good idea, as it would prevent them from using their tongues to other purposes.

Another blessing handed out was a "fair trial" to public ownership and "no politics." Unfortunately quite a number of people do not know how to use it. They seem to think it is something to play with in the political backyard, and so it is already becoming much the worse for the improper usage to which it has been put. It is true that in the West it has been accepted in the spirit in which it was given, and no more thought has been wasted on it, because it was felt certain that in the East it would be regarded as something that would assist in getting the headquarters of the railways. In fact it is realised that blessings that come in the form of pious declarations are frequently camouflaged humbug. Then there was another blessing that took the form of a budget in which there was supposed to be a revised tariff. When it was handed out it was discovered to be something very different from what was expected. It was thought it would have been in the nature of taxes that could be taken off, but it proved to be taxes that could be stuck on. It was one of those kind of blessings that adhere.

Then there was the blessing in the form of a reduced expenditure on the defence forces. After this had been well considered it was found that it was only giving Canada relief by making it more dependent on the Old Mother over the water. In other words the Ottawa Providence had once more "passed the buck", and yet claimed to be the general dispenser of blessings, just as it did in the case of the Wheat Board. It was one of those blessings that the gentlemen of the cloth say "sustains you in time of need," but it is at some one else's cost. There was one other blessing, however, which the Ottawa Providence was very chary in giving away. It was the reduction of the freight rates. This, it had been expected, would be certain to have been given out when the proper time came, because so many hopes had been raised that some such action would be taken. When the proper time came, however, it was apparent that the Government wanted to withhold this gift, so those who had anticipated it, were compelled to use compulsion, and wring it from them. Strange to say, two of the recipients of the gift have thrown their arms round those who tried to keep it from them, and have deserted those who secured it. There was another blessing that was promised to the country in the form of reciprocity with the United States. It was, however, a good thing that the people did not get it, for without it the revenue of the country has increased by over thirty-two and a half millions.

After reading Mr. Mackenzie King's New Year message no one can fail to come to the conclusion that Canada is a wonderful country. Let it be remembered that it was only about twelve months ago since he declared in effect that the country was going to the "demnition bow-wows." Since then he and his Government have been handing out these wonderful blessings, and today there are dawning on us "conditions of national prosperity and promise unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe." Yet it is only a month or so back since a moratorium was proposed for Saskatchewan; the farmers are today telling of unexampled hardships, and there are lamentable tales of want. If these are true some must have assuredly missed those "many blessings we enjoy," or they have not shown that gratitude to the Ottawa Providence which most evidently thinks it has turned the Dominion into a land flowing with milk and honey.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Quebec Chronicle apr. 18/23

056772

"CANADA'S PREMIER FAITHLESS."

Upon the enjoyment of the fullest possible measure of local autonomy Australia and New Zealand are no less insistent than this Dominion of Canada but, in the matter of imperial relations, the sister Dominions are altogether at variance with the Canadian attitude as it is interpreted—or misinterpreted—by the present Ottawa Government. This is a fact that is expected to assume considerable importance at the impending imperial conference and therefore lends timely interest to such a pronouncement as that recently made by the New Zealand Herald, a leading daily newspaper of Auckland, in outspoken criticism of our Prime Minister, the Right Honorable William Lyon Mackenzie King.

"Amid Canadian voices raised in discussion of imperial politics," observes the Herald, "that of the Premier utters words of grave unpleasantness. He enunciates the principle that one part of the Empire should not aid another in trouble unless it is itself concerned, and only to the extent to which it is itself affected ..

"The words of the political leader of the Dominion are so directly a challenge of high imperial policy that they call for the gravest attention. His attitude is not new so far as he is concerned, and there has been a 'Canada first' party in the Dominion. But the reassertion of the proposal at the present juncture, when imperial co-operation is seriously needed in the interests of both Britain and the whole world, is little less than criminal. Mr. Mackenzie King's predecessors in the Canadian Premiership have not, in the hour of crisis, so interpreted their duty as to join only in a fair-weather partnership of Empire.

"Mr. Mackenzie King's proposal is widely disruptive. It suggests, as the guiding principle of Canada's co-operation in war, not merely abstention from that co-operation unless Canada is concerned, but, in the event of co-operation, a limiting of it to the extent to which Canada is actually affected. But he extends his principle to each and every part of the Empire; not one of them is to act save on this selfish and unchivalrous motive. What sort of statesmanship is this? It is the breaking of the Empire into defenceless fragments. To put a concrete case: Suppose New Zealand is threatened by a German invasion, no other portion of the Empire being in any way menaced, help from any other Dominion, even from the motherland itself, is to be withheld. By a sequence of such attacks, arranged over a sufficiently long period, the whole Empire could be subjugated in sections by Germany.

"The Empire has been founded by co-operation, by "the expansion of England," through adventure and commerce, philanthropy and war. Its far-flung territories hold people sharing language, institutions, religion. Yet they are to have no cohesion, except that coming from petty self-interest. They may hold intercourse through trade and finance and literature; yet, when one portion is exposed to the bullying of an alien nation, no other portion is to come to its defence. It is the practical reversal of imperial history, and the death of mutual service. There is yet a wider view, which Mr. Mackenzie King has failed to take. The British Empire has been a bulwark of civilization, and it has exercised its influence, necessarily by means of force of arms in great part. Is the world to be lightly robbed of the indubitable gain that this has meant, by limiting its naval and military activity to little sectional protests as each portion of territory is menaced?

"It would be a calamity for mankind if, instead of the whole Empire being ready to stand to arms when other peoples are threatened, its several sections should feel no responsibility and make no sacrifice unless they are themselves directly affected. Disliking war, and seeking peace, the Empire has a charge, which noble spirits acknowledge to be a rampart for the defenceless and a scourge for evil doers. Canada's Premier is faithless to the chivalry of the race."

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Ottawa Citizen May 3/23

PREMIER KING IS TENDERED PARTY DINNER

Replies to Mr. Meighen's Charge of Duplicity and Deception by Claiming Conservative Usurpation of Office.

ON ISOLATION OF THE PREMIERSHIP

Other Ministers in Tribute to Leader. Sir Lomer Gouin's Equal Rights Plea.

Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King was the guest of honor last night at a big banquet in the House of Commons tendered him by the Liberal parliamentary party—Senators and members. There was a full attendance of the party from both houses and besides that of the Premier a series of felicitous speeches followed a series of toasts proposed by Chief Whip Kyte and the assistant whips, Messrs. Malcolm, Casgrain and Stork.

All the members of the cabinet were at the head table and for three hours there was a round of felicitous and eulogistic speeches.

The Prime Minister, who was given an ovation, thanked at the outset his followers for their expressions of good will and loyal cooperation ever since he had been entrusted with the leadership. He voiced a feeling of abiding obligations to those whom he called the elder statesmen of the administration—Mr. Fielding, Mr. Graham and Sir Lomer Gouin, "whose wide knowledge and experience in public affairs had afforded a sense of security and strength which it would be impossible to express in words."

The Premier made a complimentary reference to Chief Whip Kyte and his assistants and emphasized the need of the active interest and attendance. Mr. King went on to refer at some length to the isolation of a Premier and to the exactions of his office which, he regretted, prevent that intercourse which members of a great political party had a right to expect and to some degree to demand.

Proceeding, he said:

Fidelity to Duty.

"What I have lacked in the directions indicated I have endeavored to make up by a fidelity to duty as I have seen it. It will soon be four years since I was honored with the position of leadership. In all that time I can honestly say that I cannot recall an occasion when I have made my high position 'a vantage ground for pleasure.' I cannot recall having taken what might be described as a vacation of a week's duration. I am not sure that it will be wholly wise to so continue. I must confess that the extent to which some of the symptoms of the slight indisposition I had a month or two ago have persisted have left me with a feeling that some rest and change may ere long be necessary if my efficiency is going to be what I should like it to be, and my service to the party rendered with the vigor and zest which alone can make it of any value.

"May I now make a few observations upon the present position of the party, its needs and future growth and progress.

Essential Considerations.

"Comparison is the method by which we form our estimate of relative positions. No better method can be employed, but that it may be accurate it is necessary that full account be taken of all essential considerations, and that the comparison be not between effects and results regardless of circumstances, but between circumstances and results alike. The position of the Liberal party today having regard to antecedent and existing conditions, will bear comparison with its position at any time in the party's history. It is well that we should appreciate this fact and that the country should appreciate it, for the success of a political party not less than the success of an individual is in no small measure dependent upon the degree of justifiable faith it has in itself.

"Let me make a comparison or wo by way of illustration. I shall ke first the period between Confeeration and the accession to office the Laurier administration in 16. That was a period of all but years. Of that period of time Liberal party in Canada held e for four years. Compare that the party's present position so s power is concerned. The presiministration has not been very in office. It has, however, been wer for over a year and four s; that is equal to one-third of ne that it held office during years preceding 1896.

Significant Comparison.

is a comparison of the sig- of which it will be well for s of our party to take full We are prone to compare ortunities and fruits of office are today with the 15 years in the days of Sir Wilfrid In estimating our present , a more thoughtful judgwould cause us to make comn with the 30 years that pre- the 15. The degree of pru- and caution exercised in our nt administration of affairs will mine largely whether out of 0-year period following our astion of office in December, 1921, hall have five years, as was the with the administration of the Alexander Mackenzie, or 15 as was the case with the adstration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Grounds for Contrast.

Let me make next a brief comson with the period of the Laurier administration. If there are grounds for pointing a contrast in one direction, there are equally grounds for contrast in another. We do well to see the relation of the cause and effect in a true perspective. The success and the vigor of an administration must be judged by the conditions and problems with which it has to contend, and the weapons and instrumentalities it has at its command. When Sir Wilfrid took office, he had a united following of between 20 and 30 at his back, a following which increased with the years. He took over a country that had been much misgoverned but a country notwithstanding which was still rich in its readily available resources, and with liabilities that were relatively insignificant. Mr. Fielding, as minister of finance, had to consider during the first years of office ways and means of raising revenue to the extent of a little over 40 millions, to meet an expenditure of that amount on consolidated fund and capital account combined. Throughout the whole of the 15 years of office, he never had to raise an amount, for all the expenditures of the government, equal to the sum that is required today to meet the interest on our public debt. Sir Wilfrid found himself obligated, in subsidies to the provinces, to the extent of four millions of dollars, which reached nine millions of dollars before he left office. Today they have reached three times that amount.

Obligations of War.

"Not only had Sir Wilfrid but a small interest payment on public debt to meet; he was wholly without obligations as respects the enormous obligations of war—war pensions, soldiers' civil re-establishment, soldiers' land settlement, and the like, which add another $50,000,000 or thereabouts to our budget. Finally, in dealing with the great problems of railways and immigration, instead of railway deficits making an initial charge upon the treasury of some $70,000,000 or thereabouts, he had millions of acres of land to grant as subsidies to railways to extend their operations, or as free homesteads for the encouragement of settlers.

Tendency to Improvement.

"Result sunder changed conditions such as these do not admit of comparison save as to tendencies. That under such colossal handicaps, a like tendency towards improvement in conditions is manifesting itself under the aegis of applied Liberal policies and principles, is the most that the party or the country could expect. On all sides this evidence is marked. We are today witnessing a return to better times; economies are being effected in administration; expenditures are being enormously curtailed; trade and commerce is beginning to expand; the tide of immigration is again setting towards our shores; our railways give promise of better things; and, what is most important of all, a new confidence is being felt and is asserting itself in our business and industrial community, and a new hope is being born in the hearts and the homes of our people. What more can we ask? What more can the country ask, all circumstances and conditions being taken into account? Only that we be prudent, be cautious, that we take no false step, that we make sure of each inch of the ground as we advance.

Recalls Party Position.

"There is one further comparison I should like to make, which should bring both courage and inspiration to members of the party everywhere. It is between the position of the Liberal party in Canada today and its position only four years ago. Who is there that prior to the great Liberal convention of August, 1919, would have ventured to prophesy that within two and a half years of the holding of that convention the Liberal party would be again in office in this country? Recall, if you can, the position of the party at that time. It had been out of office since 1911. Its great leader was gone. Some of those who had been foremost in its councils were arrayed in active opposition to it; others were lukewarm or indifferent. Its membership had been depleted in large measure by the coming into being of a new third party, which held in its possession many of the former Liberal strongholds. Most serious of all, the party itself was rent in twain in many parts of the Dominion through differences of view the war had helped to create, and which the brief period of peace which had succeeded had not been sufficient to allay. Moreover, Toryism was in control.

Position of Tories.

"Compare that situation with the one that today reveals itself. Not only has the Liberal party been returned to power, but, what is of equal moment to the country, the Tory leader has been left without a single follower in Parliament in six provinces out of the nine. It ill becomes Mr. Meighen to assail and cast reflections upon the personal

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character of the public men by whom he is opposed, to talk of duplicity and deception of the electorate, and to urge his following in the Senate to aid him in his efforts to create prejudice through the instrumentality of a vicious propaganda in the country, when his whole tenure of office as Prime Minister was one of usurpation of office and when, were one able to eliminate from his side the members who were returned by a minority of votes in theri constituencies, he would not have as many followers in Parliament today as he had cabinet ministers when he went to the country.

On the "Tory Press."

"And that brings me to conclude what I wish to say tonight. It is that we will do well not to mistake the significance of comparisons between our own and other times. Our opponents are fond of drawing comparisons between the lights of former days and the shadows of today. The Tory press is ever busy asserting that the present Parliament is dull in comparison with some of the Parliaments that have preceded it. We are being called upon in the name of Heaven to do something spectacular. Even some of our own following are not without a desire of the kind, believing it to be good politics. Let me say quite frankly, gentlemen, that I think any such course would be a false one. We could not, if we would, give to the politics of today the light and color to which the nation grew accustomed during recent years. In contrast to the glare and excitement of war, everything is certain for a time to appear tame and colorless. Let us not forget that circumstance. Let us remember that our country has been over-governed in recent years; that that government is best which teaches men how to govern themselves; that, in one sense, the less we have of government the nearer do w approach the ideal of self-government.

Would Help Industry.

"If we can be successful in having the nation forget for a while that there is any such thing as government, we shall be helping to get our industry, our commerce and trade, our agricultural and other development, back to their normal and natural channels, and we shall be helping, too, to keep down the vast public expenditures incidental to a too great interference on the part of the state with the ordinary affairs of everyday life. What our country most needs is not new sensations and new ventures, but an opportunity to get free of some of the ill effects of the over-stimulation of recent years. Not new and wider divisions between its citizens, whether they be between classes in industry, sections of the country, or political groups, but a forgetting of past differences, and a united effort toward a common goal. It is unity and stability that is most needed in Canada today. To restore what has been lost in these particulars, to give to the nation a new confidence and a new security—this is the task to which as Liberals we consecrate ourselves anew."

To The Government.

James Malcolm, M.P., proposed in a happy speech the toast of "The Government," and Hon. W. S. Fielding, Sir Lomer Gouin, and Hon. G. P. Graham responded.

Mr. Fielding complimented the premier upon his tact in leading the party, strong in the fidelity of its following, but deficient in parliamentary majority. Government, he went on, was unusually difficult in a country like Canada, for though there was no saner people in the world, there were no nine millions anywhere with so many problems—geographical, national, credal, all emphasizing the difficulty of government. He hoped the time would come when, if there was a vacancy from Nova Scotia a minister could be picked up in Quebec, but it could not be done today, nor did he anticipate in the near future. He pleaded for a spirit of broad tolerance in the upbuilding of a common country not divided by considerations of east or west or any other considerations that make for national division.

Tribute From Quebec.

Sir Lomer Gouin seized the opportunity of offering to the premier a tribute of the esteem and best wishes and real devotion of his people in the province of Quebec. He referred to the Liberal convention where Mr. King was selected as the leader. Quebec delegates made few speeches at that gathering, but they made the promise of following the leader and carrying the party to power.

"We made good; we could not do better," he said. "We believe we will contribute to the success of our country by the success of our party."

Sir Lomer preached the doctrine of equal rights to all sections, and this he said was the spirit that dominated the cabinet. On this he had had no occasion to quarrel with his colleagues.

Sir Lomer alluded to the strenuous life of the premier, and eulogizing the leader, referred to his grandfather, William Lyon Mackensie, and his part in shaping the destiny of the country. Sir Lomer referred to the need of developing the country by industry, by immigration and by natality.

Concluding he referred to Mr. King as the mirror and worthy successor of the great Laurier.

Mr. Graham's Tribute.

Hon. G. P. Graham added a tribute to the leader, saying that if the Liberal party kept step with him it would never suffer defeat. He went on to make an optimistic speech declaring that the country could never be developed out of the depths of pessimism The greatest force of the future lay in the young men of the party and the country who were entitled to an intelligent and progressive lead in the development of the country and the solution of its problems.

Responding to the toast of "Parliament," Hon. E. M. MacDonald made a singularly eloquent speech, declaring that after five years of leadership, Mackenzie King had "made good." He confessed himself a strong party man—the family fidelity to the cause dating back a hundred years—and affirmed his belief in the two party system. Afterwards he drew a comparison between the Liberal and Conservative creeds and referred to Mr. Meighen as one of the Bourbon type who "never learns and never forgets."

Mr. MacDonald concluded with a eulogy of Laurier, a reference to the premier as his worthy successor, and in emphasizing the need of party activity and organization.

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Montreal Gazette May 4/23

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THE WEARY TITAN.

The Prime Minister, at a family gathering of Liberal members on Wednesday evening, drew an affecting picture of his sad and lonely life. Those who, in the darkness of ignorance, have looked with the eye of envy toward that Olympian height where sits the chief of the administrative immortals will realize now the extent of their error and will be thankful for the pleasant freedom which they are permitted to enjoy. Mr. King does not complain. He merely mentions that, because of the office which he occupies, a dismal isolation is imposed upon him, social intercourse is prevented, and the enjoyment of nature, books and human companionship is, in a large degree, denied. He asks that all should realize how multifarious are the demands upon his time and attention and how little of either can be given to even the most urgent of them. It is a painful revelation, but the sacrifices enumerated are not without their fruit—the Prime Minister's loss is the country's gain. Speaking of a tendency to compare "the opportunities and fruits of office as they are today with the fifteen years of office in the days of Sir Wilfrid Laurier," Mr. King was able to show that the problems with which he is wrestling are vastly more formidable than those which confronted his distinguished predecessor. In that more favored period the interest upon the public debt was small, great war obligations had not been incurred, great railway charges had not to be provided for, and millions of acres were available for the encouragement of railway operations. Yet, under colossal handicaps, the present Government is hewing for the country a pathway to success, better times are returning, economies in administration are being effected, trade and commerce are expanding, the tide of immigration is setting in, the railway situation is improving and, in the industry and business of the country, a new confidence is asserting itself.

Most comparisons are odious, but not one so modestly made as this. The facts speak for themselves, or would, if they were facts. Unfortunately, the splendid triumphs which Mr. King is achieving are not apparent to the anxious eye of an over-taxed public. If economies have been effected in administration, some more definite hint of their scope and whereabouts would be appropriate; nor is the Government's claim to credit for a revival of trade and a new confidence in industry as clear as it might be. That the tide of immigration is turning is good news indeed, but where is it, and is it turning because of the Government's immigration policy or in spite of it? These are matters which Mr. King might have gone into more fully, because the public are not as certain as he is either that these improvements are at hand, or that the Government's course and policies are likely to bring them about, at least in this generation. Perhaps there is a sort of poetic license for which allowance must be made in dealing with these little confidences between a Prime Minister and his friends.

But Mr. King did not stop there. The environment being one of security, for the moment, he launched a vigorous attack upon the absent leader of the Opposition. He said that it ill became Mr. Meighen to reflect upon the personal character of his opponents, to talk of duplicity and deception of the electorate, to urge his followers in the Senate to aid him in creating prejudice through the instrumentality of a vicious propaganda in the country, to do all this "when his whole tenure of office as Prime Minister was one of usurpation of office," etc. The charge that the present Government made its way into office by humbugging the electorate is one which is particularly irritating to a sensitive nature, but it is one, nevertheless, for which there exists something more than a shadow of foundation. It may be said, however, in this connection, and for Mr. King's comfort, that the electorate were not unwilling to be humbugged. That Mr. Meighen was an usurper of the office of Prime Minister is another and very different matter. He was selected for the premiership by the party which, at that time, commanded a substantial majority in the elective branch of Parliament and the step then taken was perfectly proper, perfectly regular, and quite constitutional. To argue the contrary is to contend an absurdity, which is never a sign of strength, even at a family function.

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Soo Ste. Marie News. May 4/23

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Mr. King Against Mr. King

On the 21st of November, 1921, shortly before the last Federal elections, the Hon. Mackenzie King delivered himself as follows at Chesley in the County of Bruce, this province:—"The question came down to this whether the nation was able to carry on successfully, and avert bankruptcy, or cut down expenditures. Until we get parliament and the government entirely changed, we will never bring down the expenses of the government of this country.

If there is any one thing this world is sick of it is coalition. Coalition means an expensive government, it means you don't get quickly along with progressive legislation. The only way in which we will carry on in Canada and get the sort of government that is going to help our country in future is by having one party—so strongly supported in parliament that it will be able to have a policy of its own, a mind of its own, and carry on that policy in the eyes of the people and go before the people on the record of its administration."

Now how is this working out? He dreaded bankruptcy when the debt of the country after the war was going down, and under his government he will tell the country everything is going on nicely and, the debt going up by leaps and bounds, the revenues falling short of the expenditures.

In opposition the world was sick of coalitions; but it was quite well when he was contriving with Mr. Crerar to drag the entire Progressive party into a coalition with him. Although a coalition meant "costly administration," he was willing to give it to the people in the neck, if he only could have completed the coalition on which he set his heart. The only government that could help the country, at that time, he was convinced was "one that was so strongly supported in parliament that it would be able to have a policy of its own and a mind of its own." Now he will tell you that his government without a majority of even one in the House is giving the country just the government it is demanding. Is this arrant humbug, or what is it?

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Ottawa Journal May 9/23

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MR. KING'S DILEMMA.

We foresee some interesting times for Mr. MACKENZIE KING when he arrives in London to participate in the forthcoming Imperial Conference. The Liberal party in Britain is still split into two hostile camps and all efforts to heal the breach have so far failed. In a recent speech Mr. ASQUITH quite deliberately and finally jettisoned all prospects of Liberal reunion and in so many words declared that he would rather remain the captain of his own devoted "Wee Free" Band than share the leadership of a vigorous and reunited Liberal party with Mr. LLOYD GEORGE. The Conservative party in Britain is not free from internal squabbles as Lord BIRKENHEAD's attack upon Lords SALISBURY and SELBORNE can testify, but the Tory feud does not cut so deeply into the vitals of the party as does the Liberal squabble. Discussing it the London *Outlook* says:

> "The feud between Mr. ASQUITH and Mr. LLOYD GEORGE is as well known in Tasmania and California as in London. Everyone within the party wishes to bury the hatchet, but no sooner is it buried than one of the leaders digs it up again."

Now it will be a miracle if the feud is ended by the time that our Prime Minister sets foot in London and we venture to prophesy that a very amusing contest will develop over the corpus of so illustrious a representative of Dominion Liberalism. LLOYD-GEORGIAN and ASQUITHIAN clubs will fight for the privilege of his addresses and "Wee Free" and "National Liberal" peeresses will ply their competitive arts to win him for their dinner tables. By his own confession made the other night to his faithful followers he never uses his official position as "a vantage ground for pleasure" and his spare time in London will be limited. Much of it will have to be put at the disposal of his official hosts the BONAR LAW Government and there will be a scant residuum left for the Liberals. Yet unless he displays extraordinary care and caution in its distribution, he is likely to get into trouble.

"Ce n'est que a premier pas qui coute" and the selection of the first Liberal hospitality will be his really delicate problem. It is a pretty dilemma. Just a few days ago an important body of Liberals in Ontario gave their endorsation to Mr. LLOYD GEORGE as the greatest living Liberal and urged that when he visited Canada he should be given an official welcome by the Liberal party. By this evidence the mass of Mr. KING's party looks upon Mr. GEORGE as the foremost paladin of British Liberalism. Yet if our Premier rushes hastily into the arms of the Welshman and his allies, he is going to incur the deadly displeasure of the ASQUITHIANS and what may be worse for him, the particularly acute displeasure of the celebrated MARGOT ASQUITH. It will be recalled that during her brief visit here this distinguished lady struck up a spectacular, if hasty, friendship with Mr. MACKENZIE KING and went so far as to give public testimony concerning his abilities and charms. In her book on her North American wanderings she pays him marked attention; we learn from its pages how our Premier and MARGOT "tired the sun with talking" over the fortunes and problems of Liberalism, and multitudinous topics and how Mr. KING impressed his fair guest with the fervour and nobility of his ideals as they studied the picture from which he claimed to draw his inspiration.

Mr. KING has always been fortunate in his capacity for enlisting the help of zealous feminine propagandists and as his selection of Mrs. "VIOLET MARKHAM" as our plenipotentiary at Geneva proves, he is not the man to forget their kindnesses. Doubtless MARGOT today pictures our Premier as the safe captive of her bow and spear and if he is a wise man he will accept no Liberal invitations till he has graced her lively and hospitable board. If however in a rash moment he gives precedence to say an old friend like Sir HAMAR GREENWOOD who is a valiant LLOYD-GEORGIAN, then in MARGOT's next book—and there is certain to be a next book—he may find a revised estimate of his virtues. Yet from the national viewpoint it is a pity that our Premier should be confronted with so grave a social problem when the interests of his country should command his undivided attention for the business of the conference.

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Sydney Post June 8/23

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MR. KING'S PESSIMISM.

Speaking before the "National Federation of Women's Liberal Clubs" at Ottawa the other day, Premier King eulogized the period of the Laurier regime thus: "Canada will never be as happy, never as prosperous again as it was in that time. That period will never be forgotten as the golden era of this country."

Never forgotten as long as the National Transcontinental Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific continue to impoverish the tax-payers of Canada.

Mr. King's prophecy that "Canada will never be as happy, never again as prosperous as it was in that time," is the essence of pessimism and despair. The country wants a leader who has faith and confidence in its future.

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~~Mail & Empire~~ Toronto Aug. 28/23
Daily Star.

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Premier King Will Oppose Readjustment of Relation

Attitude at Coming Imperial Conference—Some of the Empire Problems

PREFERENCE TRADE

By JOHN S. EWART

Ottawa, Aug. 28.—The Imperial war conference of 1917 declared its "opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special imperial conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities."

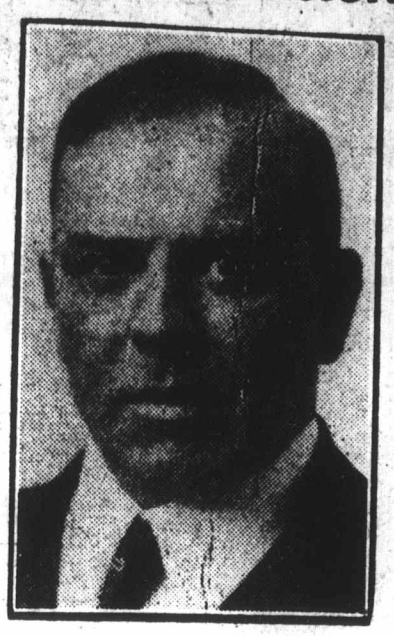
The imperial conference of 1921, on the other hand, declared that, "having regard to the constitutional developments since 1917, no advantage is to be gained by holding a constitutional conference."

At the coming imperial conference in October, Premier King will (as he told the house) take the position that "no steps should be taken in any way involving any change in the relations of Canada to other parts of the empire."

The Indian Problem

The conference will have many knotty problems to discuss. One of the embarrassments which attend the administration of a wide-spread empire derives from the incompatibility of races of different complexion and of different degrees of culture. The admission of men of color to the British islands never having been a source of economic disturbance or apprehension, British governments counted as narrow and unreasonable the objection to them by other white peoples, and one of the principal complaints against the Boers (prior to the Boer war) was the exclusion of East Indians. "British subjects surely have a right to enter every friendly state." Pressure, therefore, was applied to the dominions, Mr. Chamberlain insisting upon greater deference to the British flag. The dominions diplomatized. They would not exclude Indians, but they prescribed conditions which made their entry impossible. Meanwhile, British governments were learning to appreciate the rationale of the situation. Having possessed themselves of Boer territory, they had themselves to deal with the situation, with the result that the Indians raised more bitter complaint than during the Boer regime.

The pendency of the war gave to the Indian nationalists opportunity of which they took full advantage and by which they greatly profited. To them is due the fact that India insisted upon the institution of a protective tariff on cotton goods as return for financial assistance in the war. It was to conserve their friendship that, in August, 1917, the British government announced the adoption of the policy of larger self-government for India which was afterwards embodied in the Montague-Chelmsford report and the Government of India Act of 1919. For the same reason, the Imperial war conference of 1917 adopted (1) a resolution providing for the representation of India at all Imperial conferences, and (2) a resolution affirming "the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the dominions."



MR. W. L. M. KING

Canada's premier, who will be the representative at the coming imperial conference.

British Columbia Interested

That point gained, the 1918 Imperial war conference adopted, at the instance of the Indian delegates, a series of resolutions, one of which was as follows: "The right of the government of India is recognized to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions, in visiting India, as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country."

A second resolution was as follows: "Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian."

One of the reasons for keeping out the "wives" had been that, according to English and Canadian law, they were not wives at all. The war caused some strange proceedings.

For the resolution of the Imperial conference of 1921, no such excuse can be pleaded. At its date, by the laws of the dominion and of British Columbia, Indians, although resident in British Columbia, had no right to vote there. Notwithstanding that, and notwithstanding the opposition of General Smuts, the conference adopted a resolution declaring "that in the interests of the solidarity of the British Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians should be recognized." Mr. Meighen supported that resolution, but during last session the British Columbia members (all but one his followers) unanimously disapproved his action.

The Kenya Situation

Since that conference, the British government has had to deal with the same question. Two years ago, Kenya (a large district on the east coast of Africa) became a crown colony and was dowered with a legislature composed of eleven members to be elected by Europeans and four Indians and one Arab to be nominated by the governor. Inasmuch as, of the inhabitants, about 9,000 were Europeans and 23,000 were Indians, the principle of equality was by this arrangement violated, evidently that which the British government desired to see established in the dominions it easily recognized would not be admissible in places governed by itself. Very naturally, India made strong protest, but unavailing further than to obtain that the Indian representation in the legislature should consist of four elected instead of four nominated members. They were less successful in their attack upon their exclusion from the high-lands, the reservation of the best part of the country for Europeans. India has now transferred her denunciations from the dominion to the British government; the viceroy has joined vigorously in the complaints; and the legislature has inaugurated reprisals.

The attitude of British Columbia has been well vindicated. Mr. King has said that he will be guided at the approaching conference by the wish of that province as expressed through its representatives. The colonial secretary is not now in position to make complaints.

Preferential Tariffs

Not so many years ago, the United Kingdom forbale preferential arrangements among her colonies, and refused to accept preferences in her own favor. Now the dominions do as they please, and the British, while proclaiming their adherence to "free trade principles," have learned to appreciate any special trade privileges which may be offered to them. At the 1887 conference, Lord Salisbury rejected all advances in that direction, declaring that a Kriegsverein was what was wanted. At the 1894 (Ottawa) conference, it was resolved: "That this conference records its belief in the advisability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies by which trade within the empire may be placed on a more favorable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries."

Taking that as his text, the colonial secretary, Lord Ripon, afterwards told the colonies that "Such duties are really a weapon of commercial war, used as a means of retaliation, and inflicting possibly more loss on the country employing it than on the country against which it is directed, and which would not be likely to view them with indifference."

And, proceeding in good old-fashioned colonial office style, Lord Ripon added: "But the guardianship of the common interests of the empire rests with them (the British government) and they could not in any way be parties to, or assist in, any arrangements detrimental to these interests as a whole. In the performance of this duty, it may sometimes be necessary to require apparent sacrifices on the part of a colony, but her majesty's government are confident that their general policy in regard to matters in which colonial interests are involved is sufficient to satisfy the colonies that they will not, without good reason, place difficulties in the way of any arrangements which a colony may regard as likely to be beneficial to it."

Treaties Were Denounced

Far from being deterred, Canada in 1897 passed a statute giving a preference to the United Kingdom, and at the conference of that year the following declaration was adopted: "That the premiers of the self-governing colonies unanimously and earnestly recommend the denunciation, at the earliest convenient time, of any treaties which now hamper the commercial relations between Great Britain and her colonies."

The treaties were denounced, and the United Kingdom commenced her enjoyment of advantages over her competitors. But that was a very one-sided arrangement, and at the next conference (1902), under the influence of Mr. Chamberlain who had now entered upon his campaign of "tariff reform," the following resolution was adopted: "That this conference recognizes that the principle of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and his majesty's dominions beyond the seas would stimulate and facilitate mutual commercial intercourse, and would, by promoting the development of the resources and industries of the several parts, strengthen the empire."

The 1907 conference did the like. The 1911 was silent. Under the influence of war, the conference of 1917 declared itself in favor of, "The principle that each part of the empire, having due regard to the interests of our allies, shall give specially favorable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the empire."

The War's Aftermath

Space is insufficient to relate the curious vagaries of various bodies which functioned during the war: The Dominions Royal Commission; The Empire Resources Development Committee; The Imperial Minerals Resources Board; Lord Balfour's committee—of all of which nothing more unkind need be said than that evidences of war-dementia are still more apparent in the resolutions of the Paris conference of June 14-17, 1916, which divided its recommendations into (1) measures for the war-period; (2) transitory measures for the period of commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime reconstruction of the allied countries; and (3) permanent measures of mutual assistance and collaboration among the allies.

Listen to Sir George Foster: "I say that, for at least a generation, German wares, business and men should be excluded from the pale of the British Empire; give them a good long time to repent, but be sure they do repent, then we will let them come and pray to be readmitted into the neighborhood of fellowship and decent civilization."

Last session, our parliament increased the British preference, but at the same time provided for reduction upon goods arriving at Canadian ports, which will sometime tend to equality of treatment.

The coming conference may witness some bargaining. Our recent envoy to Australia was unable to effect an agreement, and the negotiations may be renewed. Mr. King said to the house that "the attitude which I will take as regards Canada will be that the matter of a preference is a matter for each parliament, a statement that in no way precludes endeavors to reach agreements subject to ratification by parliament."

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THE CALGARY HERALD
Established 1883

CALGARY, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1923

THE KING GOVT.

THE Liberal [redacted] Ottawa has not made a very definite impression on the public during the period it has been in office. At the present time there is no evidence of strong political bias in the country. The generality of citizens is not unduly critical of the government. Indeed, most men have wished it well and have hoped that it would be, to use the old expression, active in well-doing. Its career so far has been rather a disappointment.

The government has done no large thing, has formulated no important policy, that might have captured public attention and approval. The few things it has done were done under pressure. It granted the return of the Crow's Nest agreement rates on grain only when it had to, because the Progressives forced that action. In the important investigation into lake carrying rates the impression gained by the public was that the government had not acted voluntarily but because of the insistence of the Progressives. The decennial revision of the Bank Act provided an opportunity for something of value to the public but this opportunity was neglected by the government—and by the Progressives as well, by the way.

The government was slow and ineffective in correcting the false impression in England regarding this country's position in the Grand Trunk affair. It permitted a feeling of distrust of Canada to grow and spread, when energetic and frank handling of that situation would have placed Canada before the British investor in the right light.

The government has had no immigration policy. Canada stands lower today in the estimation of British people as a prospective field for settlement than ever before. That Canada does not want English settlers is the common talk of England. That is deplorable. Canada needs settlers. This country does want British settlers above all others. The government should have been vigorous in proclaiming that need and that preference. Instead, it has evidently adopted the doctrine of a few Farmer leaders in the western provinces who say that this country wants no more people on the land until the farmers now here are more prosperous.

The government still has time to improve its position in the estimation of the people. But it will not inspire respect, it will not enlarge its following, if it listens to eastern interests with one ear and to western extremists with the other, and between the two does nothing.

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The Onlooker

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It has been decided to discontinue the monthly issue of The Onlooker. In future Mr. J. C. Hodgins will contribute weekly, an independent, critical article on Current Public Affairs. These articles will appear exclusively in The Conservator.

KING'S AMAZING PERFORMANCE AT QUEBEC

We have always believed that if the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King were given enough rope he would end by hanging himself. He has just done so and is now nicely suspended on the gibbet of his self-conceit. The voice at Quebec was Mackenzie King, but "the prompter from the wings" was Ernest Lapointe. We do not believe that either the Rt. Hon. Mr. Fielding or Sir Lomer Gouin, or "that vendor of stale chestnuts," the Hon. George P. Graham, was conversant in advance with what Mr. King intended to say. From every angle it was a miserable performance, and no loud assertion that "Canada is without a single grievance" will serve to bolster it up. Through the whole deliverance runs the base insinuation that the Montreal Star and Mr. Meighen are in secret agreement to ruin his career, and are taking advantage of his necessitated absence to discredit his administration. A more ridiculous statement was never made. That Mr. Meighen has the slightest sympathy with the "Whisper of Death" campaign is, of course, absurd on the face of it; and the proof lies in the fact that the Montreal Star, in its second ridiculous article, deliberately set out to discredit Mr. Meighen's leadership and boldly stated that if the present Government at Ottawa would initiate a vigorous immigration policy it would support it. All palaver about the "Whisper of Death" campaign and Mr. Meighen's bold, clear and unanswerable arraignment of the present ridiculous excuse for a Government synchronizing, therefore, goes by the board. Simply the assertion will not hold water. To say, as Mackenzie King does, that Mr. Meighen is taking advantage of his,the premier's absence to make assertions of general incompetence, gross partisan corruption and downright hypocrisy is laughable in view of the fact that it is months since Mr. Meighen finished his Maritime campaign and in a week or so at the most will have completed his north-west tour. Mr. King has had plenty of time to reply to the drastic criticisms of the Leader of the Opposition. Why has he not done so? The answer is very simple. He could not! There is not a single charge levelled against the present Government that cannot be substantiated from the pages of Hansard.

The present Government was born in hypocrisy and is being carried on in deceit. It has broken faith with its followers and has hoodwinked the so-called Progressives. The shocking example of a body of men deliberately, when safe in office, going back on all their promises and cynically repudiating what, a few months earlier, they solemnly asserted were their inmost political convictions, lowers the whole tone of public life in this country. It is lamentable.

What, pray, would Mr. King have the leader of the Opposition do? Sit still with folded hands—a voiceless mute? It that the function of a sworn public servant? Is Mr. Meighen to await King's convenience and waste his time in mid-summer idleness while the country is groaning under mal-administration and extravagance? Who is Mackenzie King that he should talk of taking an unfair advantage? Ever since his return from the golden shelter of the Rockfeller millions to a sadly distracted and distraught land, while out of office, he did nothing but make the most preposterous charges of usurpation, government without mandate and all the rest of it. It was false,but it suited his purpose and the purpose of those who made and controlled him to add fuel to the flames of unrest that were sweeping the world. The miserable game, aided by North-west agitators of the type of Crerar, Maharg and Michael Clark,was temporarily successful, and the noble dream of Sir Robert Borden, of a Government made up of the best and wisest elements of both parties, came to a disastrous end. It was nevertheless a fine piece of idealism, and history will do Sir Robert Borden justice. From the very moment King returned to this country he gave himself up body and soul to a campaign of political fraud. Rejected by North York, he slipped in, by arrangement, through Antigonish and sought by every cheap trick of the demagogue to suborn the Farmers' movement. He even went so far as to say that "between the platform of the Progressives and the platform of the Liberal party there was no essential difference," which was a plain misstatement of the situation and disgusted all the old-line Liberals. Crerar was with him in his policy of hyprocrisy and was quite willing to "go cahoots." Drury, also, had been sounded, and was more than willing, according to Andrew Hicks, to enter the combination and betray the U.F.O. in Ontario. The plan was smashed from charges in two directions. Gouin and Lemieux served sharp notice that Quebec would have none of it, and Crerar was told by the rank and file to drop it. In disgust at his failure he resigned the leadership in a huff. Drury also was informed that the U.F.O. was not in the game of "the Spider and the Fly," and was forced (we believe reluctantly) to carry on as Premier of Ontario. It was one of the most sordid political conspiracies in the history of Canadian politics, and some future historian of Canada may yet designate it under the caption: "A Chapter of Shame." And this is the man who has the audacity to say that Mr. Meighen, whose whole course in parliament has been above board, is not playing fair!

The truth is, this man King is a political accident. He talks about his ancestor. He may well hold the old rebel in grateful remembrance, since, had it not been for him, Quebec would have had no use for him. It is precisely because he is a grandson of an attainted rebel, who only escaped hanging by the magnanimity of the British Government, that he is where he is.

What are the facts? When the Convention which was called to elect a leader to succeed Laurier met the great bulk of the English-speaking Liberals were joined up with the Conservatives for sound patriotic reasons. Quebec controlled the situation absolutely and Quebec sent Sir Clifford Sifton about his business, scornfully passed by Fielding and elected King. Not that they loved King, knew much about him or trusted him, but he had been snugly out of the country in the employment of the Standard Oil group at a salary of $25,000 a year while the rest of us were agonizing; came back to oppose Conscription, and, in a word, exactly suited their purpose.

The present situation is that the so-called Progressives now know that all King's promises were calculated hypocriscies, and they are sore and dissatisfied. The most of them know also, that the people of the North-west have their eyes wide open to the actual situation and will not send him back. Not one single constructive idea have they advanced on any subject brought up for discussion in the House. They stand as a palpable satire on the word Progressive. So far as King is concerned, and the insignificant English-speaking groups about him, they are controlled by the Quebec bloc absolutely, and the people of Ontario and the rest of the provinces are now seized of the fact. Ontario has just spoken, so has P.E.I. In the next Federal election it is safe to say that in Ontario the Liberal party will be annihilated, and, as Ontario goes, so goes the nation. Mr. Meighen is at last getting into touch with the average plain Canadian, and his popularity is daily increasing. Quebec is becoming aware of the fact, also, and the old Conservative party there is full of hope and confidence. The truth is the day of a people's wrath is approaching, and nobody knows it better than Mr. King. The situation today is, not what Mr. King thinks of Arthur Meighen, but what the people of Canada think of Mr. King and his ranshackle government. That is a more serious aspect of the case, and Mr. King may well tremble.

The charges this palterer with truth makes are so daringly false that exposure is almost ludicrously easy. Take, for example, his statement that Mr. Meighen by his charge that he goes to the Imperiol Conference without a definite program has embarrassed him in advance! The charge Mr. Meighen made is absolutely true. He has no program and he ought to have one. But what has Mr. Meighen to do with it? Mr. Meighen is not supposed to do MacKenzie King's thinking. The country naturally expected some clear, definite statement from the Premier on such a momentous occasion. It has been treated to contemptuous silence. All that Mr. King has deigned to say is that "Canada has not a single grievance." Was ever a more ridiculous statement made by a responsible minister of the Crown? His mind, then, by his own confession is a complete blank on Imperial affairs; and in some dark and mysterious way Mr. Meighen is responsible for it. We all know that Canada has no grievance against Britain; but, what about Britain's grievances against Canada? What about the reduction of the Canadian navy to a few miserable tubs? What about the reduction of the military estimates (at the time the lowest in the world) from a scant million to $700,000 at the bidding of Quebec? What about the miserable shuffling and evasion when the Dardanelles question was at its height and the other Dominions had bravely answered, "If it comes to an issue of war over International rights, we are with you"? What about Lapointe's coarse braggadocio at Washington, and his insulting attitude towards the British Ambassador in the matter of the Halibut Treaty? What about the refusal to bear any part whatever in the matter of Imperial defence? What about King's own mischievous meddling with the Treaty of Ghent—a treaty which has stood the test of over a century of time? Quite naturally the statesmen of the Empire will expect some explanation of these matters. Will they receive any? They will not. They will be treated to a flow of what his admirers consider oratory, but what every sensible Canadian now knows to be empty rhetoric. Instead of whining about Mr. Meighen and the "Whisper of Death," it would be more to the point if Mr. King would boldly enunciate his ideas and give us some clue as to where he stands on the subject of Imperial relations. We know where Mr. Meighen stands —solidly loyal—but we have not the faintest idea of where Mr. King stands, and we gravely doubt if he knows himself. This, at such a time as this, is a grave misfortune.

But in the speech in question Mr. King passed from absurdity to absurdity. Think of the responsible head of a government making the statement that the costs of the war ought to have been defrayed out of current revenue? The United States—the richest country in the world; at a time, too, when the balance of trade was billions in its favor—could not do this. It went into debt to the tune of twenty-three billions of money. Britain heaped up loans to the extent of 8,000,000,000 pounds sterling; France as much and more, and Italy to the extent of its entire national wealth! Had Sir Thomas White pursued such a course, Canada would have gone bankrupt. What a cheap sciolist and demagogue this man, is! He has the brazen impudence at this late date to appeal to the returned soldiers on the ground that had the government raised all the war revenue out of current taxes, they would not at this hour be burdened with their share of the national debt. And with such chaff as that he, who left the country when war was declared and stayed out of it, hopes to hoodwink those brave souls who stood for weary months and years in the hell of the trenches. But what are the facts? Canada did defray a very large share of the cost out of current revenue. To be precise, to the extent of 28%. Canada today, in the case of the man in possession of an income of a million, takes almost two-thirds of it. Is it possible that Mr. King never heard of the Excess Profits Tax? Had Sir Thomas White pursued the policy now gravely enunciated by King, there would have been no money left to carry on legitimate business, and the financial collapse would have been complete. But the best answer is, Why doesn't Mr. Fielding do it now? Instead of borrowing, why does not he boldly lift the entire amount required by means of direct taxation? We should like to see him try it! What must the keen-witted financiers of London think of such a hopeless ignoramus in financial matters? What does Fielding think? Such a preposterous utterance is a humiliation to the whole country.

Again Mr. King was supremely unfortunate in his reference to Britain. Britain began to reduce her debt **not during but after the war,** and, as a matter of fact, long after.

We come now to the real heart of the matter. Last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed a surplus of $500,000,000. It was miraculous, and put heart into the whole financial world. But while he was engaged in reducing Britain's debt **the government headed by Mr. King, was actually engaged in increasing Canada's debt four years after the war by the, for us, colossal sum of $45,000,000.** Mr. King blames this on what he calls, "the Railway and Maritime policy" of the Union Government, and here again he puts his foot in it. Our national railways are, to be sure, a heavy fixed charge though there are signs of amendment. But what had the Union Government or the government of Sir Robert Borden to do with the matter? The Canadian Northern Railway was begun, continued and completed during the Laurier regime. The Grand Trunk Pacific was the child of Laurier's brain. The Transcontinental, stretching through an almost unbroken wilderness from Moncton to Cochrane, was built, at a ruinous cost, as a bribe to Quebec by the Liberal government. And the Premier of Canada, in a reasoned speech, has the pure impudence to charge the Conservative party with being responsible for the railway mess. He is either maliciously misstating facts or he must be grossly ignorant of the truth of the situation. He may take his choice.

So far as the Merchant Marine is concerned, every sensible man knows that it was created in view of the dreadful loss of British shipping owing to the ravages of the submarines. We had to have ships, and we had to build them. It was a splendid achievement of which Canada may well be proud and, we believe, is proud. The ships saved the day, and enabled us supply the fighting armies with visions and arms. Incidentally paid for themselves three times in increased national wealth.

Reverting to the Railways. We know that the wise linking up of old Grand Trunk with the Nat System saved the day. But wh people of Canada do not yet comprehend is that this happy s of a difficult problem we owe Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen.

The Montreal financial grou heaven and earth to break rangement. To all their thre pleadings Mr. Meighen,who had charg of the problem, remained adamai Had he yielded and betrayed the pe ple of Canada, he might to-day hav been Premier of Canada. He took th hard road of rectitude and honor and went down to honorable defeat. These facts are slowly sinking into the common consciousness and in due season will bear fruit.

And so much for Mr. King and penny whistle.

ONLOOKER.

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The Quebec Chronicle - Sept. 15th 1923.

Mackenzie King's Advisor At Imperial Conference; Biographer Of Laurier

Dealing with Mr. Mackenzie King's expressed intention to take with him to the Imperial Conference Dr. Skelton, as his constitutional advisor, Lucian, in his Week-End, written for the Vancouver Province, takes occasion to deal at some length with Dr. Skelton himself, and his biography of Sir Wilfred Laurier. He writes as follows:

Dr. Skelton is not a jurist in the professional sense. He never studied law in a law office. Except three years of newspaper and magazine writing at Philadelphia between his undergraduate work at Queens and his post-graduate course at Chicago, he has passed his adult life in the university. Since 1907 he has been on the staff of Queens University as lecturer and professor in political science, and for some years past as head of the department. Outside of the University, Dr. Skelton has been known as a writer of political biography and of economy books. In 1910 he published "Socialism, a Critical Analysis." Ten years ago appeared his "Economic History of Canada Since Confederation," and in 1916 "The Railroad Builders."

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He is the author of the authorized Life of Sir Alexander Galt, which is an important contribution to Canadian political biography, though one would wish that it was more realistic in its account of persons.

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The books which probably had most to do with the invitation to Dr. Skelton to go to the imperial conference would not be any of these, but the biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, published in 1921, seven months after Sir Wilfrid's death. Five years before this Mr. Skelton had published a small chronicle called "The Day of Sir Wilfrid Laurier." The later two-volume biography is the authorized Life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In the preface the author says that Sir Wilfrid, some time before his death, placed in Dr. Skelton's hands all his papers covering the period to the close of his term of office, and that Lady Laurier gave him access to later papers. From such full records Dr. Skelton had opportunity for a more intimate study of Sir Wilfrid's political relations and opinions than was possible for Mr. J. S. (now Sir John) Willison. Sir Wilfrid was less than halfway through his career as premier when Mr. Wilson wrote his two-volume biography. Many things happened between 1902 and 1921. Among them was the discovery of Mr. Willison that he could not follow Sir Wilfrid any longer. Professor Skelton never acquired that information.

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The Prime Minister of today was a disciple of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It is possible that he wishes to follow in the Imperial Conference the course that would have been taken by his former chief. At least he would wish to know, as questions come up for discussion, what the traditions of the Liberal party are in respect to such matters. Sir Wilfrid Laurier became the Liberal leader in the year when the first colonial conference was held and died only a few months before Mr. Meighen, as premier, attended the last one. Professor Skelton, as friend, supporter and biographer of Sir Wilfrid, as the custodian of his paper, may be assumed to know the mind of the late chief. Apart from that he would appeal to the Premier as a good advisor on the score of his voluminous comments on the imperialism of Sir Wilfrid and of other people. Some history will be made at this conference, and Dr. Skelton, who is four years younger than the Prime Minister, may even now be qualifying to write the biography of another Liberal leader.

Mr. Owen McGillicuddy's primer only brings the life of Mr. King down to the beginning of the present ministry.

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This leads to an examination of the account given by Dr. Skelton of Sir Wilfrid's share in the Imperial Conferences. After reporting the various currents and counter currents of imperialism, Mr. Skelton tells us that:

"It was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's fortune to hold a strategic and determining post in the settlement of this issue. As prime minister of the colony, to which the population, prosperity, central position and priority in the working out of responsible government gave pre-eminence, as the senior and seemingly permanent prime minister of the Empire, outranking the Salisburys, Balfours, Campbell-Bannermans, the Bartons, eDakins, Watsons, the Seddons and the Jamesons, he held a unique place in imperial counsel. .....As Sir Wilfrid Laurier the man, master of rhetoric, but wary of enthusiasm, shrewd, tenacious, he was not likely to be moved from a deliberate position by the nod of a statesman or the smile of a duchess."

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This rather florid introduction might prepare our mind for the disclosure of some striking acts of leadership among this group of inferiors. But after some psychological explanations we are told that "whether or not he could have been positive and constructive, it is a fact that his most important work in this field was negative, the blocking of the plans of the advocates of centralization." The author goes on to give the opinion "that this work, negative though it may have been, was the work his day demanded, an essential stage in the development of Canadian nationality."

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The biographer turns back to say that in Sir Wilfrid's first year of office and in the festivals of the Jubilee, he "frequently used words which made the supporters of imperial federation count him as a convert." He "desired to meet Ontario half way." "But not for long" ..... "the stolid resistance of Quebec to that adventure in imperialism (the South African war) warned him of the danger of too great concession to Ontario sentiment, or what passed for Ontario sentiment. The federation tack soon ended."

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Dr. Skelton tells us that Sir Wilfrid in his later years of office developed the Canadian status "of a nation within the Empire," a conception which the author says was not new with him, though he makes the singular claim that 'he was the first responsible statesman to seize and hold fast to this idea." Continuing his diagnosis, Professor Skelton adds that even to this conception of nationhood "Sir Wilfrid was desirous of keeping the country from being irrevocably committed as long as might be ..... He did not believe that this nicely balanced compromise would prove an eternal solution. That Canada's eventual goal would be independence' remained his conviction. But that was not for his time, and sufficient for the day was the principle thereof."

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This interpretation of Sir Wilfrid's creed offers a fair explanation of the negative course which Sir Wilfrid is represented by Dr. Skelton to have taken in the conferences of 1902 and 1907. He joined the other Dominion representatives in showing that imperial free trade was impossible. He went farther than the rest in declining to commit Canada to any contribution to a navy under imperial control. He did not fall in with suggestions of a central representative imperial authority.

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But Dr. Skelton seems to make too little of Sir Wilfrid's support of imperial preference. The long debate of 1902 is disposed of in seven sentences, of which two set forth the Canadian reply to Mr. Chamberlain and one gives a meagre summary of the preferential resolution adopted by the delegates from over the seas. The part taken by Sir Wilfrid, and the whole debate on preferential trade in the conference in 1907, is disposed of in this single sentence:

"On the tariff question Sir Wilfrid said little, he agreed in principle with Dr. Deakin's eloquent advocacy of imperial preference, but did not wish to interfere in British politics. As a compromise he proposed and carried the readoption of the 1902 resolutions, the United Kingdom in part dissenting."

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Now the discussion of preferential trade in the 1907 conference was by far the longest debate. The report of the speeches fills more than 200 pages in the Blue Book, which is half as much as all other subjects together. Sir Wilfrid spoke briefly in introducing the subjects, but his closing argument for preferential trade occupies nine pages of the Blue Book. As this is the most important question to come before the coming conference let me express the hope that Mr. King will go the Blue Book and not to the biography if he desires to follow the Laurier tradition.

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In the biography Sir Wilfrid is represented as a statesman with no definite programme of imperial relations except the conviction that Canada must some day become an independent nation. This theory he declared at a banquet in Boston and afterwards reaffirmed in the Canadian Parliament, with the statement that it was the ideal he always held out to his countrymen. But these declarations were made before Sir Wilfrid became prime minister. I do not recall that he ever made such a confession of faith after he took office. If Dr. Skelton had not given us information to the contrary, I should have supposed that the ideal of independence was abandoned. Sir Alexander Galt soon after Confederation, made a more positive declaration that he favored the independence of Canada. He even insisted that this view should be known to the imperial authorities before he accepted knighthood. Dr. Skelton, as biographer of Galt, presents him in his later days as an advanced imperialist. There is no doubt that he positively condemned the idea of separation.

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While Sir Wilrfid's course was often inconsistent with his previous and subsequent [illegible]ations, he did not in Downing street place Canada in any position inconsistent with her past. "Consistency," says Emerson "is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little philosophers, little politicians, little divines. With consistency a man of genius has nothing to do."

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If we apply that doctrine to Sir Wilfrid, the student of Sir Wilfrid who goes to the Imperial Conference to assist the Premier in maintaining the Laurier tradition, will not get much help from the past. He will not know from what Sir Wilfrid used to say, what he would say now. If he wishes the Premier to adhere to the Laurier school he will keep him on his guard against new programmes, and advise him to abstain from constructive propositions. By maintaining such a negative attitude Mr. Mackenzie King may return declaring that he made Canada a nation. Canada has been made a nation several times and another christening with another godfather will not do her any hurt.

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Ottawa Journal Sept 21/23

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CANADA OPPOSES DEFENCE SCHEME THAT ADDS TAX

Premier King Leaves Today For Imperial and Economic Conferences In London.

LIKELY TO FOLLOW LINES OF POLICY OF SIR WILFRID

Preference Extension By Britain Is Question For Parliament At Westminster.

By George Hambleton, Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.

Premier King leaves early this morning for Quebec, whence he will sail on the Montcalm in the evening to attend the Imperial and Economic Conferences. In London he will meet Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, and Hon. G. P. Graham, Minister of Railways, who, with Mr. King and technical advisers, will comprise the Canadian delegation. Both conferences meet on October 1—the Imperial Conference proper considering such questions as foreign policy, national defence, constitutional relations and the like; the Economic Conference dealing more particularly with questions of trade and Empire development.

Economic Side.

As the conferences approach, the economic side seems to be assuming an increased importance. World events and developments in foreign affairs may exert considerable influence within the next few weeks, but there is a feeling that it is in the economic field—in arrangements for improvement of Empire trade and in development of Empire settlement—that the conferences are likely to be productive of effective results, although consideration of Empire defence will hold first rank at the main Imperial Conference.

Masses of data have been collected for the use of the Canadian delegation. For weeks past experts have been at work gathering, sifting. The material touches on all phases of the agenda; and, from various quarters come suggestions and proposals for the extension of trade within the Empire. Not all are before the conference officially. Some may not even be discussed, but in themselves they indicate the wide interest taken in schemes of Empire development.

The Suggestions.

Apart from extension of Imperial tariff preference — which Australia proposes to raise—the suggestions include:

(1) Empire-wide movement in favor of Empire products.

(2) Creation of an Empire Economic Council to give consideration to problems of trade development after the conference has concluded its labors.

(3) Employment of Empire surplus wealth within the Empire. (Higher income tax on investments outside the Empire with taxation concessions on capital employed in developmental work within the Empire are mooted under this head.)

(4) Extensions of credits.

(5) Institution of Empire currency bills as a means of combating fluctuations in exchange.

(6) Development of natural resources and co-ordinated action for improvement of technical research.

(7) Organization of economic intelligence and unification of the law and practices in matters affecting trade.

(8) Development of inter-Empire shipping and communications.

In the development of trade, Great Britain herself will be vitally interested. Her roll of unemployed is her most pressing problem. To meet it she has been driven to huge expenditures and appropriations in unemployment insurance, guarantees under the Trade Facilities Act, in the extension of credits under the Export Credits scheme and in the encouragement of migration to the Dominions. The last-named — that of Empire settlement — Great Britain intends to press before the conference. According to advices, she feels that the Dominions should embark on a bolder scheme.

Follow Sir Wilfrid.

On questions to be discussed, Premier King is reserving announcements of his policy for the conference itself. On constitutional relations, he will, however, it is understood, follow the broad lines of the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in advocating autonomy and the supremacy of the Canadian Parliament over Canadian issues. At the same time, it is expected that he will press for improvement in present methods of consultation and communicating information as between the governments of Great Britain and of the overseas Dominions.

Australia's Plan.

Premier Bruce, of Australia, according to report, intends to urge the adoption of some definite and concrete scheme of Empire defence and, further, wider tariff preferences for Dominion goods in the markets of Great Britain. The latter, Premier Bruce is apparently advocating as a corollary to the encouragement of migration from Great Britain to Australia. On these questions, again, Premier King is reserving announcements of his attitude. But it is likely that, in view of present financial conditions, he will oppose any new defence scheme involving additional taxation in Canada.

Should Premier Bruce press extension of British preference along the lines indicated, Premier King will hold that extension of British preference by Great Britain is entirely a question for the Parliament at Westminster. Moreover, it is understood, he would, on two grounds, be opposed to making encouragement of British immigration conditional on the extension of British preference—first, because British immigration is needed for the development of Canada and, secondly, because "conditions" introduce the element of bargaining and, as such, are likely to prejudice good relations within the Empire.

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PREMIER SAILING TODAY FOR IMPERIAL CONFERENCE WHICH WILL DISCUSS VITAL ISSUES

Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King Embarks on Montcalm This Evening For England, Where He Will Join Hon. Geo. P. Graham and Sir Lomer Gouin. Has Reserved Announcement of His Attitude on Many Pressing Problems of Empire. Economic Side of Meeting Assuming Increasing Importance. Empire Defence Also an Outstanding Question.

(Canadian Press Staff Correspondent).

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The Montreal Gazette. September 21st 1923

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CANADA WANTS TRADE COUNCIL ORGANIZATION

Employment of Empire Surplus Wealth Within Empire

MACKENZIE KING LEAVES

Economic Side of Conference Is Assuring Increased Importance

By GEORGE HAMBLETON.
Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.

Ottawa, September 20.—Premier King leaves early tomorrow morning for Quebec, whence he will sail on the Montcalm in the evening to attend the Imperial and Economic Conferences. In London he will meet Sir Lomer Gouin, Minister of Justice, and Hon. G. P. Graham, Minister of Railways, who, with Mr. King and technical advisers, will comprise the Canadian delegation. Both conferences meet on October 1—the Imperial Conference proper considering such questions as foreign policy, national defence, constitution relations and the like; the Economic Conference dealing more particularly with questions of trade and Empire development.

As the conferences approach, the economic side seems to be assuming an increased importance. World events and developments in foreign affairs may exert considerable influence within the next few weeks, but there is a feeling that it is in the economic field—in arrangements for improvement of Empire trade and in development of Empire settlement—that the conferences are likely to be productive of effective results, although consideration of Empire defence will hold first rank at the main Imperial Conference.

Masses of data have been collected for the use of the Canadian delegation. For weeks past, experts have been at work, gathering and sifting. The material touches on all phases of the agenda; and, from various quarters have come suggestions and proposals for the extension of trade within the Empire. Not all are before the conference officially. Some may not even be discussed, but, in themselves, they indicate the wide interest taken in schemes of Empire development.

SUGGESTED STEPS.

Apart from extension of Imperial tariff preference—which Australia proposes to raise—the suggestions include:

(1) Empire-wide movement in favor of Empire products.

(2) Creation of an Empire Economic Council to give consideration to problems of trade development after the conference has concluded its labors.

(3) Employment of Empire surplus wealth within the Empire. (Higher income tax on investments outside the Empire with taxation concessions on capital employed in developmental work within the Empire are mooted under this head.)

(4) Extension of credits.

(5) Institution of Empire currency bills as a means of combatting fluctuations in exchange.

(6) Development of natural resources and co-ordinated action for improvement of technical research.

(7) Organization of economic intelligence and unification of the law and practices in matters affecting trade.

(8) Development of inter-Empire shipping and communications.

In the development of trade, Great Britain herself will be vitally interested. Her roll of unemployed is her most pressing problem. To meet it, she has been driven to huge expenditures and appropriations in unemployment insurance, in loans to local authorities, in guarantees under the Trade Facilities Act, in the extension of credits under the Export Credit Scheme and in the encouragement of migration to the Dominions. The last named—that of Empire settlement—Great Britain intends to press before the conference. According to advices, she feels that the Dominions should embark on a bolder scheme.

On questions to be discussed, Premier King is reserving announcements of his policy for the conference itself. On constitutional relations, he will, however, it is understood, follow the broad lines of the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in advocating autonomy and the supremacy of the Canadian Parliament over Canadian issues. At the same time, it is expected that he will press for improvement in present methods of consultation and communicating information as between the governments of Great Britain and of the overseas dominions.

BRUCE'S INTENTIONS.

Premier Bruce of Australia, according to report, intends to urge the adoption of some definite and concrete scheme of Empire defence, and, further, wider tariff preferences for dominion goods in the markets of Great Britain. The latter, Premier Bruce is apparently advocating as a corollary to the encouragement of migration from Great Britain to Australia. On these questions, again, Premier King is reserving announcements of his attitude. But it is likely that, in view of present financial conditions, he will oppose any new defence scheme involving additional taxation in Canada.

Should Premier Bruce press extension of British preference along the lines indicated, Premier King will hold that extension of British preference by Great Britain is entirely a question for the Parliament at Westminster. Moreover, it is understood, he would, on two grounds, be opposed to making encouragement of British immigration conditional on the extension of British preference—first, because British immigration is needed for the development of Canada and, secondly, because "conditions" introduce the element of bargaining and, as such, are likely to prejudice good relations within the Empire.

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Free Press London Ont. Sept. 21/23.

056786

TRADE DEVELOPMENT WITHIN EMPIRE BIG QUESTION AT PARLEY

...ts Along This Line ...ented To Mother- ...Dominion Delegates ...mperial Conference

PREMIER KING SAILS TO-NIGHT FOR ENGLAND

With Sir Lomer Gouin and Hon. George P. Graham He Will Represent Canada At the Meeting At London

BY GEORGE HAMBLETON,
Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.

OTTAWA, Sept. 20.—Premier King leaves early to-morrow morning for Quebec, whence he will sail on the Montcalm in the evening to attend the imperial and economic conferences. In London he will meet Sir Lomer Gouin, minister of justice, and Hon. G. P. Graham, minister of railways, who, with Mr. King and technical advisers, will comprise the Canadian delegation. Both conferences meet on October 1, the imperial conference proper considering such questions as foreign policy, national defense, constitutional relations and the like; the economic conference dealing more particularly with questions of trade and empire development.

As the conferences approach the economic side seems to be assuming an increased importance. World events and developments in foreign affairs may exert considerable influence within the next few weeks, but there is a feeling that it is in the economic field—in arrangements for improvement of empire trade and in development of empire settlement—that the conferences are likely to be productive of effective result, although consideration of empire defense will hold first rank at the main imperial conference.

MUCH DATA READY.

Masses of data have been collected for the use of the Canadian delegation. For weeks past experts have been at work, gathering, sifting, the material touches on all phases of the agenda, and from various quarters have come suggestions and proposals for the extension of trade within the empire. Not all are before the conference. Some may not even be discussed, but in themselves they indicate the wide interest taken in schemes of empire development.

Apart from extension of imperial tariff preference—which Australia proposes to raise—the suggestions include:

1—Empire-wide movement in favor of empire products.

2—Creation of an empire economic council to give consideration to problems of trade development after the conference has concluded its labor.

3—Employment of empire surplus wealth within the empire. (Higher income tax under this head).

4—Extension of credits.

5—Institution of empire currency bills as a means of combating fluctuations in exchange.

6—Development of natural resources and co-ordinated action for improvement of technical research.

7—Organization of economic intelligence and unification of the law and practices in matters affecting trade.

8—Development of inter-empire shipping and communications.

BRITAIN'S POSITION.

In the development of trade, Great Britain herself will be vitally interested. Her roll of unemployed is her most pressing problem. To meet it she has been driven to huge expenditures and appropriations in unemployment insurance, in loans to local authorities in guarantees under the Trade Facilities Act, in the extension of credits under the export credit scheme and in the encouragement of migration to the dominions. The last named—that of empire settlement—Great Britain intends to press before the conference. According to advices she feels that the dominions should embark on a bolder scheme.

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Halifax Herald Sept. 22/23.

GOLDEN ERA COMING, MR. KING SAYS

Premier Indulges in Stump Speech on Eve of Sailing For England.

ASSAILS MR. MEIGHEN

Declares "Someone" Is Trying to Embarass Him At Conferences.

QUEBEC, Sept. 21.—In a farewell address delivered at a dinner tendered him by Hon. Ernest Lapointe, at the Garrison Club tonight, just previous to his embarkation for London, where he will attend the Imperial Conference, Right Hon. Mackenzie King vigorously defended the record of the federal government and replied to criticism which has been levelled at his administration by Opposition critics with particular reference to financial, immigration and railway policy.

Mr. King made a brief reference to the forthcoming Imperial Conference for two reasons: "In the first place," he said, "because it is a conference, not a political contest, and I have thought it was owing to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and to the other prime ministers invited to be present to wait until we were in conference to discuss the agenda that might be presented, and to express with reference thereto the Canadian point of view. Secondly, I have thought it well to say but little as Canada has no question to raise. We do not desire an change in our constitutional relations with Great Britain or the other British dominions. We are satisfied with our present position. We do not think this is the time to raise new issues.

"SO long as this happy condition prevails the friends of Canada and the friends of the British Empire need have no concern for the future of either. To make it prevail at all times must be our supreme endeavor."

Mr. King referred to the "truly Canadian spirit" as being "one of conciliation, one, may I not say, of reconciliation, a spirit essentially of equal rights for all and good will towards all."

The Premier said, that unfortunately the lateness of the session and the many public matters requiring his attention at its close had confined him almost continuously to the seat of government at Ottawa. His political opponents had been quick to realize his embarrassments, and had been making the most of the handicap they afforded, he said. The motive, of course, was political, he maintained, but such action was none the less unpatriotic and the consequences none the less unfortunate.

IT was particularly to be regretted that at a time when Canada was seeking to attract the right class of settlers, and also capital for investment, this organized campaign to the discredit of Canada shoud have been started. Fortunately, it had not been countenanced to any extent in our own country, notwithstanding that the propaganda had been broadcasted in the press from the Atlantic to he Pacific by means of paid advertisements. The people know conditions for themselves and were not being misled.

Abroad, however, the circumstances were quite different. Fulminations of the Montreal Star might conceivably be looked upon in the United Kingdom as a part of the shrewd observations of a member of the British House of Lords, and the diatribes of the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen as responsible utterances because of his having at one time held the high office of Premier of the Dominion.

Mr. King would not say that the synchronising of the campaign with his visit to England to attend the conference was an evidence that it had been intended as an occasion of embarrassment to him whilst representing the interests of Canada in the Old Country. That such would be its effect, however, there could be no doubt.

The Prime Minister referred to Mr. Meighen's present "political pilgrimage" as being "like a funeral procession on a national scale. The Opposition leader was still trying to bury the memory of the last general election. There appeared to be three themes in particular which the Montreal Star and Mr. Meighen were stressing in common, he said. These were the finances of the country, the National Railways, and immigration.

SPEAKING with reference to each in turn, Mr. King said:

"It is true that the debt of the country is enormous, that the interest payable on the debt is larger than the entire cost of government only a few years ago, that the taxes are high, but why is this?

"It is because we are now trying to meet obligations arising out of the colossal expenditures of the four years of the war, not a dollar of which were met by the government of the day out of the taxes of the people. This is an appalling statement, and it is one which the people of Canada cannot take too much to heart, in viewing the burdens which they are being called upon to bear, but it is none the less true. The war was financed by loans, and it is the repayment of these loans which constitute the heaviest burden and the interest on these loans which constitutes the largest single immediate charge upon the revenues of the country. If we take into account what was raised by taxation, and what by loans during the period of the war, we will find that the sums raised by taxation were just sufficient and no more than to meet the ordinary expenditures current at the time.

"The war payments were left in their entirety until the fighting was over, to be met, in part, upon their return by the men who went overseas and fought, and who now necessarily share, along with the relatives of those who lost their lives, in the increased cost of government and cumulative increase in the cost of living. That was how the government of the day cared for its war veterans. In Canada, as was done in England and elsewhere, we should have sought to pay, at least in some small part, the cost of the war at the time of the war itself, and as largely as possible out of the fortunes which the war helped to create. That might easily have been done wi[illegible] patis[illegible]

"IN considering the country's finances, the charges of extravagance which have been made against the present administration are wholly unwarranted. The facts prove entirely the contrary. They disclose that the government has been economizing in directions and to a degree that for many years past has never been attempted, and that since its accession to office the government has exerted itself to the utmost to bring about such a revival of trade as would increase the revenue and effect such economy as would decrease the disbursements of the country and bring about the necessary equilibrium between receipts and expenditures."

Mr. King emphasized the point that two thirds of the whole present cost of the government of Canada arose out of the war, or out of the railway and marine policy imposed on the country by the late government. Part of the expenditure of the government was controllable, but there was a part "the outlays of which are in the nature of obligations which no government at the present time could do other than take account of." He also mentioned the relative purchasing power of the dollar today, as compared with the years with which comparisons were made. The "controllable" services of the Dominion government were now costing the individual taxpayer a less percentage of his income than in the last year of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, he said.

"The tremendous increase in the uncontrollable expenditure has been due in the main to the vicious policy of the late government in financing the war by loans rather than by taxation during the war by those who did not go on active service and these loans were incurred more especially at a period when the purchasing power of the dollar was very low, and consequently more money had to be borrowed and borrowed at much higher rates of interest than were paid before the war. The expenditure on the debt charges on pensions on soldiers' civil re-establishment or soldiers land settlement are all obligations which have arisen out of the war. They cannot be reduced off-hand but already a considerable reduction has been made, even in these particulars, over the amounts paid out during the time that Mr. Meighen held office."

PREMIER King instanced the Canadian Government Merchant Marine as "an outstanding example of the sins of the late government. As a result of this mistaken policy the present government found itself on accession to office provided with a fleet of 65 vessels built when construction costs were at their highest, and having to be operated on ocean freight services in competition with the world. The result as shown in the fourth annual report of the directors dated April, 1923, was that these ships which had cost $191 per ton were at the time of the fourth annual report worth only $50 per ton, thus amounting to a loss of $53,000,000, besides the operating deficits which allowing for interest and depreciation, amounted to over $8,000,000 in the calendar year 1921, and over $9,500,000 in 1922.

"Much has been said by both the Montreal Star and Mr. Meighen of the failure of the present government to balance revenue and expenditure, but nothing has been said by the Star or Mr. Meighen of the failure of the previous governments subsequent to the war to effect this result or of the very rapid approach which had been made towards this end by the present administration. Making due allowance for war expenditure and the cost of demobilization, it was surely as much in the interests of Canada at the period immediately following the war that revenues and expenditures in other particulars should then be balanced, and that the public debt should not be further increased. The war ended in 1918 and in 1919 the national debt was increased by $382,000,000. In 1920 it was increased by $674,000,000. These expenditures were, of course, largely on war account, but if the balance of revenue and expenditure is desirable today, it was equally desirable two years after the war. In 1921, when Mr. Meighen took office, the addition to the net debt was $92,000,000. His administration added during the years 1921-22 $81,000,000. Mr. Fielding, always cautious and seeking always to err only on the safe side, stated in his budget speech that he felt sure this addition to the net debt would be materially decreased as the result of his financing and of the policy which the government were adopting. The figure to which he estimated the reduction could be brought down was from $81,000,000 to $49,000,000. As a matter of fact, now that all the returns are in, the figure is not $49,000,000 as estimated as the maximum, but $31,461,000. In the first five months of the present fiscal year our revenue receipts have been $11,000,000 more, and our expenditure $3,000,000 less than in the same period of last year, an improvement of $14,000,000 in the full fiscal year. It appears, therefore, that irrespective of the important showing of the Canadian National Railways, the revenue and expenditure of Canada will be made to balance this year, as they have not done since 1913.

"WHAT are the prospects of the present fiscal year? We have now a record for its first five months from April to August. During these five months, the total revenue receipts of the government were $182,000,000, as compared with $171,000,000 in the same period of last year, while expenditure both in current and capital account was owing to the economy of the government, only $116,000,000, as compared with $119,000,000 last year, a saving of $3,000,000. Thus these first five months of the current fiscal year show a total improvement of over $14,000,000 in our financial position, as compared with last year, an improvement which, if continued throughout the year, would obviate the necessity of paying even a single dollar to the debt of the country in the present fiscal year, even should the advances to the National Railways and the Canadian Government Merchant Marine absorb as much money as last year. Without any undue optimism, therefore, it may safely be asserted that Canada's income during the present year will meet her vast expenditures and that the balance of revenue and expenditure which has been the goal of our government from its commencement is in full process of being obtained during the present fiscal year, something which has not obtained since 1913."

Referring to the railway situation, Mr. King said that he thought it was generally admitted in Canada that the appointment by the present government of Sir Henry Thornton as president and chairman of the National Lines, was "in the nature of a great achievement."

"What more effective answer could be given to the criticisms of the admniistration than that accorded by the latest transportation figures, the most noticeable of which are the gross earnings of our railways. The gross earnings of our two great systems aggregated $227,000,000 in the first seven months of 1923, as compared with $207,000,000 in the same period of 1922, an increase of $20,000,000 out of which the lion's share or $16,000,000, fell to the lot of the Canadian National Railways, in which we are all shareholders, and this notwithstanding the far-reaching reduction in railway rates, which have been made with respect to many commodities since the present government assumed office.

"Gross earnings, it is true, are not always absolute evidence of prosperity, but in this case the net operating earning of the Canadian National for the first seven months of 1923 amount to almost $3,000,000 as compared with an operating deficit of over $2,000,000 in the same period of 1922. Thus, from the public point of view, there has been a net gain of $5,000,000 this year over last, while the most productive part of the year's business is still to come. And what a business it will be transporting the largest exportable surplus of our history."

THE government's policy has been to give government ownership and control a fair trial, the Premier insisted. "The action of the Senate of Canada in throwing out the bill which made provision for what the company believed to be essential in improving its own interests and the needs of other parts of Canada was in the nature, not of a patriotic act, but of placing a deliberate handicap on the National System," he said. He made a plea for co-operation with Sir Henry Thornton and the board of directors of the system.

Turning to immigration, Mr. King declared that when the present government attained power it inherited a system of granting millions of dollars for unemployment relief. "We found also that the entire immigration machinery had been stopped," he said. "It would only have provoked a serious industrial situation to have stimulated too quickly the tide of immigration to our shores," he said. In this, as in all else, we proceeded with caution."

The policy of the government was that of "placing the landless men on the manless land," declared Mr. King, and "to develop as rapidly as circumstances will justify the uncultivated and undeveloped portion of our country, and at the same time to promote such a natural inflow in other directions as will serve to meet the growing industrial need of the nation without prejudice to the standard of living which our industrial population has secured."

"A minister of the government, Hon. James A. Robb, is now giving his entire time and attention to the development of our immigration policy. If the Star will cease its 'Whisperings of Death' and Mr. Meighen his paeans of woe, we may expect in the course of the next few years a revival of industry, trade and prosperity such as Canada has not had since the period of that Liberal regime which will always be recalled as the golden era of peace, plenty and prosperity."

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Citizen Ottawa Sept. 22/23.

056788

PREMIER WILL BE AWAY TWO MONTHS ON OVERSEAS TRIP

Much Business Awaits Action Under Direction of Hon. W. S. Fielding, Acting Premier.

Premier King, who left Ottawa yesterday for the Imperial Conference in London, and who sailed last night from Quebec, expects to be away two months, attending the Imperial and Economic Conferences. He has gone with a number of prepared speeches, the first of which is to be delivered this evening at Quebec and the second in London on the eve of the conference at a gathering to be presided over by the Duke of Connaught.

Hon. W. S. Fielding returns on Saturday to carry on as acting premier. While a reasonably quiet time seems in prospect, there are a number of things which cause concern. The lake shipping situation appears to be shaping up badly, judging by continued reports that many American vessel owners will refuse to come in because of the legislation which enforces a filing of their rates with the Grain Commission. The disposition here is to suspect the Canadian lake shippers of fomenting the difficulty with a view of bringing about the repeal of this year's legislation, which implemented the recommendations of a royal commission. The Grain Commission insists that the boats will be available once the ore carrying season ends, but, if not, a blockade of some proportions seems in prospect. The legislation is mandatory and not variable by order-in-council, though the ruling that the rate filing may be treated as confidential rather than public may ameliorate the situation.

Home Bank Case Pending.

The Home Bank case is another thing that is pending. The curator's report is awaited. Meanwhile meetings of depositors are demanding action to conserve their interests. As there was no government inspection of this or any other bank, there is slight prospect that any losses that are sustained by the depositors will be recouped, but every expectation of proceedings against those responsible.

If the failure had been under the new instead of the old act the situation would be somewhat different. The responsibility of the directors under the new act is greatly increased.

Balance of Financing.

The balance of the financing of the 172 million maturing loan remains to be accomplished. It is believed that 100 millions may, along with conversions of the old issue, be secured in Canada, the rest being placed in the States.

Announcement will be made in a few days of the commission to investigate conditions in the Cape Breton mining and steel industries. It will be headed by a man prominent in educational and philanthropic work, along with one representing the capital and another the labor interests.

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Ottawa, Canada.
Saturday, September 22, 1923.

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EDITORIAL.

PREMIER KING'S LEADERSHIP.

Premier Mackenzie King goes to represent Canada at one of the most important conferences concerning the welfare of the British Commonwealth that has ever been held. He has given very little indication of having any constructive policy to put forward before the assembled prime ministers. There is reason to believe that Canadian cabinet ministers from the premier down are so beset with the petty details of political administration, they have very little time for concentrating on vital questions of national policy.

It is absurd that this should be the case in Canada where, under freedom from political patronage, administrative duties might be comparatively light. But Sir George Murray's report, after an intensive study of the public service of Canada in 1912, still holds good where he said: "Nothing has impressed me so much in the course of my inquiry as the almost intolerable burden which the present system of transacting business imposes on the ministers themselves. They both have too much to do and do too much." Perhaps between the prime minister's farewell speech in Quebec and the opening of after-dinner speeches in London, he may have time to study something about Canada's economic situation, and the possibilities of Canada giving the lead to the other nations, towards ushering in the true commonwealth.

Unfortunately the political leaders in recent years seem almost to have abdicated their functions as statesmen. They seem afraid to advance any policy of reconstruction, or even to consider the question. The parties have so allowed themselves to become dominated by vested interests, very largely corporation interests, they have virtually ceased to debate economic questions.

It is to the credit of some members of this parliament, including the minister of finance, Mr. W. S. Fielding, and the ex-minister, Sir Henry Drayton, that the banking and commerce committee last session allowed some ideas on economic reconstruction at least to be recorded in the form of a parliamentary report. But it is doubtful whether many members have studied the report. The leaders give no hint of having done so. They seem very reluctant to lead or even direct public opinion towards sources of information that might lead along the path to reconstruction.

Somebody must give the lead, however, and leadership will come just as soon as the people of Canada make it sufficiently apparent that they really want to find the path towards better times. Perhaps the present prime minister lacks the confidence in himself to lead. There are examples abroad where men with nothing much more than confidence in themselves, such as the Fascisti dictator in Italy, Mussolini, have been able to rally the nation behind them. At home in Canada the strings of leadership have been controlled too much from behind the scenes. The controllers of financial credit power have controlled political power. But it cannot be said that many very brilliant results are being achieved at the present time under this control.

Fear would, indeed, seem to be operating in the ranks of the controllers, as it is expressed in the dismal articles that are being broadcast from Montreal. The national policy that produces such results as the recent closing of the Home Bank, and the disappearance of the Merchants Bank, can hardly be regarded as the last word in commercial wisdom, nor can the upholders of it claim to have nothing to learn about economic reconstruction. But Premier King can go to the conference in London feeling assured that the prime ministers from the other nations within the commonwealth have just as much reason to work for a path out from the present unstable economic situation, which is more or less common to every country, including even the United States.

Whether the prime minister of Canada will avail himself of the opportunity to break new ground, to direct thought towards the building of an economic commonwealth, or whether reconstruction has to come only after everything else has been tried, the conference should have one good result: it should help to impress the assembled premiers that an economic readjustment, a policy of reconstruction, must be discovered, and undertaken soon.

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Sydney Post Sept. 22/23.

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MACKENZIE KING REPLIES TO STORM OF CRITICISM RAISED ALL OVER CANADA

Weak Financial, Immigration And Railway Policy Of Government Are Defended By Premier On The Eve Of His Departure To Attend Imperial Conference.

Bitterly Blames Opposition For Broadcasting "Propaganda" From Coast To Coast By Means Of Press.—"The People Know The Condition Of The Country, Without Being Told," He States.

QUEBEC, September 21.—(By Canadian Press)—In a farewell address delivered at a dinner tendered him by Hon. Ernest Lapointe, at the Garrison Club tonight just previous to his embarkation for London where he will attend the imperial conference, Right Hon. Mackenzie King vigorously defended the record of the federal government and replied to criticism which has been levelled at his administration by opposition critics with particular reference to financial, immigration and railway policy.

Mr. King made brief references to the forthcoming Imperial conference for two reasons. "In the first place," he said, "because it is a conference, not a political contest, and I have thought it was owing to the prime minister of Great Britain and to the other prime ministers invited to be present to wait until we were in conference to discuss the agenda that might be presented, and to express with reference thereto the Canadian point of view. Secondly I have thought it well to say but little as Canada has no question to raise. We do not desire any change in our constitutional relations with Great Britain or the other British dominions. We are satisfied with our present position. We do not think this is the time to raise new issues.

"So long as this happy condition prevails the friends of Canada and the friends of the British Empire need have no concern for the future of either. To make it prevail at all times must be our supreme endeavor."

Mr. King referred to the "truly Canadian spirit" as being "one of conciliation, one, may I not say, of reconciliation, a spirit essentially of equal rights for all and good will towards all."

Premier King said that unfortunately the lateness of session and the many public matters requiring his attention at its close had confined him almost continuously to the seat of government at Ottawa. His political opponents had been quick to realize his embarrassments, and had been making the most of the handicap they afforded, he said.

The motive, of course, was political, he maintained, but such action was, none the less, unpatriotic and the consequences none the less fortunate.

It is particularly to be regretted that at a time when Canada was seeking to attract the right class of settlers, and also capital for investment this organized campaign to the discredit of Canada should have been started.

Fortunately, it had not been countenanced to any extent in our own country notwithstanding that the propaganda had been broadcasted in the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific by means of paid advertisements. The people knew conditions for themselves and were not being misled. Abroad, however, the circumstances were quite different. Fulminations of the Montreal Star might conceivably be looked upon in the United Kingdom as a part of the shrewd observations of a member of the British House of Lords, and the diatribes of the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen as responsible utterances because of his having at one time held the high office of premier of the Dominion.

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Montreal Gazette Sept. 22/23

PREMIER KING REGRETS EFFECT OF CRITICISMS

Answers Attackers in Farewell Speech At Quebec

CAUSES EMBARRASSMENT

Prime Minister Expects Revenue and Expenditure to Balance

By Canadian Press.

Quebec, September 21.—In a farewell address delivered at a dinner tendered him by Hon. Ernest Lapointe at the Garrison Club tonight just previous to his embarkation for London, where he will attend the Imperial Conference, Right Hon. Mackenzie King vigorously defended the record of the Federal Government and replied to criticism which had been levelled at his administration by opposition critics with particular reference to financial, immigration and railway policy.

The Premier touched but briefly upon the forthcoming Imperial Conference, giving as reasons for his reticence in this connection that he preferred to wait until the other prime ministers were assembled before expressing views upon the agenda, and that Canada did not desire any change in her constitutional relations with Great Britain or the other Dominions.

"It is my privilege to go to the conference in the name of the people of Canada without a single grievance," said the Premier, "and to say that our relations with Britain and all parts of the Empire are of the best."

In defending the policy of his administration, the Premier claimed that the leader of the Opposition and a section of the Opposition press had been carrying on an organized campaign to discredit Canada. He referred directly several times to articles which have appeared in the Montreal Star under the caption "The Whisper of Death," and declared that the object of the campaign was political and the consequences unfortunate.

"I would not say," said the Premier, "that the synchronizing of the campaign with my visit to England to attend the conference was an evidence that it had been intended as an occasion of embarrassment to me whilst representing the interests of Canada in the Old Country, but such will undoubtedly be its effect."

Premier King felt that there were three themes in particular which the Montreal newspaper and Mr. Meighen stressed in common, namely, the finances of the country, the National Railways, and immigration. He entered into an analysis of the financial situation confronting Canada, discussed the Government's railway administration and its immigration policy, in replying to his critics. He admitted that Canada's burden was large, but claimed that two-thirds of the cost of government today either arose out of the war or was attributable to the previous Government's marine and railway policy. The Premier expressed the belief that Canada's revenue and expenditure will be made to balance, this year, for the first time since 1913.

Mr. King made a brief reference to the forthcoming Imperial Conference for two reasons. "In the first place," he said, "because it is a conference, not a political contest, and I have thought it was owing to the prime minister of Great Britain and to the other prime ministers invited to be present to wait until we were in conference to discuss the agenda that might be presented, and to express with reference thereto the Canadian point of view. Secondly, I have thought it well to say but little as Canada has no question to raise. We do not desire any change in our constitutional relations with Great Britain or the other Dominions. We are satisfied with our present position. We do not think this is the time to raise new issues.

"Some there have been, who have endeavored to construe this attitude as one of indifference, and as being unsatisfactory. It is far from such. Unsatisfactory it may be from the point of view of a few individuals who have their own particular ends to serve, or 'isms' to propagate. From the nation's point of view I can conceive of it only as highly gratifying. Our relations with the Mother Country and within the Empire have not always been so satisfactory. It is not many years ago that an ancestor of mine, but one generation removed, went on a mission to England on behalf of the people of Upper Canada to present a grievance report—I cannot say how many in number were the grievances enumerated. That was a ground for dissatisfaction if you will. Today it is my privilege to go in the name of the people of Canada without a single grievance, to say that our relations with Britain and all parts of the Empire are of the best, that we have only the most cordial feelings towards all concerned. So long as this happy condition prevails the friends of Canada, and the friends of the British Empire, need have no concern for the future of either. To make it prevail at all times must be our supreme endeavor."

TRULY CANADIAN SPIRIT.

Mr. King referred to the "truly Canadian spirit" as being "one of conciliation, one, may I not say, of reconciliation, a spirit essentially of equal rights for all, and good will towards all."

"The response to that spirit from our neighbors to the south has found noble expression in the recent visits to our country of the late President of the United States, and the Secretary of State Mr. Hughes and the memorable words of international friendship uttered by both. It has found expression from our neighbors across the vast Pacific in the words of grateful appreciation which have come to us within the past few days in acknowledgement of the sympathy and practical aid which has gone to her countrymen from ours, in the calamity which has befallen their nation. It will find, I am sure, a like response in Europe where unfortunately as was to have been expected, the evil effects of war will continue to be felt the longest."

Premier King said that unfortunately the lateness of the session and the many public matters requiring his attention at its close had confined him almost continuously to the seat of government at Ottawa. His political opponents had been quick to realize his embarrassments, and had been making the most of the handicap they afforded, he said. The motive, of course, was political, he maintained, but such action was none the less unpatriotic and the consequences none the less unfortunate.

It was particularly to be regretted that at a time when Canada was seeking to attract the right class of settlers, and also capital for investment this organized campaign to the discredit of Canada should have been started. Fortunately, it had not been contenanced to any extent in our own country notwithstanding that the propaganda had been broadcasted in the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific by means of paid advertisements. The people knew conditions for themselves and were not being misled. Abroad, however, the circumstances were quite different. Fulminations of the Montreal "Star" might conceivably be looked upon in the United Kingdom as a part of the shrewd observations of a member of the House of Lords, and the diatribes of the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen as responsible utterances because of his having at one time held the high office of Prime Minister of the Dominion.

Mr. King would not say that the synchronising of the campaign with his visit to England to attend the conference was an evidence that it had been intended as an occasion of embarrassment to him whilst representing the interests of Canada in the Old Country. That such would be its effect, however, there could be no doubt. At the moment of his departure, he felt he could not do better than, in the presence of his fellow countrymen to recite a few facts and figures which would speak for themselves and which were a complete rejoinder to the wail and the tale of woe which had had its origin in the whisperings of death around the offices of the Montreal Star, and which were being carried by Mr. Meighen, as chief mourner, across the continent.

"FUNERAL PROCESSION."

The Prime Minister referred to Mr. Meighen's present "political pilgrimage" as being "like a funeral procession on a national scale." The opposition leader was still trying to bury the memory of the last general election. There appeared to be three themes in particular which the Montreal Star and Mr. Meighen were stressing in common, he said. These were the finances of the country, the National railways, and immigration.

Speaking with reference to each in turn, Mr. King said: "It is true that the debt of the country is enormous, that the interest payable on the debt is larger than the entire cost of government only a few years ago, that the taxes are high, but why is this? It is because we are now trying to meet obligations arising out of the colossal expenditures of the four years of the war, not a dollar of which was met by the government of the day out of the taxes of the people. This is an appalling statement, and it is one which the people of Canada cannot take too much to heart, in viewing the burdens which they are being called upon to bear, but it is none the less true. The war was financed by loans, and it is the repayment of these loans which constitutes the heaviest burden and the interest on these loans which constitutes the largest single immediate charge upon the revenues of the country. If we take into account what was raised by taxation, and what by loans during the period of the war, we will find that the sums raised by taxation were just sufficient and no more than to meet the ordinary government expenditures current at the time. The war payments were left in their entirety until the fighting was over, to be met, in part, upon their return by the men who went overseas and fought, and who now necessarily share, along with the relatives of those who lost their lives, in the increased cost of government and cumulative increase in the cost of living. That was how the government of the day cared for its war veterans in Canada. As was done in England and elsewhere we should have sought to pay, at least in some small part, the cost of the war at the time of the war itself, and as largely as possible out of the fortunes which the war helped to create. That might easily have been done when the war patriotism was sufficient of itself to have made popular a substantial levy upon war profiteers.

"In considering the country's finances, the charges of extravagance

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which have been made against the present administration are wholly unwarranted. The facts prove entirely the contrary. They disclose that the government has been economising in directions and to a degree that for many years past has never been attempted and that since its accession to office the government has exerted itself to the utmost to bring about such a revival of trade as would increase the revenue and effect such economy as would decrease the disbursements of the country and bring about the necessary equilibrium between receipts and expenditures."

Mr. King emphasized the point that two-thirds of the whole present cost of the government of Canada arose out of the war or out of the railway and marine policy imposed on the country by the late government. Part of the expenditure of the government was controllable, but there was a part, "the outlays of which are in the nature of obligations which no government at the present time could do other than take account of." He also mentioned the relative purchasing power of the dollar today as compared with the years with which comparisons were made. The "controllable" services of the Dominion government were now costing the individual taxpayer a less percentage of his income than in the last year of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, he said.

The tremendous increase in the uncontrollable expenditure has been due in the main to the vicious policy of the late government in financing the war by loans rather than by taxation during the war by those who did not go on active service and these loans were incurred more especially at a period when the purchasing power of the dollar was very low and consequently more money had to be borrowed and borrowed at much higher rates of interest than were paid before the war. The expenditure on the debt charges, on pensions, on soldiers civil reestablishment, on soldiers land settlement are all obligations which have arisen out of the war. They cannot be reduced offhand, but already a considerable reduction has been made, even in these particulars, over the amounts paid out during the time that Mr. Meighen held office.

LATE GOVERNMENT'S SINS.

Premier King instanced the Canadian Government Merchant Marine as "an outstanding example of the sins of the late government. As a result of his mistaken policy the present government found itself on accession to office provided with a fleet of 65 vessels built when construction costs were at their highest, and having to be operated on ocean freight services in competition with the world. The result as shown in the fourth annual report of the directors dated April 1923, was that these ships which had cost $191.00 per ton were at the time of the fourth annual report worth only $50.00 per ton, thus amounting to a loss of $53,000,000 besides the operating deficits which, allowing for interest and depreciation, amounted to over $8,000,000 in the calendar year 1921 and over $9,500,000 in 1922.

"Much has been said by both the Montreal 'Star' and Mr. Meighen of the failure of the present government to balance revenue and expenditure, but nothing has been said by the 'Star' or Mr. Meighen of the failure of the previous government, subsequent to the war to effect this result or of the very rapid approach which has been made towards this end by the present administration.

Making due allowance for war expenditure and the cost of demobilization it was surely as much in the interests of Canada at the period immediately following the war that revenues and expenditures in other particulars should then be balanced, and that the public debt should not be further increased. The war ended in 1918 and in 1919 the net debt was increased by $382,000,000. In 1920 it was increased by $674,000,000. These expenditures were, of course, largely on war account but if the balance of revenue and expenditure is desirable today, it was equally desirable two years after the war. In 1921, when Mr. Meighen took office, the addition to the net debt was $92,000,000. His administration added during the year 1921-1922 $81,000,000. Mr. Fielding, always cautious and seeking always to err only on the safe side, stated in his budget speech that he felt sure this addition to the net debt would be materially decreased as the result of his financing and of the policy which the government were adopting. The figure to which he estimated the reduction could be brought down was from $81,000,000 to $49,000,000. As a matter of fact now that all the returns are in, the figure is not $49,000,000 as estimated as the maximum, but $31,461,000. In the first five months of the present fiscal year our revenue receipts have been $11,000,000 more and our expenditure $3,000,000 less than in the same period of last year, an improvement of $14,000,000 in five months, or equivalent to a gain of $33,000,000 in the full fiscal year. It appears, therefore that irrespective of the important showing of the Canadian National Railways the revenue and expenditure of Canada will be made to balance this year, as they have not done since 1913.

TO MEET EXPENDITURES.

"What are the prospects of the present fiscal year?" We have now a record for its first five months from April to August. During these five months, the total revenue receipts of the government were $182,000,000 as compared with $171,000,000 in the same period of last year, while expenditure both in current and capital account was, owing to the economy of the government, only $116,000,000 as compared with $119,000,000 last year, a saving of $3,000,000. Thus these first five months of the current fiscal year show a total improvement of over $14,000,000 in our financial position, as compared with last year, an improvement which, if continued throughout the year, would obviate the necessity of paying even a single dollar to the debt of the country in the present fiscal year, even should the advances to the National Railways and the Canadian Government Merchant Marine absorb as much money as last year. Without any undue optimism, therefore, it may safely be asserted that Canada's income during the present year will meet her vast expenditures, and that the balance of revenue and expenditure which has been the goal of our government from its commencement is in full process of being obtained during the present fiscal year, something which has not obtained since 1913.

Referring to the railway situation, Mr. King said that he thought it was generally admitted in Canada that the appointment by the present government, of Sir Henry Thornton as president and chairman of the National, "was in the nature of a great achievement."

"What more effective answer could be given to the criticisms of the administration than that accorded by the latest transportation figures, the most noticeable of which are the gross earnings of our railways. The gross earnings of our two great systems aggregated $227,000,000 in the first seven monts of 1923, as compared with $207,000,000 in the same period of 1922, an increase of $20,000,000, out of which the lion's share of $16,000,000 fell to the lot of the Canadian National Railways, in which we are all shareholders, and this notwithstanding the far reaching reduction in railway rates which have been made with respect to many commodities since the present government assumed office.

"Gross earnings, it is true, are not always absolute evidence of prosperity, but in this case the net operating earning of the Canadian National for the first seven months [illegible]23 amount to almost $3,000,000 [illegible]pared with an operating de[illegible] over $2,000,000 in the [illegible]

last, while the most productive part of the year's business is still to come. And what a business it will be transporting the largest exportable surplus of our history.

GIVING A FAIR TRIAL.

The government's policy had been to give government ownership and control a fair trial, the Premier insisted. "The action of the Senate of Canada in throwing out the bill which made provision for what the company believed to be essential in improving its own interests and the needs of other parts of Canada was in the nature not of a patriotic act but of placing a deliberate handicap on the National system," he said. He made a plea for co-operation with Sir Henry Thornton and the board of directors of the system.

Turning to immigration Mr. King declared that when the present government attained power it inherited a system of granting millions of dollars for unemployment relief. "We found also that the entire immigration machinery had been stopped," he said. "It would only have provoked a serious industrial situation to have stimulated too quickly the tide of immigration to our shores," he said. "In this, as in all else, we proceeded with caution."

The policy of the government was that of "placing the landless men on the manless land," declared Mr. King, and "to develop as rapidly as circumstances will justify the uncultivated and undeveloped portion of our country, and at the same time to promote such a natural inflow in other directions as will serve to meet the growing industrial need of the nation without prejudice to the standard of living which our industrial population has secured."

"A minister of the government, Hon. Jas. A. Robb, is now giving his entire time and attention to the development of our immigration policy. If the Star will cease its 'whisperings of death' and Mr. Meighen his paeans of woe, we may expect in the course of the next few years a revival of industry, trade and prosperity such as Canada has not had since the period of that Liberal regime which will always be recalled as the golden era of peace, plenty and prosperity."

TOAST TO PREMIER.

In proposing the toast to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lapointe declared that no one could be better qualified than Mr. King to represent true Canadian democracy at the Imperial Conference.

"We are part of the British Empire and we are proud of our citizenship," said Mr. Lapointe. "We all desire and hope that Britain and Canada shall always be united by bonds of fellowship, co-operation and fraternity.

"It is the duty of our representative to see that nothing is done to jeopardize that ideal condition and I do not hesitate to say that those who, however well meaning they may be, advocate schemes or changes which would not take into account the fundamental ideas upon which the political life of this country is placed as well as the traditions, the geographical and other conditions which have shaped our national evolution, would be making a very serious mistake and might work great injury."

In attendance at the dinner were Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, Hon. Jacques Bureau, Hon. J. A. Robb, Hon. James Murdock, Hon. Jules Tessier, Premier Taschereau, of Quebec, several members of the provincial cabinet, the legislative council, federal and provincial members of the district, the mayor of Quebec City, Sir Campbell Stuart, of the London Times, the presidents of the Montreal and Quebec Harbor Commissioners, and prominent railway executives of Quebec.

PREMIER EMBARKS.

Premier King embarked aboard the C.P.R. liner Montcalm at 10 o'clock tonight for London. The ship, contrary to custom, docked at Quebec. She arrived at 7.45 and waited until the arrival of the Premier and his party, who were at the Garrison Club. As the Premier mounted the gang plank, he was given an ovation by the crowd which waited to see his departure.

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Citizen Ottawa Sept. 22/23.

PREMIER KING ASSERTS CAMPAIGN BEING WAGED WILL EMBARRASS HIM DURING THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

Prime Minister, in Farewell Address Before Embarking For England, Charges That Opposition Leader and Section of Press are Carrying on Organized Campaign to Discredit Canada, Which Will Affect Him as Dominion's Representative at Meetings in London. Makes Vigorous Defence of His Administration and Predicts Country's Revenue and Expenditure Will Balance This Year For First Time Since 1913. No Canadian Grievance For Conference.

QUEBEC, Sept. 21.—In a farewell address delivered at a dinner tendered him by Hon. Ernest Lapointe at the Garrison Club tonight just previous to his embarkation for London where he will attend the Imperial conference, Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King vigorously defended the record of the federal government and replied to criticism which had been levied at his administration by opposition critics with particular reference to financial, immigration and railway policy.

Desires No Change.

The premier touched but briefly upon the forthcoming Imperial conference giving his reasons for his reticence in this connection that he preferred to wait until the other prime ministers were assembled before expressing views upon the agenda and that Canada did not desire any change in her constitutional relations with Great Britain or the other dominions.

"It is my privilege to go to the conference in the name of the people of Canada without a single grievance," said the premier, "and to say that our relations with Britain and all parts of the Empire are of the best."

Organized Campaign.

In defending the policy of his administration the premier claimed that the leader of the opposition and a section of the opposition press had been carrying on an organized campaign to discredit Canada. He referred directly several times to articles which have appeared in the Montreal Star under the caption the "Whisper of Death" and declared that the object of the campaign was political and the consequence unfortunate.

"I would not say," said the premier, "that the synchronizing of the campaign with my visit to England to attend the conference was an evidence that it had been intended as an occasion of embarrassment to me whilst representing the interests of Canada in the Old Country but such will undoubtedly be its effect."

Balance the Books.

Premier King felt that there were three themes in particular which the Montreal newspapers and Mr. Meighen stressed in common, namely, the finances of the country, the National Railways, and immigration. He entered into an analysis of the financial situation confronting Canada, discussed the government's railway administration and its immigration policy. In replying to the critics he admitted that Canada's burden was large, but claimed that two-thirds of the cost of government today arose either during war or was attributable to the previous government's marine and railway policy. The premier expressed the belief that Canada's revenue and expenditure would be made to balance this year for the first time since 1913.

No Question to Raise.

Mr. King made but a brief reference to the forthcoming Imperial Conference, for two reasons. "In the first place," he said, "because it is a conference, not a political contest, and I have thought it was owing to the prime minister of Great Britain and to the other prime ministers invited to be present to wait until we were in conference to discuss the agenda that might be presented, and to express with reference thereto the Canadian point of view. Secondly, I have thought it well to say but little as Canada has no question to raise. We do not desire any change in our constitutional relations with Great Britain or the other British Dominions. We are satisfied with our present position. We do not think this is the time to raise new issues.

Not Indifferent.

"Some there have been who have endeavored to construe this attitude as one of indifference, and as being unsatisfactory. It is far from such. Unsatisfactory it may be from the point of view of a few individuals who have their own particular ends to serve, or "isms" to propagate. From the nation's point of view I can conceive of it only as highly gratifying. Our relations with the Mother Country and within the Empire have not always been so satisfactory. It is not many years ago that an ancestor of mine, but one generation removed, went on a mission to England on behalf of the people of Upper Canada to present a grievance report—I cannot say now many in number were the grievances enumerated. That was a ground for dissatisfaction if you will. Today it is my privilege to go in the name of the people of Canada without a single grievance, to say that our relations with Britain and all parts of the Empire are of the best, that we have only the most cordial feelings towards all concerned. So long as this happy condition prevails the friends of Canada, and the friends of the British Empire, need have no concern for the future of either. To make it prevail at all times must be our supreme endeavor."

Canadian Spirit.

Mr. King referred to the "truly Canadian spirit" as being "one of conciliation, one, may I not say, of reconciliation, a spirit essential of equal rights for all, and good will towards all."

"The response to that spirit from our neighbors to the south has found noble expression in the recent visits to our country of the late President of the United States, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, and the memorable words of international friendship uttered by both. It has found expression from our neighbors across the vast Pacific in the words of grateful appreciation which have come to us within the past few days in acknowledgment of the sympathy and practical aid which has gone to her countrymen from ours, in the calamity which has befallen their nation. It will find, I am sure, a like response in Europe where unfortunately as was to have been expected the evil effects of war will continue to be felt the longest."

Political Motive.

Premier King said that unfortunately the lateness of the session and the many public matters requiring his attention at its close had confined him almost continuously to the seat of government at Ottawa. His political opponents has been quick to realize his embarrassments, and had been making the most of the handicap they afforded, he said. The motive, of course, was politi...l, he maintained, but such action was none the less unpatriotic and the consequences none the less unfortunate.

It was particularly to be regretted that at a time when Canada was seeking to attract the right class of settlers, and also capital for investment, this organized campaign to the discredit of Canada should have been started. Fortunately, it had not been countenanced to any extent in our own country, notwithstanding that the propaganda had been broadcasted in the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by means of paid advertisements. The people knew conditions for themselves and were not being misled. Abroad, however, the circumstances were quite different. Fulminations of the Montreal "Star" might conceivably be looked upon in the United Kingdom as a part of the shrewd observations of a member of the British House of Lords, and the diatribes of the Right on. Mr. Meighen as responsible utterances because of his having at one time held the high office of prime minister of the Dominion.

Complete Rejoinder.

Mr. King would not say that the synchronizing of the campaign with his visit to England to attend the conference was an evidence that it had been intended as an occasion of embarrassment to him whilst representing the interests of Canada in the Old Country. That such would be its effect, however, there could be no doubt. At the moment of his departure he felt he could not do better than...in the presence of his fellow-countrymen to recite a few facts and figures which would speak for themselves and which were a complete rejoinder to the wail and the trail of woe which had had its origin in the whisperings of death around the offices of the Montreal Star, and which were being carried by Mr. Meighen, as chief mourner, across the continent.

To Bury Memory.

The prime minister referred to Mr. Meighen's present "political pilgrimage" as being "like a funeral procession on a national scale." The Opposition Leader was still trying to bury the memory of the last general election. There appeared to be three themes in particular which the Montreal Star and Mr. Meighen were stressing in common, he said. These were the finances of the country, the National Railways, and immigration.

Speaking with reference to each in turn, Mr. King said: "It is true that the debt of the country is enormous, that the interest payable on the debt is larger than the entire cost of government only a few years ago, that the taxes are high, but why is this? It is because we are now trying to meet obligations arising out of the colossal expenditures of the four years of the war, not a dollar of which were met by the government of the day out of the taxes of the people. This is an appalling statement, and it is one which the people of Canada cannot take too much to heart, in viewing the burdens which they are being called upon to bear, but it is none the less true. The war was financied by loans, and it is the repayment of these loans which constitute the heaviest burden and the interest on these loans which constitutes the largest single immediate charge upon the revenues of the country.

"If we take into account what was raised by taxation, and what by loans during the period of the war, we will find that the sums raised by taxation were just sufficient and no more than to meet the ordinary government expenditures current at the time. The war payments were left in their entirety until the fighting was over, to be met, in part, upon their return, by the men who went overseas and fought, and who now necessarily share, along with the relatives of those who lost their lives, in the increased cost of government and cumulative increase in the cost of living.

War Fortunes.

"That was how the government of the day cared for its war veterans. In Canada, as was done in England and elsewhere, we should have sought to pay, at least in some small part, the cost of the war, at the time of the war itself, and as largely as possible out of the fortunes which the war helped to create. That might easily have been done when the war patriotism was sufficient of itself to have made popular a substantial levy upon war profiteers.

"In considering the country's finances, the charges of extravagance which have been made against the present administration, are wholly unwarranted. The facts prove entirely the contrary; they disclose that the government has been economizing in directions and to a degree that for many years past has never been attempted, and that since its accession to office the government has exerted itself to the utmost to bring about such a revival of trade as would increase the revenue and effect such economy as would decrease the disbursements of the country and bring about the necessary equilibrium between receipts and expenditures."

War and Railways.

Mr. King emphasized the point that two-thirds of the whole present cost of the government of Canada arose out of the war or out of the railway and marine policy imposed on the country by the late government. Part of the expenditure of the government was controllable, but there was a part "the outlays of which are in the nature of obligations which no government at the present time could do other than take account of." He also mentioned the relative purchasing power of the dollar today as compared with the years with which camparisons were made. The "controllable" services of the Dominion government were now costing the individual taxpayer a less percentage of his income than in the last year of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, he said.

"The tremendous increase in the uncontrollable expenditure has been due in the main to the vicious policy of the late government in financing the war by loans, rather than by taxation, during the war, of those who did not go on active service and these loans were incurred more especially at a period when the purchasing power of the dollar was very low and, consequently more money had to be borrowed and borrowed at much higher rates of interest than were paid before the war. The expenditure on the debt charge, on pensions, on soldiers' civil re-establishment, on soldiers' land settlement, are all obligations which have arisen out of the war. They cannot be reduced off-hand, but already a considerable reduction has been made, even in these particulars, over the amounts paid out during the time that Mr. Meighen held office."

Merchant Marine.

Premier King instanced the Canadian Government Merchant Marine as "an outstanding example of the sins of the late government. As a result of this mistaken policy, the present government found itself on accession to office provided with a fleet of 65 vessels, built when construction costs were at their highest, and having to be operated on ocean freight services in competition with the world. "The result as shown in the fourth annual report of the directors, dated April, 1923, was that these ships which had cost $191 per ton were at the time of the fourth annual report worth only $50 per ton, thus amounting to a loss of over $55,000,000, besides the operating deficits, which, allowing for interest and depreciation, amounted to over $8,000,000 in the calendar year 1921, and over $9,500,000 in 1922.

Failure to Balance.

"Much has been said by both the Montreal "Star" and Mr. Meighen of the failure of the present government to balance revenue and expenditure, but nothing has been said by the "Star" or Mr. Meighen of the failure of the previous government's subsequent to the war to the effect this result, or of the very rapid approach which has been made toward this end by the present administration. Making due allowance for war expenditure and the cost of demobilization, it was surely as much in the interests of Canada at that period immediately following the war that revenues and expenditures in other particular should then be balanced, and that the public debt should not be further increased. The war ended in 1918, and in 1919 the net debt was increased by $382,000,000. In 1920 it was increased by $674,000,000. These expenditures were, of course, largely on war account, but if the balance of revenue and expenditure is desirable today, it was equally desirable two years after the war. In 1921, when Mr. Meighen took office, the addition to the net debt was $92,000,000. His administration added during the year 1921-1922, $81,000,000.

Always Cautious.

"Mr. Fielding, always cautious and seeking always to err only on the safe side, stated in his budget speech that he felt sure this addition to the net debt would be materially decreased as the result of his financing and of the policy which the government were adopting. The figure to which he estimated the reduction could be brought down was from $81,000,000 to $49,000,000. As a matter of fact, now that all the returns are in, the figure is not $49,000,000, as estimated as the maximum, but $31,461,000. In the first five months of the present fiscal year, our revenue receipts have been $11,000,000 more, and our expenditure, $3,000,000 less than in the same period of last year, an improvement of $14,000,000 in five months, or equivalent to a gain of $33,000,000 in the full fiscal year. It appears, therefore, that irrespective of the important showing of the Canadian National Railways, the revenue and expenditure of Canada will be made to balance this year, as they have not done since 1913.

Prospects of Year.

"What are the prospects of the present fiscal year? We have now a record for its first five months from April to August. During these five months, the total revenue receipts of the government were $132,000,000 as compared with $171,000,000 in the same period of last year, while expenditure both in current and capital account was, owing to the economy of the government, only $116,000,000, as compared with $119,000,000 last year, a saving of $3,000,000. Thus these first five months of the current fiscal year show a total improvement of over $14,000,000 in our financial position, as compared with last year, an improvement which, if continued throughout the year, would obviate the necessity of paying even a single dollar to the debt of the country in the present fiscal year, even should the advances to the National Railways and the Canadian Government Merchant Marine absorb as much money as last year. Without any undue optimism, therefore, it may safely be asserted that Canada's income during the present year will meet her vast expenditures and that the balance of revenue and expenditure, which has been the goal of our government from its commencement, is in full process of being obtained during the present fiscal year, something which has not obtained since 1913."

An Achievement.

Referring to the railway situation, Mr. King said that he thought it was generally admitted in Canada that the appointment by the present government of Sir Henry Thornton as president and chairman of the National "was in the nature of a great achievement. "What more effective answer could be given to the criticisms of the administration than that accorded by the latest transportation figures? th most noticeable of which are the gross earnings of our railways. The gross earnings of our two great systems aggregated $227,000,000 in the first seven months of 1923, as compared with $207,000,000 in the same period of 1922, an increase of $20,000,000, out of which the lion's share or $16,000,000 fell to the lot of the Canadian National Railways, in which we are all shareholders, and this notwithstanding the far-reaching reduction in railway rates which have been made with respect to many commodities since the present government assumed office.

"Gross earnings, it is true, are not always absolute evidence of prosperity, but in this case the net operating earnings of the Canadian National for the first seven months of 1923 amount to almost $3,000,000, as compared with an operating deficit of over $2,000,000 in the same period of 1922. Thus, from the public point of view, there has been a net gain of $5,000,000 this year over last, while the most productive part of the year's business is still to come. And what a business it will be! transporting the largest exportable surplus of our history!"

Give it a Fair Trial.

The government's policy to give government ownership control a fair trial, the assisted. "The action of the Canada in throwing out made provision for which pany believed to be essential proving its own interests needs of other parts of in the nature not of a but of placing a deliberate on the National system. He made a plea for co-operation with Sir Henry Thornton and board of directors of the system.

Turning to immigration, Mr. King declared that when the present government attained power, it inherited a system of granting millions of dollars for unemployment relief. "We found also that the entire immigration machinery had been stopped," he said. "It would only have provoked a serious industrial situation to have stimulated too quickly the tide of immigration to our shores," he said. "In this, as in all else, we proceeded with caution."

Immigration Policy.

The policy of the government was that of "placing the landless man on the manless land," declared Mr. King, and "to develop as rapidly as circumstances will justify the uncultivated and undeveloped portion of our country, and at the same time to promote such a natural inflow in other directions as will serve to meet the growing industrial need of the nation without prejudice to the standard of living which our industrial population has secured."

"A minister of the government, Hon. Jas. A. Robb, is now giving his entire time and attention to the development of our immigration policy. If the Star will cease its 'Whisperings of Death,' and Mr. Meighen his paeans of woe, we may expect in the course of the next few years a revival of industry, trade and prosperity such as Canada has not had since the period of that Liberal regime which will always be recalled as the golden era of peace, plenty and prosperity."

Want No Change.

In proposing the toast to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lapointe declared that no one could be better qualified than Mr. King to represent true Canadian democracy at Imperial conference.

"We are part of the British Empire, and we are proud of our citizenship," said Mr. Lapointe. "We all desire and hope that Britain and Canada shall always be united by bonds of fellowship, co-operation and fraternity.

"It is the duty of our representative to see that nothing is done to jeopardize that ideal condition, and I do not hesitate to say that those who, however well meaning they may be, advocate schemes or changes which would not take into account the fundamental ideas upon which the political life of this country is placed as well as the traditions, the geographical and other conditions which have shaped our national evolution, would be making a very serious mistake and might work great injury."

At The Dinner.

In attendance at the dinner were Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, Hon. Jacques Bureau, Hon. J. A. Robb, Hon. James Murdock, Hon. Jules Tessier, Premier Taschereau, of Quebec, several members of the provincial cabinet, the legislative council, federal and provincial members of the district, the mayor of Quebec City, Sir C. Stuart, of the London Times, the presidents of the Montreal and Quebec Harbor Commissions, prominent railway executives of Quebec, newspaper men and secretaries to the premier and Mr. Lapointe.

POOR COPY

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The Ottawa Citizen.

Sept. 24th 1923

056794

OPPOSITION CRITICS ANSWERED.

Whatever the Canadian prime minister may have to contribute for the good of the commonwealth at the London conferences, he has no difficulty in answering the criticism of opposition parties in this country. At Quebec last Friday, before sailing, Premier King effectively showed that while the opposition big guns may roar loudly, they fire nothing else but "dud" shells. The Conservative party has nothing better to offer than the present administration; nor does it merit the confidence of the country in posing as the watchful critic.

When reference is made to the heavy indebtedness of Canada, it is a scathing indictment of the Conservative government that during the whole of the war it financed the war expenditure entirely by borrowing. Premier King put it concisely as follows:

If we take into account what was raised by taxation, and what by loans during the period of the war, we will find that the sums raised by taxation were just sufficient and no more than to meet the ordinary government expenditures current at the time. The war payments were left in their entirety until the fighting was over, to be met, in part, upon their return, by the men who went overseas and fought, and who now necessarily share, along with the relatives of those who lost their lives, in the increased cost of government and cumulative increase in the cost of living.

Now, if Mr. Meighen, or the Conservative party, or the critics who profited by Sir Thomas White's borrowing policy, had any constructive proposal to put before the country, to relieve Canadian industry of the handicap of debt, or to restore purchasing power to the Canadian people, they might with some excuse invite the country to forget the mistakes of the past. But so long as they have nothing but negative criticism to offer, it is no trouble to Premier King to answer as he did on the eve of sailing at Quebec.

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London Advertiser Sept. 24/23

056795

When the Premier Speaks Out.

Premier King took occasion at the banquet in his honor at Quebec to speak out in a fighting speech and tell the people what his administration has done and what they hope to do. It was a good stroke of business on his part, for whether the premier realizes it or not it is a fact that he has allowed his adversaries to monopolize the public platform. He has been busy, night and day, without rest and with too little thought for himself, and he had to neglect public appearances or attention to the setting in motion of counter-currents to those stirred up by his opponents and their well-supplied press.

The premier talked of things the people want to hear about. He challenged his critics to face facts, and some of these were that during the course of the war not one dollar of the cost of it had been met by the government of the day. They had raised everything by loans, leaving the men who had fought overseas to come back and start in with those who had stayed at home to pay for the war.

The previous government had also loaded the country with a whole fleet of vessels built at a time when costs were at their very highest. The actual figure was $191 per ton for ships that are today worth $50 per ton, or a loss in all of $53,000,000.

The claim will be made that these ships were necessary because the German submarines were sinking Allied shipping at an alarming rate. The truth is that these vessels were constructed at a time when the replacement of vessels was being carried on at a greater pace that the loss, and the government was aware of that condition when the building contracts were given to political friends. Today the men who piled that load on Canada are loudest in their wailings of the taxes that have to be levied to carry that burden.

Mr. Meighen, in his funeral procession from east to west, would have his audience believe that the King government alone had increased the debt. He dare not make the plain statement of the premier, that irrespective of what the National Railways do, the revenue and expenditure of Canada would be made to balance this year as they have not done since the year 1913.

The way in which national debt has been decreased since the war is shown in the following table:

1919	$382,000,000
1920	674,000,000
1921	92,000,000
1922	81,000,000
1923	31,461,000

The adverse balance of debt is being surely righted, and it is being done by actual performance and with no flourish of trumpets.

The premier presented a clean, wholesome statement of an administration that has been attending to business, while Hon. Arthur Meighen has been rushing here and there all over the country preaching blue ruin.

It might be well for the premier to come away from his desk a little more often and tell the people what he has been doing. He speaks with authority, and the people, when in search of facts, like to get them from the highest possible source. He has told the people plainly that the days of increasing debt are almost over. It is good news, and it has taken a lot of hard work to make the announcement possible.

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Halifax Herald Sept. 24/23

056796

The Prime Minister's Speech

THE speech which the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. MacKenzie King, delivered at Quebec on Friday before sailing for England was not a powerful defence of his government. It might be called a plea in confession and avoidance. Its wordiness makes a very thin veil for the government's weaknesses.

He made a singularly novel complaint when he grumbled about being kept at Ottawa by the lateness of the session and business which continuously required his attention there; and that his political opponents had been "quick to realize his embarrassments" and to make "the most of the handicap they afforded". What would have happened to him, we wonder, if he had been head of the government when the Great War was in progress, and its multitudinous duties of unprecedented magnitude had to be attended to in addition to the ordinary work of administration? It was never observed that Mr. King, while he was in opposition, exercised must restraint because Sir Robert Borden or Mr. Meighen were held at Ottawa by official duties. The complaint seems to be rather childish.

Mr. King argued that it would be improper for him to discuss the subjects which are to come before the Imperial Conference. He thus sought to justify his refusal in Parliament and since the close of the session to express any views. But it will be remembered that while he sat in opposition he took a diametrically opposite position, and insisted upon parliamentary discussion. He demanded of Mr. Meighen a clear statement of his views. He went so far as to move a resolution for the purpose of declaring Canadian policy. With responsibility on his shoulders, Mr. King has turned a complete somersault in this regard.

His references to the public debt are in striking contrast with his speeches when in opposition. We well remember his fervid denunciation of debt in 1921; and how little reference he made to war liabilities. His purpose then was to impress the public mind with the idea that the Meighen government had culpably created a fearful debt which was crushing the people. Today he makes illuminating references to the war debt in a very changed spirit.

When he said that the previous governments never provided out of revenue for a dollar of war expenditures, Mr. King made a statement which is not true. He would do well to give the subject more investigation. And when he attempted to place on his predecessors the entire responsibility for building a government merchant marine, he was not candid. He knows very well that his own political friends were the most insistent in Parliament for ship building, and that the merchant marine policy was unanimously endorsed by all parties in the House. It is surprising that the Prime Minister should now attempt to mislead public opinion on this subject.

As to the taxation, Mr. King quite forgot to state that his government has twice since the elections of 1921 increased the sales tax: that it has been more than doubled by them in two years: And that exacting rate of six per cent. will become effective on January first next. Certainly, these increases have not been made by Mr. King's government for the purpose of lessening taxation and reducing the cost of living. They will operate the other way.

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Mail & Empire Toronto Sept. 24/23.

056797

A MISCHIEVOUS SPEECH.

Armchair critics flourished during the war and, since the conflict has ended, some amateur strategists, wise after the event, have told us how much more effectively the army and navy might have been employed had they been properly led. It has been left for our own modest First Minister to quarrel with the method by which the war was financed. Stopping off at Quebec on his way to England, Mr. King reproached his predecessors in office because they adopted the "vicious policy" of borrowing instead of meeting the whole cost of the war "by taxation during the war of those who did "not go on active service."

Had Mr. King's idea been adopted, we would have, he implies, no war debt to-day and, consequently, no heavy taxation. This revelation makes regrettable Mr. King's absorption in the study of industrial problems under the auspices of the Rockefeller Institute of the United States at a time when public men in Canada, on both sides of politics, were wrestling with the task of performing efficiently our share in the European struggle. Had he been in a position to aid in their deliberations or had he communicated his views to some of his Liberal friends —to Mr. Fielding or possibly to Mr. Rowell—we might have been spared, we gather, our present financial worries. It is a wonder, not only that Mr. King should have withheld his advice but that Mr. Fielding, who was in the country and was quite prepared to make helpful suggestions, did not hit upon Mr. King's plan. Far from recommending taxes sufficient to cover the whole of the country's expenditures during the war period, Mr. Fielding assented to the "vicious policy" of raising needed money by loans. As a matter of fact, Mr. King's scheme would have involved taxation sufficient to meet the whole of the country's disbursements during the period, because it would have been no more advantageous to pay the war costs and postpone payment of other expenses of government than to defray ordinary domestic obligations and delay the payment of war expenditures. In all probability, Mr. Fielding entertained the opinion, which seems to have guided the British Government and the Government of the United States, that the levying of taxes sufficient to meet all expenditures would have involved, practically, the confiscation of capital and stoppage of productive enterprise and would have been ruinous to the individual and disastrous to business, as well as crippling to our Expeditionary Force. Moreover, the Governments of the period may have argued that, as their countries were being defended not alone in the interest of this generation but in the interest as well of generations to follow, no injustice would be done if the people of tomorrow were required to bear a part of the burden. To have paid the whole of the Dominion's expenditure during the period of war and demobilization, from March 31st, 1914, to March 31st, 1921, the Government would have had to take three billion and a half dollars from the people—or nearly $56 a head per year from a population of nine million souls. It did collect $1,897,000,000 of which more than half a billion dollars was derived from taxation on banks, trust and loan companies, insurance companies, business profits, incomes and a variety of services and commodities.

Mr. King's comment conveys the impression that Canada is groaning under a burden too heavy for her to carry—an unnecessary burden, imposed upon her by mismanagement and inefficient government. This is a false view which is highly prejudicial to the country's welfare. It is true that Mr. Fielding has not yet been able to lighten taxation and reduce the public debt, nine-tenths of which is owed to Canadians, but he is not called upon to borrow for military purposes and he tells us that the revenues of the Dominion are increasing and that its trade is flourishing. He is more experienced and more careful in his language than Mr. King and might well correct his leader's unfortunate suggestion and, at the same time, vindicate the Liberals who shared the responsibility for the financing of the war.

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Sydney Post Sept. 25/23

056798

A FAREWELL WHIMPER.

PREMIER KING'S plaintive protest, on the eve of his departure for England, against the criticisms being leveled by the Conservative leader at the Federal Government, betrays a sensitive and shrinking attitude such as no previous Prime Minister has been weak enough to display in the face of Opposition attack. The Canadian Press thus summarizes what must strike everyone as a singularly pathetic passage in the speech he delivered at Quebec last Friday night:

"Premier King said that unfortunately the lateness of the session and the many public matters requiring his attention at its close had confined him almost continuously to the seat of government at Ottawa. His political opponents had been quick to realize his embarrassments, and had been making the most of the handicap they afforded, he said. The motive, of course, was political, he maintained, but such action was none the less unpatriotic and the consequence none the less unfortunate."

The implication is that because Mr. King was busy at Ottawa during the ten or twelve weeks following the close of the parliamentary session, Mr. Meighen should have postponed his speaking tour till such time as the Prime Minister might find leisure either to follow in his wake or to refute his utterances through the press. One cannot recall that anything quite so nonsensical has heretofore emanated even from Mr. King's consciousness. It casts the shell shock and "usurpation" speeches utterly into the shade. The conception that there should be a truce to Opposition campaigning while the leader of the Government is busy or thinks he is, is about as original an idea as political cowardice has been known to evolve. It is analogous to the notion of the ostrich that he should be immune from danger while he keeps his head buried in the sand.

But grieved as Mr. King is over the inconsiderateness of Mr. Meighen in having the indecency to tour the country and discuss national issues before the people, regardless of the Premier's immersion the while in the carking cares of state, he particularly resents the topics the Opposition leader has chosen for discussion. "The finances of the country, the National Railways, and immigration appear," declares the horrified Mr. King, "to be the three themes in particular which Mr. Meighen has been stressing."

How unsportsmanlike and unpatriotic of the Conservative leader to choose for political texts the three most momentous questions that confront the Canadian electorate! If he had but talked about his grandfather, as Mr. King did at Quebec, or if he had elaborated the evils of "orders-in-councils," or "autocracy", or the importation of shells, or such other innocuous topics in Mr. King's platitudinous style, there might not be so much to complain of. But to point out that Mr. King's pre-election promises of reduced taxation have been followed by heavier taxes, that the debt which Sir Lomer Gouin regarded as a menace of "national bankruptcy" in 1921 has since been increased by over $100,000,000, and that the Government has done nothing to stimulate immigration in the past two years, quite shocks the Prime Minister's ideas of fair play.

Mr. King's farewell whimper is easily the sorriest deliverance that has ever issued from a Canadian Prime Minister. Let us hope that he will get over his fit of weeping before he reaches London, where he shall have to consort with stern men.

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THE PREMIER'S PARTING WORDS.

Bent on a mission presumed to profoundly involve important Empire problems, Mr. King turned his attention in his parting speech at Quebec almost wholly to a defence of his administration of domestic affairs and to condemnation of policies of his predecessors, thus opening the door to recrimination and partisan controversy at a time when consideration might better be given to greater issues. With some parts of his speech no fault can fairly be found other than the inappropriateness of the occasion. The state of public finances is, happily, improving, the burden of the National Railway is being lightened, and the onerous fixed charges upon revenue are not the creation of the King Government, but a legacy of war. It would be proper enough for the Premier to dilate upon these subjects in a political address to a Canadian audience, taking to himself the credit which always accompanies improvement, even when the improvement has not been produced by act of government.

The occasion furnished Mr. King with a fine text, but if the text had had the smallpox the sermon would have escaped contagion. It was poor discretion to throw an apple of discord into the political field, and to invite immediate party controversy when goodwill in his mission is desirable. To cite a single example: his contention that the cost of the war should have been paid by taxation and not by loans, upon which point he said:—

"It is true that the debt of the country is enormous, that the interest payable on the debt is larger than the entire cost of government only a few years ago, that the taxes are high, but why is this? It is because we are now trying to meet obligations arising out of the colossal expenditures of the four years of the war, not a dollar of which was met by the Government of the day out of the taxes of the people. This is an appalling statement, and it is one which the people of Canada cannot take too much to heart, in viewing the burdens which they are being called upon to bear, but it is none the less true. The war was financed by loans, and it is the repayment of these loans which constitutes the heaviest burden and the interest on these loans which constitutes the largest single immediate charge upon the revenues of the country."

Mr. King would have paid at least a large part of the war cost out of taxation and a substantial levy upon war profiteers. Yet not one of his Ministerial colleagues, nor one of his parliamentary supporters, ventured to advocate such a course when advocacy would have been useful and might have been effective. The fact is none of the belligerent countries paid war cost out of taxation, and even Great Britain derived, relatively, little more of that cost from new levies on its people than did Canada. No nation could have borne the enormous weight. It was the accepted financial principle everywhere that the war should be paid for out of loans, and taxation made to cover interest on the borrowed money; and there was no practical alternative to this course.

Looking backward, with the wisdom which comes after the event, it may be said that the Government should not have issued any tax-exempt bonds and that an earlier recourse should have been had to business profits and income taxes. Canada has derived upwards of $650,000,000 from war taxes, much of it levied on war profits, but it has all been absorbed by interest on war debt. The war was nearly ended when the income taxes began to be collected, but even had there been earlier application the revenue would not have prevented immense borrowing. Not a voice was raised in Canada in favor of paying for the war as the war progressed, nor could that course have been followed without incurring national bankruptcy. Mr. King has been in office nearly two years; he has faced two sessions of Parliament; he asserts his belief that war debt should be liquidated; and yet, so far from moving to this end, his Government has added to the public debt. We are not censuring the Government because of that addition, but we do say that Mr. King's practice does not accord with his preachment. Prices rose rapidly during war years, and much money was made. The expenditure of the proceeds of enormous loans was a contributing factor, it is true, but what would have been the condition of the Canadian people if $2,000,000,000 had been extracted from them without compensation to defray war costs, instead of spreading that expenditure over a long term of years? No; the King plan of pay as you go was not feasible in 1914-20. It was not deemed feasible by his colleagues when they supported the Union Government, nor by him and them since they came into power. The Premier can hardly be congratulated upon the subject of his departing speech and still less upon his contention that Canadians ought to have been taxed to the limit during the war years. War prosperity was created by expenditure of borrowed money, and had no borrowing been made the prosperity would not have occurred, nor profiteers have arisen to be taxed. It still remains true that one cannot eat his cake and have it.

MARKETING THE WHEAT.

The statement attributed to the Minister of Trade and Commerce that lake tonnage will be available of sufficient capacity to move all but twenty-five to forty million bushels of grain from the head of the lakes, is intended to be reassuring. It does not, however, promise adequate relief from the situation created by the passage and application of the inland water freight rates act. The monkey-wrench thrown by Parliament into the machinery of lake transportation, has very seriously lessened the capacity of that machinery, and it has done this at a time when the greatest crop in the history of western Canada has to be moved. The majority of the American lake freighters are out of the Canadian grain-carrying business because their owners will not submit to the requirements of the new law, and the few American vessels available cannot do more than a fraction of the work required. The opinion has been expressed that the American shipowners will change their attitude at the last minute, that, when they have done with the transportation of ores and have found that there is no prospect of the new control act being suspended, they will file their tariffs as required and send their ships to Port Arthur. That is an opinion upon which it would be hazardous and unwise to rely; it may easily prove to be a mistaken one and those who have given expression to it will, in such event, have made matters worse instead of better. Already this idea, according to reports from Port Arthur, is having the effect of delaying the making of contracts by shippers who seem to think that better terms may be made with the possible participation of the American ships later in the season.

The estimate that the tonnage now in sight will take care of all but twenty-five to forty million bushels, is bad enough; the belief in the trade is that the figure will be nearer sixty millions. Put it at forty and the situation is sufficiently serious. Forty million bushels of grain blocked beyond the lakes is something which neither the producer nor the shipper can regard with the equanimity implied in the statement made by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. The expeditious and successful marketing of this vast crop is a matter of such first rate importance to the Dominion that no preventable hindrance, whatever its nature, should be permitted to hamper the movement. The obstruction which threatens so serious a congestion as that indicated by Hon. Thomas Low is one that can be removed, apparently, by only one method, the suspension of the control act. The Government should not hesitate to adopt that method when the crucial point is reached.

Montreal Gazette Sept 26/23

056800

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Bent on a mission presumed to profoundly involve important Empire problems, Mr. King turned his attention in his parting speech at Quebec almost wholly to a defence of his administration of domestic affairs and to condemnation of policies of his predecessors, thus opening the door to recrimination and partisan controversy at a time when consideration might better be given to greater issues. With some parts of his speech no fault can fairly be found other than the inappropriateness of the occasion. The state of public finances is, happily, improving, the burden of the National Railway is being lightened, and the onerous fixed charges upon revenue are not the creation of the King Government, but a legacy of war. It would be proper enough for the Premier to dilate upon these subjects in a political address to a Canadian audience, taking to himself the credit which always accompanies improvement, even when the improvement has not been produced by act of government.

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"It is true that the debt of the country is enormous, that the interest payable on the debt is larger than the entire cost of government only a few years ago, that the taxes are high, but why is this? It is because we are now trying to meet obligations arising out of the colossal expenditures of the four years of the war, not a dollar of which was met by the Government of the day out of the taxes of the people. This is an appalling statement, and it is one which the people of Canada cannot take too much to heart, in viewing the burdens which they are being called upon to bear, but it is none the less true. The war was financed by loans, and it is the repayment of these loans which constitutes the heaviest burden and the interest on these loans which constitutes the largest single immediate charge upon the revenues of the country."

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56801

Camouflage

IF Mr. MacKenzie King desires to bring to the office of First Minister of a great country moderation and dignity, he will do well to stick closer to facts to refrain from dissimulation and camouflage. It is not often in the public life of this country that such a prominent man as Sir Thomas White feels called upon to administer the sort of stinging rebuke contained in his statement published in these columns yesterday. His flat contradiction of the statements which Mr. King made with regard to Canadian finances—statements affirmed by Mr. King as "true"—places the Prime Minister in a most humiliating position. Sir Thomas, as Minister of Finance during the entire period of the war, proved that Mr. King's statements were hundreds of millions of dollars off from the truth, and about on a par with his absurd Quebec "shells scandal".

Discussing Mr. King's speech, made on the eve of his departure for England, the organ that speaks for him in this city says:

> "Mr. King did well to remind the public that the heaviest burden of the country is to meet the huge cost of the war, and the railways and marine policies which Mr. Meighen and his associates had left as a legacy."

Is that all? If it is, Mr. King is running short of stump-speech material.

The war was the war. It cost money—a lot of money—but the people of Canada have yet to complain about the part this country took in the great struggle.

The railways are the railways. Canada's railway problem was unloaded on the country by the "superheated optimists" who would now blame the mess on the Conservative Party.

The merchant marine is the merchant marine. As Mr. Meighen has said: "It is built—do they want it sunk?" They voted for it—they demanded it—now they have it. If it is good, or bad, or indifferent, no matter. Every member of Parliament, regardless of party, was responsible for the merchant marine. Now they are attempting to crawl out.

Apart from Mr. King's absurdities about taxation and the like—absurdities so sweepingly answered by Sir Thomas White—those three things formed the burden of his song.

Has he anything else to offer?

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Mail & Empire Oct 1/23

056802

VICIOUS MIS-STATEMENT.

Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King is Prime Minister of Canada, and what he says in public must therefore be taken more seriously—though it may not be morally or politically more worthy—than the vaporings of a demagogue without official responsibility. His statement at Quebec that not a dollar of the expenditures of the four years of the war was met by the Government of the day out of the taxes of the people would have passed unnoticed if it had been made by some wild-eyed stump orator or even if it had been ventured by an extreme party follower of Mr. King's in the House itself. It would have been ignored because of its extravagance. But the Prime Minister having said it, the public are startled to an attitude of amazement at the head of the Government thus flying in the face of accepted facts and thus hammering the national credit at the moment of issuing a loan for refunding one of the war debts. If believed, the falsehood that not a dollar of the colossal expenditures of the war was met by the Government of the day out of the taxes of the people, the prospect of the country's easing its shoulders of war debt under the squandering King Government would truly appear a distant one. In the war outlay years, when the revenue receipts were raised by new taxes from $173,000,000 in 1914, to $413,000,000 in 1921, not a dollar of all this national income, according to Mr. King, was applied in war expenditure. He would have it believed that the yield of all Sir Thomas White's well-devised war imposts was swallowed up in expenditure on ordinary account. We doubt if any Minister of the Crown in this Dominion ever before made so reckless a statement. There is no excuse for such falsification. Mr. King could have informed himself before speaking, and he must have counted on other people appealing to the record to confute and confuse him. Without resorting to false testimony about war finance, he ought to be able to make out a case for his own Government's spending, absorbing as it does on current account all the proceeds of a taxation that is almost intolerable in peace years, while at the same time that Government, so far from reducing the public debt on war or other account, goes on increasing the debt.

We are not surprised that The Globe cannot easily bring itself to believe that Mr. King's statement is as truthless as it seems. The Prime Minister, having asserted "without reservation or qualification "that not a dollar of the cost of "the war was met by the Govern-"ment of the day out of the taxes "of the people," The Globe thinks he must surely have some basis for his declaration. What that basis may be it cannot imagine, but it does bite a little on the file of Sir Thomas White's statement to the press on the subject. Sir Thomas showed that the total paid from revenue on account of the war was, up to March 31, 1919, $438,293,248, and that the total war expenditure up to that date was $1,323,793,200. Instead of acknowledging the force of this evidence against Mr. King's wild mis-statement, The Globe asks: "But does the record as presented "include all the war expenses in-"curred up to March 31, 1919?" What if it does not? Is the fact altered that of the total war expenditure of $1,323,793,200 made to the 31st of March, 1919, there was paid out of the proceeds of taxation, not out of the proceeds of loans, the large sum of $438,293,248? The adjustment of accounts as between Britain and Canada—for in that connection, the balance was largely in Canada's favor—could not make the war debt any larger than it actually is and could not lessen the amount of the revenue paid out to meet the cost of the war. Anyhow, The Globe's idea that the war expenditure was swollen by Britain's payments on our account only magnifies the proportion of war expenditure paid for out of taxation, for the loans on war account cover all the rest.

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Moose Jaw Times Oct. 1/23

056803

PREMIER KING'S LEADERSHIP

The Ottawa Citizen is perhaps too radical to suit the average run of Liberals around the Dominion capital, and what it has to say concerning Liberal policy and Liberal leadership is certainly not inspired by official Liberal headquarters. Nevertheless, the Citizen frequently says things that need to be said and can be said better by the independent Liberal press. A political leader needs support from the rank and file, sincere, frank, loyal support; and paid for propaganda has its place; but perhaps what is most needed and most appreciated by political leaders is guidance and that sincere and useful counsel which tends to inspiration and the wider outlook.

The Imperial Conference, or the Conference of British Commonwealths,—whichever viewpoint is preferred,—has been made the occasion for much stocktaking concerning political leadership not only in Canada, but in all the dominions, and, it is not too much to say that the people generally are in an expectant mood. The Citizen complains that Premier Mackenzie King "has given very little indication of having any constructive policy to put forward before the assembled prime ministers," and believes this is so largely because "there is reason to believe that Canadian cabinet ministers, from the premier down, are so beset with the petty details of political administration, they have very little time for concentrating on vital questions of national policy."

Mr. F. G. Wells in a recent article stressed this same point in respect to Lloyd George when he excused what he believed to be unwise policy by the observation that the British premier had little or no time for serious thought and reflection. But the Citizen goes on to say that "it is absurd that this should be the case in Canada where, under freedom from political patronage, administrative duties might be comparatively light. But Sir George Murray's report, after an intensive study of the public service of Canada in 1912, still holds good where he said: "Nothing has impressed me so much in the course of my inquiry as the almost intolerable burden which the present system of transacting business imposes on the ministers themselves. They both have too much to do and do too much." Perhaps between the prime minister's farewell speech in Quebec and the opening of after-dinner speeches in London he may have time to study something about Canada's economic situation, and the possibilities of Canada giving the lead to the other nations, towards ushering in the true commonwealth.

"Unfortunately the political leaders in recent years seem almost to have abdicated their functions as statesmen. They seem afraid to advance any policy of reconstruction, or even to consider the question. The parties have so allowed themselves to become dominated by vested interests, very largely corporation interests, they have virtually ceased to debate economic questions.

"It is to the credit of some members of this parliament, including the minister of finance, Mr. W. S. Fielding, and the ex-minister, Sir Henry Drayton, that the banking and commercial committee last session allowed some ideas on economic reconstruction at least to be recorded in the form of a parliamentary report. But it is doubtful whether many members have studied the report. The leaders gave no hint of having done so. They seem very reluctant to lead or even direct public opinion towards sources of information that might lead along the path to reconstruction.

"Somebody must give the lead, however, and leadership will come just as soon as the people of Canada make it sufficiently apparent that they really want to find the path towards better times. Perhaps the present prime minister lacks confidence in himself to lead. There are examples abroad where men with nothing much more than confidence in themselves, such as the Fascisti dictator in Italy, Mussolini, have been able to rally the nation behind them. At home in Canada the strings of leadership have been controlled too much from behind the scenes. The controllers of financial credit power have controlled political power. But it cannot be said that many very brilliant results are beign achieved at the present time under this control.

"Fear would, indeed, seem to be operating in the ranks of the controllers, as it is expressed in the dismal articles that are being broadcast from Montreal. The national policy that produces such results as the recent closing of the Home Bank, and the disappearance of the Merchants' Bank, can hardly be regarded as the last word in commercial wisdom, nor can the upholders of it claim to have nothing to learn about economic reconstruction. But Premier King can go to the conference in London feeling assured that the prime ministers from the other nations within the commonwealth have just as much reason to work for a path out from the present unstable economic situation, which is more or less common to every country, including even the United States.

"Whether the prime minister of Canada will avail himself of the opportunity to break new ground, to direct thought towards the building of an economic commonwealth, or whether reconstruction has to come only after everything else has been tried, the conference should have one good result: it should help to impress the assembled premiers that an economic readjustment, a policy of reconstruction, must be discovered and undertaken soon."

HEIGHEN P. 99)

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Ottawa Citizen Oct. 1/23

056804

MR. KING TRAVELS SEMI-ROYAL STATE

Met by Many Friends in London. Leaves Cards for King and Mr. Baldwin.

By George Hambleton.
Special Correspondent Can. Press.

LONDON, Sept. 30.— Premier Mackenzie King travelled by special train from Liverpool to London Saturday, a semi-royal saloon being reserved for the Dominion premier and the members of his party. On reaching Euston station Mr. King was met by Lt.-Col. Sir Ronald Waterhouse, representing Premier Baldwin; Sir Maurice Hankey, secretary of the Imperial conference; Mr. Hankinson, representing the Duke of Devonshire; Sir James M. Smith, of the Colonial office, and Secretary Beare of the government hospitality department.

A large number of Canadian friends of Mr. King were on the station platform when he arrived and they occupied some time with him and the other Canadian delegates exchanging greetings. Among the first to be introduced to Premier King was his goddaughter, Miss Angela Hamar Greenwood, who came with Sir Hamar and Lady Greenwood.

Among the others present were: Hon. Mary Ellen Smith, member of the British Columbia legislature at present in Great Britain on an emigration mission for the Dominion government; Lady Boscawen, wife of the former British minister of agriculture; Miss Montizambert, F. C. Wade, agent general for British Columbia; Col. Pelletier, agent general for Quebec; W. C. Nixon, agent general for Ontario; Dr. Grisdale, deputy minister of agriculture for the Dominion; Col. Carnegie; Secretary Pacaud of the Canadian High Commissioner's office, London; Mr. Nunn, honorary secretary of the Canadian Club; Col. Badgerow, Mr. Panckman, of the Bank of Montreal; Mr. Cambie, of the Canadian Bank of Commerce; S. Jones of the Dominion Bank; Mr. Whitley of the Royal Bank of Canada; Canadian Trade Commissioner Watson, and Mr. Gill of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Premier King proceeded to the Ritz Hotel and later in the afternoon he left his cards at Buckingham Palace and at the residence of the British prime minister, Stanley Baldwin.

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Ottawa Citizen Oct. 1/23

056805

PREMIER ISSUES APPEAL FOR MORE BRITISH CAPITAL

Declares Canada Also Needs Settlers of British Stock, in First Words on Arrival in Old Country.

MORE THOUSANDS OF MEN ARE REQUIRED

But Millions of Pounds Needed to Find Opportunities For Them.

BY GEORGE HAMBLETON,
Special Correspondent Canadian Press

LIVERPOOL, Sept. 29.—Premier Mackenzie King landed here this morning after a pleasant trip aboard the Montcalm. His first words on English soil were an appeal to British capital to consider the opportunities which Canadian industry affords.

Premier King informed his interviewers that unemployment in Canada had fallen to its lowest level of the past three years. He added:

"Canada wants in the largest measure that her farms and industries can absorb men and women of British stock. She needs capital, however, as well as settlers. To find opportunity for more thousands of men millions of pounds are required.

"Capital is coming, but not so much of it from Great Britain as we would desire. It is estimated that the British capital invested in Canada still stands at about the sum at which it stood before the war, in round figures £550,000,000, while the investments in the United States have grown from about £120,000,000 in 1914 to over £500,000,000 and continues to increase.

"Whatever may be said from the point of wider British interests as to the value of labor distribution and investment, we believe to be true of capital investment. The two indeed should go together. Canada is a land of opportunity for the investor of capital as well as for the man whose only capital is his skill and readiness to work."

Has Turned Corner.

In a general review of the situation Premier King declared that after a period of difficult readjustment Canada now had well turned the corner. Production and trade were again running high, although "we are still some distance from the goal we hope to attain."

As to his attitude with reference to the coming Imperial Conference, Premier King made no statement. This he is reserving for the conference itself, but it is thought likely that when defense problems are under discussion he will favor the following:

1—Rapprochement between Great Britain and France.

2—Extension if possible of the Washington treaties for the limitation of armaments.

The Grand Trunk Case.

As a phase of the appeal for British capital to be invested in Canada, which was made by Premier Mackenzie King on being interviewed on his arrival this morning, the Canadian delegates to the Imperial Conference will take an opportunity to see that the Dominion government's side of the case with reference to the acquirement by the government of the Grand Trunk Railway property is understood by the investors in this country.

Pamphlets have been prepared for distribution reviewing the charges made against the government by Grand Trunk shareholders in England with "material errors corrected."

Premier King was met at Liverpool by Hon. P. C. Larkin, Canadian high commissioner in London, and Lucien Pacaud, secretary in the high commissioner's office.

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Manitoba Free Press Oct. 3/23

056806

Premier King Makes Deep Impression In First Public Speech in London

By JOHN McCORMAC
(Special Cable to the Free Press)

London, Oct. 2.—The first public utterance of Premier Mackenzie King was at the Royal Colonial Institute dinner tonight. The gathering was the most representative in the institute's history and Canada's prime minister scored a distinct triumph.

Replying to the toast, "United Empire," proposed by the Duke of Connaught, former governor-general of Canada, Mackenzie King made a lofty but restrained speech, dealing with empire problems. The premier's eloquence made a profound impression on the entire company, and in contrast with the speakers of four other dominions he scored a signal success.

His peroration on the spirit of youth, as represented by the dominions influencing the old world was received by the entire company with prolonged applause. The chief note in Mr. King's speech laid stress on the desire for closer co-operation within the empire, and he forcibly urged that Canada's destiny lay only within the empire.

A Self-Supporting Empire

London, Oct. 2—(Canadian Press cable)—The Duke of Connaught presided tonight at the colonial institute dinner given in honor of the delegates attending the imperial and economic conference. The function was attended by about 500 guests, representative of all the dominions and colonies, including a large number of dominion visitors in London.

The Duke of Connaught, proposing the toast of "a united empire," considered the resources of the empire, if properly developed, could keep the empire independent of outsiders. (Cheers.)

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, responding on behalf of Canada, regarded it as a special honor to speak to a gathering presided over by the Duke of Connaught. Looking back as an ordinary citizen he believed Canadians would always feel that they had found the Duke of Connaught a model and constitutional ruler.

Pays Tribute to Baron Byng

The premier went on to refer to the services rendered by other governors-general to Canada and declared, amid cheers, that Baron Byng, every day of his stay, was endearing himself more and more to the citizens of the Dominion.

The speaker trusted that the spirit of the empire would be kept true to the spirit of the new democracy of our times and the heart and mind of Britain kept forever young.

Premier W. F. Massey, responding on behalf of New Zealand, insisted on the necessity of adequate sea power.

Responding to a toast to his health, the Duke of Connaught commented on the fact that all the speeches had breathed the spirit of unity of empire. As one having had the good fortune to serve in many parts of the empire he felt that the outlook for the future was bright.

MINISTER PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 27, I, Volume 93)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Sydney Post

Oct. 5/23

056807

A "KINDERGARTEN" SPEECH.

PREMIER KING'S luckless adventure at Quebec into what is to him the unfamiliar realm of national finance continues to evoke critical comment from the press. This is what the Ottawa Journal has to say of Mr. King's unwise speech:

"Sir Thomas White, who was our War Minister of Finance, has taken the trouble to reply to the speech of the Prime Minister, Mr. MacKenzie King, in Quebec, in which Mr. King stated that 'not a dollar' of the cost of the 'colossal expenditures of Canada in the Great War was met by the Government of that day out of the taxes of the people.' Sir Thomas White answers that the amount of Canadian war expenditure met out of current taxation up to March 31, 1919, was $438,000,000; also that he gave all the figures in his budget speech of June, 1919.

"This statement of Sir Thomas White convicts the Prime Minister of colossal ignorance regarding the finances of his own country.

"Mr. King on the basis of his ignorance continued with the assertion that Canada's present heavy uncontrollable expenditure was due 'to the vicious policy of the late Government in financing the war by loans rather than by taxes during the war.'

"It would not be far from the truth to say that the ignorance which Mr. King showed about the facts was matched by the foolishness of his deduction. Canada was fighting in that war for the benefit not merely of the present generation of Canadians but for the sake of all future generations. There was no good reason therefore why the present generation of Canadians or that section of them which was able to pay taxes during the war, should have had the whole burden of the cost placed on their shoulders then and there. It is just a question whether it was a paticularly wise policy to raise any part of the war cost by taxation during the war. Canada had a tremendous job on hand in the war itself,, no matter how it was to be paid for, and no one need be quite certain that the best way to handle that job was to add a terrific burden of immediate taxation to it, and thereby completely smash the business of the country, already in large part desperately hit by the other war conditions.

"The Government of that day probably struck a wise medium by taxing the people as heavily as was clearly safe, while passing on the rest of the cost to a time when the country would be better able to meet it. Mr. King's ideas on the subject seem to indicate the kindergarten sort of brain which we suspect Mr. King to possess."

The time when Mr. King could say anything that drifted into his mind and get away with it ended with his period of irresponsible opposition. He is on a man's job now,—though at times he seems to forget it,—and is under serious public observation.

MACKENZIE PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

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The Sydney Post. October 8th 1923.

958303

A CAUTION TO MR. KING.

A FRENCH-CANADIAN newspaper which is friendly to the King Government, L'Evenement of Quebec, offers the following comment on the Imperial Conference now in session at London and the position it thinks Premier King should take on the question of Empire defence:

"There is good reason to believe that the Right Hon. Mackenzie King will follow the line of prudence at the Imperial Conference in London, and that his discretion in dealing with any Imperialist fakers will merit the confidence of Canadians. The country does not want to be involved in English or European problems. Without lacking loyalty to the Crown, the Canadian nation feels that it is under no obligation to support either British armaments or continental interests. At the present time two powerful maritime powers exist—Britain and the United States; but there is no possibility of war between them. We in Canada have no more interest to encourage expansion of the British navy than we have to advocate a larger United States war fleet. Premier King knows that the Canadian Parliament and the electorate intend to exercise their right of discernment in all eventualities which can arise in international politics. If it had pleased the Government of Lloyd George to have launched the Empire in a war against Turkey, Canada would surely have told the then Premier of England to settle his quarrel with the aid of his own resources, which were a hundred times larger than ours. If tomorrow another conflict were to take place, the representatives of our people would assemble in Parliament at Ottawa and deliberate the question before committing the country to supply men or money. It is probably in that spirit that Mr. King will listen to the English diplomats. He is not bound to say anything but if he does speak let it be with the conviction that the fate of his party depends upon the tone of his discourse."

This reads somewhat like the statutory caution magistrates give to persons accused of crime, warning them that they need not say anything, but what they do say may be used in evidence against them.

There is child-like candor in the observation that at this great conference of British Premiers, Mr. King, representing as he does, the most important of the overseas dominions, "is not bound to say anything" on the most momentous question that faces these Empire statesmen. Yet it is the very position, one may well believe, that Mr. King would be glad to adopt if he felt that political safety lay that way. When about to sail for England he delivered himself at Quebec of the negative platitude that he "went to London without a grievance, and went to represent a Dominion entirely satisfied with the present conditions." It does not seem to have occurred to our magnanimous Prime Minister that a British Dominion may have obligations, even if it does not happen to be nursing "grievances."

Empire defence is one of the big questions with which the Conference must deal. In Empire defence Canada's obligations are precisely the same as those of its sister Dominions. We cannot detach ourselves from those obligations and honorably remain a part of the Empire. Financially this country is not in a position to do what it might in the matter of naval defence. Morally it is bound to do what it can, be it much or little, and to give the assurance to the mother country and the sister Dominions of its cheerful and loyal support to the common cause in any emergency that may arise. Such an assurance is the least Canadians will be content to have their national representative convey to the Empire Conference. It is to be hoped that Mr. King will not forget that the country he officially represents is still British.

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Ottawa Citizen Oct 8/23

056809

PREMIER KING ON OBJECT LESSON OF EXHIBITION

World Had Had Lesson in War, Exposition Would Show Possibilities of Arts of Peace.

By George Hambleton, Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.

LONDON, Oct. 7.—Speaking at the British Empire Exposition, Premier Mackenzie King of Canada urged that the exhibition should represent the Empire in miniature. "All through the history of nations," said Mr. King, "two antagonistic types of activities have struggled for ascendancy—militant and industrial. The world has had its great object lesson in the outcome of the former within the recent past. In this exhibition we would have an object lesson of the possibilities of the latter. We of the British Empire would have the world witness here the limitless possibilities for progress and plenty of the arts of peace. To develop the industrial type of organized society to its highest possibilities should be the aim of our combined British communities. As we achieve that end, and vast contributions toward it would be made by this exhibition, we shall make our contribution of permanent value not only to our Empire alone but to the well-being of mankind."

Duke of Devonshire Speaks.

The Duke of Devonshire, secretary for the colonies, who presided, said the intention of the board of management was to make the exhibition British in the widest sense of the word.

In submitting a message of greeting to the Prince of Wales at Ottawa, the Duke of Devonshire observed that he knew E. P. Ranch, Alberta, perhaps better than any one present, drily adding:

"If I had my choice I should be there today."

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The Free Press (London) - 056810

October 10th - 1923.

A Leader Who Does Not Lead.

While there are doubtless good diplomatic reasons why the proceedings of the imperial conference cannot be made public, yet it is unfortunate, from the standpoint of the Canadian people at least, that the sessions have to be held in camera, as there is a growing suspicion that Hon. Mackenzie King and his colleagues are taking a stand which far from represents the views of the mass of citizens of the Dominion.

Before he left for England Mr. King contented himself with merely stating that he was going to the conference without any grievance and that Parliament should always be consulted on any question affecting the Dominion. According to the representative of the Canadian Press at the conference, who, undoubtedly, as a good newspaper man, secured his information at first hand from the Canadian delegates themselves. Mr. King, in discussing the question of the relations of the dominions to the empire, emphasized "the autonomous point of view, arguing that the people and the parliaments of the dominions should be free in the expression of their views and that the representatives of the dominions were primarily responsible to their own parliaments."

If this is a correct report of Mr. King's stand he was talking only ancient platitudes and was harping on questions which were settled years ago. He has acted as if he was fighting over again the battles of his grandfather. The problem of the autonomy of Canada was long since decided, and no one questions the right of the Dominion and the Federal Parliament to settle finally the attitude of Canada on any subject. The people of Canada today are not worrying over the question of autonomy, something they have to the fullest extent; what they do want to see worked out is a plan of co-operation, so that the British League of Nations will in future, as during the war, act as a unity. The British Empire to-day is the greatest force in the world for peace, but this can only be accomplished by co-operation and by presenting a united front.

There can be no question whatever of the sentiment that actuates the people of Canada and the people of all the dominions, namely a feeling that in a partnership of these nations with their common origin lies the best hope for the future. That sentiment is deep in the hearts of the people of the British Empire. On a scale never known in the world before this unity of a scattered empire has been manifested in the last 10 years. Written constitutions, central parliaments, imperial councils were not the apparatus by which that result was achieved; rather, the result we have seen came despite those things.

The tendency in these matters is plainly manifest, yet we have the spectacle of the Canadian premier practically refusing to admit that there have been developments, that an altered situation confronts this conference as an altered situation has faced every conference that has met in the past. Withdrawn within his shell, Hon. Mr. King has failed completely to give any lead whatever to the Canadian people, who, one may feel sure, would quickly respond were they shown a way that was morally right.

The imperial conference is not a self-centered gathering that has no significance beyond its own immediate empire business. The situation in Europe cannot but be affected by the attitude that these representatives of the British Empire take. Europe is watching every move that is being made in London. A hearty co-operation there may be made the example to nations that have almost forgotten how to co-operate.

A lead there in the direction of mutual trust cannot but inspire hope of that same quality being achieved in torn-up Europe. The opportunity is great and some of the men in attendance at the conference seem to have sensed it. Thousands of Canadians have sensed it at home and their feeling must be one of profound disappointment that he who stands as their chief spokesman stands dumb when right words might relieve world agony.

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TORONTO "TELEGRAM"

18 Wed. October 17th, 1923.

With Compliments of

Sir Edward Kemp.

PRAIRIE FARMERS "SOAKED" $50,000 A DAY BY KING GOVT.

Rate for Carrying Grain Under No-competition System Means Loss of $5,000,000 for Season

Fort William, Oct. 17.—(Special) —"The Farmers' Friend," Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of all Canada, is soaking the prairie farmers about $50,000 a day conditions at this port reveal.

Presuming that two hundred million bushels of grain is moved from Fort William and Port Arthur by the middle of December, when navigation closes, the farmers can mark off about $5,000,000 to the loss side of this season's operations.

To-day the rate for carrying grain from the Canadian lakehead, under the no-competition system created under the Inland Water Lake Freight Rates Act placed on the Statute Books by the Liberal Government of Canada is 5½ cents per bushel.

The rate for carrying a bushel from Duluth to Buffalo is three cents. An excess of 2½ cents is borne by the Western farmer, who gets that much less for his product.

AN EXAMPLE.

Here is a first-class example taken from the port records here yesterday: The steamship F. G. Hartwell closed her hatches on 481,000 bushels of wheat. Her rate was 5½ cents. For the single trip the owners draw down $26,450. At three cents she would be getting $14,430. The additional $12,020 is what the Western Canadian farmer pays for the Lake Freights legislation of Mackenzie King.

Nearly every day two million bushels of grain leave this port for the east. With the burden of the super-tax, resulting from the Liberal Government's legislation, the movement of this commodity therefore is fifty thousand dollars.

The money goes to the steamship companies, which, naturally enough, are getting all the traffic would bear, which is the way of trade. Had the lake traffic been left open to competition American vessels would have been able to bid for cargoes. This would have forced the cargo rate down to the Duluth level.

Now the Minister of Trade and will be here on Friday to confer with the Board of Grain Commis- Commerce, Hon. T. A. Low, is scurrying around the country trying to find a way out of the snarl. He sioners.

The Hon. Mr. Low will again be asking an appointee of the Conservative Government, Chief Commissioner L. H. Boyd, K.C., of the Grain Board, to lead him out of the wilderness that is likely to result in the biggest trade scandal facing any Canadian Administration since Confederation. Any possible alleyway has been examined by the present and preceding Minister of Trade and Commerce to undo the costly work of the Lake Freights Act.

The Government concurred in Mr. Boyd going down to Cleveland to "interpret" the act to the American vessel owners. That is the explanation publicly given. It is well known to the grain trade that the Chief Commissioner was saddled with the humiliating task of trying to get the vessel owners of Cleveland to come back into the Canadian trade.

To this plea the association replied that they would have nothing to do with any legislation that interfered with free competition. With the exception of a few steamship owners, a negligible part of the southern fleet is now operating from here a mere handful of cargo bottoms.

The crisis is approaching at a gallop. The Canadian fleet is not big enough to handle the greatest crop in the history of Canada. November is the month feared by the trade. The passing of each day finds more and more grain in store. Receipts keep a jump ahead of despatches. Although the total storage capacity of the twin ports is around 63,000,000 bushels, beating the world, it will not be enough to handle the tide of grain as it backs up.

At a time when world production has been especially high in grain, and there was a keener necessity than ever of Canada getting its product to market ahead of all competitors, there is the danger that a tremendous quantity will be unable to leave the country.

If, by super-human effort, and some scheme hitherto undiscovered, the usual amount of grain is moved, the cost will be $5,000,000 more than the West should pay.

If there is an amount kept back by inadequate transportation, the farmer will lose the opportunity for quick marketing. That is his right by reason of the millions of dollars expended in port facilities here, at bay ports, along the canals, down the St. Lawrence to the sea. The farmer loses both ways.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce has already threshed the matter over with the Grain Commissioners. He has said the legislation cannot be undone, legally, and without loss of face. The commissioners have tested all ways to overcome the restrictions. Belief is held that the Government will back out of the Act at the conference here this week.

SHIFT RESPONSIBILITY.

How they will do so is not yet known, but it is said the commissioners will give a ruling that, under the legal aspects of the Act, the steamship companies need not file tariffs, but shippers may do so instead. The responsibility of filing rates with the grain board, which is the point to which the storm of objection is raised by the Americans, is thus shifted from the carriers to the shippers. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that some Government steamships are now carrying grain from this port.

They are getting the big rate, too, so the present Government is, in a plain sense, participating in the soaking of Friend Farmer.

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News Sault Ste Marie Ont. Oct. 19

056812

Premier King's Consistency

Anxiety to get into office often leads politicians to say some queer things. A few days before the last Federal elections, the Hon. MacKenzie King said that if Canada did not reduce its Federal debt chaos was in sight. A short time since in one of his public addresses he said the Conservative government, instead of allowing a war debt to accumulate should have increased taxation as was necessary and met all war expenditures as the war went on. This latter was a most extraordinary statement as history shows that no country involved in a long expensive war met its costs as the war went on. All countries invariably had a war debt increase as the war went on. It is possible that the late Conservative government by piling on taxation to the limit might have met much of the war costs, as the war went on; but it could only have resulted in leaving all other yearly demands on the Treasury unpaid, and that, of course, could have in no way bettered conditions in the country. Now, however, another peculiar condition looms up before Mr. King. If Mr. Meighen and his colleagues could have and should have met the war expenses as the war went on, why is it that with the war over, taxation piled on, and the revenues of the country increasing that the debt of Canada is today larger than it was the day Mr. King took office? Is not this a poser for Mr. King, in the face of his previous statements referred to above? Does it not prove a reckless expenditure of money that no government can attempt to justify? Their ways, however, go far to offer an explanation. A few weeks ago the King government placed a loan on the market considerably in excess of the country's needs. He got all he asked for and is now paying interest on money not actually needed. Will not the fact that there is money lying idle in the treasury create a reckless expenditure that no careful administration would attempt to justify?

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ONTARIO ITINERARY FOR HON. MR. KING

Several Changes in Time and Place From Previous Announcements

By Canadian Press.

Ottawa, October 24.—The complete itinerary for the Ontario tour of Hon. Mackenzie King, issued here today, makes some changes in time and place from announcements previously made. The revised schedule of meetings follows:

October 25, afternoon, Bourget; night, Rockland, Russell county.

October 26, night, Orono, Durham county.

October 27, night, Sutton, North York.

October 28, afternoon, Stouffville; night, Aurora, North York.

October 29, afternoon, Bolton village, Peel county.

October 31, night, Guelph.

November 1, night, Stratford.

November 2, night, Sarnia.

November 3, night, St. Thomas.

November 4, night, London.

November 5, night, Massey Hall, Toronto.

November 7, night, Ottawa.

The schedule as revised provides for three meetings to be addressed by the Liberal leader in his own constituency of North York.

On his return to Ottawa, where he concludes the tour of this province, it is expected that Hon. Mr. King will remain in the capital for a day or so, after which he will leave for Vancouver to begin a tour of British Columbia, working back through the prairie provinces, and addressing meetings in most of the cities on his way back.

It is expected that Hon. Mr. King will spend the last week or two of the campaign in Ontario and Quebec.

Ernest Lapointe, K.C.; Hon. Chas. Murphy, James Murdock and other prominent men will take part in the various Ontario meetings with Hon. Mr. King and the local candidates in each riding visited.

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Free Press London Ont. Oct. 26/23

056814

RAPS INACTIVITY OF PREMIER KING

Noted Writer Attacks Negative Attitude of Canada

LONDON, Oct. 25.—(Canadian Press Staff Correspondent.)—Richard Jebb, noted as a traveler and writer on imperial questions and author of "The Imperial Conference, a History and Study," 1911, in an article in to-day's Morning Post, comparing the different Dominion representations at the present imperial conference, asks what Canada stands for.

"That is what many are asking," he states. "Especially the Canadians in London. From one of them in a responsible position has come a letter bitterly deploring the seemingly negative attitude of Mackenzie King. Its immediate occasion was the neglect of Canada alone among the dominions to lay a wreath at the Nelson column on Trafalgar Day. If that really happened it was only an unfortunate oversight which none can regret more than the Canadian delegation."

Jebb adds that the popular impression that the present Canadian Government is indifferent to the future may be natural, but is perhaps superficial.

The article proceeds as follows:

"To begin with, the session of the imperial conference is not finished yet. The preliminary talking on the inside or outside matters much less than the final decisions. In the meantime we may continue to hope that the senior dominion will yet resume its prescriptive right to lead in political action as well as in mere ceremonial speech."

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THE DOMINIONS AND THE EMPIRE.

Mr. Mackenzie King's Impressive Speech at the Canada Club Dinner.

MR. MACKENZIE KING made an eloquent speech, which evoked loud applause, on the place of the Dominions in the Empire, at the Canada Club dinner given in his honour at the Savoy Hotel, London, on Thursday of last week.

The gathering was a very large and representative one. The High Commissioner presided, and he was supported by three former Governors-General of the Dominion—the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair—the French, Belgian, and American Ambassadors, the Prime Ministers of New Zealand and Newfoundland, the Canadian Ministers of Justice and Railways; among British Ministers, the Lord President of the Council, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Minister of Labour, the President of the Board of Trade, the Secretary of State for India, and the Postmaster-General; and the Irish Ministers of Education and External Affairs. Others at the chairman's table included the following:—

Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty, Viscount Long, Viscount Milner, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Admiral Sir E. Fremantle, Sir Maurice Hankey, Sir James Masterton-Smith, Air Chief Marshal Sir H. M. Trenchard, Sir Gordon Nairne, Vice-Admiral V. A. Stanley, Sir John Simon, M.P., Lord Desborough, Lord Blyth, Lord Glendyne, Lord Morris, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, Hon. J. S. Archibald, Hon. J. J. Astor, Alderman Sir John Baddeley, Sir G. McL. Brown, Sir Travers Clarke, Sir H. d'Egville, Sir Godfrey Lagden, Sir Thomas Lipton, Sir Malcolm Murray, Lord Richard Nevill, Sir Robert Perks, Sir Charles Russell, Sir Campbell Stuart, Mr. John Bassett, Mr. J. W. Dafoe, Dr. C. A. E. Harriss, and Mr. R. P. Skinner, the High Commissioners for Australia, India, South Africa, and Ireland, and the Agents-General for Quebec and British Columbia.

The Royal Family and Canada.

The DUKE OF CONNAUGHT (who was received with warm and long-continued acclamation), replying to the toast of the Royal Family, said it was a great satisfaction to himself as a member of the Royal Family to be there to do honour to the Prime Minister of Canada. He was there not only as a guest, but also as a member of the club. Nearly all the male members of the Royal Family had been lucky enough to have been in Canada, and they all took a great interest in it and rejoiced in its prosperity. He had himself had the great honour of being Canada's Governor-General for five years, during a most interesting and anxious time. He could bear witness to the splendid manner in which Canadians responded to the call of duty and to the call of loyalty, and no one there, whether English or Canadian, would ever forget the splendid service rendered by the Canadian troops on so many fronts. To himself, as a soldier, it was a great satisfaction to see that country, generally so peaceful, spring to arms in so splendid a manner. It was a curious fact that, he believed, he and Lord Minto were the only two Governors-General who had twice served in Canada, first in a military and then in a civil capacity. He was sure those who had been Governors-General and who were still alive very much appreciated the kind manner in which their memories were maintained in Canada.

Mr. Larkin and the Duke of Devonshire on Mr. King.

MR. LARKIN, in proposing the health of the Prime Minister of Canada, said: "We all have the greatest admiration for those men who, abandoning the prizes held out by the professions and by commerce, devote their lives to the solution of those problems that most affect the welfare and happiness of their fellows. The greatness of these islands, whose Government extends to the farthest corners of the earth—bringing with it peace, and with peace its many blessings to countless millions of different races—was brought about, not only by the adventurous spirit of its merchants, by the capability of its manufacturers, by the efficiency and valour of its armed forces, but largely, indeed, by those wise men who first qualified themselves for office and then gave the best that was in them to the service of the State. In our guest of this evening Canada has a Prime Minister with no ordinary qualifications for service—one who, through his writings on social and economic subjects and the beneficial laws of our Statute Books for which he is responsible, has already shown his worthiness for the high office he fills with honour to himself and credit to his country. I will ask you to drink to the health of the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, and to couple with it the hope that he will long be spared to serve the country we all love."

The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, on behalf of his colleagues in the Government, joined with the Canada Club in giving a most cordial welcome to the Prime Minister of Canada. Mr. Mackenzie King had already shown by his conduct of affairs in the great Dominion that he was well qualified to take his place in the distinguished line of great Canadian statesmen. He was quite sure that under his guidance and his leadership Canada would make that progress which they were all very anxious to see her make. At the Conference Mr. Mackenzie King was carrying on the great traditions of those whom he had succeeded in his high office. It was at one of the Conferences a good many years ago that one of the most famous of his predecessors had said, "Call us to your councils," and to-day at a critical period in the history of the world they were not meeting as the Old Country and junior members, but they were meeting in the historic room in Downing Street as partners in the greatest concern which he believed existed. The Conference had hitherto—and he hoped it would be so to the end—been actuated by a whole-hearted intention and desire to produce results which they hoped would not only be beneficial to individual portions, but would contribute to the well-being and prosperity of the whole. He trusted that the results of the deliberations of the Conference would be such that, as representing the whole British Empire, they would be able to make some material contribution towards the solution of those problems which were pressing with such severity upon a world which was war-worn, weary, and distracted.

Premier's Tribute to the High Commissioner.

MR. MACKENZIE KING, who was loudly applauded on rising to reply, spoke first of the interest shown by so many different members of the Royal Family in visiting Canada, remarking that nowhere in the Empire was there greater love and affection for them than in the Dominion, and also expressed, on behalf of his colleagues in the Government, how much they appreciated the great service which Mr. Larkin had rendered the Dominion as its representative in London. "We felt," he said, "when we asked Mr. Larkin if he would assume this great position that he would do so not only with credit to himself, but with great credit and distinction to the Dominion. We feel that he has done that. He has our entire confidence. We feel proud of the part which he has played here, and I can assure him that the pride which the Government feel in his work, as representative of his country here, is shared by the people of the Dominion in all parts. I would like to congratulate him, to congratulate the Canadians in London, and to congratulate the people of the Dominion, on having obtained at last, here in the heart of the Empire, an official home, which we hope will continue through the years to give to Canada in London the place which we had long hoped she might hold. We think that, in securing the Union Club building, we have at last acquired what we have been searching for for many years—offices which would be located in a part of the city that would help to serve the end for which they are intended—but we hope still more that these offices will be worthy of the great square which they face, and worthy of their place in the heart of the Empire."

Early Records of Canada.

Mr. King also thanked those who had been doing so much of late to help them to gather together the earlier chapters of their country's history. The recently inaugurated Canadian Historical Society promised to do a great deal for Canada. Shortly before leaving Canada, he had the privilege of accepting from Lord Durham the papers which belonged to his illustrious grandfather, embodying the history of Canada in the 'thirties and 'forties, told in large part by Lord Durham himself and those who were associated with him. Those who had seen these papers had said that a not inconsiderable part of their history would probably have to be rewritten from these original records. A few days before it had been his privilege to receive from the hands of Sir Leicester Harmsworth, in memory of his brother, the late Lord Northcliffe, a very valuable collection of papers, known as the Monckton collection. They related to the commissions which were given to General Monckton, and subsequently to General Wolfe before he left for Canada. They might picture the feelings of Canadians in possessing, in the original manuscript, the orders given by the Minister of War to General Wolfe—the secret orders which he was not to open until he had left the country, and the various communications that he himself read as he went up the St. Lawrence and thought of the great battle ahead. All these things were there told, in his own hand-writing—not only that, but one saw, in the hand-writing of General Wolfe, a plan for the administration of Canada, should it be God's will that the country should come into the possession of Britain; also the terms of capitulation, in his own hand-writing. Associated with these were also records of the great man who was Wolfe's opponent in the conflict—Montcalm. These records had been presented to the nation in a very beautiful form, bound in red morocco, embossed in gold; they formed a collection which the nation would prize as one of its great treasures. It meant a great deal to them to have the story of their nation, beginning with the romantic history of its earlier days, and following the successive developments down to the present moment, with

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their record of political evolution. They had gone through the period of Crown Colonies, they had worked out their representative institutions and a system of responsible Government, and had become a Dominion. In a miniature way, they were a League of Nations, emblematic of the League of Nations which went to make up the British Empire, and still further suggestive of the larger League which they hoped would come more and more into being as a great reality for the purpose of uniting together all those who had common aims and common objectives towards the peace of the world.

"We have had our differences in Canada," continued Mr. King. "We have had our wars between races; we have had our political revolutions; but we have learnt how to bring out of these differences a unity which emphasises the things which we have in common rather than the things which divide us. That, it seems to me, is the great service which Canada has rendered as an example to other parts of the world. The antipathies of past generations lie buried. We have there, side by side, peoples who have fought, and who have demonstrated to the world that having fought they were able to work together and to construct a nation. We have learnt how to live and let live, and how to forget and forgive. God grant that, whatever else the Imperial Conference we are now holding may do for the British Empire as a whole, we may bring out the one great truth I have sought to emphasise, that, between different nations and different continents, the things that we all have in common are vastly greater than the things that divide us."

In a reference to conditions in Canada, the Prime Minister said the country had turned the corner and was rapidly coming back into its old normal state. Everything considered, he thought the coming year should be one of great prosperity for the Dominion, and he hoped this part of the Empire would feel that Canada was a land which offered great opportunity for investments of every kind—men, money, and markets—all three would be welcome from this particular source.

The Halibut Fisheries Treaty.

Dealing with criticisms of the Halibut Fisheries Treaty with the United States, Mr. King pointed out that no citizen of the Empire or of any part of the world could have engaged in the fisheries except from the shores of British Columbia or of the Western States. So far as domestic concerns went, they felt that they had full rights of self-government, and that as regards matters of trade and tariffs and the like it had long been established that they had the right of negotiating with their neighbours or any other countries. In addition, there was at the present time a treaty between the United States and Canada under which any matters in dispute as regards levels of lakes, power, fisheries, etc., might be referred to a joint Commission. Some 20 different questions had been referred to it in the past few years, and in every case but one the Commissioners had been unanimous in their finding. They could, if they so desired, have referred this particular question to the Commission, and the agreement would have been signed by the Commissioners. When an arrangement had been come to about bird sanctuaries some years ago, the question was referred to London and had to be settled through the Ambassadors; but that day was past. "Some," remarked Mr. King, "have gathered the impression that in asking to have the Minister of Marine and Fisheries given plenipotentiary powers to sign the agreement we were doing something discourteous to the British Ambassador at Washington. Nothing was further from the mind of anyone. We were only asking for what was done at Versailles and Washington, where our Ministers signed on behalf of Canada in so far as Canada was concerned—that we should have the same right in negotiating that treaty. I feel that it does not take away from the prestige of the British Empire as a whole that a Canadian Minister should have authority given him by the King to sign a document with full plenipotentiary powers where the matter is one that relates so exclusively to his own country and its neighbour. But were any international question to come up which would affect other parts of the British Empire, or which would be of vital concern to any one of them, I would be among the first to say that no steps should be taken by any Government of any part of the Empire without the full knowledge and consent of all; and that where we are all vitally concerned, or where the questions are of higher politics, involving the prestige of the whole Empire, the signature should be that of one person who would represent the British Empire as a whole."

The Significance of the Empire.

"I can think of no expression," Mr. King went on, "that more splendidly voices the true significance of the British Empire, than the one which was used by the King when he addressed the school children throughout the Empire by means of a gramophone record on May 24—that the British Empire is 'a unity of free nations.' A unity of free nations, that is our feeling in regard to the British Empire. We believe it is a *unity*—in other words, that we have common interests, that we have those things which we prize most in large measure in common; that whenever the honour and interest of the community are at stake, every part and portion of the British Empire may be expected to rise and act as one. We believe also that it is a unity of *nations*, and that, as you give expression to the national life of the different parts of the Empire—as you permit them the authority and the full right which go with the growth of nationhood—so you help to instil in them a feeling of greater pride in their own country and in the Empire to which they belong."

Mr. King strikingly pointed out how, in matters of Government, a great deal could be learned from the way in which Nature did her work. As shown through both the telescope and the microscope, in the infinitesimally small and in the infinitely great alike, the order of creation spoke to us of unity, in which there was still preserved individual identity. The British Empire would not go far wrong in the order of development if it adhered to the teaching of Nature. Another symbol of the Empire Mr. King found in the main entrance of the reconstructed Parliament buildings at Ottawa, with its great central column—a symbol of a mutual support and of unity, but unity amid diversity—a unity preserving the identity of the different parts. What they were trying to work out at the Imperial Conference, he declared, was a method of Government which would help to preserve that unity, which would help to make it strong and enduring, and which would make it of service, not to one part only, but to every part.

Chancellor of the Exchequer on Canada.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART, in proposing "Our Other Guests," said the club had existed as a dining club for over 100 years, but he doubted if in its history it had had a more distinguished company than that evening. Referring to the impending return home of the American Ambassador, he expressed the hope that he would do as much for Canada there as he had done while in London.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN (Chancellor of the Exchequer), in responding, said he had visited Canada for the first time last autumn, and he formed two impressions. The first was of the deep consciousness of Canadians of their great national heritage and their profound perception of the fact that it was as a member—and perhaps some day the leading member—of the British Empire that their destiny would find its fullest development, and the other that there was there a field of enterprise which had as yet been scarcely scratched by British manufacturers and traders. Canada had two great needs—capital and population—to enable her to take full advantage of her splendid system of communications. They had a good deal of the one, and a little of the other, to spare in this country. Canada would have no difficulty in finding a sufficiency of both, and he thought it would be a misfortune if a large proportion of them did not come from the Old Country. If British traders would cross the seas and investigate conditions on the spot for themselves, they would be saved from some of the disappointments they had had in the past, and he believed they would not only find there a fruitful field for remunerative enterprise, but would have the satisfaction of helping to build up a strong bulwark of the British race, which had always used its influence for good and justice throughout the world.

The Ministers of Railways and Justice.

The HON. G. P. GRAHAM (Canada's Minister of Railways and Canals) replied in a racy speech. In serious vein, he declared that both the French-speaking and English-speaking races of Canada rejoiced in a united Canada dominated by British sentiment. Canada was perfectly contented as a member, untrammelled, of the great British organisation, realising that, in that membership, her people enjoyed and throve on an ever-broadening freedom, which could not be realised to the full under any other system. The wider this freedom, the more indissolubly were welded the links that bound together the component parts of this organisation. The most lasting good that could come to this great community of nations would be through the development of the outposts to their fullest potentialities. The Motherland could best aid in this development by sending men, women, and children to fill the vacant spaces, and by investing her capital for the mutual benefit of herself and her robust offspring.

SIR LOMER GOUIN (Canada's Minister of Justice), who also responded, said the Canadian delegates were deeply touched by the numerous marks of kindliness and friendship they had received while attending the Conferences. Canada had come to these Conferences desirous of co-operating—and fully prepared to do so—with the Governments of the United Kingdom and of the sister Dominions in developing and strengthening the Empire and developing all the individual Dominions.

The High-Commissioner and Newfoundland.

The health of the chairman was proposed by Mr. Warren, supported by the Marquis of Aberdeen and Temair, and Mr. Larkin briefly replied. "I am most grateful," he said, "to the Prime Minister of Newfoundland for proposing my health, and to you, gentlemen, for the very friendly way you have

(*Continued on page* 80.)

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PURELY PERSONAL—*continued.*

Mr. Ronald Copeland, of the Spode-Copeland China Works, is visiting Canada.

* *

It is now announced that the donors of the historic mansion, No. 10 St. James's Square, London, as a home for the British Institute of International Affairs, are Colonel R. W. Leonard, of St. Catharines, Ontario, and Mrs. Leonard. This fact was known to *Canada* last week, but we did not publish it in deference to the donors' expressed desire for anonymity. Colonel Leonard, who is a native of Brantford, Ont., is well known as a civil engineer and for his patriotic and philanthropic work in Canada. He is president

COL. R. W. LEONARD.

of the Coniagas Mines. Mrs. Leonard is a native of Kingston, Ont. Both Colonel and Mrs. Leonard are at present in England.

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The arrivals from Montreal by the *Melita* on October 19 included Mrs. E. de B. Panet, Mr. J. A. Lyon, Mr. and Mrs. W. Farley, Mr. A. Flock, Mrs. A. L. Letourneau, Mrs. H. Mellor, Mrs. J. Morin, Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Payen, Mrs. M. Ruffhead, Mr. J. Ryan, Mr. S. Speyer, Mrs. A. Humphrey (Montreal), Mr. and Mrs. Jules P. Fremont (Quebec), Mr. J. W. Sinclair, Mr. H. Rose, Mrs. C. R. Millar, Mrs. E. W. Hubbard (Toronto), Mr. R. Young, Miss A. P. Young (Winnipeg), Mr. L. G. Hawkins (Ottawa), Mr. C. B. Whaley and Mr. E. L. McInnes (Victoria), Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Menzies (Belleville), Mr. J. A. Paterson (Edmonton).

* *

Among the arrivals from Canada by the *Empress of France* last Saturday were the Earl and Countess of Minto and their infant daughter, the Countess of Lanesborough, Lady Eaton, Toronto; Capt. the Hon. F. W. Erskine, Ottawa, A.D.C. to the Governor-General; Capt. A. U. M. Hudson, M.P., Lord Romilly, Ottawa; Major G. A. Chaplin, Toronto; the Hon. and Mrs. S. R. Vereker, Col. and Mrs. H. A. Coddington, Miss Marjorie Coddington, Major J. L. Elsdale Molson, M.P., Mr. George McIntosh and Mr. John W. Cook, K.C., Montreal; the Hon. and Mrs. Wallace Nesbitt, Toronto; Colonel Herbert Snell, Mr. E. W. Snider, Mr. G. F. James, Toronto; Mr. and Mrs. P. A. Bowen, Mr. W. L. Bond, K.C., Mr. A. Kingman, jun., Mr. Laurence Macfarlane, K.C., Mr. Charles Rodier, Mr. H. Meredith Smith, Montreal; Mr. Stewart Curry, Halifax; Mr. and Mrs. William Gillespie, Dr. and Mrs. S. Groudin, Mrs. Armand Lavergne, Quebec; Mrs. McAvity and Miss Nona McAvity, St. John; Miss Mary Hendric, Hamilton; Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. A. Hamilton Gault, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Tyrrell, and Major A. D. Watts.

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ENGAGEMENTS AND MARRIAGES.

Miss Ruth Helen Mowat, daughter of Mrs. A. R. Mowat, Vancouver, was married to Mr. George Ernest Smith, son of Mr. and Mrs. E. Sylvester Smith, Vancouver, on October 4 at St. John's Church in that city.

* *

Miss Amy Louise Springett, daughter of Mrs. Arthur Springett, and Mr. Theodore Bigelow Heney, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. E. N. Heney, were married on October 4 at the Church of St. James the Apostle, Montreal.

* *

Sir Frederick and Lady Stupart, of Toronto, announce the engagement of their daughter, Emily Doris, to Mr. Chester B. Hamilton, B.A.Sc., M.E., son of Mr. and Mrs. C. B. Hamilton. The marriage is to take place to-day.

* *

Col. and Mrs. William Hendrie, of Gateside House, Hamilton, Ont., announce the engagement of their daughter, Mary, to Mr. Wilfred W. Stratton, son of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Stratton, of Peterboro.

* *

The wedding was solemnised in Calgary on September 26, of Marie Josephine, only daughter of Mrs. Costigan and the late Mr. J. R. Costigan, K.C., of Calgary, to Mr. John Trevelyan Gawthrop, son of Mr. Arnold Gawthrop, of London, Ont.

* *

Mr. and Mrs. George H. E. Blaiklock, Montreal, announce the engagement of their daughter, Mary Whitney Walker, to Mr. Eldridge Cate, son of the late Mr. C. W. Cate, K.C., and of Mrs. Cate, of Sherbrooke. The marriage will take place in November.

* *

The marriage of Mary Isobel, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Haywood, and granddaughter of the late Chief Justice Haywood, of St. John's, Newfoundland, to Dr. Walter S. Parsons, of Shanghai, China, son of Mr. and Mrs. R. T. Parsons, of Montreal, took place on October 10, at the Church of St. James the Apostle, Montreal.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS
of Special Interest to Visiting Canadians.

OCTOBER 26.—Imperial Fruit Show, opened by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, Belle Vue Gardens, Manchester, 2.30 (closes November 4).

OCTOBER 26.—Pianoforte Recital by Charles Naegele, Wigmore Hall, 3.

OCTOBER 27.—Dramatic Recital by Alice Dewse, Aeolian Hall, 8.15.

OCTOBER 29.—Victoria League and Ladies' Empire Club Reception: to meet Imperial delegates, 69 Grosvenor Street, 4—6.

OCTOBER 30.—Chamber of Shipping Dinner to meet the delegates to the Imperial Economic Conference, Hotel Victoria, 7.

OCTOBER 30.—Grand Trunk Junior Stockholders' meeting, Winchester House, London, E.C., 2.15.

OCTOBER 30.—Chamber of Shipping: Dinner to meet delegates to the Imperial Conference, Hotel Victoria, 7.

NOVEMBER 1.—National Chrysanthemum Society's Show, Royal Horticultural Hall (2 days).

NOVEMBER 2.—The Duke of Northumberland presides at a lecture on "The League of Nations," by Mr. L. J. Maxse, Kingsway Hall, 5.30.

NOVEMBER 2.—Motor Exhibition opens at Olympia.

NOVEMBER 3.—Wedding of the Crown Prince of Sweden and Lady Louise Mountbatten, Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace.

NOVEMBER 6.—Overseas League: The Prince of Wales at Banquet to Dominion Premiers, Ritz Hotel.

NOVEMBER 7.—Pianoforte Recital by Eileen Parker, Aeolian Hall, 5.30.

NOVEMBER 8.—The Prince of Wales at Luncheon of the Child Emigration Society, Cannon Street Hotel, 1.

NOVEMBER 8.—All-British Wireless Exhibition opens at White City (till November 21).

NOVEMBER 9.—Lord Mayor's Day Procession.

NOVEMBER 9.—The Prince of Wales opens the New British Institute of International Affairs.

NOVEMBER 9.—University of London: Lecture on "Vitamines" by Professor J. C. Drummond, University College, Gower Street, 5.15.

NOVEMBER 11.—Armistice Day.

NOVEMBER 13.—Parliament reassembles.

Mr. and Mrs. J. Augustine Mann, Montreal, announce the marriage, on October 6, of their daughter, Dorothy Dornal, to George Blair, eldest son of Sir Charles and Lady Gordon.

* *

The wedding took place on September 30 in St. Matthews Church, Winnipeg, of Helen Tully, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Speirs, to Victor Isaac Cowie, son of the late Mr. and Mrs. J. Cowie, Winnipeg.

* *

A marriage has been arranged, and will shortly take place, very quietly, between Henry Verner Hampton, Indian Educational Service, Bombay, eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Hamilton, Toronto, formerly of Cavan, Ireland, and Stella Dorothea, only daughter of Sir Townsend Fenwick, K.C.M.G., Trinidad, West Indies, and of the late Lady Fenwick.

THE DOMINIONS AND THE EMPIRE.

(*Continued from page 78.*)

received it. It is particularly gratifying to me that I should be toasted by Mr. Warren, because I, like all other Canadians, feel that our relationship is very close indeed with the citizens of that country. Indeed, it was only by an accident, or what might be called an accident, that they did not join the Provinces of the present Dominion at the time of Confederation. I would like to assure my friend the Prime Minister that if Peggotty is now prepared, Barkis is still willing, and also to assure the people of Newfoundland that the door is on the latch and a bright fire is burning within, and the warmest of welcomes awaits them."

In the course of the evening a message was sent to the Prince of Wales on board the *Empress of France*, expressing the sincere hope that his days in Canada had been happy ones; that he had benefited by them; and that he might spend future holidays there, where his visits gave so much pleasure.

The next morning Mr. Larkin received the following acknowledgement from His Royal Highness: "Please convey to all who were present at Canada Club dinner my sincere thanks for their kind message. I have enjoyed and benefited by my holiday in Canada more than I can say."

—* *—

The exhibit at the Glasgow emigration agency, referred to in last week's *Canada*, was one of peaches.

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PURELY PERSONAL

All communications for this page must be duly authenticated, and should reach us on Tuesday morning before the date of publication.

The Prince of Wales, on his return from Canada by the *Empress of France*, was met at Southampton by Sir George McLaren Brown, European manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and at Waterloo by the Hon. P. C. Larkin, High Commissioner for Canada.

* *

Mr. Mackenzie King has become a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute, as also have Brig.-General Sir F. Gordon Guggisberg, the Rev. A. H. McGreer, D.D. (Lennoxville, P.Q.), Mr. C L. Burton (Toronto), and Mr. Albert E. Harris (Grand Falls, Newfoundland).

* *

The members of the Imperial delegations and their wives were entertained at tea on October 16 by Colonel Sir Malcolm and Lady Hilda Murray in their apartments at St. James's Palace, and were shown over the State apartments. The Hon. P. C. Larkin, Colonel and Mrs. P. Pelletier, Mr. and Mrs. John Howard, Mr. F. C. Wade and Mrs. Margery Wade, and Mr. Victor Gordon were also present.

* *

The Hon. P. C. Larkin was present at the Hotel Victoria at the Pilgrims' dinner to the American Ambassador on Tuesday, and at the dinner given by the Association of British Chambers of Commerce to the delegates from the Dominions and India the following day. Next Tuesday he will attend the reception for the delegates at Buckingham Palace.

* *

The High Commissioner received a deputation from the National Association of Flour Importers on Tuesday last.

Mr. and Mrs. Perceval Ridout are now settled at 32 Princes Gardens, London, W., which is their permanent address. (Telephone: Kensington 2311.)

* *

Mr. Charles Lanctot, Deputy-Attorney General of the Province of Quebec, accompanied by Miss Pauline Lanctot, arrived from Quebec by the *Empress of France* on a visit to England and the Continent. They are at the Savoy Hotel.

* *

Dr. J. G. Adami, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, who was previously Professor of Pathology at McGill University, is to receive an honorary degree from Manchester University on November 10.

* *

At the meeting of the Central Council of the Canadian Red Cross Society, held in Montreal, Lieut.-Colonel Noel G. L. Marshall, of Toronto, formerly chairman of the Executive, was presented with an illuminated address expressing gratitude for his services to the society and to Canada during the war. Sir Robert Borden, the president, made the presentation.

* *

At the Alpine Galleries, Mill Street, London, W., Mrs. Henshaw, of Vancouver, is showing this week and on Monday and Tuesday of next week, a fine collection of photographs of the Canadian Rockies, Vancouver Island, and wild flowers in the Rockies. To-morrow (Sunday) evening at 8.45 Mrs. Henshaw is giving a lecture at the Gallery on Vancouver Island, under the title, "The Island of Dreams."

* *

Brigadier-General A. C. Critchley left for New York by the *Majestic* yesterday.

PRESENTED BY SIR LEICESTER HARMSWORTH TO CANADA.

The collection of Wolfe letters, maps, etc., referred to by Mr. Mackenzie King in his speech (page 77), with their new custodian, Dr. A. G. Doughty, C.M.G., the Dominion Archivist.

Photograph: Typical Press.

Miss Jean Bovey, of Montreal, left Marseilles yesterday en route to visit friends in India.

* *

Mr. H. G. Carrol, vice-chairman of the Quebec Liquor Commission, has gone to France on business.

* *

Mrs. Harold Hingston, who returned to Montreal this week, was accompanied by Mrs. John Meakins.

* *

Miss Tait, daughter of Sir Thomas Tait, returned to Montreal by the *Montlaurier* on Tuesday last.

* *

Sir Frederick and Lady Becker and the Dowager Countess of Gosford have been staying at Chicoutimi, P.Q.

* *

Mr. R. D. Hughes, of the Farmers' Dairy Company, Ltd., Toronto, is in London for the Dairy Show.

* *

Miss Innes Bodwell, of Victoria, has arrived to spend the winter with her mother, Mrs. Cator, in London.

* *

Lieut.-Colonel D. L. Redman, of Calgary, has been appointed an hon. Aide de Camp to the Governor-General.

* *

Miss Emily Yates has arrived at the Carlton Hotel, London, from Montreal en route to Italy and Sicily for the winter.

* *

Dr. H. M. Tory, president of the University of Alberta, has been appointed hon. chairman of the Research Council of Canada, in succession to Dr. Frank D. Adams, resigned.

* *

The Mayor and Mayoress of Hampstead (Mr. and Mrs. Andrew T. Taylor, formerly of Montreal), held a largely-attended reception at the Hotel Victoria, London, on Thursday of last week.

* *

The departures for Quebec by the *Empress of Britain* on October 17 included Mr. G. W. Allan, K.C., Judge Choquette, Dr. and Mrs. W. W. Chipman, Mrs. C. Brandeis, Mrs. A. A. Bullen, Mr. J. W. Gaunt, Mr. E. Gunn, Mr. M. Nordegg, Miss J. C. Sime, Mr. J. G. Stanley, Mr. H. P. Temple, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Wilks.

* *

The arrivals from Montreal by the *Doric* on October 22 included Dr. and Mrs. J. L. Lincoln, Mr. F. C. Jervis, Mr. and Mrs. G. M. Lewis, Mr. J. B. McMaster, Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Hood, Miss H. Allan and Mr. L. W. H. Herman (Montreal), Mr. E. James (secretary of the British United Press), Mr. R. D. Hughes, Mr. G. Harry Minchinton, Mr. Harvey E. Dodds (Toronto).

* *

The arrivals from Canada by the *Montclare* on October 21 included the Earl and Countess of Strafford, Maj. G. D. Amery, Mrs. Lavigne, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. LeMercier, Miss Helen M. LeMercier, Mr. H. Clark, Mr. H. Herman, Mr. Hugo Wild (Montreal), Mrs. A. K. Beard, Mrs. Coward, Mrs. P. Hall, the Rev. G. F. Knox, Mr. G. C. Lumbers, Mr. F. Lumbers, Mr. F. W. Duncan, Mr. and Mrs. Eden Smith, Mr. and Mrs. F. Trebilcock (Toronto), Mr. and Mrs. D. W. Bole, Mrs. W. M. Cattanach (Port Arthur), Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Rogers (Rossland), Mr. and Mrs. A. Wear (Edmonton), Mr. and Mrs. D. Yelf (Prince Rupert).

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Ottawa Citizen Oct. 30/23

056819

MINISTERS DEFEND ADMINISTRATION OF KING GOVERNMENT

Hon. Ernest Lapointe and Hon. W. R. Motherwell Address Electors Prince Albert, Sask.

(Canadian Press.)

PRINCE ALBERT, Sask., Oct. 29.—The administration of the King government was defended in speeches here tonight by Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of marine and fisheries, and Hon. W. R. Motherwell, minister of agricultural, who addressed a large audience on political matters. It was the first appearance of Mr. Lapointe upon a Saskatchewan platform.

Mr. Lapointe emphasized the necessity for parliamentary members to secure personal knowledge of the whole of the Dominion to bring fair judgment to bear in the problems of the country. Suspicion undoubtedly existed between the east and the west. This had to be eliminated by substitution of unified co-operation.

Canada had changed internally and externally since confederation. No Canadian could stand aloof from individual responsibilities. He believed in political parties, but there must be frankness and sincerity in politics. The National Liberal-Conservative party was a sham, he asserted. It meant everything to everybody and nothing to nobody. He believed in a national party untramelled by geographical or class distinction. Its policy should be broad enough to embrace all who desired to work for Canada, a party which would not serve big interests or small interests but the country as a whole.

Tariff and Railways.

Mr. Motherwell dealt with the tariff and railway branch lines. Referring to the former, he claimed the Liberal party had never been free traders. Their policy was to make taxation as low as possible in conformity with the requisite revenue for the nation. He claimed that the King government was carrying out reduction of the tariff by easy stages. The present government was the first since Confederation that had tackled the reduction of the tariff in its first session.

Dealing with the railway branch lines bill he defended the government against charges of conniving in its defeat. He did not know what method the government intended to apply to the senate to force the will of the people through, but he personally was going to stand up against the "irresponsible chamber," if he had to remain alone. The future was in the lap of the gods.

Defending the grain inquiry commission, he said Mr. Meighen was the last man who should call it a sham. The government had controlled inland water freight rates judicially, and in the speaker's opinion, there was no fear of a grain blockade. There was a general wave of public support flowing towards the Liberal party.

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Ottawa Journal Nov 13/23

056320

PLAYED BIG PART FRAMING BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

Dominion Prime Ministers Participated To An Unprecedented Degree In Great Work.

DEVELOP AIR FORCES OF ALL THE EMPIRE

Canada and U.S. Halibut Treaty Most Prominent At the London Conferences.

Special Cable to the Canadian Press by George Hambleton, Staff Correspondent.

LONDON, Nov. 12. — With the British Parliament opening tomorrow the official summary of the Imperial conference proceedings receives little editorial attention today from the newspapers. Of the large papers the Times alone discusses the summary.

The Times says that the Dominion prime ministers to an unprecedented degree participated in the actual work of framing the British foreign policy. "The complete unanimity of the conference in its deliberations on foreign affairs," the Times adds, "is a most impressive reminder to the rest of the world that Great Britain's policy is not the policy of one man or one government but the policy of a united commonwealth of nations."

The most important decision with regard to the British commonwealth, the Times proceeds, probably is to be found in the admission of the right of any single government of the Empire to negotiate and sign separate treaties, a "recognition of the attitude adopted by Premier Mackenzie King and his colleagues in the controversy which followed the signing of the halibut fisheries treaty with the United States".

Need Adequate Air Force.

Further the Times says, "from the constitutional point of view however, there is nothing to show that there was any departure from the principle generally accepted in the case of the fisheries treaty, namely, that the Dominion Government directly advised the King to issue full powers to its representative and that those powers were granted with the consent of the King on the advice of the British Government."

The Times thinks that on "the very important question of defence" the results of the conference are the "least conclusive and the least satisfactory." The resolution, the Times says, sets out the obvious fact that it is necessary to provide for adequate defence but "there is no constructive suggestion embodied in the report as to how the burden of adequate defence should be shared. The only concrete recommendation to the individual nation is found in the recognition of the need for the maintenance by the British Government of an adequate air force.

"Both Australia, in its valiant attempt to maintain the burden of a Dominion navy, and New Zealand, in its promise of an increased subsidy have given practical proof of their willingness to accept the responsibiliy laid upon them, but the long line of British warships at Portsmouth must surely have suggested the thought to more than one Prime Minister that something more than trawlers and training ships is necessary if the principle unanimously adopted by the conference is to be upheld."

Foreign Policy.

How the main Imperial conference stood on foreign policy, defence and other questions before it and what its decisions were, are revealed in an official summary of the proceedings which were published today.

For the most part, the summary covers ground made generally familiar in previous despatches but the conference's attitude on foreign relations, its resolutions on defence and on the treaty-making powers of the Dominions, are of special interest in their exact, carefully chosen phraseology.

The summary indicates no new departure in the machinery for consulation with the Dominions on foreign policy between conferences. It says, however that the conference did not terminate its sittings until each subject of foreign relations had been carefully explored and a common understanding reached upon the main heads of foreign policy.

It tells of the negotiations in connection with the proposed inter-allied conference on reparations and states that it was held that the European situation could be lifted to a place of possible settlement only by the co-operation of the United States. The conference felt that if the scheme of a common enquiry to be followed by common action were to break down it would be desirable for the British Government to consider carefully the alternative of summoning a conference itself in order to examine the financial and economic problem in its widest aspect.

The conference further regarded any policy which would result in the breaking up of the unity of the German state as inconsistent with the treaty obligations and incompatible with the future discharge by Germany of her necessary obligations. The strongest representations on this subject accordingly were made to the Allied Governments.

On the subject of the three-mile limit, the conference arrived at the conclusion that, while affirming and safeguarding it as a cardinal feature of British policy, it was yet both desirable and practicable to meet the American request for the extension of the right to search beyond this limit for the regulation of the liquor traffic, and negotiations at once were opened with the United States Government for the conclusion of an experimental agreement.

The conference recorded its satisfaction at the conclusion of peace between the Allies and Turkey, and recognized the great advance made within the last two years towards the pacific settlement of the Egyptian problem.

Would Support League.

It noted with satisfaction the progressive fulfilment of the obligations under the Washington treaty, then, after expressing the opinion that unabated support should be given the League of Nations by the British members, it makes this qualifying declaration: "This conference is a conference of representatives of the several Governments of the Empire; its views and conclusions on foreign policy, as recorded above, are necessarily subject to the action of the Governments and Parliaments of the various portions of the Empire. It trusts that the results of its deliberations will meet with their approval."

The summary speaks of "special consideration" having been given to the matter of defence and the manner "in which co-operation and mutual assistance could best be effected after taking into account the political and geographical conditions of the various parts of the Empire."

There was a full and frank interchange of views, and the conference then passed the following resolutions:

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(2)

The Resolutions.

"1—The conference affirms that it is necessary to provide for the adequate defence of the territories of trade in the several countries comprising the British Empire.

"2—In this connection the conference expressly recognizes that it is for the parliaments of the several parts of the Empire upon the recommendations of their respective governments to decide the nature and extent of any action which should be taken by them.

"3—Subject to this provision the conference suggests the following as guiding principles:

"(a) Primary responsibility of each portion of the Empire represented at the conference for its own local defence.

"(b) Adequate provision for safeguarding the maritime communications of the several parts of the Empire, the routes and water ways along and through which their armed forces and trade pass.

"(c) Provision of naval bases and facilities for repair and fuel so as to ensure the mobility of the fleets.

"(d) Desirability of the maintenance of the minimum standard of naval strength namely equality with the naval strength of any foreign power in accordance with the provisions of Washington treaty on the limitation of armament as approved by Great Britain and all the self-governing Dominions and India.

"(e) Desirability of the development of the air forces in the several countries of the Empire upon such lines as will make it possible by means of adoption, as far as practicable, of a common system of organization and training and use of uniform manuals and patterns of army equipment stores with the exception of the type of aircraft for each part of the Empire as it may determine to co-operate with other parts with the least possible delay and the greatest efficiency.

"4—In the application of these principles to the several parts of the Empire concerned the conference takes note of:

"(a) The deep interest of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and India in the provision of a naval base at Singapore as essential for ensuring the mobility necessary to provide for the security of the territories and trade of the Empire in eastern waters.

"(b) Necessity for the maintenance of safe passage along the great route to the east through the Mediterrnean and Red Sea.

"(c) Necessity for the maintenance by Great Britain of home defence by an air force of sufficient strength to give adequate protection against air attack by the strongest air force within striking distance of her shores.

"5—The conference, while deeply concerned for the paramount importance of providing for the safety and integrity of all parts of the Empire, earnestly desires, so fas as is consistent with this consideration, the further limitation of armaments, and trusts that no opportunity may be lost to promote this object."

The treaty making powers of the Dominions is handled in detail. A resolution deals first with the procedure with negotiating a treaty. It provides that:

"1—It is desirable that no treaty should be negotiated by any of the Governments of the Empire without due consideration of its possible effect on other parts of the Empire, or, if circumstances so demand, on the Empire as a whole.

"2. Before negotiatiins are opened with the intention of concluding a treaty, steps should be taken to ensure that any of the other Governments of the Empire likely to be interested are informed, so that if any such Government considers that its interests would be affected it may have the opportunity of expressing its views, or, when its interests are intimately involved, of participating in the negotiations.

"3. In all cases where more than one of the Governments of the Empire participate in negotiations, there should be the fullest possible exchange of views between those Governments before and during the negotiations. In case of treaties negotiated at an international conference where there is a British Empire delegation on which, in accordance with the newly established practice of the Dominions, India is separately represented, such representation should also be utilized to attain this object.

"4. Steps should be taken to ensure that those Goveraments of the Empire whose representatives are not participating in the negotiations should during their progress be kept informed in regard to any points arising in which they may be interested."

The Halibut Treaty.

As to the signatures to a treaty, the question most prominent in connection with the recent halibut treaty between Canada and the United States, the resolution reads:

"1. Bilateral treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire should only be signed by a representative of the Government of that part. The full power issued to such representative should indicate the part of the Empire in respect of which the obligations are to be undertaken, and the preamble and text of the treaty should be so worded as to make its scope clear.

"2. Where a bilateral treaty imposes obligations on more than one part of the Empire, it should be signed by one or more plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the Governments concerned.

"3. As regards treaties negotiated at international conferences, the existing practice of signature by plenipotentiaries on behalf of all the Governments of the Empire represented at the conference should be continued, and full powers should be in the form employed at Paris and Washington.

"4. The existing practice in connection with the ratification of treaties should be maintained."

Regarding the negotiation and signature of agreements of a technical or administrative character between Governmetns the conference holds that the existing practice should be continued but before entering on negotiations the Governments of the Empire should consider whether the interests of any other part of the Empire would be affected. If so, steps should be taken to see that the Government affected has an opportunity to express its views. An explanatory statement follows giving the existing procedure in connection with the ratification of treaties.

Debate on Indians.

The summary tells further of the debate on British Indians, of early discussions on publicity and of departures made in this regard from established precedents, and of a further discussion, initiated by the Canadian Premier, as to the desire of the various parliaments of the Empire to be afforded the fullest information possible on all matters concerning which negotiations or discussions are in progress between the various governments.

"It was felt," the summary adds, "that as many as possible of the communications passing ought to be made available for the use of parliaments and a general understanding was reached as to the principles which should govern the publication of correspondence between the governments."

As to High Commissioners' precedure, their exemption from taxation, customs duties and so forth, the British Government undertook to examine the points raised, explaining that any alteration in the existing rules regarding precedence require the approval of the King.

Further resolutions recommend that power be given to readmit women to British nationality where the married state though subsisting in law has to all practical purposes come to an end and favoring the extension of the powers of the Imperial War Graves commission to permit it to undertake the maintenance of such graves as the old military cemetery at Tel-el-Kebir, the Crimean cemetery at Scutari and the older cemeteries in Turkey.

The first of the two foregoing resolutions refers to a woman who has lost her British citizenship by marriage to an alien and who has afterwards been deserted by her husband.

"The members of the conference," the summary concludes, "are unanimous that the hours spent in consultation have been of the greatest value and will do much to facilitate the work of achieving unity of thought and action on matters of common concern to all parts of the Empire."

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Mail & Empire Nov 14/23

056822

MR. KING AT THE CONFERENCE.

No foreign politician doubts the reality of the British Empire. How potent is its reality was shown in the Great War, when the several Dominions of their own motion hurried with all their strength to the aid of the Mother Country. France, Italy, the United States, Japan, are all well-knit Powers, but not more so than is that congeries of States known as the British Empire. What single one of these foreign nations contemplates for a moment the idea of any Dominion of the British Empire taking action at variance with the course of the Empire as a whole? Nobody suggests the possibility of such divergence except sundry small politicians within the Empire who foolishly pose as the guardians of the principle of "autonomy." Who disputes or who menaces Canada's autonomy? That autonomy came from the Mother Country, it has been scrupulously respected by her, and by her it has been broadened out. How ridiculous are the posturings and blatancies of the "assertors" of Canada's rights of self-government? If Canada's self-government was in the smallest danger, it would not be Mr. King the country would look to for championship.

Every Imperial Conference in the now lengthened series of those meetings of Empire delegates gives new proofs of the political integrity of the Empire. Every nation that is now concerning itself with world politics takes account of the British Empire's solidarity as one of the great facts of world politics. The work of the Imperial Conference is always regarded with deep interest by onlooking nations, and its resolutions invariably give fresh expression to the strong and common sense of the organic unity of the Empire. No attention is paid to the demurrers to resolutions of the Conference, who, we are sorry to say, come from this country. Take the resolution in regard to the establishing of a naval station at Singapore. Canada's delegates dissented from that. Why? They cannot give to the Canadian people the semblance of an excuse for that non-concurrence. Are Canada's delegates wiser men or better friends of peace than Premier Bruce of Australia or Premier Massey of New Zealand? These men played their part in the Great War. Why is it that the Canadian Prime Minister cannot sometime show his regard for Canada's autonomy by using it to promote Canada's advantage, instead of always using it to show want of confidence in the Mother Country and the other Dominions? Canada has as much interest in a strong British naval policy in the Pacific as has any other State of the Empire. Mr. King is no doubt the member of the Canadian delegation whose summary of the results of the Conference is quoted by George Hambleton in his special cablegram to the Canadian Press. Anybody reading that summary would suppose that the Canadian delegates attended the Conference, not to co-operate in the transaction of Empire business, but to contend for rights. In that summary we are told that a much clearer understanding of the Canadian position as to Imperial relations was reached; that the equality of the Dominions with the Empire was recognized; that the position of the Dominions in respect to making treaties was cleared up; that for the first time the Admiralty recognized the principle of Dominion navies; that emphasis was put on the responsibility of each part of the Empire for its own defence; that the right of the Parliament and people of each part of the Dominion to decide on the measure of its own defence preparations was recognized. There is so much balderdash, and, worse than balderdash, it is downright untruth. There is not a single point in this enumeration that was not settled before Mr. King became Prime Minister. Australia has had her own local navy for years; Canada had a navy until the King Government scrapped it; Dominions' equality with the Mother Country was clearly declared at the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Conference; Canada's treaty rights have long been granted; and as for the right of Canada's Parliament to decide on the measures of its own defences she has been acting on that for years.

Empty and worse than empty was Mr. King's part in the Imperial Conference. In the same summary it was stated by this "member of "the Canadian delegation" that Canada did not demand a preference. No, the Canadian delegates appear to have maintained a churlish aloofness from the proceedings except for the purpose of dissent. Canada gets out of this Conference commercial benefits of very great value. The Economic Conference will be more fruitful of trade benefit to Canada than all the Imperial Conferences that have been held. Canada feels closer to Britain on that account, but did Premier King or his fellow delegates say one word to obtain the preferences that are granted? No. As this Canadian delegate admits, the preferences came altogether of the British Premier's own volition. He is the man we have to thank. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have to thank their respective Prime Ministers for efforts in behalf of preferences, but Canada owes nothing to its Prime Minister or any of its delegates. Yet Canada will benefit more from these British preferences than all the other Dominions together will benefit from them.

In a few weeks the British people will be in the thick of an election. The principal issue in that election will be the policy announced by the British Prime Minister when the Imperial and Economic Conferences were being held—the policy of Protection against foreign countries and Preference for the Dominions and Colonies. In the election campaign on this issue he will be opposed to the utmost by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, who, it is said, have joined hands. These political opponents of the present British Government will point with great satisfaction to the Canadian Prime Minister's attitude on Preference so far as Canada is concerned. That is, they will quote the Canadian Prime Minister so as to leave the impression that Canada does not want the Preference Prime Minister Baldwin proposes to grant her. Canada will thus be put in a false position in these British elections. Why? Because her Premier did not represent her or her views or her wishes either at the Economic Conference or at the Imperial Conference.

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THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

Mr. Mackenzie King on Old Country Builders of the Dominion—History Society Inaugurated.

THE Duke of York honoured Sir Campbell Stuart with his company at dinner on Wednesday, November 7, at Claridge's Hotel to meet the Prime Minister of Canada. Sir Campbell Stuart took advantage of the occasion to launch the Canadian History Society, and conveyed to the King a message of appreciation on the part of the members on His Majesty becoming their patron. The following were present:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Atholl, Lord Galloway, Lord Elgin, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Bathurst, Lord Grey, Lord Minto, Lord Durham, Lord Cromer, Lord Cathcart, Lord Strafford, Lord Burnham, Lord Lascelles, Lord Cranborne, Lord Lovat, Lord Charnwood, Lord Riddell, the Lord Chief Justice, the Hon. G. P. Graham (Canadian Minister of Railways and Canals), the High Commissioner for Canada, the Agents-General for the Provinces of British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, the Master of Elibank, the Dean of Windsor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir George Arthur, Sir Charles Prevost, Sir Arthur Stanley, Sir Charles Townshend, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Sir Robert Kindersley, Sir William Schooling, Sir George McLaren Brown, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Patrick Ramsay, Mr. Wolfe-Aylward, Mr. Montague Norman, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Mr. E. R. Peacock, Mr. John Buchan, Mr. F. C. Goodenough, Mr. John W. Dafoe, Mr. H. P. Biggar, Mr. Evelyn Wrench, Mr. Robert Grant, junr., Mr. P. J. Pybus, Colonel R. W. Leonard, Mr. Thomas Mulvey (Under-Secretary of State for Canada), Commander Louis Greig, Dr. Doughty, and Dr. Skelton.

Sir Campbell Stuart read messages from the King, the Duke of Connaught (president of the society), and the Marquis de Montcalm (president of the Council of Families in France).

Sir Campbell Stuart proposed the health of the Duke of York, to which His Royal Highness replied.

The New Age and the Old.

Before proposing "The Health of the Prime Minister of Canada," Sir Campbell made a statement with regard to the society, and referred with satisfaction to the association with it of Lady Minto, Lord Grey, the Marquis de Montcalm, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Durham, Lord Elgin, the Master of Elibank, and Lord Strafford—all of whom had had close personal or family associations with Canadian history.

"To-night," he concluded, "we of the new age can afford in pride and thankfulness to look back upon the old. I think that the beacons our fathers kindled are generally a better guide than the beacons kindled as a result of our own endeavour. This evening, with yesterday all around me, I venture in your name to extend a welcome to the Prime Minister of the country your forefathers made. The great heritage in which your families played so large a part is now in his hands to govern and to guide. I know Mr. Mackenzie King well, and I am confident that he will continue the traditions which they left behind them. I venture to say that he will come to many gatherings on this side of the water, but I think that no company in which he finds himself will be more sympathetic or more interested in him than the company with which he is dining to-night. In that sense I would ask you to join with me this evening in welcoming the Prime Minister of Canada—particularly the families of the old to welcome the Prime Minister of the new—and drink with me the health of Mr. Mackenzie King, and express our earnest hope that his days of office may be useful and happy days."

The toast was enthusiastically honoured.

Canadians' Appreciation.

Mr. Mackenzie King, in responding, said:—

"I must thank my friend, Sir Campbell Stuart, for giving me the privilege of being a member of so distinguished a company. May I, on this occasion, in company with fellow Canadians whom I am pleased to see here this evening, express to the members of the Canadian History Society something of the appreciation which we in Canada feel of the interest being taken in the history of our country, by those who have had so much to do with the making of it, and by the descendants of those who have in their keeping many of the records of our past story? I esteem it a high privilege to have the opportunity of being present at a gathering at which the Canadian History Society is being formally inaugurated.

"I doubt if any historical society was ever inaugurated under more favourable auspices. You, Sir Campbell Stuart, have read to-night a telegram from His Majesty the King, expressing His Majesty's willingness to become the patron of the Society. This occasion is graced by the distinguished presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, who has expressed his sympathy with all that relates to Canada's past and to her future as well. The Society has as its President His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who has left in Canada a memory which will be ever revered by all who knew him and by generations to come. The presidency of the Council of the Families could not be entrusted to better hands than those of the distinguished Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Devonshire, who is also a former distinguished Governor-General of Canada, one whose name is held in high regard by all Canadians. We feel that in England we have in His Grace the Duke of Devonshire as great a representative of Canada as in our Dominion England had in him.

Appeal to Heart and Imagination.

"I wish it were possible to express something of the feelings that come nearest to one's heart at this moment. It is not difficult to imagine the appeal of such a gathering as this to the heart of one coming from the Dominion to the Old Land, especially when one has the pleasure of meeting gentlemen whose names have been household words from one's earliest infancy, and sees, as it were, the story of the Dominion told in terms of their respective personalities. There is something particularly appropriate in the fact that the society should owe its origin to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and to Lady Minto, who is its vice-president. I happen to recall a conversation which I had the privilege of having with Sir Wilfrid Laurier a few years ago, in the course of which Sir Wilfrid said that it was the late Lord Minto who was responsible for the creation of the Archives Department of Canada. Lord Minto saw how important it was that the history of Canada should be gleaned from original documents, and how necessary it was that the Government should have an appropriate building in which these valuable records could be kept, and it was due to Lord Minto's interest and insistence that the Canadian public archives were established in the first instance. With all Lord Minto's good works in Canada Lady Minto was intimately associated, and it is a particular pleasure to all of us in the Dominion to feel that an association in which we felt a deep pride at the time remains unbroken by the interest which Lady Minto is taking at the present time in the work of this Society.

"There is very much to appeal to one's imagination in a gathering such as this. Indeed, sitting here to-night my thoughts went back to a trip I made some years ago to the Orient—to Majima, in Japan, where, at the top of a steep ascent, I came across a flame which had been lighted over a thousand years ago. The Japanese have safeguarded that sacred fire, they have kept it alight as a holy fire, and for all that time it has never been extinguished, even for a moment. In the years of the past, not running into a thousand years, but now into the hundreds, there went out from this Old Land men and women inspired by high ideals of public service to bring the traditions, the ideas and the ideals of the Old World to the New. They did their part in the making of Canadian history, they lit fires on the altars of the Dominion, and it is for their sons and grandsons to carry on their work, to keep the glow of those fires reflected in the hearts of Canadians—those sacred fires lighted by their ancestors in the past, the ancestors of many who are gathered in this room to-night.

Personal and Historical Associations.

"One has but to glance around this room to see how much of the history of Canada is associated with those who are present. I have referred to Lord Minto; it is a great pleasure to see his son here to-night, to renew in this Old World the acquaintance we made in Canada a few years ago. I see near him, on the other side of Lord Durham, Lord Grey; and what memories his presence recalls! I do not know of any man who ever did more to inspire the younger men of his generation with noble aims and high ideals than the late Earl Grey. Indeed, I could not help thinking to-night how much personally I owe to the many words of encouragement given me by the late Lord Minto when he was Governor-General, and by Lord Grey when he was Governor-General, and by His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. I think I should very much have doubted any worthiness on my part to attempt some of the tasks of public life which have since come my way, had it not been for the encouragement which came from these noblemen of the Old Land who, in their genial, kindly, and generous way, extended a word that was more than welcome at the time, and which will be remembered as long as life itself.

"I see opposite to me Lord Durham, whose name I have just mentioned. Well, that takes one back to a bit of interesting history in Canada. It comes closer to me, perhaps, than to most others in this room, because it relates to the period when we were seeking to work out the problem of responsible government, when political parties were strongly divided, so strongly that uprisings occurred, in which one at least of my ancestors played a somewhat conspicuous part. The then Lord Durham came out from England to Canada to see who was in the right

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and who in the wrong. May I take this opportunity of thanking Lord Durham for having so generously presented to Canada the valuable collection of manuscripts which belonged to his distinguished grandfather, and which will undoubtedly lead to the re-writing in part of that period of Canada's history? It is one of the greatest gifts Canada has received, and I assure Lord Durham Canada will always greatly treasure it. Speaking of the period of 1837 and 1838, I see in the not far distance Sir George Arthur. I think an ancestor of his had close associations with the political group known as the Family Compact. He was not without his share of the responsibility for the exile of my grandfather. A price was put on my grandfather's head as one of the leaders of the rebellion, and for a period of time he was exiled from the country for the part which he had played. Then I see before me Lord Elgin. I must thank him for the fact that his grandfather pardoned my grandfather and allowed him to come back to Canada, to return and again take his part in the politics of the country. It was Lord Elgin's grandfather who assented to the Rebellion Losses Bill, which compensated for their losses, not only those who were loyal, but many of those who were rebels. I do not know where I should have been but for these gentlemen. My mother was born when her father was in exile, so I think I probably owe a little to each of them.

Old Animosities Buried.

"Then I see here Sir Charles Townshend, who is a descendant of the distinguished General Townshend, who was present at the capture of Quebec and took over the country in the name of the British; also the Master of Elibank, a descendant of Murray, the first Governor of Canada. This reminds me that the remains of one of my grandfathers, my father's father, rest in the old Military Burial Ground at Quebec as those of an unknown British soldier. He came to Canada with a detachment of Artillery, of one of the Highland Regiments, prior to the Rebellion of 1837 and 1838. He was on active service throughout that period, and died shortly after. How many are the reminiscences which one might recount on such an occasion as this! They reveal how the peoples of British stock, who are strong in their convictions, are prepared if need be to fight out their differences, and also how, when the struggle is over, they are prepared to respect differences of opinion. They reveal something alike of the tenacity and the magnanimity of the British race.

"You have referred, Sir, to the Marquis de Montcalm, and have read the very chivalrous letter which he has written on this occasion. If I may be permitted to request it, I hope you will convey to him the thanks of the Government of Canada for the words you have quoted to-night. There is in the ancient capital of Quebec a memorial shaft erected not to Wolfe, not to Montcalm, but to the memory of the two. There it stands, a single shaft to the memory of each, because they were men who were ready to stand for principle, to fight for the principles which they believed to be right, and were prepared to abide by the verdict. These incidents help to reveal what I believe to be an outstanding characteristic of our country. We had 150 years of French rule; we have had a little over 150 years of British rule; to-day, we have the descendants of these two peoples living side by side, united in working out our national development within the British Empire. These differences of the past are forgotten, the animosities lie buried, they too are forgotten; we seek to be only a united people happy under the British flag, proud to be under the British Crown, and prepared to do our part for the British Empire wherever its common interests, its integrity or its honour are imperilled or threatened.

The Past and the Future.

"So, gentlemen, having regard to this Society and all it may mean, not to the Canadian public only, but to the British public in whatever part of the world its members may be, I feel it possesses a significance greater perhaps than any of us can see even on this occasion. It is doing justice, not only to the past, but is helping as well to discharge a mighty obligation to the future. It is placing before our fellow-citizens in all parts of the world the story of the evolution of constitutional government in the Dominions, and in so doing is helping in the development of constitutional liberty and freedom in all parts of the British Empire, and, I believe, through the example of the British Empire to every part of the world. It will tell the story of how men of different points of view have come to work together with a common aim, and as a result have achieved their common purpose. This must needs be helpful to all parts of the British Empire and to other countries as well.

"May I say a further word in regard to this matter in the name of our Government? After the Archives Building was erected we were surprised at the extent to which it was found possible to secure from many quarters manuscripts throwing light on the history of our country. The building was constructed for the purpose of keeping these records safely and making them available to students of history, and not only to students of history, but journalists, jurists, educationists, men of business and others. Great use has been made of the Archives by persons from all parts of Canada and other countries as well. So much has this been the case that we asked Parliament at its last session to appropriate a sum of money for the construction of an important addition to the Archives Building. The work of construction of this addition is now proceeding. Here may I pause to say a word about Dr. Doughty. I do not think I need tell anyone in this audience who Dr. Doughty is: I would like, however, to pay to him the tribute of saying that in the public service of Canada no one has devoted himself more entirely, more energetically, or more disinterestedly to his work than has Dr. Doughty in connection with all that pertains to the country's archives. Being himself a scholar and an author, knowing the value of original documents, he personally has been successful in securing for Canada, and assembling and classifying, a large part of that vast store of valuable records we have at the present time.

Old World Records.

"I should not like my words to appear to suggest that Canada in any way is seeking to take from the families of the Old World that which may be the most precious of their family possessions—the letters and papers of ancestors and friends. I should, however, like to say that we have facilities for photographing manuscripts, and that copies of original documents will amply serve the purposes of our students and our scholars. We should like an organisation, if it could be maintained in this Old Land, which would discover the sources of information and enable us to secure copies of important documents; as a Government we would be ready to do what we could to assist it. That is all I wish to request. There is a vast amount of material which has already been collected, but there is a great deal more which has yet to be discovered. It is easy to secure the names of Governors and the names of the members of the families of the Governors, also the names of their descendants, but there are members of their households and staffs, officers, secretaries, and others, who accompanied them in their day to Canada. There must have been in the hands of the members of the regiments which came to Canada, and their descendants, records and diaries which have been brought back to this country and are now somewhere in the possession of families in this Old Land. If this Society could be the means of bringing them to light, these various documents, so that we might find it possible and be permitted to make copies, it would be of great help to our country.

"Might I say just a word to Sir Robert Kindersley, to whom His Royal Highness has referred? I am hoping that Sir Robert will find it possible to have made available for the Dominion some at least of the records of the Hudson's Bay Company. I understand the company is taking steps to have the records put into a form where they will be made accessible. There lies a great story of the past, a story of the early history of Canada which as yet is largely a sealed book. If the Hudson's Bay Company could arrange for some of their valuable manuscripts to be made available to the students of history—I do not say send them over to Canada—but have permission given to us to have them photographed here—if that could be done, I think there will be opened a new and deeply interesting page of the early history of our country.

French and Canadian Branches.

"Let me say I am pleased to notice by the sketch of the Canadian History Society, which we have had placed in our hands, that there is to be a French branch, and that the Marquis de Montcalm is to take the presidency of the Council of the Families in France. We have 150 years of French history as well as a like period of British history, and it will be extremely valuable to have in France a similar effort made to that which is being made here. May I express the hope that the bringing together of these records will prove to be one of the agencies that will continue to bind together in friendly relationship these two great races and peoples?

"I notice also that there is to be a Canadian branch of the Society. I cannot think of anyone more worthy to be the head of that branch than Sir Campbell Stuart himself. In Sir Campbell we have one who is himself a descendant of no less than three distinguished Chief Justices in Canada. We look upon him over here as a sort of unofficial Ambassador—we do not have Ambassadors in our Canadian diplomatic world, but there is nothing to preclude us from having an unofficial Ambassador. May I, without drawing or seeking to make comparisons, take occasion to say that of Canadians who have come to London and distinguished themselves here, no one has done more to try to further the interests of his country in the Old Land than has my friend, Sir Campbell Stuart. He has been generosity itself, in the meeting and entertaining of Canadians who from time to time have come to London, and he has never at any time failed to endeavour to avail himself of his quite exceptional opportunities to interest the people of the Old Land in matters of great concern to Canada. I am only expressing the feelings of all Canadians who know him when I say that we are more than deeply grateful to him for his very many

(*Continued on page* 152.)

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PURELY PERSONAL

All communications for this page must be duly authenticated, and should reach us on Tuesday morning before the date of publication.

Mr. Mackenzie King had an audience of the King at Buckingham Palace last Saturday morning.

* *

The Prime Ministers of Canada and Newfoundland and Sir Campbell Stuart were present at the Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall on November 9.

* *

The Prime Ministers of Canada and Newfoundland on Monday last received the degree of Doctor of Laws at Edinburgh University. Previous to that ceremony they were the guests of the City Corporation at lunch.

* *

Princess Mary Viscountess Lascelles and Viscount Lascelles attended Lady Ludlow's reception at Bath House, Piccadilly, on Monday evening to meet the Dominion Prime Ministers and other Empire representatives at the Conferences. The Canadian Agents-General and their wives were among those present.

* *

Mr. Mackenzie King arrived in Sheffield on Tuesday morning, and visited Vickers's works and one of the principal cutlery establishments. In the afternoon he received the Freedom of the City.

* *

The Prime Ministers of Canada and Newfoundland were present at the Empire Parliamentary Association's farewell dinner in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords on Wednesday.

* *

The Hon. P.C. and Mrs. Larkin lunched with the Danish Ambassador on Thursday of last week, and on Saturday Mr. Larkin accompanied Mr. Mackenzie King to the flying demonstration at Croydon, an interesting and thrilling spectacle at which Mr. Warren was also present.

* *

On Monday the High Commissioner was present at the British Empire League dinner to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, at the British Empire Club; and on Tuesday, acompanied by Mrs. and Miss Larkin, he attended Sir James Allen's reception at the Imperial Institute.

* *

The Prime Minister of Canada was to be the guest of honour at a dinner given by the High Commissioner at 94 Lancaster Gate on Thursday; and on Friday Mr. and Mrs. Larkin were to hold the first of their receptions in their new house.

* *

Mr. Larkin intends leaving for Paris today (Saturday) to sign a protocol of the Air Convention, and will accompany Mr. Mackenzie King on a short visit to the Canadian war graves before the Prime Minister returns to Canada.

* *

Mr. L. T. Pacaud, Secretary to the Office of the High Commissioner, went to Geneva to represent the Canadian Government at the Second General Conference on Communications and Transit on Thursday.

* *

The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King has consented to become hon. president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in London.

The following are among those accepting the invitation of the British-American Dance Club, a social branch of the English-Speaking Union, for last night's ball in honour of the delegates to the Imperial Conference, at the Suffolk Galleries: The Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Commodore and Mrs. Walter Hose, Major-General J. H. MacBrien, the Hon. W. R. Warren and Mrs. Warren, the acting High Commissioner for Newfoundland, and the Agents-General for British Columbia and Ontario.

* *

Among other functions to be attended by Mr. and Mrs. Warren this week were the British Electrical Manufacturers' Association dinner on Thursday; and Mr. and Mrs. Larkin's "At Home" and Lady Guinness's reception on Friday.

MRS. WARREN.
Wife of the Prime Minister of Newfoundland.
Photograph: Bassano.

* *

Mr. Martin Nadden, member of the Legislative Assembly for Quebec West, has been appointed Minister without portfolio in the Provincial Government of Quebec.

* *

Mr. Douglas S. Cole, who has for some time been acting Canadian Trade Commissioner at Bristol, has been appointed Commissioner.

* *

Professor J. J. R. McLeod, of the Department of Physiology of the University of Toronto, announces that he will divide his $20,000 share of the Nobel Prize for the discovery of insulin with Dr. J. B. Collip, of Alberta University, who was associated with him in the research work leading to the perfecting of insulin (says Reuter's Toronto correspondent). The four doctors engaged in this research work—Dr. Banting, Dr. McLeod, Dr. Collip and Dr. Best—thus each get $10,000 of the Nobel Prize of $40,000. Dr. McLeod says: "I should like to emphasise that it was team play that did it."

Senator A. C. Hardy returned to Canada by the *Regina* on November 9.

* *

Sir Montagu and Lady Allan have left London for Paris *en route* for Biarritz.

* *

Sir Michael and Lady Cashin sailed for Newfoundland on Tuesday by the ss. *Digby*.

* *

Sir Joseph and Lady Flavelle are leaving London for the Continent on Wednesday next.

* *

Maude Lady Orr-Lewis has left Claridge's Hotel for Paris en route to the Villa Valetta, Cannes.

* *

Mr. A. G. Halsted, general manager of the Ontario Honey Producers Co-operative, Ltd., is in London.

* *

Mrs. McAvity, of St. John, N.B., has resumed her portrait painting at the Art Gallery, South Kensington.

* *

Mr. and Mrs. H. G. Reid and Mr. Francis arrived from St. John's, Newfoundland, by the *Montlaurier* last Saturday.

* *

Mr. W. R. Campbell, vice-president of the Ford Motor Company, of Ford, Ontario, is at the Piccadilly Hotel, London.

* *

Lady de Blaquiere, of Bath, who has been spending some months in Canada, is due back at Southampton by the *Empress of France* to-day.

* *

Mr. E. R. Peacock has successfully undergone an operation for appendicitis in a nursing home and is progressing favourably in his recovery.

* *

Lady Cassels, widow of Sir Walter Cassels, and Miss Cassels have arrived in London from Toronto and are staying at the Knightsbridge Hotel.

* *

Dr. H. M. Ami, who has been delivering lectures in connection with the Canadian Exhibition Train in France, left for Ottawa by the *Adriatic* last Saturday.

* *

Sir William Ashley, Vice-Principal of Birmingham University, who has been appointed a member of the Advisory Committee on Tariffs, was formerly Professor of Political Economy in Toronto University.

* *

At the annual meeting of the Canadian Bankers' Association, held in Montreal on November 8, Sir John Aird, general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was elected President of the Association.

* *

Lord and Lady Cranworth, during their stay in Winnipeg, were the guests of the Hon. Robert and Mrs. Rogers. Lord and Lady Cranworth are accompanied on their first trip through Canada by Major Buxton and Mr. E. Barnes.

* *

Amongst the arrivals from Montreal by the *Ausonia* on November 14 were Mr. C. Harding, Nelson River district manager of the Hudson's Bay Company; Lieut.-Col. Walter Brown, Dr. H. M. Allen and Mrs. O. E. Allen, Lieut.-Col. Walter Brown, Violet Brown, Mr. James A. Clark, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Howlett, Mrs. C. J. Pinkney (Toronto), Mrs. Raleigh Batt, Mr. Geo. Beatty, Mr. L. de Montigny, Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Merring, Mr. J. C. Newey, Mr Harold Simon, and Mrs. A. G. Moyse (Montreal).

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PURELY PERSONAL—*continued.*

Mr. J. Obed Smith was present at the annual dinner of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries in London last week.

* *

Mr. William Pugsley, Federal Commissioner of War Claims, Ottawa, has been seriously ill, and has undergone an operation.

* *

The departures for Montreal by the *Minnedosa* on November 8 included Mr. and Mrs. W. Cross, Mr. R. Hillion, Mr. H. Levy, Mrs. D. and Miss E. McLennan.

* *

Mr. W. L. Griffith, formerly secretary to the Canadian High Commissioner's Office in London, and Miss Griffith, returned from a visit to Canada by the *Ausonia* on Wednesday.

* *

Miss M. Allan and Miss Dunsmuir were members of the team of Oversea Players which played golf matches against a team selected by Lady Cruise at Addington on November 8.

* *

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the Dominion House of Commons, sailed on November 5 from Montreal, on the *Ausonia*, for Cherbourg. He will visit London before sailing again for Canada on December 12.

* *

Lady Kirkpatrick left Liverpool for Canada by the *Montrose* on November 9, and will join her brother, Colonel W. M. Macpherson, in Quebec, afterwards proceeding with him to California, where they will spend the winter.

* *

The departures for Montreal by the *Regina* on November 9 included Mr. and Mrs. C. Ainslie, Mr. and Mrs. A. Anderson, Mr. F. C. Blair, Dr. Charles Camsell, Mr. R. G. Browne, Mr. and Mrs. M. Cullaton, Mr. G. H. David, Hon. A. C. and Mrs. Hardy, Mr. W. W. Hodgkins, Mr. A. Kember, Mr. Duncan Marshall, Mr. C. S. Lindsay, Major J. R. McCrindle, Mr. G. W. Muir, Mr. E Pelletier, Mr. T. G. Roberts, Mr. K. R. Schofield, Mr. G. Slack, and Mr. A. Woolley.

* *

Among the departures for Canada by the *Montrose* on November 9 were Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Birks, Major W. L. Bond, K.C., Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Bowen, Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Compton, Mr. J. W. Cook, K.C., Mr. and Mrs. R. Godwin, Mr. and Mrs. T. P. Lane, Mr. L. Macfarlane, K.C., Mr. and Mrs. W. Main, Mr. P. R. M. Marling, Mr. H. Marshall, Mr. H. A. McCallum, Mr. G. H. Muller, Mr. J. A. Renauld, Mr. J. H. Sherrard, Mr. A. W. Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. F. Trebilcock, Mr. W. E. Turner, Mr. G. Walters.

Dr. W. L. McDougald, president of the Montreal Harbour Commission, has arrived in London.

* *

Mr. John W. Dafoe, editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, and Mrs. Dafoe returned to Winnipeg via Montreal and Ottawa by the *Montrose* on November 9.

* *

Mr. William Phillips, European manager of the Canadian National Railways and Canadian Government Merchant Marine, left on a visit to Canada by the *Majestic* on Wednesday.

MAJOR C. LIONEL HANINGTON,
President of the Canadian Club of Great Britain.
Photograph: Hay Wrightson.

Among the arrivals from Quebec by the *Montlaurier* last Saturday were Sir Donald Mann, Mr. W. H. R. Jarvis, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Perry (Toronto), Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Attendu, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Bell, Colonel H. and Mrs. Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. Raoul Prevost, Mr. I. Finkelstein, Mr. C. W. Taylor (Montreal), Mr. J. H. Wilkinson, Mrs. A. Vaughan, Mrs. G. F. Risteen, Mr. E. J. Enright, Mr. J. T. Gibson, Mr. M. W. Brighouse, Mr. F. W. Beldam (Vancouver), Mr. J. McNaughton, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Gunn (Winnipeg), Mr. and Mrs. J. Brown (Calgary), Colonel J. H. G. Riley (London), Mr. W. Warne, Mr. C. Vulliamy (Victoria), Captain and Mrs. H. P. Holt (Montreal), Mr. H. C. Eastman (Chicoutimi), Dr. and Mrs. J. R. Currie, Mr. J. Blake (Kingston), Mr. J. B. Watt (St. Catharines).

FORTHCOMING EVENTS
of Special Interest to Visiting Canadians.

NOVEMBER 17.—Football: Canadian Banks v. Kleinworts in 2nd Round London Banks Minor Cup, at Elmers End, Croydon.

NOVEMBER 17.—Royal Choral Society: "Elijah," Royal Albert Hall, 2.30.

NOVEMBER 20.—Sale of important Illuminated MSS. and Valuable Books, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 34-35 New Bond Street, 1 (2 days).

NOVEMBER 20.—Navy Club Dinner to Dominion Premiers.

NOVEMBER 20.—Kensington Canine Society's Dog Show.

NOVEMBER 21.—National Clean Milk Society: Conference on "Pasteurisation," Guildhall, 10 and 2.30.

NOVEMBER 21.—Royal Society of Arts: Address on "Forgeries of Ancient Stained Glass," by Mr. J. A. Knowles, John Street, Adelphi, 8.

NOVEMBER 22.—Luncheon in connection with the Opening of the Commercial Motor Transport and Roads Development Exhibition, Olympia, 12.45.

NOVEMBER 23.—Norfolk and Norwich Christmas Show Association, Agricultural Hall, Norwich (3 days).

NOVEMBER 23.—Sale of Pictures and Drawings, Christie, Manson and Woods, 8 King Street, St. James' Square, 1.

ENGAGEMENTS AND MARRIAGES.

The engagement is announced of the Hon. Evelyn FitzGerald, C.B., youngest son of the late Lord FitzGerald, of Kilmarnock, and Helen, daughter of the late Major-General C. W. Drury, C.B., of Halifax, N.S., and sister of Lady Beaverbrook.

* *

Miss Sarah Ellen (Nellie) Oliver, the second daughter of the Premier of British Columbia and Mrs. Oliver, was married to the Rev. Francis Runnalls, elder son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Runnalls, of Mount Brydges, Ontario, in the First Presbyterian Church, Victoria, on October 17. The bridegroom is pastor of the United Church, Grand Forks.

* *

The marriage of Miss Phyllis Melport Boulton Nordheimer, younger daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer, Toronto, to Mr. W. A. McCaffrey, of Newmarket, Ont., took place on October 31 at St. Peter's Church, Toronto. The bride was given away by her brother, Major Roy Nordheimer, and her sister, Miss Estelle Nordheimer, was maid of honour. Among those present was Mrs. Charles Cambie, of London, England, sister of the bride. A reception was held after the ceremony at Dr. and Mrs. Brefney O'Reilly's house on St. Clair Avenue. Mrs. O'Reilly, sister of the bride, owing to illness, was unable to attend. Miss Adele Nordheimer, another sister of the bride, and Dr. O' Reilly received the guests.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

(Continued from page 150.)

acts of kindness, and the many courtesies extended by him to fellow Canadians, and particularly are we appreciative of the part he has played in the inauguration of this important Society, for, after all, as we know, Sir Campbell, in company with His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Lady Minto, has had everything to do with its inception and organisation.

"Now, gentlemen, I am fully aware that this is not an occasion for speech making, and I am free to confess that after five or six weeks of conference such as we have had, and the many different gatherings and functions it has been our privilege to attend, one arrives at a moment when speech-making comes to be next to impossible. Being in sight of the end of the Conference, I have come pretty much to that particular point to-night. However, I should not like to leave this historic gathering without taking advantage of the occasion to say to all present how much we in Canada, who have any knowledge of the past, feel we owe to the Old Land. On looking around this room, and remembering that those assembled here have either themselves been associated with the development of Canadian affairs, or are the descendants of those who have played a large part in Canada's history, one begins to realise to what extent Britain has sent to Canada the best of her sons, many of those who have been brought up amid great and noble traditions, and who, from a high sense of honour and public duty, have sought to make these traditions a part of the inheritance of the new world. May I take this opportunity on behalf of the young Canada of to-day to express this word of gratitude to the men of the Old World and the descendants of those who have done so much to make our country what it is at the present time? I am sure, gentlemen, that the records which this Society may disclose will help to unfold in growing measure a story of unselfish action, of lofty patriotism, and of great devotion to what is highest and best in the way of human service. As this story is unfolded to the Canadian people, as they learn of the care with which the Mother Land has nurtured our national life in its early beginnings, more and more, as the days go by, and she continues to advance in years, will Canadian hearts rise up and call her blessed."

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Miss M. Allan and Miss Dunsmuir were members of the team of Oversea Players which played golf matches against a team selected by Lady Cruise at Addington on November 8.

* *

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the Dominion House of Commons, sailed on November 5 from Montreal, on the *Ausonia*, for Cherbourg. He will visit London before sailing again for Canada on December 12.

* *

Lady Kirkpatrick left Liverpool for Canada by the *Montrose* on November 9, and will join her brother, Colonel W. M. Macpherson, in Quebec, afterwards proceeding with him to California, where they will spend the winter.

* *

The departures for Montreal by the *Regina* on November 9 included Mr. and Mrs. C. Ainslie, Mr. and Mrs. A. Anderson, Mr. F. C. Blair, Dr. Charles Camsell, Mr. R. G. Browne, Mr. and Mrs. M. Cullaton, Mr. G. H. David, Hon. A. C. and Mrs. Hardy, Mr. W. W. Hodgkins, Mr. A. Kember, Mr. Duncan Marshall, Mr. C. S. Lindsay, Major J. R. McCrindle, Mr. G. W. Muir, Mr. E Pelletier, Mr. T. G. Roberts, Mr. K. R. Schofield, Mr. G. Slack, and Mr. A. Woolley.

* *

Among the departures for Canada by the *Montrose* on November 9 were Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Birks, Major W. L. Bond, K.C., Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Bowen, Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Compton, Mr. J. W. Cook, K.C., Mr. and Mrs. R. Godwin, Mr. and Mrs. T. P. Lane, Mr. L. Macfarlane, K.C., Mr. and Mrs. W. Main, Mr. P. R. M. Marling, Mr. H. Marshall, Mr. H. A. McCallum, Mr. G. H. Muller, Mr. J. A. Renauld, Mr. J. H. Sherrard, Mr. A. W. Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. F. Trebilcock, Mr. W. E. Turner, Mr. G. Walters.

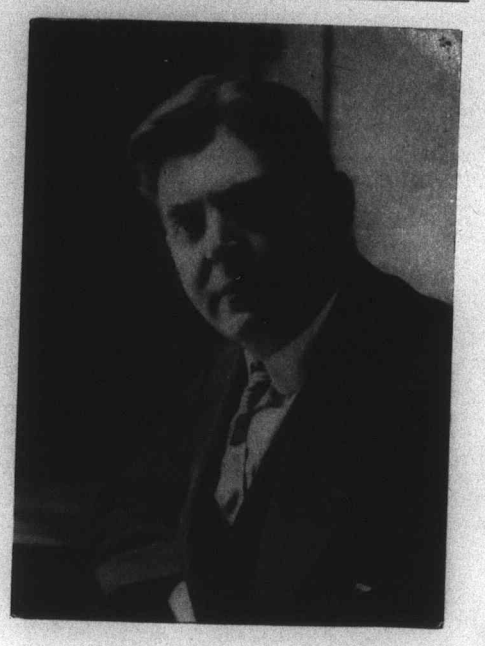
Dr. W. L. McDougald, president of the Montreal Harbour Commission, has arrived in London.

* *

Mr. John W. Dafoe, editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, and Mrs. Dafoe returned to Winnipeg via Montreal and Ottawa by the *Montrose* on November 9.

* *

Mr. William Phillips, European manager of the Canadian National Railways and Canadian Government Merchant Marine, left on a visit to Canada by the *Majestic* on Wednesday.



MAJOR C. LIONEL HANINGTON,
President of the Canadian Club of Great Britain.
Photograph: Hay Wrightson.

Among the arrivals from Quebec by the *Montlaurier* last Saturday were Sir Donald Mann, Mr. W. H. R. Jarvis, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Perry (Toronto), Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Attendu, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Bell, Colonel H. and Mrs. Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. Raoul Prevost, Mr. I. Finkelstein, Mr. C. W. Taylor (Montreal), Mr. J. H. Wilkinson, Mrs. A. Vaughan, Mrs. G. F. Risteen, Mr. E. J. Enright, Mr. J. T. Gibson, Mr. M. W. Brighouse, Mr. F. W. Beldam (Vancouver), Mr. J. McNaughton, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Gunn (Winnipeg), Mr. and Mrs. J. Brown (Calgary), Colonel J. H. G. Riley (London), Mr. W. Warne, Mr. C. Vulliamy (Victoria), Captain and Mrs. H. P. Holt (Montreal), Mr. H. C. Eastman (Chicoutimi), Dr. and Mrs. J. R. Currie, Mr. J. Blake (Kingston), Mr. J. B. Watt (St. Catharines).

FORTHCOMING EVENTS
of Special Interest to Visiting Canadians.

NOVEMBER 17.—Football: Canadian Banks v. Kleinworts in 2nd Round London Banks Minor Cup, at Elmers End, Croydon.

NOVEMBER 17.—Royal Choral Society: "Elijah," Royal Albert Hall, 2.30.

NOVEMBER 20.—Sale of important Illuminated MSS. and Valuable Books, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, 34-35 New Bond Street, 1 (2 days).

NOVEMBER 20.—Navy Club Dinner to Dominion Premiers.

NOVEMBER 20.—Kensington Canine Society's Dog Show.

NOVEMBER 21.—National Clean Milk Society: Conference on "Pasteurisation," Guildhall, 10 and 2.30.

NOVEMBER 21.—Royal Society of Arts: Address on "Forgeries of Ancient Stained Glass," by Mr. J. A. Knowles, John Street, Adelphi, 8.

NOVEMBER 22.—Luncheon in connection with the Opening of the Commercial Motor Transport and Roads Development Exhibition, Olympia, 12.45.

NOVEMBER 23.—Norfolk and Norwich Christmas Show Association, Agricultural Hall, Norwich (3 days).

NOVEMBER 23.—Sale of Pictures and Drawings, Christie, Manson and Woods, 8 King Street, St. James' Square, 1.

ENGAGEMENTS AND MARRIAGES.

The engagement is announced of the Hon. Evelyn FitzGerald, C.B., youngest son of the late Lord FitzGerald, of Kilmarnock, and Helen, daughter of the late Major-General C. W. Drury, C.B., of Halifax, N.S., and sister of Lady Beaverbrook.

* *

Miss Sarah Ellen (Nellie) Oliver, the second daughter of the Premier of British Columbia and Mrs. Oliver, was married to the Rev. Francis Runnalls, elder son of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Runnalls, of Mount Brydges, Ontario, in the First Presbyterian Church, Victoria, on October 17. The bridegroom is pastor of the United Church, Grand Forks.

* *

The marriage of Miss Phyllis Melport Boulton Nordheimer, younger daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer, Toronto, to Mr. W. A. McCaffrey, of Newmarket, Ont., took place on October 31 at St. Peter's Church, Toronto. The bride was given away by her brother, Major Roy Nordheimer, and her sister, Miss Estelle Nordheimer, was maid of honour. Among those present was Mrs. Charles Cambie, of London, England, sister of the bride. A reception was held after the ceremony at Dr. and Mrs. Brefney O'Reilly's house on St. Clair Avenue. Mrs. O'Reilly, sister of the bride, owing to illness, was unable to attend. Miss Adele Nordheimer, another sister of the bride, and Dr. O' Reilly received the guests.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

(Continued from page 150.)

acts of kindness, and the many courtesies extended by him to fellow Canadians, and particularly are we appreciative of the part he has played in the inauguration of this important Society, for, after all, as we know, Sir Campbell, in company with His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and Lady Minto, has had everything to do with its inception and organisation.

"Now, gentlemen, I am fully aware that this is not an occasion for speech making, and I am free to confess that after five or six weeks of conference such as we have had, and the many different gatherings and functions it has been our privilege to attend, one arrives at a moment when speech-making comes to be next to impossible. Being in sight of the end of the Conference, I have come pretty much to that particular point to-night. However, I should not like to leave this historic gathering without taking advantage of the occasion to say to all present how much we in Canada, who have any knowledge of the past, feel we owe to the Old Land. On looking around this room, and remembering that those assembled here have either themselves been associated with the development of Canadian affairs, or are the descendants of those who have played a large part in Canada's history, one begins to realise to what extent Britain has sent to Canada the best of her sons, many of those who have been brought up amid great and noble traditions, and who, from a high sense of honour and public duty, have sought to make these traditions a part of the inheritance of the new world. May I take this opportunity on behalf of the young Canada of to-day to express this word of gratitude to the men of the Old World and the descendants of those who have done so much to make our country what it is at the present time? I am sure, gentlemen, that the records which this Society may disclose will help to unfold in growing measure a story of unselfish action, of lofty patriotism, and of great devotion to what is highest and best in the way of human service. As this story is unfolded to the Canadian people, as they learn of the care with which the Mother Land has nurtured our national life in its early beginnings, more and more, as the days go by, and she continues to advance in years, will Canadian hearts rise up and call her blessed."

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Free Press London Ont. Nov. 20/23.

056827

Mr. King's Negative Stand

No one expected that Hon. Mackenzie King would commit himself to any policy at the imperial conference involving heavy expenditures without first consulting Parliament. This would be quite unconstitutional. But it was hoped that he would at least express the good-will of Canadians and extend to the overburdened taxpayers of Great Britain an offer of the readiness of his Government to work out a plan of co-operation for imperial defense.

However, every speech made by Mr. King in the old land, as reported, was devoted to harping on the time-worn question of the autonomy of the dominions. If the truth were only known, and the reporters had been admitted to the proceedings of the imperial conference, it would doubtless be found that it was the negative attitude of Mr. King which resulted in the conference producing such barren results.

Mr. King is exceedingly strong on the rights of Canada as a nation, but if Canada is to have all the privileges of nationhood then we should be prepared to accept the responsibilities. At present it is a one-sided affair. The grand fleet is still the bulwark of defense of the empire and yet Canada contributes not one cent to its upkeep.

Mr. King was responsible for having passed a resolution at the conference confirming the right of Canada or any other overseas dominion to sign a treaty with another nation without consultation with or without the signature of a representative of Great Britain. But if there should be trouble over such a treaty and there should be an appeal to a force Great Britain would have to come to the rescue. Lack of co-operation between the nations is the main trouble of the world to-day. The British League of Nations should have set an example to the world in co-operation. Mr. King has lost a great opportunity by not giving leadership at the conference and by not expressing the real sentiment of the Canadian people in regard to the British Empire.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

The Times Port Hope Nov. 23/23

056828

Silent William

In 1914 W. L. MacKenzie King's voice was silent when other politicians and statesmen were asking the young manhood of Canada to don khaki and fight for freedom. In 1923 when W. L. MacKenzie King as Canada's Primier represented the Dominion at the Imperial Conference, his voice was again silent when all the other Premiers voiced their appreciation of an Empire Policy which would give the Dominions a preference in Great Britain. In 1911 the voice of MacKenzie King, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and W. S. Fielding, was heard throughout the length and breadth of Canada in favour of reciprocity with the United States. In 1914 and other war years Hon. Mackenzie King made the United States his home for the time being. Was it the liking that the Hon. Mackenzie King and other Liberal Leaders have for the United States that closed their mouths when all the delegates from all the other British Dominions voiced their approval of Mr. Baldwins plan of preference for the Dominions in the United Kingdom? Why should the voice of Canada have been silent when such a momentous qnestion, pregnant with untold opportunities for Canadian Industry and cementing of closer relationship between Canada and Great Britain in an Empire policy of the lending of aid and weight of opinion in favour of protection in the coming British elections; of assisting the British Statesman to convince the people of Great Britain that the Dominions were strongly in favour of a closer allied relationship; if it was not that the Hon. Mackenzie King and his associates from Canada at the Imperial Conference were not in favour of a closer relationship between Canada and the United States than between Canada and Great Britain?

The silent voice of Canada on this momentous question has given the cohorts of Cobdenism and Free Trade in Great Britain sorely needed ammunition which will be fired at every political meeting held in the Old Country by those in favour of the Free Trade Policy.

The people of Canada will be held up before the electors of Great Britain as being opposed to protection and against preference for the Dominions in Great Britain. Canada will be held up to the electors of Great Britain as being in favour of allowing surplus American goods being dumped on the shores of the British Isles. The voice of Canada was the only silent one at the Conference. But the voice of Canada would not have been silent if Hon. MacKenzie King and his American-reciprocity-loving confreres had stayed at home and British-loving true and loyal Canadians had been there to endorse a policy which would have been of more direct benefit for Canada than it would be for any of the other British Dominions. Why should the Canadian delegates say they did not ask for any preference for Canada? Why should the Canadian Delegation hold aloof from the other British Dominions in helping to propogate Empire Trade. This very action on the part of the Hon. MacKenzie King has falsely branded Canada and the Canadian people as being opposed to a closer unity within the British Empire. But the people of the British Isles should remember that the people of Canada as a nation are staunch for British traditions and British ideals; that they realise full well that trading within the British Empire to the detriment of all other countries will cement a closer relationship of the peoples within the Empire. The people of Great Britain must be told that the voice of Canada was not silent at the Conference; that it was the voice of the American-loving anti-British representatives who failed to do their duty as representing Canada at a British Empire Conference. The people of Canada will soon have an opportunity of showing how much they love the "silent voice" of Hon. MacKenzie King on questions of Empire importance, and how much they detest the voice of Hon. MacKenzie King as the leader of Canada's Government.

MACKENZIE PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 95)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Chicago Tribune Nov. 28/23.

056829

CANADA'S INDEPENDENCE.

Chicago Tribune

Prime Minister Mackenzie King, returning to Canada from the imperial conference in London, is promised a welcome which, in effect, will ratify a declaration of independence for the dominion. The country is to be congratulated. It is more definitely a free and independent country because of the recent conference and because of Premier King's part in that gathering than it has ever been before.

Nov. 28-1923

The whole history of the dominion reveals a steady development toward independence, but it is a development which moved slowly for many years and has accelerated rapidly in the last few decades. It began to take definite form, but always with the greatest loyalty to Great Britain, under the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. It has made still greater strides since his passing, still with loyalty to the mother country, but with growing consciousness of its own political and economic entity.

That independence of spirit, thought, and act was more definitely and clearly stated in the recent imperial conference than ever before, and it was stated in such terms as to leave no doubt in Great Britain, or among the subordinate members of the so-called British commonwealth. It declared itself independent of British foreign entanglements, reserving the right to act as conscience might dictate in any international development. It won the right to make its own treaties on matters of domestic concern. It left the way open to accept the Baldwin theory of imperial preference or not, as circumstances might dictate.

In effect Canada is an independent nation. The way is open to a closer economic and social relationship with the United States than has yet been enjoyed. It is to be hoped that both countries will take advantage of this opportunity for mutual profit. Reciprocity can erase the economic barrier of the international boundary. A friendly spirit can erase any social barriers. The opportunities for both are unlimited. It remains to be seen whether the statesmanship of the two nations is of a standard sufficiently high to improve these opportunities.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056830

RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

QUESTIONS

The following questions have been asked Rt. Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, in The Evening Mail's afternoon edition of Nov. 30th, 1923.

The subjects covered by The Mail's questions are of vital concern to the people of Nova Scotia, and the answers of the Prime Minister are awaited with interest.

For the convenience of the audience in following the replies the questions have been reprinted for easy reference.

1. Were the Liberal candidates authorized by you in 1921 to promise the immediate prosperity they promised us in Nova Scotia if your party was returned to power in the general election of that year?

2. If, as Mr. Fielding states, the drop in the discount on New York funds from 5 per cent. to par indicated an increase of Canadian national prosperity, will you tell the electors of Halifax what the renewed discount to more than two per cent, which prevails now, portends?

3. How does it come that coal consumers in the city of Montreal are able to buy Nova Scotia coal at $5.50 per ton, f.o.b. Montreal, while the consumers in Halifax pay more than $11 a ton?

4. Why did the steamship that unloaded 600 tons of tea at Halifax this month proceed to New York to discharge the balance of her Canadian cargo, instead of giving employment to Halifax labor and Canadian railroads?

5. In order to fortify the Independence of Parliament, do you favor a change in the House of Commons Act to render it unlawful to appoint any member of parliament to a position of emolument under the crown and thus vacate the seat? Is it true that two members of parliament from Nova Scotia have within the first year and ten months of your term of office accepted high salaried positions, thus vacating their seats, and is it true that other members of parliament are seeking positions of emolument under the crown?

6. Why does Mr. Fielding claim credit for the policy of issuing bonds not tax-exempt, when, as a matter of fact, two years previous to your coming into office that policy had been adopted by your predecessors?

7. Have large reductions in railway rates been granted in the past two years to other sections of Canada as relief from intolerable economic conditions? If so, why was not similar relief granted, at the same time, to the producers of this province, who, are bent under what Premier Armstrong describes as "excessive freight rates choking our industrial life"?

8. Will the Halifax grain elevator and the Dartmouth pier be built if G. A. Redmond is elected?

9. Will the Halifax grain elevator and the Dartmouth pier be built if W. A. Black is elected?

10. Why is the local rate of the Canadian National Railways for hauling a bushel of grain in the West 824 miles the same as the local rate for hauling a bushel of potatoes from Musquodoboit to Halifax, a distance of 96 miles?

11. Are you in favor of an embargo on the export of pulpwood?

12. Do you agree with your local government newspaper that the electors have not the right to contest the selection of a government candidate at the present time?

13. Why are the rates on Nova Scotia produce shipped by the Canadian National Railways to the Prairie Provinces so much higher than the rates offered by American railways for our shipments if sent via Boston to the same Prairie points?

14. Why was the Atlantic Region of the Canadian National Railways cut off at Rivière du Loup, instead of continuing to Montreal?

15. Why are Halifax merchants who ship Nova Scotia products via New York and the Panama Canal requires to pay duty on these goods on arrival at Vancouver?

16. What amount of grain, if any, has passed through the I. C. R. elevator at Halifax since the war? If none—WHY?

17. If you have repudiated the platform of the National Liberal Convention of 1919, as alleged by A. R. McMaster, M. P., what guarantee have we that you will not repudiate the promises that are being held out to influence the election of the government candidate in Halifax?

18. Is it a fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway conducts its Canadian business through Canadian ports only? If so, do you consider it unreasonable to demand that the Canadian National Railways, owned by the people of Canada, should be instructed to do likewise?

19. The differential against Halifax, established by the Liberal Government in 1898, has, as affirmed by Liberal speakers, recently been removed. Granting that you have taken off what your party put on, then in face of the instructions given by government to the railway management to operate the C. N. R. on purely economic lines, can you tell electors how Halifax can hope that any grain export business will flow through this port with the necessary longer rail haul? Will not the grain continue to flow through and enrich American ports?

20. Hon. E. H. Armstrong, premier of Nova Scotia, recently stated publicly in Halifax, that the alarming exodus of native sons and daughters of this province is "one of the great racial movements of history, hard to account for." What is YOUR explanation of this exodus ?

21. Why is the salary list of the head office staff of the Canadian National Railways higher since the amalgamation with the Grand Trunk than was the same list of the C. N. R., Grand Trunk and Canadian Government Railways before amalgamation ? Why were not large savings effected at that opportunity?

22. Why have wages of railway workers been reduced, while the salaries of officials were being increased ?

23. Why is Canadian National Railways spending money on development of the road to Providence, R. I. . If Portland isn't large enough to handle Canada's export traffic now, why not use Halifax ?

24. What reply have you to make to Sir Thomas White's correction of your statements at the Garrison Club, Quebec, at the time of your departure for Europe, that Canada had provided no part of the cost of the war during its pendency ?

25. In face of the promises of yourself and other campaigners in 1921, how do you explain the depressed business conditions in the Maritime Provinces and the fall in values evidenced by the unprecedented number of foreclosure, bailiff, sheriff, and tax sales, and falling values of real estate, one instance of which being a central business property just sold for $17,000, under foreclosure of a $29,000 mortgage ?

For your information — Handed out to the "heavers" just before the meeting Nov 30
F. B. McCurdy

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Manitoba Free Press Nov. 30/23.

056831

PREMIER KING MAKES SPLENDID IMPRESSION

Lord Leverhulme Speaks Highly Of Attitude Of the Canadian Leader

Strongly Believes Protection Will Not Materialize in Great Britain

"The dignified attitude of your premier, Rt. Hon. W. Mackenzie King, at the Imperial conference, made a very great impression on the British public, who realized that he had the interests of Canada fully at heart and that he represented a country who knew how to manage her own affairs and did not wish to interfere unduly in the manage- of ours," said Viscount Leverhulme, P.C., last night, when interviewed, in the vice-regal suite which he is occupying at the Royal Alexandra hotel.

Remembers Laurier's Words

Viscount Leverhulme, who is making a business tour of his interests throughout the world, stated that he would never forget the words of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier: "We want Britain to take our wheat but we cannot take the same proportion of her manufactures, but we will take all we can." That had been the character of the relations all along between the two countries—mutual good-will.

"You'll take all you can and we will do the same," continued Viscount Leverhulme, "but you must not expect us to turn down countries like the Argentine, who do take great quantities of our manufactures, and give you a protected tariff throughout."

Discussing the political situation in Great Britain, Viscount Leverhulme said that he was positive that protection would not materialize. Baldwin would probably go back, but not with a majority over both the Liberal and Labor parties combined; in other words, he would not possess a working majority.

In answer to a question on immigration, Viscount Leverhulme said he was against Canada rushing things. He felt sure she would be pleased with the type Great Britain would send her. He himself would rather see a regular and steady immigration from Great Britain into Canada and an immigration which the time, rather than a great rush which Canada could not at once absorb, for then a successful immigration became a pure gamble. He saw no reason, if a sound policy of immigration was carried out, why Canada should not in a hundred years posseess a hundred million of population. One hundred years ago the United States only possessed eight million people, and look what her population was today.

Problem of Exchange

"As long as the United States is our creditor and as long as she is not taking any repayment in manufactured goods, so long will there be little hope of an improved exchange between the tow countries," concluded Viscount Leverhulme. "The United States lent us money during war time to pay her for the manufactured goods she supplied us with to carry on the war, but she is not taking our manufactures now, to any extent, and we have to pay our indebtedness off by hard cash."

Accompanied by Heir

Viscount Leverhulme, who will address the Canadian club, at a luncheon, today, at the Royal Alexandra, will leave tonight for Vancouver, from where he will sail for Australia. He is accompanied by his son and heir, Hon. William Hulme Lever, acting chairman of Lever Bros., and a party of seven. Last night he was entertained, to a banquet and dance, at the hotel, by the employees of his subsidiary company, the Royal Crown Soap Co., Ltd. A party of 104 sat down, over which the managing director, M. Bull, presided. J. E. Ganong, president of the Lever Bros. Co. of Canada, also attended. At the conclusion of the dinner, Viscount Leverhulme distributed the co-partnership prizes.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 99)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

POOR
COPY

Halifax Herald Dec. 1/23.

056332

PRIME MINISTER IS WELCOMED TO PROVINCE AND CITY

Hon. E. H. Armstrong And Mayor Murphy Voice Greetings — Premier Responds Amidst Cordial Applause— Many Liberals Present.

THE Province and the City, thru the Honorable E. H. Armstrong and His Worship Mayor Murphy, voiced, at the Provincial Building yesterday their welcome to the Prime Minister of the Dominion, the Honorable MacKenzie King, on his return from the Imperial Conference, and an audience in which were a relatively large number of ladies, but also many men prominent in the Liberal party, with some others, endorsed by hearty applause the sentiments of the speakers.

The reception was entirely informal. The premier arrived together with members of the Federal Cabinet, and escorted by Honorable Mr. Armstrong, and was greeted with cheers. Among the men noted in the group in the Legislative Council chamber together with the members of the Provincial Government, were Mr. Sinclair, of Prince Edward Island; Mr. Martell, of Hants; Hance Logan, of Amherst; Mr. Carroll of Cape Breton; E. M. Macdonald, Pictou; Mr. Buchanan, M. P. P., Welsford MacDonald, M. P. P., Mr. Kyte, M. P. P., R. E. Finn, M. P., Mr. Elliott, M. P. P., Annapolis; Mr. Bourinot, M. P. P., Inverness; Aubrey Sperry, M. P. P., Lunenburg; Hon. J. J. Kinley, M. P. P., Hon. Mr. McLean, Inverness; Hon. F. Logan, Musquodoboit.

THE Liberal leader looks well, and was obviously much pleased with the cordiality of his welcome home at the Atlantic gateway.

Premier Armstrong, in his address, gave assurance of welcome back from the conference with Imperial statesmen, and thought that he spoke for all present when he said that this was not only a Nova Scotian, but a Canadian welcome. (Cheers).

During his absence abroad, the Prime Minister's career had been closely marked, and his statesmanlike record had been noted with "satisfaction and delight." His attitude on Imperial questions during that conference gave a special warmth to his welcome. (Cheers and cries of "Hear, Hear.")

His consent to make Nova Scotia his first point of contact on his homecoming, with Canada, was indicative of his sincere interest in this province and this port, and the speaker trusted that the advantages of the Province, and the claims of Halifax as a world port would be more deeply impressed upon him than ever before. The speaker thought that not only the Prime Minister but all the passengers on the ship on which he arrived should have been landed here.

In conclusion the expressions of welcome were reiterated, Mr. Armstrong being followed by Mayor Murphy who on behalf of the city extended a warm welcome, referring to the presence in the city at this time not alone of the Premier but of a number of the Cabinet ministers as affording a great opportunity.

THE Prime Minister's record during the Imperial conference had been so admirable, said he, that no utterance of his permitted the slightest criticism. ("Hear, Hear.") The man upon whom had fallen the mantle of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was assured of the city's warmest welcome on this, his homecoming and his first visit to Halifax.

The Premier mounted the "Throne" amid loud applause, sustained for some minutes, during which his comprehensive smile showed his pleasure.

It was, said he, impossible for him to express the deep feeling which inspired him at the evidences which this occasion furnished of welcome home. He had received many expressions of good will, but he thought not one of them had so deeply stirred him as this one. It was to him a pleasure to be home again. "My country is my home," said he, "and what I have I wish to lay at my country's altar."

He returned from the conference said he, with a greater sense than ever of the greatness of the British Empire, her problems, and the service she was rendered mankind. (Cheers.) A fact which had profoundly impressed him and made him proud of the Dominion was the regard in which she was held at the table in Downing street. He was glad to hear that his course at the conference was one approved and endorsed by his countrymen. He had sought to express Canadian opinion sincerely. As he was to speak this evening, and then to touch upon some of the problems which confront the Empire and the Nation, he would not say more on this occasion, but only emphasize this thing—after going abroad, and learning more of the conditions in the Orient, in Europe, and in deed in the world at large, he felt that proud indeed is the heritage of Canadians, and that they are the most favored of the peoples of the earth in that their lot is cast in this fair Dominion.

"Again I thank you sincerely and deeply for your warm welcome of me on my home coming and this, my first visit to this city" said he.

A salvo of applause and cheers greeted the speech and after it had been made a number of the gentlemen present remained for an informal chat but within a short time the Chamber was emptied of the throng.

In his reference to the British elections, Mr. King was extremely cautious, contending that it was no business of his nor of the people of anada to interfere in the settlement of Britain's fiscal policy. He did say, however, that the problem confronting the British electorate was a very different one from that confronting a Protectionist country engaged in the solution of a problem involving tariff revision.

"Whatever the verdict of the British public may be with respect to the existing fiscal policy, I have no hesitation in saying that it will in no way affect the cordiality of relations which exist between Canada and the United Kingdob," said Mr. King.

With the prisent election contest on in Britain, no one could say Mr. King pointed out, whether the program of proposed preference would be continued. Should the present administration be returned, he declared, it would be continued.

At the Imperial conference on foreign affairs and defense, anada as the oldest colony had occupied the seat at the head of the table on the side where representatives of the dominions were seated. In response to the applause which greeted this statement, Mr. King declared that had any members of the audience been in his place and been forced to speak first on all occasions, he might not have been so enthusiastic. Reviewing the work of the conference, the Premier told of Premier Baldwin's summary of the events transpiring in the interval following the last conference; of Lord Curzon's brilliant review of Great Britain's relations with the rest of the world; and of Lord Derby's resume of the defenses of the Empire. In elaborating the points raised, Mr. King followed closely his statement given out in Halifax yesterday morning.

In company with all the representatives of overseas dominions he had, Mr. King said, desired that the greatest possible publicity should be given to the proceedings. Because, however, it had been found necessary to speak frankly on "family matters" the strictest secrecy had probably prevailed.

PARTICULAR emphasis was placed by the speaker on the point that none of the conclusions reached at the conference were binding on any of the sister nations making up the British Commonwealth, and that, on the other hand each would be submitted in due course to the governments concerned for their approval. In this, Mr. King saw perhaps the chief result of the conference since, in his judgment, it tended to strengthen the principle of responsible government.

"What has been accomplished at the conference," said Mr. King "has been done so in a manner which will, I believe, prove satisfactory to all people and will receive the support of all members of the Dominion Parliament when formally brought down."

The best way to answer the question as to whether or not the government is entitled to your confidence," said Mr. King, returning to the election question, "is to ask yourself whether or not the condition of Canada is better today than when the government came into power." Is it not true that we have advanced in every direction, that we can show a record of progress viewed from any angle? We have had to economize, but we have not been forgetful of the obvious needs of development. We have not missed an opportunity to advance trade."

Mr. King paid high tribute to the support which he had received from Right Hon. W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, and in this connection, he appealed to the electorate of Halifax to choose between the policies for the betterment of Nova Scotia, enunciated by Mr. Fielding, and the attitude adopted by Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, leader of the Opposition, and his followers, toward Halifax and the Maritimes generally. The constituency had been opened in a way that was compdimentary to Halifax; and he would not have thought it amiss had the Conservative leaders allowed the seat to go to the Liberal candidate by acclamation.

Premier King closed with an appeal to the audience to show their appreciation of the work of the government was doing for Halifax and Nova Scotia by voting for Mr. Redmond. "There is not merely the candidate to be considered," he said, "'but the position of the government and the need of the country."

THOSE who occupied the platform with the Premier included Premier Armstrong, Hon. R. E. Finn, Dr. H. S. Beland, Hon. E. M. Macdonald, Hon. W. J. O'Hearn, G. A. Redmond, the liberal candidate, and other members of the provincial and federal houses. The meeting was presided over by Gordon Isnor, president of the Halifax County Liberal Association.

It was only right, said Hon. E. M. Macdonald, the first speaker of the evening, that Premier King, who had left for England by way of the St. Lawrence, should return through Halifax, a port which was to become more and more a winter port of Canada under Liberal rule.

Turning directly to the issue of the election campaign, he declared that the government had no apologies to make for its record. Regarding the situation he considered the words 'the evil that men do lives after them" extremely apt. The evils which the Conservatives had done, had lived after them. They had been elected under the pretense that they "were to win the war", and they had left the country burdened with debt. This they would say, was incurred for the war, but Mr. Macdonald termed this statement far from the truth. It had been his duty as Minister of Defense to examine expenditures; and he declared he could give illustrations of "reckless expenditure."

Mr. Macdonald attacked the Conservative administration for the incurring of the Grand Trunk railway debt; for after war contracts awarded Vancouver for the building of en ships which had been after- at a loss; and in con- ...ammg at V... and Camp Borden, where he said there had been "absolutely unnecessary expenditure."

"Your beautiful city," he said, "is dotted all over with military property which acts as an obstacle to progress. I have taken up the matter of the disposal of this and would like to announce that tenders are now being called for the sale of King's Wharf.

IT is the proposal of the government, Mr. Macdonald stated, to see that Canada's trade is done through Canada's ports.

"How could the trade be done through Halifax as a winter port," he asked, "when grain cost twenty cents a ton more than it did to ship it through Portland?"

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, he contended, had maintained a dis- crimination against Halifax but now, with a sympathetic management controlling the C. N. R.— management with a Canadian view under Sir Henry Thornton, the dis- crimination had been removed.

"Halifax people can look forw to the realization of their dreams," said the speaker. "We have pl you as handy Montreal and W peg as far as freight rates are cerned, as Portland or Boston.

The speaker made referen what he termed a "ridiculous ment of the violent press," ing a government which was ing Canadian trade to the States. Not one ton of C grain, he declared, had shipped through Portland the month of October.

Eight tenders, he said, had bee received for the construction of th elevator but due to the illness o Mr. Fielding, there had been som delay in the letting of the contract On the return to Ottawa of M King, however, the contract wou be let and the work proceeded wi immediately.

That the fishing industry of Nov Scotia had not been successful th speaker attributed to the refusal the people to accept Mr. Fielding reciprocity pact.

The speaker announced the tablishment in Nova Scotia, pr ably he said, in Halifax, of an in tution at which fishermen and curers could gather for instruc There would, he said, be a ch cal laboratory, a model t plant, a drying plant for dem tion and test purposes and a smoke house and curing plant hind it would be the energy funds of the government.

A PLEA for a "bon entente" tween the two great peop Canada was advanced by Dr. Beland, Minister of Soldiers' Re-establishment. Bonds of fr ship, the speaker declared between Quebec and No "that nothing can ever The same ray of hope appeared on the horizon Wilfrid Laurier took over of power in 1896 was in upon the horizon today, h

"The turning point h reached," he declared. realizes it—even Mr. Meighe es it and it makes him ma cannot realize that with of office this country can bu let alone prosper."

Why, the speaker asked, electorate vote to do away wi Meighen? Three reasons, he as an answer; first, for the re tion of privileges of Parli which had been denied duri war years and afterward; because it was necessary to stop to unwarranted expend and third for the expansion of merce.

What had the Conservatives to restore Canadian trade? not Mr. Fielding concluded treaties with France and Italy was not a similar treaty per with Belgium? "and any day United States wants to come trade with us on a basis of equ ity, they are welcome," declared speaker.

Despite the fact that a $3,000,0 saving had been effected in the S. C. R., Dr. Beland said, no w or orphan had had to suffer loss of money rightfully theirs pension list was higher than The saving had been effecte the doing away with superfluou fice employees.

The meeting closed followin Premier's address with the s of the National Anthem.

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Halifax Herald Dec. 1/23.

"THE BRITISH EMPIRE CONSTITUTES THE MOST EFFECTIVE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN WORLD TODAY," PREMIER'S DECLARATION

Rt. Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King Talks Interestingly of Work At Conferences, And General Conditions in Old Land.

(The following interview was given to the Canadian Press by Rt. Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King on his arrival in Halifax from Europe yesterday):

"I AM glad to be home again, glad to have had the privilege of being in England at this particular time and in company with my colleagues, Mr. Graham and Sir Lomer Gouin, to have had the great honor of representing Canada at the Imperial and Economic Conference in London. However, after an absence of two months, full of interest, but also of varied and intense activity, I can assure you that great as has been the welcome extended everywhere in Britain and the cordiality of the hospitality of the Old Land, there is no joy equal to that of being again at home, and sharing once more the daily life of one's fellow citizens.

"It would be impossible at the moment of landing to give any review of the many events incidental to the conferences or even of the more salient features of those very important gatherings. Such a review must await a more favorable place and time. Out of the great mass of impressions gained amid the quite exceptional opportunities the conferences afforded, and which necessarily more or less envelop thought, there are one or two observations which it is possible to make which I believe are not without significance to the people of our country.

"THE first is, how singularly fortunate we in Canada are compared to the people of Europe and the British Isles, indeed, having in mind the review of world affairs as gained at the conferences, I should be inclined to say, compared with any other people on the face of the globe. There is no denying the fact that throughout the world, conditions are most unsettled. In Europe there is the greatest unrest; hatreds are rife as between nations and classes, suspicions and jealousies are giving rise to the creation of fresh enmities and new fears; there appears to be neither certainty nor stability anywhere. The unsettled condition of Europe is reflected throughout the United Kingdom in a variety of ways. It has a parlyzing effect upon industry and business; it is responsible in no inconsiderable measure for the continued unempioyment on so vast a scale; worst of all it is creating a tension in international relations and a change of feeling in international friendships which it is painful to witness and which is sadly disillusioning. In what striking contrast are conditions as we on this continent know and enjoy them! Here we are daily fostering good-will with our neighbors and between classes. Anyone who visits Europe will come to realize that as an asset in international and industrial relations, good-will, as contrasted with ill-will, presents in the national outlook, all the difference between darkness and light, between hope and despair.

"The second observation is closely related to the first, and indeed grows out of it. It is that the Old World needs the New to assist it in the solution of its problems and difficulties. I do not mean by this that there should be any attempt by the people of this continent to reconstruct Europe, or to interfere in matters which are distinctly of domestic and, I should add, primarily of European concern. Between the extremes of interference on the one hand, and indifference or aloofness on the other, lies the sane and wise course of helpful co-operation as opportunity offers in those matters which are not without their effect upon the present stability and future peace of the world.

"THERE are two particulars in which in this regad Canada has been and can continue to be of the greatest possible assistance. The first is in the position she occupies in relation to the United Kingdom and the United States, and the second in the attitude she has taken and may be expected to continue to take towards the League of Nations.

"There can be no doubt that amid the uncertainty and insecurity which exist in world affairs there are two great political entities that, in striking contrast to the rest of political society, present similarities of unity and strength and stability which make them all powerful as the agencies of peace and progress in the world today, the one is the British Empire and the other the United States. They have like ideals of human justice and human liberty, they understand government by opinion, and they look to reason rather than to force in making the right prevail. Both are alike interested in maintaining the peace and security they today enjoy and in preventing a recurrence of conflict between peoples in any quarter of the globe. The most hopeful of all the signs on the world's horizon today is the cordiality of the relationship that at present exists between these two peoples, and Canada can play no more helpful part in world affairs than in lending her effort whenever and as often as opportunity permits to maintain and further this relationship of good-will and friendly co-operation. This she has done in the past and will continue to do more and more as the interpreter to each of the points of view, difficulties and great responsibilities of the other, as a sister nation within the community of nations comprising the British Empire and a friendly neighbour of the Great Republic.

"THE reasons which cause Canada strongly to support the League of Nations as the one alternative to force in maintaining peace and security among the nations of the world give her reason for added satisfaction and pride in her position as the foremost dominion in the British Empire. Nothing was more clearly demonstrated at the Imperial Conference than the fact that the conception of British Empire as a community of free nations has come to be the accepted doctrine of our interimperial relations. The conference proceeded on the assumption throughout that the extent to which its statement of view and the guiding principles laid down might be held to apply and to bind the several parts of the Empire, would necessarily depend on the sanction of the governments represented and the approval of their respective parliaments. Co-operation and the means of effecting co-operation speedily and efficiently between the several parts of the British Empire in all matters of common interest and concern were the underlying motives and aims alike of its discussions and conclusions. That the findings of the conference will commend themselves to the several parliaments of the Empire and through their parliaments to the peoples concerned, I have not the least doubt. It goes without saying that unity and solidarity within the Empire will be thereby promoted with benefit to each of the parts and added power and prestige to the whole.

"The British Empire constitutes the most effective League of Nations in the world today. It is a model to the large League of how interests and ideals may be promoted in common without sacrifice of independence by any of the parts and with substantial gains to the whole. Conference between the representatives of the governments concerned has proved the instrument for reconciling differences of view and opinion and of promoting the common good. As a demonstration of what co-operative effort between governments can achieve in all that pertains to peace and security and international good-will, there is in the world no parallel to the British Empire and the methods it has adopted of achieving its aims and aspirations. In all that affects the well-being of the whole it is as one in many and many in one.

"THE spirit of good-will, mutual understanding and co-operation which characterized the entire proceedings of both conferences is the happiest expression of the relations which exist today between all parts of the British Empire. I believe that the relations between the several governments of the Empire have been more clearly defined than has hitherto been the case, with advantage alike to one and all, and that as a result of the agreements and understandings reached the interests of the several parts have been mutually advanced and the unity of the Empire strengthened.

"With respect to the present political contest in Great Britain, I have nothing to say beyond repeating what I said at the moment of departure from Britain and what we all so clearly recognize, namely the importance of each part of the British Empire determining for itself wi t, in its own interests, it believes to be best in matters of domestic concern.

"Here in Canada we would strongly resent any suggestion of pressure or interference on the part of Great Britain or any of the other British dominions with a view of influencing the electorate in the determination of our own fiscal policy. We are ready to accord to other parts of the Empire a like control in matters of domestic concern. Whatever the verdict of the British public may be with respect to the existing fiscal policy, I have no hesitation in saying that it will in no particular affect the cordiality of the relations which exist between Canada and the United Kingdom and which I believe never were more satisfactory than they are at the present time.

"NOTHING could have been more delightful than the entire voyage from Liverpool to Halifax. It is not an exaggeration to say that on at least three of the days it was more like a trip on the Mediterranean in the summer than on the North Atlantic at the near approach to winter. The weather was warm, with bright sunshine most of the time, and the sea calm. The remaining days were remarkably free from untoward weather, and very few of the passengers were at all indisposed.

"The Montclare is a sister ship to the Montcalm by which I crossed to Liverpool from Quebec in the latter part of September. Of twelve voyages I have made across the Atlantic, some from America others from Canadian ports, these two were the most enjoyable and comfortable. It is part of liberal education to spend a week aboard these vessels with their accommodation and interior decoration and equipment what they are. I cannot speak too highly of the efficiency and courtesy displayed by both ships' officers and crews, nor the pleasure it has been to enjoy the companionship of Commander Rennie of the Montcalm and Commander Webster of the Montclare on these voyages; they spared no efforts to make the voyages memorable in every respect. One cannot but feel intense pride in the fact that this splendid ocean-going service is one owned and controlled by a Canadian company.

"THE interest in Canada and Canadian affairs was apparent on all sides. The British public has been quick to appreciate that in Canada, as elsewhere, the years immediately succeeding the war presented many difficult problems. It is recognized, however, that these are rapidly finding their solution, and that on every side are unmistakable evidences of a returning prosperity. Canada's credit stands high in the minds of British investors, and but for the adverse condition of the exchange much British capital would be coming our way. It may be expected to keep pace with the tide of British immigration which is once more settling towards our shores. It is well understood that in her immigration policy Canada intends to exercise a wise discretion in the selection of the classes of immigrants, and to have regard for the maintenance of her industrial standards, but there is no gainsaying the truth that ours is looked upon as the land of widest opportunity and that settlers ready to fulfil all requirements will be coming in rapidly increasing numbers.

"On all sides I heard the highest praise of the splendid services being rendered Canada by our High Commissioner, the Hon. P. G. Larkin, who is indefatigable in watching and promoting Canada's interest. In Mr. Lucien Pacaud, the Secretary of the High Commissioner's Office, Canada has another representative in London who is rendering his country most valuable and efficient service. The great value of the High Commissioner's Office will be many times enhanced once all the Canadian offices are concentrated in the new Canada Building on Trarfalgar Square. This it is anticipated will be effected within the course of the next few months."

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MONTREAL, MONDAY, DECEMBER 3.

THE RETURN OF THE PREMIER.

The message of the Premier to the people of Canada on his return from attendance at the Imperial Conference is very readable rhetoric signifying nothing, a succession of pleasing platitudes that neither indicate policy nor convey information. Mr. King, however, is perhaps not to be censured for this. He has padded out a skeleton with fine phrases, but the disguise does not conceal the bareness of the bones, for the truth is the Imperial Conference accomplished really nothing new. It had its uses, indeed. Quadrennial gatherings of Empire premiers to discuss subjects of Imperial as distinguished from local concern, the frank interchange of opinions permitted, and the knowledge of local conditions thus acquired are very desirable, to say nothing of the symbol of Empire solidarity presented; but it is a travesty of facts to pretend that the recent Conference accomplished other end. The fundamental precepts and constitutional principles of the British Commonwealth of Nations were fixed several years ago by recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations, a position there is no power and less desire to change. It may suit the game of certain Canadian politicians to trot out the bogey of Imperialism in order to affright an ignorant electorate, and it will not be surprising to read panegyrics of the Prime Minister for having maintained for Canada the right of self-determination and self-government, rights long since acquired and never since assailed. There may be in the Dominions men who dream dreams and see visions of an Imperial Parliament and an Imperial Government under a federal system, but this idea was absolutely, finally and irrevocably discarded by the Imperial Conference of 1917, and is no longer matter of even academic interest.

The question of foreign policy remains unsolved. It may, perchance, be insoluble in the sense of enabling conference and consultation to precede action, and there will be many to agree with General Smuts that, where you build up a common patriotism and a common ideal, the instrument of government will not be a thing that matters so much as the spirit which actuates the whole. One of the difficulties in arriving at a decision upon foreign policy is that, unlike domestic policy, it depends very largely upon what other nations may do. The policy of Great Britain to preserve and perpetuate peace did not avert the great war, and should a similar crisis again arise the British Commonwealth of Nations would, as then, present an unbroken front to the enemy. As Sir Wilfrid Laurier once declared "when Britain is at war Canada is at war," and nothing short of severance of the tie can change this condition. It will always be interesting, perhaps of high value, for the governments of the Dominions to learn of the relations of Great Britain with other countries, of the moves on the political chessboard of Europe, of under-currents of intrigue, and of dangers of war, but it is yet to be discovered how an Empire foreign policy can be shaped without Great Britain necessarily exercising the controlling influence. Nor does this view conflict with the gratifying report of the Prime Minister that: "Nothing was more clearly demonstrated at the Imperial Conference than the fact that the conception of the British Empire as a community of free nations has come to be the accepted doctrine of our inter-Imperial relations. Co-operation and the means of effecting co-operation speedily and efficiently between the several parts of the British Empire in all matters of common interest and concern were the underlying motives and aims alike of its discussions and conclusions." The Premier returns with a pleasing message, but it contains nothing not known before.

Hon. Mr. King avoided reference to the proceedings of the Economic Conference, although it was there the things that greatly matter came under discussion, and there practical steps were taken to promote inter-Empire trade, Empire settlement, and Empire communication. We cannot agree with his view that the fiscal policy of Great Britain is of exclusive concern for the electors of that country; one of which Canadians should speak with bated breath. It was a tremendous step forward along the path of Imperial unity Mr. Baldwin took when he pronounced himself in favor of preferential tariffs, for the argumentum ad hominem is still the most appealing; and we protest that Mr. King is unduly sensitive upon the point. Does he not think a preferential market in Great Britain for Dominion products would be a good thing for Canada? And, if he does, what impropriety in saying so? He and his Government believe it to the advantage of the Empire that emigration from Great Britain to the Dominions is very desirable from both local and Imperial standpoints, and in expression of this belief they carry on a propaganda in Britain. But if it is well to keep men within the Empire is it not equally so to keep trade, the means by which men live and move and have their being? Canadians cannot influence the British electorate in the pending election, but they can feel grateful to Mr. Baldwin for his courage in espousing a preferential tariff, and need have no compunction in expressing that feeling. If Great Britain ever enacts a protective tariff with substantial preferences to the Dominions, she will do much towards enlarging Empire prosperity and supplementing the ties of kinship, sentiment and tradition with that of practical advantage. The British elections do very deeply concern Canadians, the great majority of whom, we believe, pray for the success of the preferential policy; and if the Economic Conference did nothing more than to convince the Baldwin Government of the advantage of protection with preference it abundantly justified its meeting.

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 95)

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Moose Jaw Times Dec. 4/23

WHAT PREMIER KING SHOULD DO

Canada is not likely to get much satisfaction out of the policy of the British Liberals, as laid down by the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith. On several occasions during the present campaign he has shown that he has little sympathy with the preference proposals of the Government which are based on the decisions arrived at by the Imperial Economic Conference. It is now certain that if the Liberals should be returned to power many of the advantages and privileges that Canada has secured in the past will be taken away from her. Were the Government returned to power these benefits would be more than retained, they would be added to and extended. This fact only recalls to mind what is an historical record that whenever Canada has desired preferential duties it has only obtained them from a Conservative Government. And it is still more strange that it has been a Liberal Government which has had to go to a British Conservative Government to secure such duties. It was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's good fortune that a Conservative Government was in power in the Old Country when he was able to obtain this concession, and should the Baldwin Administration be returned and the new preferential duties are agreed on, that it will be Mr. Mackenzie King's good fortune also to obtain them from the roundly abused Conservatives.

Mr. Henry Herbert Asquith has put his foot down firmly against any such economic system. In the course of a campaign speech on November 28, he discussed what are known as the McKenna duties. It was under these duties that Canada has been able to build up so great an export trade in automobiles to Britain and to do a considerable trade in refined sugar. Mr. Asquith has now specifically declared that these preferential duties were only imposed to limit the importation of luxuries and that their abolition would be one of the first duties of a Liberal or Labor Government.

That is a very different attitude to that of Mr. Stanley Baldwin. Speaking on the same evening as Mr. Asquith, the Conservative leader stated that the tariffs would mean that the Canadian manufacturers would be able to increase their exports as against the United States' manufacturers. It will thus be seen that Canada is most intimately concerned with the present British campaign, and it is a laughable irony of political fate that if the Canadian Prime Minister is anxious for the extension of Canadian trade with Great Britain, he ought to be on his knees praying for the return of the Conservative Government in the Old Country. When he arrived at Halifax on November 30, he made the statement that "realising more than ever that my country is my home, I hereby pledge myself anew, under the sure guidance of God, to place whatever energies and capabilities are mine on the altar of my country." That being so and the interest of Canada lying in the direction of the return of the Conservative Government in Great Britain, his duty sems to be perfectly obvious.

But Mr. Asquith has later on made even a stronger statement than that quoted. Speaking at Paisley on Saturday last, the Liberal leader, declared that the exclusion from the tariff of wheat and meat knocked the bottom out of Imperial preference, because these were the main importation from the most important of the Dominions. The proposed preference, therefore, was "not worth the paper that it was written on," he said. But we have been hearing from the Liberal press of Canada that the preference duties agreed upon at the Conference would be of benefit to the Dominion, while it is now the expressed opinion of the British Liberal leader that they are not worth the paper they are written on.

One cannot but feel some sympathy with the leader of the Canadian Liberals that the leader of the British Liberals should give him so cold-blooded and deliberate a snub. It only shows, however, that there is little of accord between the Liberal parties and the Liberal principles of Canada and Great Britain. Moreover, it is conclusive proof that the policy of preferential duties, as it was enunciated by Sir John A. Macdonald, is purely a Conservative policy, and one with which the British Liberals will have nothing to do. In Mr. Asquith's utterances we see the true Liberal policy, which it is evident is not towards the development of inter-Empire trade.

Whatever the result of the elections may be we now clearly see what we may expect from the Liberal party of Great Britain.

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CANADA

Gazette Montreal Dec, 7/23.

CABINET PRESENT TO GREET PREMIER

Mayor Martin Offered Welcome for City When Rt. Hon. Mr. King Arrived

DROVE THROUGH STREETS

Prime Minister Was Intercepted by Students of University of Montreal to Receive Cap and Cane

In a friendly and informal manner the Right Honorable Mackenzie King, the Premier, was welcomed to Montreal last night, following his arrival at Bonaventure station. There were present the entire Cabinet, with the exception of the Right Hon. Mr. Fielding, whose absence was due to his illness; Hon. Mr. Taschereau, Prime Minister of Quebec; and members of the Federal and Provincial Houses representing the Montreal and neighboring constituencies.

The Premier came from Ottawa over the Canadian National by the regular afternoon train, travelling in the private car "Ontario." This car was detached in the yard, while the train proceeded to the station on its regular schedule time. On the arranged time of 7.15 the private car drew into the train shed and Mr. King descended.

Mayor Mederic Martin was on the platform and extended the welcome of the City of Montreal to the Premier, and after salutations had been exchanged, other friends and members went forward and paid their compliments. Then followed the inevitable flashlight, after which the Premier and the Mayor proceeded along the platform towards the station proper. Then for the first time a cheer was heard.

There was ample room for the party to walk through the station, and the Premier was invited into the waiting room, to gain a respite while the parade was being formed. At this time other friends were enabled to greet the Premier. Mr. King was in good spirits, and to all enquiries answered that he felt capital.

In the meantime, Dr. Ernest Poulin, director-in-chief of the ceremonies, was busily engaged in the space in front of the station getting the parade under way. There were motors and trucks, divided into sections representing, west, east and north. Some trucks contained musicians, while many of the cars bore devices indicating that they represented ridings in the Province of Quebec. There were in all 130 cars, and some of them being occupied by a driver alone, were stopped so that enthusiasts grouped in front of the building might seat themselves and enjoy the pleasures of a ride through the city.

There was not a very large crowd in front of the station, and the police constables had no difficulty in maintaining a clear space and directing the motor parade on its way.

MOTORS WERE DECORATED.

After the parade had been set in motion some cars appeared decorated in holiday fashion. One carried a sign, "God Save our King and Mitchell." This was followed at some little distance by a truck on which had been set a large red square to represent the "bloc rouge," of Quebec, one face of the device bearing this: "Quebec solid as ever."

It was noticeable that in addition to the faithful of the party there was quite a sprinkling of boys and youths, while even babes in arms were participants. Union Jacks, Canadian ensigns and tri-colors were freely in evidence, while one enthusiastic north end float also carried an Italian flag. Following this came a car, the side of which was decorated with a sign: "Le Roi de nos liberties."

The most picturesque of the floats rolled by soon afterwards. This represented a house built on a Ford chassis, the family leaning out of the windows, the children enjoying themselves with spluttering fireworks, and a banner bore the information that this was "A happy Liberal family."

When the cars had proceeded past the main entrance of the station, each signalizing its arrival by sounding its horn, the Prime Minister, accompanied by Mayor Martin, entered an open car and joined in the procession.

There was a cheer as Mr. King's car started on its journey.

The route was up Windsor and Peel to St. Catherine, east on St. Catherine to St. Lawrence, north on St. Lawrence to Mount Royal, east on Mount Royal avenue to Papineau, south on Papineau to St. Catherine, thence west to St. Denis, then south to Craig and west to the Drill Hall, the Premier and the guests entering the building from the Cadieux street side.

There was no particular manifestation of enthusiasm as the parade started on its journey, only a few spectators being on Windsor and Peel streets. On St. Catherine street there appeared to be even less than is usual, but this was probably due to the fact that it was then raining. There had also been a break in the parade, and it is probable that many persons had been led to believe that the Premier had passed before he really did so. It was necessary for the rear portion of the parade to proceed at high speed in order to catch the preceding portion, and it is probable that some of the traffic regulations were broken in doing so. It was not until Mount Royal avenue was reached that the parade was again an entire unit.

ENTHUSIASM SHOWN.

At the corner of St. Lawrence boulevard and St. Catherine there was a considerable gathering, and this group displayed much enthusiasm. Throughout St. Lawrence street the spectators were in groups, the biggest being at the corner of Rachel, where St. Jean Baptiste Market is situated. When Mount Royal avenue was reached there was a considerable increase in the number of spectators, and between that point and Papineau there were gathered the largest number of people, the greatest crowd being at the corner of Papineau.

The corners of the important intersections, Ontario and St. Catherine, had large crowds, and as the parade turned westwards in the latter thoroughfares it was welcomed by fair-sized crowds.

When the motor car containing the Premier and the Mayor reached the main building of the University of Montreal in St. Denis street, it was stopped on the invitation of the student body and then followed the most picturesque scene of the evening.

The students were massed on the steps, a searchlight was played from the upper balcony, and as Mr. King and the Mayor descended from their car and were escorted forward by officers of the student body, they were welcomed by a college yell such as only these students can give. As the Premier proceeded up the steps there were cheers, and he was subjected to a bombardment of confetti, reaching the top festooned by colored streamers.

Then the president of the student body read a brief address tendering to the Premier the congratulations of the students of all faculties and tendering their admiration.

As a further token of their appreciation a "barrette," the velvet cap of the students, and a cane were presented to the Premier, and the acceptance of these insignia admitted him into the student fellowship of the University of Montreal.

Mr. King was invited to address the students, but he was excused because he was proceeding to the Drill Hall to make a lengthy speech, and, instead, the students were invited to join in the procession and listen to the Prime Minister at the Drill Hall.

When the Premier and the Mayor began to descend the steps the student body broke into song and announced "Il a gagne ses epaulettes."

The parade was then resumed and proceeded to the Drill Hall, which was the objective of the night.

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M G. 2', I, Volume 99)

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES CANADA

London Free Press Dec 7/23.

PREMIER KING ASKS LIBERALS TO END STRIFE

Declares Jealousies Within Own Ranks Caused Loss of Riding In Halifax

GUEST OF THE PARTY STALWARTS IN MONTREAL

Hon. George P. Graham and Sir Lomer Gouin Are Also Honored

MONTREAL, Dec. 6.—(Canadian Press Dispatch).—Leading a parade of 130 automobiles decorated with various emblems of the Liberal party, the "Quebec Rouge" bloc, the "happy Liberal family" and so on, Premier Mackenzie King proceeded through the principal thoroughfares of this city to the meeting place of the gathering in his honor here this evening. There was present the entire Cabinet with the exception of Rt. Hon. W. S. Fielding, whose absence was due to illness, and the prime minister was welcomed by Premier Taschereau, of Quebec; Mayor Martin, of this city, and members of the provincial and federal parliaments for Montreal and neighboring constituencies.

Sir Lomer Gouin, minister of justice, made the first speech after an introductory address by A. Legault, vice-president of the Liberal federation. Sir Lomer spoke in the highest terms of praise of the League of Nations and expressed great faith in it. He then made reference to the prime minister and declared that to-night's manifestations were for Mr. King and for his success in London.

Sir Lomer was followed by Hon. G. P. Graham, minister of railways, who paid a high tribute both to Mr. King and Sir Lomer Gouin for the work at the imperial conference.

In regard to the premier he said that Premier King had not only made a great name for himself, but had raised Canad to an even higher plane in the minds and hearts of the people of Great Britain.

MR. KING.

Mr. King, in his address, made special reference to the Halifax election and claimed that the loss of the seat by the Liberals was due to "jealousies within our ranks." He warned against tactics which sought to set East against West, and said the "deliberate misrepresentation" of the Government's action were also largely responsible for the loss of the seat. He defended the action of the Government in respect of the Turkish war scare a year ago and claimed that responsible political leaders in London had supported the action of his Government in stating that such matters must be put before Parliament before a decision could be reached.

The halibut treaty with the United States, attacked by the Opposition as derogatory to Great Britain in that a Canadian representative had signed it, and not the British ambassador at Washington, was defended on the ground that such action had been entirely approved by the imperial conference, extracts from the summary of proceedings of which he read in support of the statement. He concluded with a glowing tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, describing him as "a great political prophet whose vision had brought light and learning to every part of the empire."

about all has been said that is worth saying."

DEFENDS LEAGUE.

Mr. Graham stoutly defended the apparent inaction of the League of Nations in the Greco-Italian dispute. He declared that had the league insisted on using its authority just to show its greatness, it was probable that further difficulties might have arisen and far-reaching consequences might have resulted.

He replied to criticism of the action of the Canadian representatives at the imperial conference in regard to the imperial shipping board. Their objection to making this board permanent was due to antagonism to the members of the board, but "we believe these gatherings are only conferences for the interchange of views and that multiplication of permanent machinery is not necessary, neither is it sure of practicability."

Another recommendation to which Canada objected was the naming of an economic committee with several members from Great Britain and a member each from the overseas dominions. Taking as an illustration the results of the dumping clause, he pointed out that this would mean the giving to outsiders the right to dip into matters of domestic concern to Canada which could never be permitted.

THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Two matters of vital importance to the St. Lawrence route were brought before the economic conference, one pertaining to unfair insurance rates and the other the action of even British bottoms in giving a preferential grain rate from New York to the detriment of Canadian ports.

As to the first, he submitted the idea of Canadian businessmen of devising the means of providing insurance rates for our own route. As to the latter, it was difficult to see how it could be prevented at the present time.

Hon. G. P. Graham, minister of railways, paid a high tribute to the prime minister and to the Minister of Justice. "I say it advisedly that on the platform Mackenzie King was not approached and his ready conversance with public affairs was only equalled by the eloquence with which he discussed them," said Mr. Graham. "He not only made a great name for himself, but placed Canada on even a higher plane than she before occupied in the minds and hearts of the people of Great Britain and of other parts of the empire as well."

Of Sir Lomer Gouin, he said: "He is in a class by himself and his mental machinery works as smoothly as a Rolls-Royce and often times as noiselessly. Canada's Minister of Justice has a quality of getting at the real kernel of any question and when he is through

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(Also Ottawa Citizen Nov 9 & Dec 12

Montreal Gazette
Dec. 7/23

"Liberals rallied to pay tribute to Mackenzie King" —

Taken by Mr. Meighen
Jan. 2/23

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CANADA

056839

Walsh
re Moss

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Ottawa, Sept. 22, 1924.

H.A. Kennedy Esq.,
29 Mount Stephen Apts.,
Westmount, P.Q.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 3rd inst., together with newspaper clippings, evidently was delayed in the mail as it only reached Ottawa some few days ago after Mr. Meighen had left for Western Canada. I shall place it before him upon his return to the city.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Mailed
re Moss

Walsh
re Carl Roots
H Can Roots

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CANADA

056824

29 Mount Stephen Apts.
Westmount, Que.
Sept. 3, 1924.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

I am about to reprint in pamphlet form the enclosed letters to the Prime Minister.

Before doing so, I am sending copies, in their original newspaper form, to a few persons of sufficient clearness of mind to see "the evil of the evil" and enough independence of spirit to express themselves freely.

Even among Ministers and ex-Ministers, who might prima facie be expected to approve of the present system if anyone did, I find men who have only acquiesced in it and would be glad to mend it or end it,-- seeing it not only fails to meet the country's urgent need but puts themselves in a false position.

Am I right in believing that you favor the principle here stated and will support its adoption?

Yours sincerely,

H A Kennedy

Municipal finance must bear the brunt, which will intensify

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MEDICINE MAN RULE.

Mr. H. A. Kennedy, of Ottawa, has written a series of open letters to the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada. Mr. Kennedy has an intimate knowledge of the workings of the Civil Service and the machinery of Government and his letters will be published in these columns simultaneously with their despatch to the Prime Minister. We reproduce the first of the series below:

Dear Prime Minister,—The mysterious disappearance of a high-born Canadian infant, in the year 1916, gave rise to many guesses and suspicions. As the country's attention was distracted by the war, however, the incident was soon forgotten, a nine-days' wonder. The time has evidently come to publish the facts, and I take this means of doing so.

Do you ask how the fate of an eight-year-old infant concerns a two-year-old Prime Minister?

You will soon see.

For the unhappy event of 1916, when you were wandering irresponsibly out in the cold, you may plead an alibi. For the failure to undo what then was done, you have no such excuse.

We are now paying $19,000 a year.

Are you worth it?

The question must often occur to your modest mind.

Anyone who shows you how to make yourself worth it, then, will have earned your gratitude. Whether he gets what he earns or not is another question, and matters nothing.

A Strangling Incubus.

The story is that of a revolt against the strangling incubus of "Medicine Man Government," the hopelessly obsolete and costly burden of political management under which the whole Dominion staggers.

It matters not one straw to the country whether the story affects the fortunes of your party, or any other party. No,—not one red cent, not one row of pins, not one hill of beans, not one solitary atom. The situation is too grave. We are suffering too painfully from the effect of muddle, meddle and mess on the fortunes of the Dominion, to care one whiff of wind for the possible effect of public enlightenment on the fortunes of a party.

As things happened, it was a Conservative Minister who led the revolt—and a Conservative Ministry that suppressed it. On the other side, it is a Liberal or "Reform" Ministry which for two years and a half has had the power to reform the evil and has not lifted one little finger to reform it.

The revolt is going to break out again, with no world war as an easy excuse for suppressing it this time. You can head it off, if you have the will, and if you are something more than a figure-head on a ship which everyone but the captain is allowed to steer. . . . But the opportunity may not be yours for long.

The country is being bled white. You have shown yourself at last awake to the need of action of some kind. That is what encourages me to tell you about the really effective action recommended to a former Government by a highly responsible authority.

What is the action you propose? To stick a bit of plaster on a scratch. The story I am telling is that of a serious attempt, though speedily suppressed, to get at the root of the disease and stop the bleeding at its source. The doctors then called in, though ignominiously dismissed as soon as they dared to give honest advice, made practical recommendations which, if you muster up the courage to adopt them, may even now go far to save the country.

The vanished infant, born in the Privy Council Chamber where you may preside, was christened "The Economic and Development Commission." That was a deadly dull name to give the poor thing, and helps to explain why its disappearance excited no more interest than it did. But its brief life was interesting enough in all conscience, and the manner of its tragic death was unique in the history of the Domin[illegible]

Cabinet Secrets.

"Sunk, leaving no trace." That is one account of the Commission's fate. It is probably true that even in the secret archives of the Privy Council you can find "no trace" of the sinking. I am quite prepared to hear a solemn official declaration that the Commission "made no report." But rght here on my desk is the document laid before the Government by the Chairman of the Commission, containing all the grave charges and drastic recommendations which, he declared, the Commission intended to make.

The Commission could not go on and carry out that intention, for the very simple reason that the Commissioners were never again allowed to meet.

I have to violate a Cabinet secret, to explain this. What pains and penalties attach to so heinous a crime, I cannot remember. Solitary confinement on bread and water in your Parliamentary Tower, perhaps. I am willing to chance it,—anything, in fact, short of confinement to the Press Gallery of the National Gas Factory itself, listening to interminable useless talk and calculating by mental arithmetic what it costs the country per word, per bushel, or per thouasnd cubic feet.

No one but myself has the slightest responsibility for what I state. The Chairman of the Commission in particular, Sir James Lougheed,—I have to name him as leader of the revolt, so I had better add that I have neither asked nor received from him any of the information now made public.

The fateful Cabinet meeting which strangled the Commission was not a sensational or violent one. Not a head was broken, nor even a chair. However indignant the honorable gentlemen were at the audacity of the Commission's threatened action, they simply and quietly turned their thumbs down and sentenced their rebellious child to instant death. It is futile to say that no death sentence was formally passed, or even that no resolution was adopted. The decision was made—clear, definite, prompt and emphatic. And the Commission died the death.

The decision of the Cabinet need not surprise us. The demand of the Commission's chairman was nothing less than a bold frontal attack on the system of "Government by Medicine-Man"; and the Medicine Men were the Cabinet Ministers themselves.

Spell-Binders, Red and White.

It is an ancient institution, a hoary imposture, this paralytic system. Our earliest immigrant ancestors brought the rudiments of it from Europe, but they found it in full force among the Indians when

"Spell-Binder Good For This."

"Spell-Binder No Good For This."

they got here, and succeeding generations have developed it till it holds every branch of administration in its fatal grasp.

The Medicine-Man was the spell-binder. He governed by noise. By his cries and gesticulations he awed and hypnotized the tribesmen into a belief that he alone could bring prosperity,—in him alone was concentrated the wisdom and capacity of the tribe.

The Medicine-Man still rules Canada.

The spell-binder has not changed his nature with his hat. He has not acquired, with the silk "topper" which replaces the feather head-dress, any particular capacity for managing a complicated piece of national business. Yet that is the job he is allowed to hold, at $10,000 a year,—or $15,000 if promoted Chief of the Band,—in addition to the $4,000 we give him for merely sitting in the Senate or House of Commons a few hours a day for a few months in the year.

Appoint a bull to manage a china shop, and you know what is likely to happen. Appoint a talk-artist, a vote-catcher, a wire-puller, a cat-jumper, a one-sided partisan, to manage a business department, and commonsense tells us what to expect.

Whether we expect it or not, we get it.

That is the egregious system which keeps our country in hobbles today; and that is the system which was utterly condemned in the most damning document ever presented to a Canadian Government by one of its own members.

The story must now be told, as it actually occurred.

Yours sincerely,
HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 27, I, Volume [illegible])

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CANADA

MEDICINE MAN RULE.

The Story Of a Suppressed Revolt.

We publish below the second letter of a series written to the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King by H. A. Kennedy. The letters are being published in this paper simultaneously with their dispatch to the Prime Minister:

Dear Prime Minister,—If I compare you to a mountain, believe me, I mean no personal offence; but when you laboriously produce, after two years of gestation, your great scheme of Civil Service economy, you irresistibly remind us of the mountain which gave birth to a ridiculous mouse. This offspring of yours, however, turns out to be only a flea. A languid and pathetic flea, at that. Can it even jump? If it beats Mark Twain's loaded frog by an inch, we shall be agreeably surprised.

It was a great evil that the Commission appointed by the Borden Cabinet found blocking the country's progress. That evil, the control and management of the country's business departments by politicians, is no less grave to-day. It cries to heaven for abolition.

The evil you have chosen to attack is a comparatively small one.

The Civil Service assuredly needs reform; but the fundamental reform it needs is emancipation from the unnatural and paralyzing control of political management.

To smoke the drones out of the official hive is good. Go ahead and do it, if you can. Go further while you are about it. Cut out a lot of the useless red-tape and routine that keeps men apparently "busy" when they are only scratching paper and wasting the national resources of pulpwood. Go further still. Stop over-lapping, and not merely between different departments and branches of the same Department,—negotiate with the nine other Governments of this mightily over-governed country to stop over-lapping between your officials and theirs, and between the Provinces themselves.

No one will welcome this true Civil Service reform more than the extremely able and hard-working civil servants on whose reputation an undeserved slur is cast by their indifferent and superfluous colleagues.

But the dollars and cents you will save by it, what will they amount to? Put it at $2,000,000, or even suppose you double that figure, by carrying out the whole programme. The actual relief this will give your fellow-countrymen in a year will be about fifty cents a head, or four cents per month.

The action you propose is merely negative, and the gain is piffling. Give us action that is positive, constructive, re-constructive, and the gain will be tremendous.

Knock off that $4,000,000 from our expenditure, and we shall still be staggering under the burden of the remaining hundreds of millions, because it is chiefly unremunerative. Make our expenditure pay, or that large part of it which can be made to, and we shall carry it smiling; it will be no longer a burden, but a benefit.

Give Us What We Pay For.

You remember Mr. Micawber? You must often think of him, for your life is spent in a constant hope that "something will turn up," as his was. You will remember also his invaluable discovery that an expenditure of $5 with an income of $4.90 is misery, while the same expenditure with an income of $5.10 is happiness.

In a business with a gross income of, say, $200,000 a year, a yearly expenditure of $250,000 means death. With an income of $300,000, the same expenditure is quite consistent with healthy and prosperous life.

If you give us the service we need, a capable, zealous and businesslike as well as economical service which adds to the country's wealth, by increasing its population and developing its resources, for example, —we shall be taking in with one hand far more than we are paying out with the other.

"We must pay only for the service we get." That is the gist of your proposal to squeeze out superfluous officials. It is good as far as it goes, but it leaves us cold.

"We must get the service we pay for." Say that, give us that, and we shall bless you.

The most we can possibly gain by reducing the cost of our national staff to the value of the work now done by that staff, is a mere nothing compared to the enormous profit obtainable by raising the value of the work done to the point of meeting the country's urgent needs. It is not within a thousand miles of that point yet.

Your sudden outburst of zeal against the superfluous official may not be a mere dust cloud raised to shield the grosser abuse of political management in business, but it looks like one. It may not be a red herring drawn across the trail of bigger game, but it smells like one.

The investigators appointed by the Federal Government during the war refused to be diverted by any red herring. They got on the trail and stuck to it. They traced the disease of national stagnation to its source. It was because they discovered this source in the management of our business departments by political ministers that they were quietly snuffed out of existence, leaving no trace.

Their Chairman's exposure of the cause of our national stagnation was a brave and patriotic act. Had he been brave enough to call his Commissioners together and appeal from the Government to the people, defying suppression and exposing their discovery to the judgment of their fellow-citizens, the history of our country in the last few years might have been very different.

Once the people clearly understand the working and effect of "Medicine-Man Government," as mercilessly exposed by the responsible leader of that investigation,—then politicians of every shade, with their finger on the public pulse, may soon be found vying with each other to introduce the great changes in our system of government declared to be necessary by the head of a highly conservative Government Commission.

Those drastic changes, and some of the disquieting facts which proved their necessity, must now be made known.

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY.

MEDICINE MAN RULE.

The Story of a Suppressed Revolt.

The following letter forms the third of a series written by H. A. Kennedy to the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. The letters are being published in this paper coincident with their despatch to the Prime Minister:

Dear Prime Minister,—The investigating Commission which came to a sudden and mysterious end in 1916 was appointed to find a remedy for grave national defects which were keeping down production and checking prosperity. Those defects are exactly what we are suffering from to-day, though it is eight years since that Commission's Chairman pointed the way to their remedy.

It was on the 28th of June, 1915, that your predecessor, Sir Robert Borden, called his Cabinet together and demanded the appointment of such a Commission.

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Chiefly, and briefly, the defects to which he called attention included the lack of rural population; the drift from country to town; the inadequate profits of agriculture; the need of improved methods of production, of co-operation among producers, and of converting our raw material by manufacture before export.

Though obviously immigration was just then out of the question, Sir Robert saw that we should be prepared with "a vigorous and effective policy" to be put in force when the war ended, to attract immigration "of a type which would aid in insuring a large and permanent agricultural population."

The Prime Minister proposed, and the Cabinet agreed, that "careful and exhaustive inquiry" into these and kindred matters should be made by a Commission. Owing to Sir Robert's journey to England, the next step was delayed; but finally on October 19 the Cabinet appointed one of their own number, Senator Lougheed, to be Chairman of the Commission. and gave him eight colleagues—J. W. Flavelle, Toronto; W. Farrell, Vancouver; J. B. Rolland, Montreal; E. N. Hopkins, formerly of Moose Jaw; Senator W. B. Ross, Middleton, N.S.; Dr. J. G. Rutherford, Calgary; W. Smith, M.P., Columbus, Ont.; and J. G. Watters, Ottawa. Mr. Flavelle's place was afterwards taken by W. M. Dobell, of Quebec.

As at least eight of the nine were Conservatives, it was plain that such a Commission would make no recommendations of an unconstitutional or revolutionary nature.

The inquiry began hopefully. By means of a small but practical and experienced staff, a great quantity of valuable information was collected and classified.

Two only, of the hundreds of significant facts unearthed by the Commission, may be mentioned here.

Sink-or-Swim Results.

It was found that under our homestead system, which we borrowed unthinkingly from the United States with the idea of filling up our vacant western land, 262,865 homesteads and pre-emptions, or 39.7 per cent of the total, had been cancelled up to the end of 1915.

You know what that means. More than a quarter of a million, of those who took our offer of 160 acres of free land apiece, failed to fulfil even the absurdly easy conditions of cultivation and residence required. The area thus thrown back on our hands was 42,058,400 acres, unless some had been cancelled more than once. Of the homestead entries made from 1900 to 1909, as many as 49 per cent had been cancelled.

Making every allowance for deficiencies in the homesteaders themselves, there is not the slightest doubt that many thousands of these failures could have been avoided, if any carefully thought-out steps for ensuring the homesteaders' success had been taken by the organization entrusted with the settlement of our lands. An organization on business lines would have taken such steps as a matter of course. This was not done, and the result was a national loss huge beyond all calculation.

The second fact referred to was this. While thousands of men had been allowed to scatter over a vast area and settle on public land far from any railway whatever, the wasteful over-construction of competing lines had given many districts two and even three times the railway facilities they needed. It was a case of surfeit in one region, starvation in another. Of the 261,783,000 acres within 15 miles of a railway in the Prairie Provinces, 27,125,120 acres were served by two railways, and 16,876,800 of these acres had two railways within five miles of them. More than that—5,125,120 acres had three railways within 15 miles of them, and included 3,369,600 acres within five miles of three railways.

The Commissioners were confronted by mountains of convincing evidence that the departmental system had failed, and that the cause of failure lay deep-seated in the very nature of that system.

Serving Two Masters.

I was asked to put in writing the grounds on which this conviction was based, with particular reference to land settlement and immigration.

In doing so, I had to point out, among many other unpleasant facts, that a Cabinet Minister in charge of a business department was compelled to "serve two masters" and perform—or attempt to perform—incompatible duties. He was distracted between 2 objects. As a politician, he had to please his party. As an administrator, with a salary paid by the whole country, his duty was to manage his department regardless of party considerations.

This involved distraction of time and attention as well as conflict of interests; and a department, especially one involving such a vital and complex business as that of building up a successful agricultural population, could not possibly succeed without the undivided attention of a perfectly single-minded chief.

As for the Minister's staff, his own dependence on a political party necessarily affected those under his orders. Men of commanding ability, men of initiative and constructive talent, men capable of organizing and managing important operations, naturally tended to shun the public service—though there, of all places, the need of such men was overwhelmingly great. When such men did appear in the service they found that its tendency was not to encourage and develop talent by exercise, but to atrophy and smother it.

Confessions of Failure.

The failure of the present system, it was pointed out, had been at various times confessed by the Government in a most unmistakable way—by the setting up of the Railway Commission and the Grain Commission, for instance. The overwhelming reasons why the existing Railway and Trade Departments had not been allowed to exercise the powers of those Commissions, were equally decisive against allowing similar departments to manage or mismanage the business of immigration and settlement.

The system of putting our business operations under the management of political ministers, in short, was a fossilized failure, a hopeless specimen of organized incapacity.

If this was not truth, it was treason. I was quite prepared for official censure, or at any rate a mild reproof, for my audacity.

Instead of going too far, I was agreeably surprised to find I had not gone far enough to suit the Commissioners—at any rate in boldness of programme. What that programme was, and what became of it, you will see when the curtain goes up for the tragic final scene of the drama.

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY.

MEDICINE-MAN RULE.

The Story of a Suppressed Revolt.

We publish below the fourth letter of a series written to the Prime Minister, the Right Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, by Mr. H. A. Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy has an intimate knowledge of the workings of the Civil Service; he has an intimate knowledge of the work accomplished by the Commission with which he deals, and he is therefore well qualified to express opinions on both subjects. In the fifth, and concluding letter, the writer makes a number of constructive suggestions which have an important bearing on questions of the day. The letter will be published in this column in the course of the next few days:

Dear Prime Minister:—The demand which, I was authoritatively informed, the Economic and Development Commissioners would have to press on the Government, and which I accordingly formulated, was that land settlement and immigration should henceforth be carried out by three Commissioners, appointed for their special capacity for this work, (I had previously suggested that one of them should be a woman), holding office for ten years, and exercising specific powers conferred on their body by statute.

The demand which the Chairman, speaking for the Commission, did actually make at a meeting of the Cabinet went much farther. Not merely one but four important branches of Federal administration were immediately to be set free from political management.

In what I have already described as the most damning document ever presented to a Canadian Government by one of its members, these words were used:

"Our departmental machinery is not calculated to adapt itself, as would a business organization, to new and advanced methods of developing our resources in those subjects where promotive and aggressive methods are the essentials to success. No business organization would for a moment entertain the application of such machinery as our departmental methods to the transaction of an expanding business.

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"The question therefore arises whether Canada must necessarily rely upon the methods which we have used for the transaction in the past of our national business, and which may be said to be entirely responsible for our want of progress, or whether we shall awake to the national opportunities which we are losing and abandon our traditions of stagnating methods and adopt new systems, both modern and efficient."

* * * *

The Minister of each Department, the report declared, was "in the very nature of things charged with keeping his Department largely in touch with the political fortunes of his party," while among the officials, no matter how capable they might be, "initiative is not encouraged, constructive ability is not given full play, and aggressive methods are at variance with the traditions of the Departments."

The Commissioners' declaration was nothing less than an ultimatum to the Government which had appointed them. The Commissioners regarded it as "fundamental" that the Government should "at once give expression to its willingness to adopt machinery" through which alone the Commission's objects could be efficiently carried out. It was "absolutely indispensable" that the working out of these subjects should be entrusted to "active and permanent Commissions specially organized for that purpose," appointed for, say, ten years. The Civil Service Act "should in no way apply to them."

Four such Commissions, of not more than three members each, were recommended. They were to take charge of (1) Immigration and Colonization, (2) Agriculture, (3) Trade, and (4) the Development of our Natural Resources. The then existing, but since destroyed, "Conservation Commission" was to be converted into a Bureau of Industrial and Scientific Research and attached to the Commission (No. 4) of Natural Resources. Each Commission "could be attached to the Department cognate with the subject," but "should be charged with the same responsibility and given the same freedom of action that a business organization would feel it incumbent to apply in analogous cases," and they should be judged by the results they achieved. The four Chairmen might form "a central committee or qualified executive," meeting at short intervals to promote "co-ordination, co-operation and other aggressive and promotive work."

* * * *

Finally, "with all deference," the Government was notified that, unless it adopted some policy of the kind suggested, the Commission could not with any well defined advantage proceed further with its inquiry.

I have described the Chairman as "speaking for the Commission." The report, or memorandum, or whatever you like to call it, was drawn up by Sir Jas. Lougheed himself and another Commissioner; but they were evidently assured that they voiced the opinions of the Commission as a whole; all the wording of the document shows that. I have heard of one member who did not wholly agree. It is possible, however, that he was not opposed to the drastic recommendations made, but only to the announcement that if these were not agreed to in advance by the Government the Commission would go on permanent strike.

There was some fear that objection might be raised in certain quarters to "the policy of appointing Commissions" as "an invasion of the right of Ministerial responsibility to Parliament."

To meet this, in a postscript or supplement to the report a slightly modified alternative plan was suggested, under which "legislative authority might be given for the appointment of a Commissioner or Commissioners, for a period of say ten years, irrespective of the Civil Service Act, to be attached to such Department or Departments as might be "designated." But as the original proposal required the constitution of each Commission to be defined by Act of Parliament, the anticipated objection would have had little foundation. The postscript added that "the machinery of the Department to which they are attached should be so adapted and adjusted as not only to facilitate but to be specially applicable in the carrying out of their duties." It was further suggested that the Commissioners should together constitute an advisory committee, under the Presidency of a Minister named by the Prime Minister.

* * * *

Last scene but one. Infanticide.

What hope Sir James Lougheed cherished that his colleagues would seize this opportunity to carry out a great and beneficent national reform, I cannot say. Not much, I imagine. At any rate, to avoid the risk of its formal rejection by a Government of which he was a member, he did not formally "present the Commission's report."

Nevertheless, at that fateful meeting of the Cabinet his colleagues were made aware that this was what the Commission's report would be. "They all with one consent began to make excuse." There was one big excuse ready to hand. The war was enough to occupy them, without a great scheme of reform and reorganization,—though it was this very war that made the need of reform and reorganization most apparent and most urgent. And, as the sequel shows, nothing more has been heard of the reform since the war ended.

Not one of the Ministers concerned would offer to make the sacrifice which their colleague at the head of the Commission solemnly declared to be imperative if the country was to exchange stagnation for progress. "Nothing doing!" The infant report, first child of the great Commission and grand-child of the Government, was strangled by its own grandmother before it could be born.

Last scene of all. Suicide.

The Chairman of the Economic and Development Commission, seeing the hopeful fruit of all its labor fall still-born, fulfilled his threat, and allowed the Commission to drop silently into the grave which its parent had dug for its burial.

* * * *

But the day of resurrection may be nearer than we think. You and your fellow Ministers are able, if you dare, to give the country a reform which every day more urgently demands.

I do not blink the obstacles in your way. Many of the political eminences who sit around you in that room, and possibly most of them, think their personal interest and ambition can best be served by clinging to the obsolete system; some of them may sincerely imagine that the system is best for the country as well as for themselves. Those who fear the change hope the public can be reckoned on to stay asleep under the chloroform of custom. We have endured this thing from the blind force of habit, having never known freedom from its oppressive weight. But when Ministers are disposed to flatter themselves that the public is a stupid mule, they should remember the mule is apt to shoot out a sudden and a wicked hoof.

If, without waiting for the coming kick, you give us a system of management on speaking terms with commonsense, no true Conservative surely will grudge you the credit of a step which is equally required to conserve and to liberalize our institutions. We want no dictatorship here; but if you allow us no alternative except creeping paralysis and progressive anaemia, there is no saying in what form of explosion the over-strained patience of the country may suddenly break out.

Obstruction, by opposing construction, always provokes destruction. If the reasonable demands for reform are resisted, they will certainly grow till they are irresistible and perhaps also unreasonable, so that we shall have to sacrifice not only what is indefensible and obsolete but much that is really of value in our political system.

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY,

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056845

MEDICINE MAN RULE.

A Progressive Government but not a Government of Progressives is the ideal suggested by Mr. Kennedy in the letter published below—the last of a series telling the story of a suppressed revolt to appear in this paper. Beyond all question, he thinks, is the urgent need to develop the natural resources of the country and cultivate the uncultivated land. Other constructive suggestions are made too which are equally sound and equally practicable. There can be no doubt that the country has been relying very largely upon the sale of raw materials and as the writer points out such a system is bound to operate against Canadian industry and Canadian workmen.

The letters which we have already published form a serious indictment against the present system and the present Government. Fittingly, the last letter of the series is constructive. Mr. Kennedy is good at demolition work, but he is better still at building up.

His last letter is as follows:—

Dear Prime Minister: You were not responsible for the tragic disappearance of the Commission which I have described; but you and your colleagues are responsible for what has been done and left undone in the past two years under the Medicine-Man system of government which the Commission found guilty of our worst national troubles.

I call your attention to a sample of the working of this egregious system since you became Chief Medicine-Man.

If in some spasm of self-mistrust, some sudden insurgence of common sense, you had asked any competent and unbiased judge for his opinion as to the country's greatest need and the best way of meeting it, he would have had to say something like this:—..

"Beyond all question, your most urgent need is to unearth your hidden wealth, to develop your enormous undeveloped resources, of which your uncultivated or half-cultivated land is the greatest part. Your first business, then, is plainly to get population, people able and willing to do that work.

"You have to devise new plans of settlement, of land-holding or land arrangement, of agricultural production and agricultural commerce,—yes, and agricultural manufacture, so that you will no longer depend almost wholly on the sale of raw material. Every possible avenue must be explored, every resource of human ingenuity taxed to the utmost, brushing aside all obstructive traditions and conventions, to get and keep a large and permanent because successful and contented body of people doing this vital work. Not until you have thoroughly tested every plan with one glimmer of hope in it, will you be entitled to say that the thing cannot be done.

"Any business organization, with such an object as this, would take the steps I have described as a matter of course.

"You Ministers, unfortunately, are anything but a business organization. You are party chieftains.

"If the system of management carried on by you and your colleagues, as by other Cabinets before you, gives no hope of the required transformation from loss to profit, so much the worse for the system.

"A system of government by party chieftains, if it can be justified at all, is only justifiable in proportion as they confine their activities within narrow limits. Ability in speech-making and private strategy, which enable them to win a party fight, may help them also in governing, in the old narrow sense of the word. What you call government now, however, has gone far beyond that. It involves great business enterprises, which demand abilities of a totally different kind.

"No one in his senses to-day, if called on to devise a system of management for national business undertakings, would dream of allowing management by partisan chiefs elected for all sorts of reasons totally apart from their fitness or unfitness for such a task.

"Your whole staff, the Civil Service, though no longer a political organization, is still a mere appendage to your political machine, taking orders from political chiefs who have assumed the functions without possessing the qualifications of business management."

* * * *

That is the system you took over and have been trying to work as your predecessors did. The result is what might be expected.

You say that when you took office you could not encourage immigration, because it was all you could do to provide for returning soldiers and unemployed munition makers. That may have been true—because of the incapacity of a political machine to act efficiently in business. But what follows?

Clearly, that was the very time to form new plans for land settlement, so that when immigration should again become feasible these plans could be put into effect with the utmost promptitude and on the large scale which our national conditions would obviously demand.

Instead of that, you did nothing.

Are you aware, are the public aware, that for a whole year the Minister in charge of immigration, so far from being anxiously at work with his Deputy Minister framing and perfecting plans for the great task ahead of them both, never consulted him at all?

Imagine, if you can, the President and General Manager of a great business, sitting day after day and month after month in different offices on the same street, with practically not a word passing between them! The thing simply could not happen.

But in your organization it did happen.

Scandalous? Of course it was. Political management of a national business may be trusted to produce scandals if it produces nothing else.

It would be interesting to know whether that was the whole story, or whether we may surmise, knowing something of the underground working of political machinery, that a still more active attempt was made to get the Deputy Minister out of his job, as he had previously been in politics of a different brand from that of the new government. . . . But that is a detail.

* * * *

Not only did you fail in the elementary duty of preparing for immigration, but even now, after two whole years of neglected opportunity, when the immigrants we need are at the door,—where are your carefully devised and varied plans for their successful settlement, so that they shall bring a maximum of benefit to the country? Where are the drastic changes in the old do-as-you-like sink-or-swim programme, which are imperative if we are not to be let in for a repetition of all the blunders and failures of the past? You are only just beginning, timidly groping in the dark.

Our whole recent history has piled proof on proof that our medicine-man system of management is incapable of meeting the country's elementary and vital needs; and such incapacity, at this critical point in our national existence, is a public danger of the gravest kind.

There was a famous general once who preferred to lose a war by sticking to ancient rules, rather than win by innovation. He lost accordingly, and never got another chance to win.

In Canada we used to crawl along primitive tracks, stalling in mud-holes, jolting over stones, and wrenching our wheels off in ruts. We have learnt to make decent roads, and travel with safety and speed. Is the old farmer shocked at the innovation? Does he consider the rough road a sacred old institution, and decline to use the smooth one? No; he may be wedded to old ways, but he draws the line at old ruts. With joy he throws old precedent to the discard, and gets to market in half the old time. If you, the political Road-master of Canada, will not give us a modern road for the rut-worn track now hindering our advance, we must find another who can and will. Not for love of any man or party will this young country long consent to crawl from year to year at the pace of a senile tortoise or a centenarian snail.

Yours sincerely,

HOWARD ANGUS KENNEDY.

MITCHELL PARTY, Series 3 (M.G. 27, I, Volume 99)

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speeches sent Oct 24/24

056846

Ottawa, October 20, 1924.

My dear Stevenson:

Have been certainly expecting word from you for some little time and the burdensome, trouble-giving weight of the morning's mail was at least relieved by a real characteristic Stevenson epistle.

The Prime Minister's speeches in the West are worse than you can have any conception of. Grattan and I were down to Quebec on Saturday and I was furnished with the clippings and we read them on the way. His command of language ~~utterly~~ wholly failed him though, in attempting to describe the utter abandon and arrogant disdain of such things as facts, which King is more and more cultivating. A favourite sentence which appears in all his speeches is that a great reform has been effected in the provision of funds for the Government railways. The money provided under King, he says, goes to betterment and improvements of the system for the public benefit, but the monies provided under us were wasted in payment of debts. He favours the Hudson's Bay Railway strongly, but, alas, his ambitions to complete it would be blocked by the Tory Senate, and consequently, as he expresses it, more harm would be done to the project by having his measure defeated than can result by leaving the

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056847

thing altogether alone. He pleads for pity because ~~the~~ his Government labours under the domination of a "partisan" Civil Service Commission. This Commission, he says, should be "non-partisan." It consists, as you know, of three commissioners and a secretary. Two commissioners were Conservatives and the other commissioner and the secretary were life-long Liberals appointed by Sir Wilfred Laurier. Wouldn't you like to see a "non-partisan" Civil Service Commission appointed by King? In Saskatchewan he appealed, solely, out of regard for the nation, for an alliance of Liberals and Progressives; offered them Cabinet portfolios and pictured the horrors of the fate that otherwise awaited the country at the hands of Tory reactionaries. In Alberta, though, he found the Progressives and Liberals ~~had~~ at daggers drawn, so those views were cast away and the glories of Liberalism were alone extolled. Had not Edmonton received an ~~elaborate~~ elevator "given" by himself? So why in the name of gratitude should Progressives be sent to Parliament from that province? By some mischance every speech is opened with a proclamation that Canada is in the finest position financially and commercially of any country in the world and from this position he proceeds to

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appeal for sympathy in his great struggle against tremendous odds to rescue the country from the eternal"bow-wows"into which we plunged it.

Your definition of Los Angeles should be immortalized. I am passing this on, being of too generous a nature to enjoy it all alone.

Did ever a public man travel in such luck as Calvin Coolidge? The finest of all his luck is, though, that at the end of his term the fates do not call upon him to continue and persevere in greatness throughout the length of his life as is the inevitable in England and Canada. He can look forward to retiring without being chased away and at least believe that the ~~pleasing~~ blessing of his country is not on his brow.

I am glad to say I had the pleasure of an afternoon with Mr. Layton. I took him to the golf club and we had a game in which he was victorious. I think he enjoyed the visit here quite well and seemed to want to use his time to gather the utmost possible information. As you are preparing a life of the Honourable W.L. MacKenzie King (it could not be described as ~~fossilizing~~ Boswellizing) you will certainly need some of those Western speeches. I will ask Merriam to gather some and send them to you.

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In Northumberland County when I was away West he told them that he had put a premium on shipments through Maritime ports by special reduction in British Preference for the benefit of such shipments and that I had opposed this action. It goes without saying, but anyway you will remember that I made a speech strongly supporting it. Really nothing can be done with the man at all.

Very best regards. Let me hear from you as often as you can.

Yours very truly,

John Stevenson, Esq.,
2453 Beechwood Drive,
Hollywood,
Los Angeles, Cal.,
U.S.A.

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056850

106

Ottawa, October 20, 1924.

Dear Mr. O'Leary:

Mr. Meighen asked me to send you the attached letter from John Stevenson and to request you to kindly return it when you have finished reading it.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

M. Grattan O'Leary, Esq.,
The Journal,
Ottawa.

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056851

J. B. Campbell.
1353 Seventh Avenue West.
Vancouver. B. C.

Oct 22th 1924.

Hon Arthur Meighen.
Dominion Parliament.
Ottawa. Canada.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Honourable Sir:-

I feel it my duty as a Conservative: to bring a few points before you, for consideration. Then Too. I will be pleased to have your oponion on these matters. On my part this is not idel curiosity, and I feel something must be done for the safety of the British Empire. I appeal to you as our leader.

FIRST. The Liberal Leader of our Dominion is in British Columbia. Too that end I will enclose his photo placing a wreath on the cenotaph as the first act of his visit.

SECOND. What war service has this man King.

THIRD. Did the Liberal Premier Not run away and work in a foreign Country. (U. S. A.) when Canada was at war.?

FOURTH. Did he not come back and fight against conscription.

FIFTH. Here I ask the man plain Arthur Meighen. (Not the Official) is that an act of shooting our Soldiers in the back while they were fighting in the trenches.

SIXTH. At next election I think the people of Canada should know if these things are true.

SEVEN. Mr Baldwin, states that Canadian- U. S. Trade pact would disrupt the British Empire. I say he is quite in order. that is so. if something is not done by the way of high tariff.

EIGHT. What is being done in order that our people might be placed on the voters list.

NINE. I ask these questions in confidence and trust you will let me have there answers. as a Conservative I pledge my word of Honour.

Yours very truly.

Jas B Campbell

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056852

106

Ottawa, November 16, 1924.

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Your letter of October 22nd awaited my return here yesterday. The first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth questions do not require an answer from me. The facts are well known and you apparently have them rightly in your own mind. As to number seven, I have not read a definite statement from the Prime Minister of Great Britain, but I have no doubt from my knowledge of his principles that his opinion is just as expressed by you, that is to say that such would be the tendency of such a treaty and the probable ultimate result. As to the preparation of the voters' lists, these are in the hands of Government officials and a time is fixed before each election for getting on the list. The Conservative Organization takes care of the matter as best possible, but, of course, each one should see to getting on the list himself.

Yours very truly,

Jas. B. Campbell, Esq.,
1353 Seventh Ave. W.,
Vancouver, B.C.

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056853

Ottawa, October 28, 1924.

Dear Sir:

In the absence of Mr. Meighen in Western Canada I am acknowledging your letter of October 22nd, together with clipping of photo. of Mr. King. Immediately upon Mr. Meighen's return to Ottawa, which will not be until about the middle of next month, your letter will be brought to his attention.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Jas. B. Campbell, Esq.,
1353 - 7th Ave. W.,
Vancouver, B.C.

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Personal

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THE SENATE
CANADA

056854

Montreal, February 16th., 1925.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

Just a line to say that our friend Mr. Frank Jones was invited by the Prime Minister to lunch in Ottawa last week, when he met the whole Cabinet and discussed with them his scientific budget. Probably Mr. Jones gave you the details of this meeting, but I thought as you had said nothing about it yesterday I should mention the fact to you, and also the thanks accorded Mr. Jones for his criticism of the King Government policy, plans, etc. by the members of the Cabinet.

I shall be away for two or three weeks, and will write you again on my return.

Yours truly,

Lorne C. Webster

Right Honourable Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
O t t a w a .

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056855

20, HOSPITAL STREET,
MONTREAL.

March 5th, 1925.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

Just in case you have missed it present serves to enclose a Cartoon of your confrere Mr. King.

Yours sincerely,

Tom W. Seyford

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
OTTAWA.

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056856

Ottawa, March 6, 1925.

Dear Mr. Reford:

Thanks very much for yours of the 5th instant with enclosure.

Yours very truly,

R.W. Reford, Esq.,
50, Hospital St.,
Montreal, P.Q.

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056857

106

Ottawa, June 9, 1925.

Dear Mr. Wallace:

Thanks very much for sending me a copy of your letter of the 6th instant sent on behalf of the Workmen's Protectionist Club of Quebec to the Prime Minister.

Yours very truly,

J.W. Wallace, Esq.,
Secretary, Club Ouvrier Protectioniste de Quebec,
Quebec, P.Q.

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King

056856

CLUB OUVRIER PROTECTIONISTE
DE QUEBEC

Copy

QUEBEC, CAN. June 6, 1925.

Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Right Honorable Sir:

At a meeting of the Quebec Branch of the Labor Party of Canada, held in their Hall on the 4th inst., several phases of the local governments of Quebec and Nova Scotia were discussed.

In the opinion of this Branch the person responsible for honest and righteous government in each Province is the Prime Minister thereof. If any individual or class suffers in person or property and does not obtain redress the fault is due to the indifference, incapacity, or dishonesty of the said Prime Minister. If the Prime Minister of a province fails in his duty the responsibility falls on the Prime Minister of the Dominion.

You have been apprized of serious irregularities on both Provinces, and it is the opinion of this Branch that there has been flagrant shirking of responsibility. It has always been such indifference, on the part of persons in authority, that has produced popular upheavals and regrettable calamities.

I have the honor to be, Right Honorable Sir,
Most respectfully yours,
J.W. M. Wallace, Secretary.

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EX "LA LIBERTE" Fev. 10, 1926.

K

LA CAMPAGNE DE MACKENZIE KING, Le premier ministre parle à Duck Lake, à Rosthern et à Shellbrook.

QUI FOURNIT L'ARGENT?

Rosthern, Sask.- Dans son discours ici, le premier ministre King a déclaré qu'il y avait quelqu'un derrière le candidature de son adversaire, M. Burgess. "Quelqu'un fournit les fonds, a-t-il dit. Je crois qu'il appartient à la population du comté de trouver qui fait ce jeu. Pour le bon renom des grands partis politiques, les principaux conservateurs du comté devraient prouver au reste du pays qu'ils ne sont pas de connivence dans un mouvement de cette nature."

Le premier ministre ajouta qu'un jeune homme aux ressources restreintes n'engageait pas un dépôt de $200 pour le plaisir de le perdre. Il faut que quelqu'un lui fournisse l'argent. On lui fait de l'opposition simplement pour compliquer la situation, pour entraver un homme qui a des responsabilités à remplir et l'empêcher de s'acquitter de ses devoirs.

Contre les capitalistes

M. King lance une vive attaque contre les capitalistes véreux qui ont leur repaire à Montréal.

Nos comtés d'Ontario, dit-il, ont été perdus par l'argent jeté dans cette province. Ce n'est pas le tarif protectionniste, c'est l'argent fourni par ces différents groupes qui nous a battus. Certains millionnaires veulent être multimillionnaires en obtenant le contrôle du gouvernement du pays en sacrifiant le pays aux avantages d'une oligarchie.

Il a ajouté que le gouvernement considérait l'achèvement du chemin de fer de la baie d'Hudson comme nécessaire au pays.

Un conservateur

Le premier ministre Dunning, de la Saskatchewan a déclaré que personne ne voulait prendre la responsabilité de la candidature de M. Burgess. Dans son manifeste, M. Burgess a dit qu'il était disposé à appuyer n'importe quel parti prêt à donner suite à ses

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promesses. C'est beaucoup dire. Il est évident qu'il est prêt à faire n'importe quoi.

M. D.L. Burgess, l'adversaire du premier ministre King dans Prince-Albert, se dit indépendant, mais son parti n'en est pas moins le parti conservateur. M. Burgess se présenta à la convention conservatrice pour le comté provincial de Shellbrook, en 1925, mais ne fut pas choisi. Il a une trentaine d'années."

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NEWCOMBE & COMPANY
BARRISTERS & SOLICITORS

REGISTERED CABLE ADDRESS
NEWCOMBE OTTAWA
TELEPHONE QUEEN 1690

05686 Hope Chambers,
Ottawa

King

August 31, 1926.

Right Honourable Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

I enclose herewith a copy of the oath taken by members of His Majesty's Privy Council in Canada with the first part under lined and also an extract which I have had copied from the Ottawa Citizen giving a verbatim report of Mr. King's opening speech to an alleged audience of 7,000 persons.

Perhaps it has already been brought to your attention, but is this not a clear violation of Mr. King's oath as a Privy Councillor when he pretends to disclose the deliberations of Council at a public gathering of this nature.

He may talk about his constitutional question but surely the violation of his oath as a Privy Councillor strikes at the deepest foundations of British constitutional tradition and integrity.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Edmund F. Newcombe.

EFN/JA

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056862

THE OATH OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

You (William Lyon Mackenzie King) do solemnly promise and swear that you will serve His Majesty truly and faithfully in the Place of His Council in this His Majesty's DOMINION OF CANADA, you will keep close and secret all such matters as shall be treated, debated and resolved on in PRIVY COUNCIL, without publishing or disclosing the same or any part thereof, by Word, Writing, or any otherwise to any Person out of the same Council, but to such only as be of the Council, and yet if any matter so propounded, treated and debated in any such Privy Council, shall touch any particular Person, sworn of the same Council upon any such matter as shall in any wise concern his Loyalty and Fidelity to the King's Majesty, you will in no wise open the same to him, but keep it secret, as you would from any Person, until the King's Majesty's pleasure be known in that behalf. You will in all things to be moved, treated and debated in any such Privy Council, faithfully, honestly and truly declare your mind and opinion to the honour and benefit of the King's Majesty, and the good of His Subjects without partiality or exception of persons, in no wise forbearing so to do from any manner of respect, favour, love, meed, displeasure, or dread of any Person or Persons whatsoever. In general you will be vigilant, diligent and circumspect in all your doings touching the King's Majesty's affairs; All which Matters and Things you will faithfully observe and keep, as a good Councillor ought to do to the utmost of your power. will and discretion.

SO HELP YOU GOD

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LIBERAL LEADER TAKES UP MEIGHEN CHALLENGE GIVEN ON RECORD OF LATE GOVT.

Nearly 7,000 People Crowd Auditorium To Hear Mr. King Reply To Charges Made By Leader of Conservative Party. Goes Fully Into Main Points At Issue.

Extract from
The Evening Citizen
July 24th 1926

056863

Liberals Intended Prorogation

Speaking in this hadd on Tuesday, Mr. Meighen said: "There are some who say that the legislative efforts of the last session have been wasted, that we should not have dissolved so suddenly. My answer is simple and short. First of all, dissolution took place just exactly as it would have taken place had Mr. King's request to the Governor-General been granted." I have already stated in the House of Commons that once His Excellency's consent to dissolution had been obtained, my colleagues and I would immediately have set about to arrange to bring the proceedings of parliament to a close by prorogation by His Excellency in the regular way.

When, after a meeting of the cabinet on the afternoon of Saturday, June 26, I first saw His Excellency and spoke of dissolution of the late parliament as being in my opinion in the public interest and inevitable, since I was sure, were my advice concerning dissolution not accepted, no one else could be found who could carry on, there was no thought on the part of my colleagues or myself of not having dissolution preceded by a formal prorogation at which His Excellency should meet in person both Houses and at which the Royal assent would be given to such legislation as could be arranged for prior thereto. The details of how the session was to be concluded were something which, of necessity, depended upon the decision in the first instance for or against dissolution.

Formal Order Prepared

As a matter of fact, not only did the cabinet have prepared a formal order for prorogation with the date left blank, which I had with me when I discussed dissolution with His Excellency and explained the procedure in reference thereto, but the question of what should be set forth in the Speech from the Throne at prorogation was also considered. Pending the decision on dissolution itself, final determination of these matters was left over for further consideration. Until within an hour or two of the reassembling of parliament on Monday, and His Excellency had finally refused to accept my advice, I did not present to His Excellency in a formal manner any order with respect to dissolution, and I did so then only that the matter might be of formal record with my resignation, which was also then for the first time formally tendered.

Copy of Draft Order Is Cited by Leader, Support Statements

I hold in my hand the draft order-in-council providing for prorogation which was prepared in the office of the Privy Council and which bears the number P. C. 1042, which will be found to be the number of the order-in-council under which Mr. Meighen himself was appointed prime minister, secretary of state for external affairs, and president of the Privy Council. It reads as follows:

P.C. 1042, Privy Council, Canada

The committee of the Privy Council having had under consideration the advisability of proroguing parliament, advise that a proclamation do issue proroguing parliament to the day of and that for the purposes of such prorogation His Excellency the Governor General be respectfully asked to attend in the Senate chamber and to assent to such bills as have passed both Houses of Parliament.

I happen to have the draft order still in my possession as it was in my pocket along with the order respecting dissolution when I interviewed His Excellency. It became of no value once my advice respecting dissolution was refused.

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Moore

056864

Ottawa, Ont. January 25th. 1923.

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for your letter of the 22nd. with enclosure of memorandum on legislation recently presented to the Government by the Trades & Labour Congress of Canada.

I am grateful to you for sending me a copy of this memorandum and will be obliged if you will forward me any such material from time to time.

Yours very truly,

Tom Moore, Esq.,
President,
Trades & Labour Congress of Canada,
172 McLaren Street,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056865

OFFICE OF
TOM MOORE, PRESIDENT
172 MCLAREN STREET
OTTAWA
ONT.

THE TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

PHONE QUEEN 2903

OTTAWA, Ont., January 22nd, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Conservative Party,
O t t a w a , Ont.

Dear Sir,-

I am instructed by our Executive to draw your attention to the memorandum on legislation presented, on Monday afternoon January 22nd, to the Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet and copy of which I enclose.

A copy of this memorandum has also been mailed to each member of Parliament and we would appreciate if, as Leader of your Party, you could secure the favorable consideration of the Members of your Party on any or all of the matters included therein.

I would be glad of the opportunity of meeting with you any time at your convenience to furnish whatever further information you may desire upon these subjects.

Yours very truly,

Tom Moore

President.

Enclosure.

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Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

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Memorandum on Legislation

January, 1923

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Memorandum of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada on Legislation

JANUARY, 1923.

1. UNEMPLOYMENT.

On many occasions during the past several years urgent appeals have been made for action to be taken which would first relieve the distress consequent upon existing unemployment and, secondly, make for the elimination of, to the fullest possible degree, of future unemployment.

The following is a summary of the decisions unanimously adopted by our last (Montreal, 1922) Convention.

1. Employment is the best remedy for unemployment, and its provision is a joint responsibility of the Federal Government, Provincial Legislatures and Municipal Authorities. This should be done by:—(a) The carrying on of all public works and the purchase of public supplies during periods of depression and the allocating of the same to districts where unemployment is most acute; (b) construction during such periods of needed public buildings and the renewal and repairing of old ones; (c) Road building on a large scale; (d) Afforestation; (e) Clearing and developing of agricultural lands; (f) Limitation of the work day to eight hours on all Government works; (g) Restriction against unwarranted immigration; (h) Loans for the building of workmen's houses.

2. Private industry should be controlled to prevent:—(a) Undue flooding of the labor market by hiring outside of Canada, labor obtainable in Canada, or labor needed for a limited period only; (b) The laying off of large numbers of workers whilst orders still remain to be executed or until the hours of all employed in the industry have been materially reduced; (c) By the equalization of employment over longer periods, eliminating as far as practicable rush periods with overtime and quiet periods with consequent unemployment.

3. The abolition of private employment agencies and the fullest development of the Employment Service of Canada with Dominion, Provincial and Local Advisory Councils. The workers to co-operate with this Service to the fullest degree by registering at once when they are unemployed and thus furnishing more reliable statistics as to the volume of unemployment actually existing at any given time.

4. **Unemployment insurance** should be immediately instituted to take care of those unable to find employment or those who through the reduction of hours have not sufficient income to maintain a fair standard of living. Unemployment should be a first charge on industry and a State Unemployment Insurance Fund obtained by assessments on industry in a similar manner to that adopted with Provincial Compensation Funds. Unemployment insurance to be administered by the Federal Government.

5. Raw materials obtainable in Canada should be exported in their highest manufactured form.

6. The release of our natural resources held out of use for speculation by private interests and their fullest development. In this respect scientific and industrial research to discover commercial uses for many articles today considered commercially valueless should be encouraged.

7. The deve'opment of the home market by the payment of wages to Canadian workers high enough to enable them to purchase the products of Canadian labor.

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2. IMMIGRATION.

This subject is presented to you under three sub-heads, on each of which we desire to present our views as follows:—

(a) **Immigration policies.**

Measures are necessary which will prevent the further aggravation of our unemployment problem by unwarranted immigration to our industrial centres. We are of the opinion that entire prohibition of immigration is not practicable or advisable for Canada except in the case of Orientals, but that our efforts should be towards effective supervision and regulation. Experience has proven that the head tax and monetary provisions have not had much effect in restricting immigration, as by the provision of circulating funds amongst certain peoples and financing of the others by employers, these regulations have been circumvented to the disadvantage of the worker.

The organized workers of Canada desire to see Canada peopled by a free, enlightened, moral, energetic and law-abiding class of citizens, and recognize that this can be done quickest by the influx of immigrants. This influx, however, should be the spontaneous movement of the immigrants themselves and false inducements should be prohibited and the fullest accurate information freely circulated in the countries from which they come. Whilst every regard should be had for the welfare of those who seek our shores the first consideration should be the Canadian people and the betterment of our common country. This consideration covers the exclusion of certain nationalities and classes of people who either by temperament, non-assimilative qualifications, habits, customs or absence of any permanent good which their coming brings to us, are not a desirable acquisition to our citizenship.

To give effect to these declarations we especially recommend:—

The continuance of the Canadian National Council of Immigration of Women until the formation of a Dominion Advisory Council of Immigration, formed along the lines of the Employment Service Council of Canada, so as to prevent overlapping of activities of the Federal and Provincial Governments, and that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada be given representation thereon.

The administration of the Immigration Department under a separate Minister of the Crown, and if this is not complied with then we believe it should be brought under the direction of the Minister of Labor, as a major portion of its work is most closely allied with the Employment Service of Canada and other branches of the Department of Labor.

That representation be made to the British Government which would make possible closer supervision of all immigration advertising and control of booking agencies in Great Britain.

That no bonuses or grants be made to private agencies.

That in order to relieve congestion in industrial centres, land settlement and colonization schemes should be made available to citizens and others already located in Canada.

That medical and other examination of immigrants take place so far as possible at port of embarkation."

(b) **Immigration Act Amendments.**

We reiterate our request for the repeal of those sections of the Act incorporating the provisions of Bill 63 (1919) which discriminate against British born citizens, making them liable to arbitrary deportation.

We further ask the repeal of amendments passed during the Session of 1919 which bring within the prohibited classes those exercising the reasonable right of assembly and freedom of speech.

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That all labor hired outside Canada to be included amongst prohibited classes, except it be secured through the Employment Service of Canada.

We also request that a clause be inserted in the Act which will grant the right of trial by jury before any deportations for political offenses."

(c) **Exclusion of Orientals.**

This is no longer a problem of our Western Provinces only, but the yellow menace exists, to an ever increasing degree, throughout the entire Dominion. We especially endorse the amendments to the Narcotic Drug Act, providing for the deportation of aliens found guilty under this Act, which if rigidly enforced, should materially reduce our Oriental population, according to statistics of previous convictions.

We reiterate our demand for total exclusion of all Orientals; and request that legislation be enacted which will more effectively control Orientals already in Canada.

We request that the Canadian Government endeavor to have the clauses of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United Kingdom and Japan fixing the status of Japanese in Canada, repealed."

3. CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENTS.

(a) We reiterate our request for amendments to the Criminal Code which would re-establish the right of peaceful picketing; define sympathetic strikes, bringing of Canadian Law into harmony with British Law on this matter, and prevent the misuse of the power of injunction in labor disputes.

(b) Eliminate the words 'force' 'terrorism' and 'industrial or economic change' in section 79b and other sections, all of which were inserted by amendments passed during the panicky Session of Parliament, 1919; and the repeal of those sections referring to 'sedition' 'seditious conspirary', etc."

4. INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT.

(a) The changing conditions of industry, means of transportation, etc., along with the growth of public ownership of many of the public utilities enumerated as coming within the scope of the Act causes us to suggest that the time is opportune for the reconsideration and revision of this Act and more especially Section 2 thereof.

(b) In view of the fact that Railway Companies did violate Section 57 of the Industrial Disputes and Investigation Act by putting into effect a reduction of wages to their employees after there was a dispute, and as there is no penalty for such violation of said Section of the Act, we therefore request, that as long as violations of the Act are punishable by penalties, that provision be included in Section 58 of the Act to impose penalties on Companies or Corporations violating Section 57; also that the penalty imposed upon employers for violation of the Act be increased in proportion to the number of employees involved as is the case when applied to employees who go on strike contrary to the provisions of this Act.

(c) We request that the Act be amended making it compulsory upon the parties seeking the change in wages or conditions to make application for a Board in case an agreement is not reached before any such change can legally take effect.

(d) Experience has shown that the obtaining of the necessary authority to take oath 'that to the belief of the declarant a strike or lockout will be declared' has often accentuated rather than decreased the possibility of a strike, and we therefore recommend that sub-section 2b

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of Section 15 be amended so as to make possible the establishment of a Board upon the simple declaration of failure to reach an agreement by direct negotiation.

5. SUPPORT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION.

(a) We reiterate our full support of the Government in maintaining membership in the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization and earnestly press that the Canadian Government should fulfill its obligation as a member of the above mentioned bodies by ratifying the decisions of the annual conferences.

In this respect we more particularly draw attention to the necessity of the ratification of the conventions of the International Labor Organization affecting industrial workers and which have been accepted as coming within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. These are: one day's rest in seven; concerning unemployment; fixing of the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea; establishment of employment offices for seamen; compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea; measures for the prevention of anthrax and for the regulation of white lead in painting.

We also urge the enactment of legislation to give effect to the eight hour day convention of the International Labor Organization insofar as the Federal Government has accepted jurisdiction.

(b) Co-operation with Provincial Governments to secure attendance of their representatives at the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization and the enactment of legislative measures held to come within their jurisdiction.

(c) The formation of the International Labor Organization does not provide for direct representation at the annual conferences of Provincial Governments but does allow the two Federal Government representatives being accompanied by a number of advisors. The practice has been established of inviting the Provincial Governments to elect responsible representatives to act as advisors to Federal Government delegates. This practice secured the attendance and the active co-operation of the provinces in the work of the International Labor Organization and we ask that every effort be made to have this continued.

(d) As many of the conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization have been held by the Federal Government to come within the jurisdiction of Provincial Legislatures, it is our belief that better progress would be made in having such legislation adopted if the Federal Government undertook the duty of convening Inter-Provincial Conferences to secure co-ordinated action thereon.

6. ELECTION ACT AMENDMENTS.

We reiterate our requests of last year:—

(a) To provide for proportional representation in group constituencies and transferable vote in single constituencies.

(b) To make election day a public holiday throughout the Dominion.

(c) To abolish forfeiture of election deposits.

(d) Repeal of Clause 10, Franchise Act, 1920, which prohibits trade unions and similar organizations contributing to election campaign funds.

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7. OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Last Session of Parliament a resolution was adopted unanimously expressing the opinion that the Dominion Government should consider the advisability of devising ways and means for the establishment of a system of old age pensions in Canada. The urgency of providing relief for needy aged persons is apparent to all. The Trades and Labor Congress has urged this measure of social reform continuously for many years past and again reiterates the request for Federal Legislation to provide pensions for the aged workers of the Dominion of Canada.

8. AMENDMENTS TO NATURALIZATION ACT.

A resolution was unanimously adopted at our last Convention asking for the following amendments to the Naturalization Act.

(a) That provision be made under the Act so that married women in special cases (deserted wives, husbands insane, permanently injured etc.), may become naturalized;

(b) That the period of residence in the country, prior to issuing of citizenship papers, be reduced to three years, the ten years of residence now necessary under the Act we believe to be more or less a war measure;

(c) That the fee for naturalization be reduced to one dollar, ($1.00), the present fee of eight dollars, ($8.00), we consider a hardship on wage earners and serving to discourage the taking out of naturalization papers and is therefore not in harmony with our national interests.

9. REGISTRATION OF UNION LABELS.

We reiterate our request for legislation to allow of the registration of union labels in Canada and thus provide protection against their infringement and misuse.

10. CIVIL SERVICE MATTERS.

We again endorse the requests for Civil Service reform as presented by the Associated Federal Employees of Canada, the Federated Association of Letter Carriers, the Dominion Postal Clerks' Association and other organizations of Postal Employees, in seeking to have established joint councils similar to those obtaining in the British Civil Service, and for the readjustment of wages and salaries commensurate with service rendered and a minimum based upon the actual cost of living, and pending such for the retention of the cost of living bonus.

11. PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND NATURAL RESOURCES.

We reiterate our declaration of last year that all public utilities, railroads, shipping, etc., now owned by the Dominion Government be retained and that a policy of further public ownership and control of natural resources and public utilities be followed. In this respect we especially wish to urge the importance of the necessity of Government control and development of the coal and fuel resources of this country so as to insure an adequate supply for the citizens of Canada and regularity of employment for the workers engaged in producing same.

12. FAIR WAGE POLICY.

We compliment the Government upon the issuing of an Order-in-Council, dated June 7, 1922, detailing and further extending the fair wage resolution of Parliament of 1900, and amendments thereto of 1907. We are still of the opinion that greater force and permanency would be achieved by the enactment of legislation embodying the provisions of this Order-in-Council and respectfully request that such action be taken.

13. DISARMAMENT.

We endorse the action of the Government in limiting the expenditure on Military and Naval Matters and its declaration that no military undertaking would be prosecuted without the sanction of Parliament. We request that the Dominion Government give full support to all measures leading to world disarmament and universal peace.

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14. ABOLITON OF SALES TAX.

This tax, we believe, is an unjust one as it has no regard to the adequacy of the purchaser to bear the burden of taxation and increases the cost of living out of proportion to the net amount collected. We therefore urge that this tax be abolished at the earliest moment.

Other matters of equal importance which we wish to draw to your attention and request action thereon are:—

Health Insurance.

Endorsation of the Principle of the Marking Act and its application wherever possible, such as on printed matter, etc.

Amendments to the Shipping Act to give more protection and better opportunity to seamen and marine engineers.

Endorsation of any legislation prohibiting the manufacture or importation of matches that have not been treated for after glow.

Legislation to give effect to the reforms incorporated in the report of the special Advisory Committee on Prison Reform, 1921.

The creation of an independent tariff commission on which Labor shall have representation so as to remove, to the fullest degree, questions of tariff from the political arena.

We urge that your Government give full recognition to the importance of the work being undertaken by the Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and that measures be taken to provide proper facilities for the continuance and development of this Council's activities.

Abolition of the Senate as a non-elective body.

That measures be inaugurated to aid the development of the Co-operative Movement in Canada.

That full enquiry be made into the capitalization of industry and measures taken to protect the public against the evils of over-capitalization.

That legislation be enacted insuring to all workers the right to organize.

Respectfully submitted,

TOM MOORE, *President.*
BERT MERSON, *Vice-President.*
J. T. FOSTER, *Vice-President.*
ALEX. MCANDREW, *Vice-President.*
P. M. DRAPER, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

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The Canadian Labor Press welcomes Articles or Information relative to the betterment of Industrial Conditions in Canada

ROOM 25-A
207 ST. JAMES ST.
MONTREAL, QUE.
MAIN 0335

"True confidence and understanding between employer and employee absolutely necessary to industrial peace."

ESTABLISHD 1918

EXECUTIVE OFFICE:
79 ADELAIDE ST. EAST
TORONTO, ONT.
MAIN 4122

The Canadian Labor Press

Canada's Paramount National Labor Paper

Ottawa Ont.

79 Adelaide St. East,
Toronto, August 4, 1925.

Dear Mr. Merriam:-

Under separate enclosure, I forward ten copies of our latest bulletin, dealing with organized labor and protection, which you might bring to Mr. Meighen's attention.

We are endeavouring to send out sufficient to cover the whole Dominion and we feel sure that if that can be done good results can be achieved. During our interview with Mr. Meighen, he stated that he could arrange to write to a number of the manufacturing firms in the Dominion bringing the bulletin to their attention and pointing out that the object aimed at was worthy of support. We would be pleased, therefore, if you would advise us at the earliest possible moment how many bulletins you would require for this purpose.

Yours faithfully,

THE CANADIAN LABOR PRESS.

James. T. Gunn

A. W. Merriam, Esq.,
Ottawa, Ont.

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TAKE NO PART IN CONFERENCE

Statement Is Issued By the Soviet Foreign Minister.

ON DISARMAMENT MEETING

Says Commission Meeting Will Be "Futile Comedy."

MOSCOW, April 6.—In the course of a 3,000-word statement sent to the newspapers, George Tchitcherin, the Soviet foreign minister, reiterates Russia's intention not to participate in the proposed disarmament conference "because of Switzerland's obstinate refusal to meet the minimum legitimate demands of the Soviet Government in connection with Vorovsky's assassination. (M. Vorovsky, the Russian unofficial observer at the Lausanne conference, was shot and killed by a Swiss citizen, who later was acquitted. By reason of this fact, Russia has declined to attend any conference on international affairs held on Swiss territory).

The statement of M. Tchitcherin asserts that the powers have not the slightest intention of bringing about actual disarmament. It adds that a meeting of a preliminary disarmament commission will be "futile comedy," and new proof of the impotence of the League of Nations in assuring a lasting peace.

M. Tchitcherin says Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British foreign secretary, at the recent meeting of the league, attempted to unite all countries against Russia.

Supporting Poland's claim to a seat on the council, as compensation for Poland's losses at Locarno, Sir Austen tried to prevent a rapprochement between Poland and Russia, but he overlooked Polish-Germany controversies."

CLEARS THE WAY.

The foreign minister says the failure of Locarno "clears the way for a direct rapprochement between France and Germany, which M. Briand, the French premier, was inclined to, even before the Geneva meeting. M. Tchitcherin expresses the opinion that the United States apprehends the influence of the league in the international policy of the South American countries. This apprehension, he declares, has probably caused "semi-official American declarations of America's negative attitude in the further work of the league."

M. Tchitcherin says the United States, on the one hand, has realized that peace among the European nations would enable those nations to meet their United States debts. On the other hand it felt a united Europe would serve as an obstacle to the United States penetration of Europe and adds: "But no matter what formula is brought forward it will eventually result in the further subjugation of Europe to American capital."

A Gift Caused Heartaches

The best little girl in the world wanted a dinner ring for her birthday and she received instead a vacuum cleaner. She was very much disappointed, so she took herself downtown with her grandmother's old diamond brooch and had it reset into a dinner ring by John A. Nash, My Jeweler. He does marvels with old jewelry and sets the diamonds free. His stores, at London and Windsor, "where you will eventually buy."—Advt.

New Turnkey

WILLIAM GRAY, 664 Trafalgar street, new turnkey at the county jail, who has a distinguished war record. He has commenced his duties.

CHAPMAN'S BODY BURIED IN HARTFORD CEMETERY

HARTFORD, Conn., April 6.—In a plot of ground in Mount St. Benedict's Cemetery, just over the Bloomfields line, lies to-day the body of Gerald Chapman, who was hanged at the Wethersfield prison in the early morning.

No priest went with the body to its final resting place and there was no service of the Roman Catholic church. The body was claimed, as was possible under the law, by Rev. Michael P. Barry, Roman Catholic chaplain of the prison, who had said he would see that it was given burial such as he would desire a friend should have.

Father Barry did not go to the cemetery with the body. He had already departed on a vacation, leaving no word of what had transpired yesterday while he was in the room across the entry from the death chamber with Chapman.

He would answer no questions, for, to him, the priest said, "the life of the man is a closed book."

Gathered about the grave as the body was lowered into its final resting place were Frederick Groehl, the bandit's chief counsel, an assistant defense attorney and a sister of Chapman, who arrived in the city yesterday. Her identity was kept secret.

OPPOSE MERGER OF RAIL UNIONS

London Official Sees Strength In Individual Crafts

LIKELY TO REJECT SCHEME

Vote For Uniting of Railway Unions Is Proposed

Railroad men of London are not in favor of a merger of all labor unions in which railroad problems are involved, but prefer federations and the continuance of the individual organizations for the various classes of workers. The one big union idea was proposed by some delegates at the convention of Division No. 4 of Railway Employees, of the American Federation of Labor, and a committee was named to secure the views of the various organizations.

The one big union would not be able to accomplish greater things than the individual unions, in the opinion of prominent railroad union officers of London, and many complications would no doubt follow. The London railroad labor leaders believe that all organizations should be linked up through federations and work for the betterment of all railroad employees in general.

"The different unions are essential. Members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen understand their own conditions better than any other class of railroad employees and they are in a position to present their views to the Railways Association of Canada in a more capable manner than men of other crafts. The same applies to all organizations, but the various unions can assist all railroad workers by co-operating and participating in federations," said a prominent railroad labor official, commenting on the proposed merger.

If the one big union idea is presented to the members of the different railroad unions throughout the London division it will no doubt be rejected by a big majority, as the railroad men of this district are content to continue with their individual unions for each class of worker and appoint representatives to different federations.

LADY LEWIS IS ILL.

LONDON, April 6.—(Special).—Lady Duncan Orr Lewis, who was a daughter of William Booth, of Kingston, Ontario, is at Cannes in a nursing home recovering from a serious operation.

GOES TO AID OF SICK WHILE BROTHER DIES

Woman Submits To Blood Transfusion To Save Neighbor

Because a woman deemed it the greater duty to give a quantity of blood, which would be of value in saving one life, instead of her presence at the bedside of her dying brother, which would not be of vital avail, Mrs. Anthony Mazurk, 1217 Florence street, a patient in a city hospital, was saved from death. Mrs. Harry Edwards, 1218 Florence street, a neighbor of the sick woman, was the one who made the choice and the sacrifice.

Mrs. Mazurk has been ill for some time and it was feared she would die unless someone was willing to give the patient some blood in a transfusion. Mrs. Edwards' blood was tested and found available for the needs of Mrs. Mazurk, but the former's brother, John Cotter, lay dying at his home, and this made the situation complicated.

Mrs. Edwards meditated. A quantity of her blood was absolutely necessary to save the life of a comparative stranger; her presence needed at her brother's bedside. In the one case a life would be saved, and in the other she could do nothing more than console the sufferer. She chose the transfusion, and while the operation was in progress John Cotter died.

Mrs. Mazurk's condition has improved greatly since the transfusion and she is believed to be on the way to complete recovery.

"Auction Block," Loew's To-morrow.

PLEADS GUILTY TO THEFT

Audrey Case, of Toronto, Remanded For Week Here

By pleading guilty yesterday in city court to the charge of theft preferred against her by Abram Rosenberg, Hill street, Audrey Case, 17, a domestic in the employ of a Toronto family visiting at the home of Mrs. Rosenberg, here, dispensed with court formalities in time to make two railroad tickets to Toronto of value. The tickets expired yesterday. They, along with $90, were stolen by the girl. Her plea of guilty brought a remand for a week.

The theft was committed last Saturday night. The money and tickets were found missing near midnight and a description of the young woman was given to the police. Equipped with no other information, she was arrested on Richmond street by Detective Elmer Walsh close to midnight.

Monday the girl was undecided as to the mode of trial she would choose and, in the meantime, her parents, who reside here, were communicated with. As the result of this brief adjournment she elected to be tried by Magistrate Graydon.

CHARGES ELLIOTT IGNORED LABOR

Labor Minister's Absence From Parley Draws Criticism

HAD FINE OPPORTUNITY

To Address Delegates On Affairs of Department

Why did Hon. J. C. Elliott, minister of labor in the Federal Government, ignore Labor of Canada by remaining away from one of the largest, if not the largest, gathering of the year held in London on Friday and Saturday last? This is the question local labor men are asking in view of the fact that Hon. Mr. Elliott did not put in an appearance at the convention hall, although he was in the city and presumably could have found time enough to attend at least a portion of one session. And at the very first opportunity the labor men will ask the labor minister for an explanation of his absence. It is generally conceded that his absence was a direct insult to labor of Ontario.

"As a minister of labor it was clearly part of Hon. Mr. Elliott's duties to attend at least one session of this convention," said a prominent labor man to-day. "A minister of agriculture is chosen because of his knowledge of agriculture, and it is natural to presume that a minister of labor should obtain all possible knowledge about labor conditions in Canada. The recent convention held in this city gave him a splendid opportunity to obtain a great deal of information, but he did not avail himself of this opportunity.

"Why was he absent?" this labor man continued. "He was in the city over the week-end and surely he could have given us a few minutes of his time. Did he deliberately ignore us, or did he think this convention was not worthy of his attention? He should certainly explain why he remained away from this gathering. There are thousands of labor men throughout Ontario who will be anxiously awaiting for his explanation."

A musician in England has invented a portable piano, when folded, is only three feet in length.

GUARANTEED GLASSES FITTED BY
F. STEELE
LONDON'S LEADING OPTOMETRISTS
Opp. Loew's Theater

COW ESTA[illegible] NEW WORLD MARK

Canadian Animal Produces 979 Pounds Butter Fat In Year.

MILK YIELD OF 22,035 LBS.

Also Establishes Production Records For Month.

OTTAWA, April 6—The Ayrshire cow, Briery Lass, 85707, owned and developed by the director of the experimental farms at Ste. Anne de la Pocatieres, Quebec, has just completed a 365-day record under the rules of the Canadian record of performance which constitutes a Canadian and world's record for the breed for butter-fat production, producing 22,035 pounds of milk and 979 pounds of fat, average pef cent. fat 4.44, the department of agriculture announces. The former world's record butter-fat producer was a United States cow, Lily of Willowmoore, 22269, with a record of 22,596 pounds of milk and 955.56 pounds of butter-fat.

During the making of this record Briery Lass produced 110 pounds of milk in one day and 3,040 pounds of 4.2 per cent. milk in one month. These are also world's records for the periods for the breed.

DR. FRANZ KLEIN DIES

VIENNA, April 6. — Dr. Franz Klein, international jurist and former Austrian minister of justice, died to-day, aged 71. He was one of the Austrian delegates to the St. Germain peace conference in 1919.

YOU CAN'T GO WRONG WITH
RONG'S BAKING POWDER
USED IN ALL GOOD HOMES
50c lb.
STRONG'S DRUG STORE
184 DUNDAS STREET
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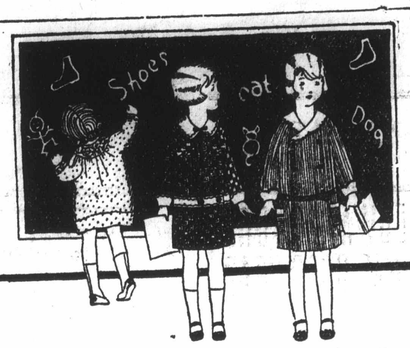

The Children Simply *Must* Have Shoes!

EVERY MOTHER has a natural pride in seeing her girl or boy smartly shod in new Spring Shoes!

This big department is constantly seeking out the better styles and thinking up ways and means of making "HILL" School Shoes cost less and wear longer!

This Spring we are more satisfied with progress, in this direction, than ever before!

DAINTY STRAP SHOES, MANNISH OXFORDS.
Actually scores of styles to choose from and priced from
$2.00 to $5.00

Bring Them This Holiday Week To Their Favorite Shoe Shop

ROWLAND HILL'S CHILDREN'S OWN SHOE SHOP
MAIN STORE – 2nd FLOOR
ELEVATOR SERVICE

STANDARD DRUG STORES

PRESENT

A SALE OF HOUSE-CLEANING AIDS

FOR THURSDAY, FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 9 AND 10

Every thrifty housewife will find much of interest in this big three-day sale. Many everyday household commodities, coupled with a list of the most seasonable drug items we stock, go to make up this big advertisement. Such a list of merchandise at such money-saving prices should prove to be a big attraction. Shop as early as possible.

BARGAINS FOR THURSDAY, FRIDAY AND SATURDAY

SPECIAL
Old Dutch Cleanser
THURS., FRI., SAT.
Reg. 15c
2 for 17c
Limit 2 to a customer

Window and Woodwork Cleaners

Dyes | Listerine | McCoy's | Parisian | Pendering

SPECIAL
— Lux —
For washing
Reg. 15c a pkg.
THURS., FRI., SAT.
2 for 19c
Limit 2 to a customer

Polishes
Lemon Oil Furniture Polish,

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Labor

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056869

Subject.....

Date Sept 22/26 Publication Ottawa Journal

ENDORSE MOORE TO "CARRY ON" AS PRESIDENT

Attempt To Do Away With Salary For Labor Congress President Fails.

By Canadian Press.

MONTREAL, Sept. 21.—An attempt on the part of John W. Bruce, organizer of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steamfitters at today's session of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, now assembled here to do away with the regular yearly salary for the president of the congress, ended after much debate in a wholesale endorsement of President Tom Moore.

Only Mr. Bruce himself voted for his motion. In the course of his speech, which also urged that there should be a part-time president at the rate of $12 a day and expenses employed, Mr. Bruce criticised President Moore. But delegate after delegate rose to eulogize the work of the president.

An effort on the part of Delegate Armand to have expunged from the records of congress the entire matter raised by Delegate Bruce caused much discussion of technicalities, and was defeated, the convention holding that the resolution brought in by Mr. Bruce did not contain slanderous or scurrilous matter.

Speak Minds Freely.

When the debate commenced President Moore resigned the chair to Vice-president Foster. Mr. Bruce declared that since it had been suggested that delegates speak their minds freely he felt that the time had come to discuss the trade union movement, especially as it affects the international movement, and the reports submitted showed that in Canada the movement is in tragic circumstances, even though there be some optimists who believed in revival. Due to lack of money organization work had to be curtailed, and he did not believe in paying a permanent president for work. The British Trades Congress did not have such a practice, he said. The American Federation of Labor had been obliged to economize in employment of paid organizers. Recently, he said, there had been a big organization campaign in Toronto, and the help of the president had not been obtained, yet Mr. Moore had found time to address a luncheon of the Empire Club of that city and "pan" the Canadian labor party instead of giving his help where needed.

At Troublesome Time.

Delegate J. W. Wilkinson, of Edmonton, Alta., said that never at any time in its history had the congress a president who enjoyed the respect of the Labor movement, of the general public, and of the governing bodies of Canada more than at present. Mr. Moore had stepped into the position at a particularly troublous time in the history of the movement, and also in the history of Canada. He felt that to vote down the resolution meant expressing confidence in the president, whereas to support Delegate Bruce meant disapproval of him.

President Moore said that he did not wish to make the matter a personal one, and felt that if the president had fallen short of his duties it was for the delegates to say so at the proper time during the convention, and that was by electing another president. He felt called upon to correct some misapprehensions which might have arisen, due to facts which Delegate Bruce had forgotten. As regards the British Trades Congress and its president, Mr. Moore pointed out that the practice in Britain had been contrary to that on this continent, since in British Labor circles the chief executive was the secretary, whereas in America the president was almost universally the chief executive, and the secretary, when funds and conditions permitted, the second executive. In Britain, the position of president is honorary; in America, that of an active yearly executive.

The President.

As to the Toronto fact, President Moore declared that Delegate Bruce had written to him as to the organization campaign, suggesting funds from the congress, or, failing of this support, help by means of literature. No funds had been

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PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

056870

Subject.....

Date.....*Publication*.....

available, but some literature had been provided. He, personally, had gone to Toronto, met Delegate Bruce, and had been ready to speak at public gatherings, but had not been asked to do so during the four days he had been there, and had not wished to interfere in the arrangements of the committee in charge. As to his address before the Empire Club, and the alleged attack on the Canadian Labor party, Mr. Moore said that Vice-president Simpson, who is secretary of that body, could confirm what he said. It had happened that the president of the Labor party had declared that there should be another Labor Congress formed, and that the present Dominion Trades Congress did not represent the workers.

"Who is the president?" came from the audience.

"Jim Macdonald, the Communist, who spoke for the Communist party," answered Mr. Moore. "I stated at the Empire Club that the Labor party was still in its infancy, but would get support later on, and then irresponsible statements such as Macdonald had made would not be made."

Confirms Statement.

Vice-president Simpson confirmed the president's statement as to what he had said at the Empire Club.

Mr. Moore went on to say that if his record was not sufficient to warrant the approval of the delegates, they could make that view known during the present convention.

P. M. Draper, secretary-treasurer, said he did not pay much attention to the whispers as to himself, and he intended to run as secretary-treasurer of the congress, irrespective of salary, as long as he was sent there as a delegate, and if any other delegate wanted his job he would have to fight for it, and would not get it.

Tim Buck, of Toronto, secretary of the Canadian section of the Trade Union Educational League, which has its headquarters in Russia, objected to the Bruce resolution, saying that it was negative, was a step backward. What he wanted was to see a change in the policies of congress, with a president of other views, carrying out big work for the workers of Canada. He wanted the president's job built up, not lowered. Mr. Buck said he objected to the fact that Mr. Moore had referred to Jack Macdonald as holding the minor position of president of the Canadian Labor party, instead of mentioning him as the holder of the important position of secretary of the Communist party of Canada.

Are in Canada.

Miss Mary MacNab, of Toronto, organizer for the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, regretted the Bruce resolution and strongly endorsed President Moore.

Delegate Joseph Gibbons, of Toronto, who is a member of the Board of Control of Toronto as well as a leader of the street railwaymen of that city, said he was glad that President Moore had gone to the Empire Club, and believed more labor men should make the aspirations and ideals of labor known to such clubs. He had attended that luncheon, and believed the president had done more good by his address there than he could have done by talking to a labor organization. Mr. Gibbons said Canadian labor was not interested in what was done in British trade union circles as to payment of presidents. "We are in Canada, and are going to do what should be done in Canada, what is best for Canadians. There was a time when workmen from Britain came here and told us what was done there, but they quickly learned what was best for them here."

Mr. Gibbons added that the congress was in a better position than it had been previous to the war, and he was proud of the fact that he had been the first man to approach Tom Moore to persuade him to run for president. He was glad of the resolution since it enabled the delegates to express their views.

Vice-President Simpson said that labor was fond of condemning the daily or capitalistic press, yet labor men were always ready to believe inaccurate reports therein affecting their leaders.

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M. J. MOONEY, M.D., PRES.
G. H. VAN DYKE, VICE-PRES
J. P. GALIBOIS, SECRETARY.

TELEPHONE 6092

056871

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QUEBEC, March 27th, 1925.

Dear Sir,

You are no doubt aware of many of the facts concerning the territory in dispute between Canada and Newfoundland and that at the present moment negociations started by the Quebec Government are pending for an amicable settlement of the dispute.

Owing to my interest in Newfoundland I have had an opportunity of learning that they are quite satisfied that the decision of the Privy Council will be in their favour; while here I am lead to believe that there is a difference of opinion between the legal advisers as to our prospect of gaining a favourable decision and that Judge Dougherty is inclined to believe that the case should be won for Canada. It is probable that owing to negociations now going on he will be asked for an expression of his opinion, at a very early date. Should no settlement be made and the judgment of the Privy Council go against Canada, I have no doubt that it will play an important part in politics when it is generally known that this large area rish in forest, mineral, water powers and agricultural wealth might have been gained for Canada, the Quebec & Dominion Government will endeavor to escape censure by pointing to the opinion of Judge Dougherty as justification for the error. Therefore I feel that it would be in the interest of our party if the Judge in any opinion which he might give to the Govenrment would so worded it that in the event of an adverse decision the present Governments could not claim that they were acting on his opinion and that he was responsible for this position.

The preposed settlement I understand is that the Dominion and Quebec Government pay Newfoundland $ 15,000,000.00 for their claim and that the Newfoundland Government retain only the fishing rights and the right to use wood on the three mile limit, for fishing purposes.

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M. J. MOONEY, M.D., PRES.
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1.056872

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March 27th, 1925.

(2)

If an amical agreement could be reached it would eliminate any possible illwill that might arise between the two countries and the mother country owing to disatisfaction with the award.

I have writen you this in the hope that a word from you to Judge Dougherty might be advantageous to our party and have taken the liberty of enclosing a short review of seme of the facts of the case.

With kindest personal regards, believe me,

Yours respectfully,

M. J. Mooney

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Parliament Bldgs.,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056873

WHY LABRADOR BELONGS TO NEWFOUNDLAND.

In the year 1497 Jean Cabot discovers Newfoundland and Labrador, and since the reign of Elisabeth, England has claimed the two countries by virtue of Cabot's discovery. In 1670, the Hudson Bay Company secures its charter from Charles 11, and at the same period, french fishermen regurlarly visit the south coast. At the beginning of the 18th Century, the French Government of New-France grants seignorial rights on considerable portions of the Labrador territory bounded by the Strait of Belle-Isle and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. So that the north and south parts of the country were appropriated by England and France. By the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, it was agreed to divide the rest of the coast. A commission was appointed, but no division was arrived at, and the country remained undivided. Finally, by the conquest of Canada, 1760, Labrador fell into the hands of England, whose rights were confirmed by the Treaty of Paris, 1763.

The first article of the Royal Proclamation which is part of the Treaty itself, defines the boundaries of the new Government of Quebec as follows "Bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St.John and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river running west, through lake St-John as far as the south extremity of lake Nipissing ... (now in the province of Ontario) and back by the 45 to Cape Rosiers and the said River St. John.

The Proclamation art 4, continues:

And to the end that the open and free fishing of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the

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Coast of Labrador and the adjacent Islands, we have seen fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to put all that coast, from the River St-John to Hudson's Straits, together with the Islands of Anticosti and Madeleine and all smaller Islands lying upon the said coast under the care and inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland."

It can hardly be contended that it was the intention of the Crown to leave the interior of the country not included in the Hudson Bay Company's Charter, unappropriated and without jurisdiction. I may the following reason to prove it:

1o. We saw a moment ago, with regard to the boundary line of Quebec, the words "bounded on the Labrador Coast by the river St-John , but at the same time, this river St.John is at about 150 miles from the coast.

2o. The Commission of Sir Thomas Graves, Governor of Newfoundland, April 25th, 1763 which is an Imperial document, is another proof that the whole residue was intended. It reads: "And we do hereby command all officiers, Civil and Military, and all other inhabitants of our said Island and the Coast and Territories of Labrador and the Islands adjacent thereto to he obedient, aiding and assisting you in the execution of this our Commission."

This situation lasted for nearly ten years, Newfoundland exercising her jurisdiction over Labrador by the means of her Governors, when in 1772, certain settlers, thirteen in number, who claimed certain rights from the French Governors, complained of Palliser's Ordinances; Palliser was the then Governor of Newfoundland. And in 1774, the Quebec Act was passes. By it, "all such territories, islands, and countries, which have since the 10th February 1763 (Treaty of Paris) been made part of the

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Government of Newfoundland, "were annexed to the Province of Quebec - The Coast of Labrador had become in this Act territories, islands, countries, which alone is proof that no were strip of land was intented by the Imperial Government in the first case.

Nevertheless, Quebec, after this annexation, dit not care more for her new territories than for the man in the moon, and Newfoundland, by force of custom, continued to administer the country. So much so that in 1809, England, having seen that the proper authority over those territories was and would ever be Newfoundland, passed the Act of 1809 (49 George 111 ch. 26-27) The Act recites the Proclamation of 1763 and the Act of Quebec, 1774, and declares:

"Such parts of the said Coast of Labrador from the River St.John to Hudson's Straits and the Islands on said Coast including Anticosti and excepting Magdalen Islands, as were annexed to Canada in 1774, shall be re-annexed to the Government of Newfoundland; any thing in any other act to the contrary notwithstanting."

There is but one other Imperial Act on the boundary question in Labrador, and it is the Act of 1825 (16 George 1V, ch. 59). Let me add at once that this Act gives to Newfoundland the most formidable ground before the Privy Council, and that it cleary settles the question.

It became necessary in this year 1824 to extinguish feodal and seignorial rights in Lower Canada and Labrador, and to convert them into the tenure of free and common soccage. It was then found necessary to transfer that portion of Labrador, in order that they might be included in the conversion decided upon; and the abovementioned Act was passed. It declared : "So much of

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the said coast (let us not forget that the word "coast" here as well as in the others Acts, means considerable tracts of land going as far north as the 52° and as far west as the River St.John) as lies to the westward of a line to be drawn due north and south from the bay or harbour of Anse Sablon inclusive, as far as the 52° of north latitude with the Island of Anticosti, are re-annexed to the Province of Lower Canada. "This means pratically the basin of all the rivers falling into the Gulf of St.Lawrence. That such was dearly understood by Quebec at the time is proven by a "Figurative Plan" drawn by the Provincial Land Surveyor, and submitted to the House of Assembly of Lower Canada in 1829 (See journal of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada,XXXVlllth vol. Appendix Pp R.Blanchet, Chairman, Sixth Report, March 10th 1829)

Now if the Country to the south of the 52 parallel was taken from Newfoundland and given to Canada, the country to the north of that line still remained vested with Newfoundland. And this is this very tract of land which is now claimed by the Province of Quebec. Newfoundland has always exercised her jurisdiction over the disputed territory.

To sum up, I may add the following:

1o. No other Imperial Act deals with the boundaries of Labrador.

2o. The Federal Act of 1840 (Lower & Upper Canada) dealing with the question, has only one reference, that is the Quebec Act of 1774, omitting to speak, willingly or not, of the Act of 1809 repealing the Quebec Act.

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3o. The Confederation Act (1867) art. 6 merely states that: "The part which constituted the Province of Lower-Canada shall constitute the Province of Quebec."

4o. The Provincial Act of 1898 (61 Vict. ch. 6) extending the boundaries of Quebec above the 52nd degree of latitude, without explaining how Quebec is contented with the territory on the south of the Hamilton River, is without legal strenght before the Privy Council.

5o. The Federal Act of 1912 (2 Geo. V ch. 45) does not speak of the previous Imperial still in force.

6o. Newfoundland has always exercised its jurisdiction in the disputed territories, and Quebec has never done so, notwithstanding the Acts of 1898 and 1912. Afew examples will illustrate this point:

a) 1821 Captain Wm. Martin is sent by Governor Sir Charles Hamilton 90 miles of Hamilton Inlet to report on the conditions of the Indians there.

b) 1826-1834: The"Labrador Court" tries the case re rights to salmon fishery on Kimamish River (a territory mentioned in the acts of 1898 and 1912)

c) 1840: Elias Rendell is sent to collect Newfoundland duties.

d) 1857 Indians at Fort Nascopee, Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson Bay Territories, gives evidence at Ottawa, before Chief Justice Draper, representing Canada, and states that Fort Nascopee (400 miles inland) belongs to Newfoundland, and his evidence is accepted . (The purpose of the inquiry was to limit the power of the Hudson Bay Co., and Judge Draper had instructions to

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carefully examine every point at issue:

e) 1863-1864 Lord Strathcona, General Agent for the Hudson Bay Co., (140 miles off Hamilton Inlet, pays the full amount of dues claimed by Newfoundland.

f) 1873-74 Small-pox prevailing in Labrador, a doctor from Newfoundland is sent to North West River, and vaccinates 300 Indians.

Under Charles 11, the Hudson Bay Company was granted the basin of all the rivers falling into the Hudson Bay; by the legislations of 1763-1774-1809 and 1825, the basin of the rivers falling into the Atlantic Ocean is given to Newfoundland, and the basin of the rivers falling into the Gulf of St.Lawrence is given the Province of Quebec. This state of affaires exists not only by force of law, but by custom and logic.

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056879

WHY LABRADOR BELONGS

TO

NEWFOUNDLAND

Mtre Jacques Desaulniers, avocat

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Labrador Boundary

401

056880

Ottawa, March 30, 1925.

Dear Mr. Mooney:

I have your letter of the 27th. I am to see Judge Doherty the first time I am in Montreal, which should be very shortly. I thank you very much for sending me the material you have. It will be particularly useful later when this subject is before review.

Yours very truly,

M.J. Mooney, Esq.,
Mooney & Van Dyke Company,
58 Palace Hill,
Quebec City.

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056881

THE SENATE
CANADA

Ottawa, May 13th, 1925.

Rt. Honourable Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
O T T A W A.

Dear Sir:-

Since our conversation of the day before yesterday with reference to the question of the Extension of the Quebec Boundary to the Labrador Coast, in which you said you had not received encouragement from Mr. Doherty or the parties you communicated with; I have had an interview with Mr. Champlain, in connection with this matter, and have also received a letter from Mr. Champlain, copy of which I enclose.

I learned from Mr. Champlain, that our greatest difficulty is, perhaps, to get the lawyers who are engaged in this affair to advise their Governments that there is a doubt in their minds as to their success in winning the suit. I have read the Factum prepared by the lawyers, who are in close touch with the facts, but who are independent of either the Government of Newfoundland or Quebec, and while I am not a lawyer, I must say that the case presented by them should be taken into serious consideration by those representing Quebec. I think the representatives of Quebec would be fully justified in saying to their Government, that if they can make a reasonable settlement, taking everything into consideration, it would be better for them, than to take the chance of winning the suit before the Privy Council.

You will see in this letter, that an

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056882

The Honourable Arthur Meighen.

effort is being made by strong American organizations to get possession of these timber limits, and more than that they will also acquire from the Newfoundland Government, certain Deeds of Land in Fee Simple on the Coast, which some day will prove a serious complication to the advance of Canadian interests.

Therefore, I feel that the men interested in Dominion affairs, and you as our Leader, are justified in urging that the representatives of the Province of Quebec make a settlement, if it is possible.

Yours faithfully,

WM Pope

ENCL.

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056883

Ottawa, May 13th, 1925.

The Honourable Rufus Pope,
The Senate,
O T T A W A.

Dear Sir:-

Regarding the Labrador dispute between Newfoundland and Canada, I must say that I have been interested in that part of the country for over fourteen years, and know the inland section as well as the Coast. The disputed area is 120 sq.miles, over seventy million acres, from Cape ~~Charles~~ to Sable Blanc, 810 miles of coast. The factum, that I gave you, explained itself, and showed one side of the case. My opinion is, that it should not be a question of politics, but a friendly settlement between Ottawa, Quebec and Newfoundland. Owing to the proximity of this land to Quebec, Quebec is interested in the matter.

Chenley

Remember, Mr. Pope, when Alaska was to be won for Canada, President Roosevelt sent for the British Ambassador, and you will see on record at Washington, or elsewhere, where records are obtainable, the statement that if Judgment were rendered against the Americans, they would take Alaska by force. Two days later, Judgment was rendered against Canada in favour of the United States. The great country, that we all love, Canada, will suffer if this land is lost, although I do not think it would be well to fight for it. I attended the negotiations in Montreal, where delegates from Quebec, Ottawa and Newfoundland assembled. They decided to continue the negotiations. Later I read through the "Journal", that a decision was to be made by the Privy Council.

I advise you in regard to the disputed area, that it is good farming land, and that a railroad from Perrobounka River to the Valley of the Hamilton River will open up this country and would be of great advantage

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The Honourable Rufus Pope.

to Canada. You must be aware, that at Cape Charles, ice does not remain for long, and that the waters are navigable for twelve months of the year. The greatest water power in America, could be developed from the Grand and Muskrat Falls. Muskrat Falls are located twenty-five miles from the mouth of Hooge Bay, and Grand Falls one hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast. This power could be harnessed and developed for any number of industries and used for electric railways or otherwise as needed, and I repeat, that the land in that part of the country is wonderful.

No doubt you gentlemen, are aware that the Gulf Stream, which flows to Greenland and back, warms this section of Canada, making it warmer than Quebec. I myself, have seen in Grand Village, Hooge Bay, oats, seeded and ripe, higher than the height of a man. In that locality there is a most fertile valley of 250 miles.

It is unfortunate that the Dominion authorities are not better informed of the great importance of this affair.

Now Mr. Pope, think if this section is lost what it will mean to Canada, and this thing could be settled for the small sum of fifteen million dollars, which will give you three quarters of a mile of every flowing stream to the Atlantic, The matter has been discussed with the Quebec representatives and I think it is agreeable.

The American people are very anxious to obtain an interest in this land. I know personally, that McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, sent a cruiser to Cartwright, Sandwich Bay, on the Atlantic Coast, looking to secure timber land. I have not seen a report of this trip, but I have talked with one of the interested parties, who informs me that they found this land one of the best timber properties that they have seen in Canada. Perhaps you are aware that the Port Quelles Timber Company is owned by the McCormick people, Chicago Tribune. Other large financial interests in the United States, through one of their representatives a lawyer, Walter G. Morris, are seeking interests in this timber country. The government of Newfoundland do issue license for ninety-nine years and the rate of taxation is only twenty-five cents per one thousand foot board measure. You are aware

..... 3

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CANADA

056885

The Honourable Rufus Pope.

that the American people are very short of pulp wood timber, and if they could get hold indirectly, through the Government of Newfoundland, of this land, they are most anxious to do so, I am in a position to prove this when the time comes.

You know what happened to Canada in the loss of Alaska. Might I suggest that we are almost in equal danger regarding Labrador, because the strong influence of American capital may cause a more serious complication, even than Alaska, on the Atlantic Coast.

Yours respectfully,

Sgd

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CANADA

056886

401

Ottawa, May 14, 1925.

Hon. R.H. Pope,
The Senate,
Ottawa.

Dear Senator Pope:

Answering yours of the 13th. I am glad you sent me Mr. Champlain's letter. It gives me a very useful idea of the territory in dispute. I don't think though it would be wise for me to suggest a settlement. If the settlement did not in every way turn out satisfactorily I would be held to be its originator. I think, however, I shall bring the question up in the House and see what the Government has to say upon it first.

Yours very truly,

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CANADA

EDWARD ANDERSON, K.C.

056887

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

June 14, 1922.

My dear Meighen,

I promised you some time ago to keep you posted as to the negotiations re extension of franchise.

The negotiations have been dragging along without our being able to bring the matter to a head. I am hopeful, however, that before very long we will make substantial progress. I still think we are going to get the extension but I cannot give you any better assurances than I have already done. I shall be glad to keep you informed of the progress of these negotiations, or at least advise you when it comes to the point where I think an agreement is in sight.

I hope that you are enjoying your position as leader of the Opposition and that you are feeling fit.

Yours sincerely,

E Anderson

Rt.-Hon. Arthur Meighen,
OTTAWA.

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CANADA

EDWARD ANDERSON, K.C.

056888

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

June 14, 1922.

My dear Meighen,

I see our old friend the Lake of the Woods matter is again in evidence. I understand that an arrangement was made between Premiers King and Drury whereby Drury should re-introduce his Lake of the Woods Control bill, and that the Dominion Government should repeal Chap. 38, being the Lake of the Woods Regulation Act, 1921. Drury apparently has carried out his part of the arrangements by enacting his bill. The representatives of the City of Winnipeg and myself attended at the office of the Attorney-General of Manitoba this morning and we all agreed it was exceedingly important that the method for a repeal provided for by section 10 of the Lake of the Woods Regulation Act should be followed and that the repeal should not be brought about by new legislation. We all feel that the provision in section 10 declaring the works to be for the general advantage of Canada is a necessary protection to the water powers on the Winnipeg River.

The City of Winnipeg, Manitoba Government and ourselves have instructed

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 056889

Tom Johnson, who is at present in the East, to make representations to Premier King along this line.

I assume that the matter is receiving your attention and I shall be glad to know that you will do what you can to maintain the position provided for in the Act passed by you at last session.

Yours sincerely,

E Anderson

Rt.-Hon. Arthur Meighen,
OTTAWA.

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HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER

59BYQ 54

WINNIPEG MAN 1138A 15 JUNE 1922

RT HON ART MEIGHEN

HU

UNDERSTAND GOVT INTRODUCING BILL TO REPEAL LAKE OF THE WOODS REGULATION ACT 1921 STOP MANITOBA GOVT CITY OF WINNIPEG AND OURSELVES VERY MUCH OPPOSED TO THIS METHOD OF REPEALING BILL STOP WE THINK METHOD PROVIDED FOR IN SECTION TEN OF THE ACT PROVIDING FOR REPEALING BY PROCLAMATION SHOULD BE FOLLOWED WRITING

E ANDERSON

325P

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056891

Ottawa, June 16, 1922.

E. Anderson, Esq., K.C.,
Winnipeg,
Man.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I have just received your wire. Curiously enough it arrived about ten minutes after the Bill to which you refer, and against which you protest, had been introduced by the Solicitor-General, Mr. MacKenzie. He gave an explanation which I did not think much of, and I took the unusual course of making some comments at the time of introduction. I will send you to-day's Hansard. This matter I intend to watch carefully. I may add that in my judgment strong efforts would be required to turn the Government from this course into which, apparently, Mr. King has been persuaded by Mr. Drury.

Yours truly,

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056892 11

Ottawa, June 19th. 1922.

My dear Anderson:

Your two letters of the 14th. are to hand. Many thanks for the one re Lake of the Woods Control bill.

I have already seen Mr. Johnston. My view has not changed since last session and I assure you that my attitude will not. King evidently made a promise to Drury without hearing the other side at all and Mr. Johnston says he is tied up and cannot change. It will take a hard fight to avoid somewhat serious consequence in this matter.

Yours very truly,

Edward Anderson, Esq., K.C.,
Winnipeg, Man.

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CANADA

file

EDWARD ANDERSON, K.C.

056893

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

May 17, 1923.

My dear Meighen,

- Re Lake of the Woods Control-

The Power interests in Winnipeg are advised that it is the intention of the Government at Ottawa to shortly introduce a bill to repeal the general advantage clause in the Act passed by your Government giving control over the Lake of the Woods.

It being near election time Premier Drury is on the rampage again about Provincial rights and I have no doubt at all that the introduction of this legislation is as a result of pressure brought to bear by Drury upon Premier King.

I presume you know that at a conference held at Ottawa last Fall a tentative understanding was arrived at between the Dominion, the Province of Ontario as represented by Mr. Drury, and the Manitoba interests, including the Manitoba Government. In that agreement it was understood that the general advantage legislation would be repealed if certain things were done by Ontario. Now Drury comes along and

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demands the repeal before carrying out his part of the arrangement. It is unnecessary for me to enter into the question at length because Tom Johnson, the representative of the Power interests here, is proceeding to Ottawa at once and will no doubt discuss the matter with you and advise you fully of the true position.

The position taken by the Manitoba Power Interests, in a nutshell, is this: We have no desire to precipitate an unseemly fight between Canada, Ontario and Manitoba, and if our interests can be reasonably safeguarded we are only too glad to have this done in an amicable and friendly way, but if this cannot be done we naturally will do everything within reason to protect our rights.

We here recognize the very great service that you have done Manitoba in this connection in the past and I am merely dropping you this note to express the hope that you will continue in the good work.

With kindest personal regards,
I remain,
Yours sincerely,

E. Anderson

Rt.-Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C.,
OTTAWA.

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056895

Ottawa, May 25th, 1923.

The Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir Lomer,-

On Friday last, May 18th, in introducing the bill to repeal the Lake of the Woods Regulation Act, you referred to an agreement to which the government of Manitoba was a party relating to this bill.

If you have no objection, would you kindly let me have, or lay on the table on Monday, a copy of the agreement as I would very much like to see it.

Yours very truly,

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THE FORT GARRY, WINNIPEG, MAN. THE MACDONALD, EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

Ottawa, Ont., June 18th, 1923.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:

The Lake of the Woods Regulation Act.

I was informed to-day that the Prime Minister wanted to proceed with the Repeal Bill to-day or tomorrow. In the meantime I thought I had better inform you that in response to the Premier's specific request that my clients should withdraw opposition to the Bill on the understanding that it would not be proclaimed until the conditions of the agreement of November last were complied with, my clients have taken the position that they cannot withdraw their opposition to the Repeal Bill unless the proclamation thereof is specifically made contingent upon a request to that effect from both Ontario and Manitoba expressed in Orders-in-Council by the respective provinces.

Yours very truly,

Thos H. Johnson

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056897

MILLS AT
KEEWATIN,
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, MAN.
AND
MEDICINE HAT, ALTA.

LAKE OF THE WOODS MILLING COMPANY LIMITED

MONTREAL

June 25th, 1923

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa,
Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

Notice by the public press that Bill #175, an Act to repeal the Lake of the Woods Regulation Act of 1921, has already passed the second reading of the House of Commons.

You will remember that an attempt was made last year to repeal this Act and was defeated in the Senate, and have been wondering if there is any possibility of the same thing happening again this year.

It is hardly necessary to point out to you the necessity of maintaining the Act of 1921 as you are fully conversant with the situation, but would be very pleased indeed if you would speak to Senator Lougheed as it will no doubt come up in the Senate this week.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

W. W. Stewart

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CANADA

056898

Ottawa, June 27, 1923.

W. W. Hutchison, Esq.,
Lake of the Woods Milling Co. Ltd.,
Montreal.

Dear Mr. Hutchison:

I have your letter of the 25th June, and am enclosing with this Hansard for June 20th, from which you will see that I made it quite clear in the debate on the second reading that there was no justification for the Bill at all. I feel quite confident that the measure will be defeated in the Senate.

Yours very truly,

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EDWARD ANDERSON, K.C.

056899

file

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

July 3rd, 1923.

My dear Meighen,

Please accept my thanks and the thanks of the interests which I represent for the very effective manner in which you championed the rights of Manitoba in connection with the Lake of the Woods repeal measure.

I feel the Province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg should express their gratitude to you and to Sir James Lougheed for protecting their interests. I expect there will be a meeting of all the parties interested in the near future and that some such action will be taken.

With kindest regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

E. Anderson

Rt.-Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
OTTAWA.

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056900

LAKE OF THE WOODS MILLING COMPANY KEEWATIN
MONTREAL

July
Fourth
1 9 2 3.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

Many thanks for your kind favor of the 27th. enclosing copy of the Debate on the Lake of the Woods Control Bill.

We are certainly very much pleased to see that this bill has been defeated in the Senate, and now that there is a change in Government in Ontario we sincerely hope this question will be settled on a satisfactory basis to all interests.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

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056901

Law Department

Ans. file

REFER TO FILE NO. 3500

City of Winnipeg
MANITOBA

J. Prendhomme,
CITY SOLICITOR
R. W. Wydeman,
G. F. D. Bond,
R. Tidmus,
ASSISTANT SOLICITORS

11th July, 1923.

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Parliament Buildings,
Ottawa, ONT.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Re. - An Act to Amend the Lake of the Woods Regulation Act, 1921.

Owing to pressure of business I have not been able to write you before this to express, on behalf of the citizens of Winnipeg, our very grateful appreciation of the action taken by you in connection with the above Bill. To us the matter is of such supreme importance that we regard those who took any part in defeating the proposed legislation as having assisted in the commercial salvation of this community. We also feel that those who attempted to repeal the existing legislation do not quite appreciate the far reaching effect such action would have had. We cannot believe that any one section of Canadians would deliberately aim at jeopardizing the future of a whole community if they were fully aware of the consequences of their action. The result has caused a sigh of relief to go through this community, and it is only fitting on their behalf that I should now thank you for your assistance.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

J. Prendhomme
City Solicitor.

JP/AE.

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CANADA

056902

North Sydney, N. S. July 23/23

J. Prudhomme, Esq.,
City Soliciter,
Winnipeg, Man.

Dear Sir:

I beg to ackno ledge your letter of the 11th of July just received to-day.

The appreciation of the City of Winnipeg I ~~appue~~ very highly.

Yours truly,

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MEIGHEN PAPERS

SERIES 3

(M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

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CANADA

056903

Ottawa, Ont. November 4th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

I intended writing you yesterday but omitted to do so. I would like you to attend the Lanark Convention at Carleton Place at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 9th. November. They have asked for you to be there. Sir Henry Drayton is going as well. I have to speak that day in Toronto, so cannot attend. Give them a rouser.

Yours very truly,

H. A. Stewart, Esq., M.C.,M.P.,
Brockville, Ont.

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1922 NOV 8 AM 10 12

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IMPOSSIBLE TO ATTEND LANARK NOMINATION TOMORROW

DONALD SUTHERLAND.

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CANADA

056905

Ottawa, Nov. 13th, 1922.

Dr.R .F. Preston,
Carleton Place,
Ont.

Dear Dr. Preston:

Tom Blacklock told me this morningmyou were entirely without any ammunition. With this I am sending you copies of the Hand Book used in the last election, which I am sure you will find useful. After glancing through the hand book please let me know if there is any other data I can get for you here. You will of course consider that our services are entirely at your command.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

Dict. by Hex Crossdell.

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1.5

056906

H. A. STEWART, K.C.
BARRISTER, SOLICITOR
NOTARY PUBLIC, &c.

TELEPHONE 85
P.O. DRAWER 15

SOLICITOR FOR
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OFFICES: FULFORD BLOCK
Brockville, CANADA

Nov. 13, 1922.

My dear Meighen,-

I received your letter of 12th inst. and replied by wire as follows,-

"My dates free after this week, except
"November 28. Cannot well
"devote much time to this Campaign,
"but anxious to do everything possible.
"Please arrange accordingly."

My time is pretty well occupied at all times, and, owing to the absence of my Wife, I am in sole charge of the house. I am anxious to help you and the Candidate. In some cases we have prepared our Posters giving a list of Meetings and a complete list of speakers without assigning the speakers to any particular meeting. This gives elasticity and enables you to meet varying conditions.

Please advise me what you wish me to do, giving me as much time as possible, and I will endeavor to meet your requirements.

Hoping you are well, and believing that we will be successful in this By-election, I remain,

HAS/EB

Yours faithfully,

H A Stewart

Right-Honourable
Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa, Ont.

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056907

Ottawa, Ont. November 14th. 1922

Dear General Ross:

Friends of ours in Lanark will, I think, be asking for your services in the by-election. I hope that if such a request comes that you will be able to comply. It is of course very important that we win that seat and we intend to make every effort.

Yours very truly,

General A. E. Ross, M.P.,
Kingston, Ont.

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056908

Ottawa, Ontario. November 14th. 1922

Dear Mr. Nickle:

Our friends in Lanark are anxious to have you address a meeting or so for their by-election. I hope you can see your way to do so. You know how vital it is to win that contest. Kindly let me know and if agreeable what days you have occupied so that arrangements can be made for some night or nights that are free.

Yours very truly,

W. F. Nickle, Esq., M.P.P.,
Legislative Assembly,
Toronto,
Ontario.

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056909

Ottawa, Ont. November 14th. 1922.

Dear Colonel Arthurs:

Our friends in Lanark are anxious to ascertain if you would be available to address meetings there. Would you be kind enough to let me know whether you can and if you can what days between now and election day, December 4th., are occupied so that they can understand you would be free for the others.

Yours very truly,

Lieut.-Colonel James Arthurs, M.P.,
Powassan, Ont.

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056910

Ottawa, Ont. November 14th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Hill:

Our friends in Lanark are anxious to ascertain if you would be available to address meetings there. Will you be kind enough to let me know whether you can or not, and if you can, what days between now and election day, December 4th., are occupied, so that they can understand you would be free for the others.

Yours very truly,

H. P. Hill, Esq.,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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056911

Ottawa, November 15th. 1922.

Dear Major Hope:

Mr. H. A. Stewart of Brockville, writes that though his time is pretty well occupied at all times, he is anxious to do everything possible to help in the by-election campaign. His days are free after this week except the 28th. instant.

Yours very truly,

Major J. A. Hope,
Perth, Ontario.

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056912

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Ottawa, November 15th. 1922.

Major J. A. Hope

Perth Ontario.

Donald Sutherland wires that he can give one week to Lanark beginning the 27th.

Arthur Meighen.

Dead Head J.S.62.

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HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER

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HON A MEIGHEN 018

OTTAWA ONT

CAN GIVE ONE WEEK LANARK BEGINNING TWENTY SEVENTH

DONALD SUTHERLAND.

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056914

STEWART, HOPE & O'DONNELL
BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS, &C.
HON. JOHN A. STEWART, K.C., LL.B.
JOHN A. HOPE HUGH A. O'DONNELL
PERTH, ONTARIO

November 15, 1922.

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

I have your telegram of to-day's date, with reference to Mr. Sutherland. I would be glad to have the information as to the dates of the other speakers, as early as possible.

Some of the local workers have been asking for assistance, in the way of Campaign Literature. I do not expect that there is anything in this line, such as there was at the General Election, but there may be some suggestions which you could have sent to us for the use of the local speakers.

Yours faithfully,

J.A. Hope

JAH/RM.

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056915

THE SENATE
CANADA

Cobalt

16th - Nov 1922

Right - Hon
Arthur Meighen MP
Ottawa

My Dear Meighen

In reference to my going to Renfrew to help my old friend Dr Preston. I am still out of voice & his doctor says I may not be able to do duty on the platform. However in a campaign speaking is only one thing & often I have found is the least effectual factor in deciding the election. There is nothing special to me appeal on some question that goes direct to the heart of the people. That combines sympathy, tinged with prejudice founded on Patriotism. In 1917 I did much to contribute to the sweep in Ontario. By organizing for Cochrane a crew of 7 speakers

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Grand Duke of Empire Loyalists
driven from home by the Friends
of Tribune. They did great work
very satisfactory to all the candidates
where ever they went. - Now in
this instance the hot-headed Judgment
that they should do public speaking
and a canvass from house to
house by young men driven
from home. Who are appealing
to men and to women of Ontario for
protection for their rights.
I will give you one or two
examples of what I mean to have
them say. For instance it matters
very little difference whether it
French Tory Grit. Who the states
we get less and less justice
Redistribution of seats last time
Talk for instance. Wolmouth
& Nolin Damn de Israel
practically our Town nearly all

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

3

056917

All English were they put together & oh! so what amount was annexed to St-Henri. and Notre Dame to Jacques Cartier. where in both instances our English Voice as over powered by the French. This illustration applies all over Quebec where possible. This time Monsignor of Rome will be put together and the English Voice will be silenced. This is what a solid Quebec means. These people have been educated to take the English as their conquerors with whom they must get along

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

4

Roberts in Jail day or dispose
for one moment if he had
been a French Canadian
he would be condemned to Jail
no fear. If I am wrong
why did not Sir Lomer Gouin
Premier or Martin in Jail
instead of the Legislature
Council? Who elected
King leader of the liberal party?
French Inclus delegates at the
convention. What influence
is now be hurled King Roman
Catholic Recipe or massive
who was elected. Is that all
Ohio, Bay county where the
German vote was a factor.
over one hundred men who now
sit behind King over their
election to the Catholic and
German vote and of these
80 % turn to the French
Canadian vote

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

5

056919

It must never be forgotten
that though a few English
men are elected in Quebec
it is only by their denouncing
the blood of their ancestors.
In my case. Now we will
take one other illustration
I remember when we had
at Quebec out of 7 Cabinet
ministers 3 English speaking
at least two of them were protestant
what now? A much larger Cabinet
with Nicol not an ounce of any
other blood in his veins but French
so called protestant I think there is some
other non entity without portfolio.
Nicol followed Mitchell the wife
is both an Catholics
when do we come in?

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056920

There was such a time when English capital paid more taxes than people and more people than to day. ~~[illegible]~~ We have kept pace with the increase of population in Quebec Prov in these regards

enough said what is my proposition? Organize a band of young men. well educated gentlemen who will go from door to door making their appeal for men & women of Rempro to such a man who will be from the influence that is behind King. I can organize such a Band. who will go for their expenses. Forward your submit this to Dr Preston I don't mind it to know as I am not sure of his address or whether

Yours very truly
W A Pope

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056921

Ottawa, Ont. November 18,1922.

Dear Major Hope:

For your information I am sending you copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. H. P. Hill assuring us of his help in the Lanark by-election campaign.

Yours very truly,

Major John A. Hope,
Perth,
Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056922

Greene Hill & Hill.
Barristers and Solicitors
Successors to
(Lewis and Pinhey)
Established 1854.
Wentworth Greene, K.C. Hampden P. Hill, K.C.
Alexander C. Hill.
H. R. Dale Harris

110 Wellington Street.
Ottawa, Canada.

Copy to Mayor Perth

17th November, 1922.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa. Ont.

Dear Mr. Meighen,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 14th inst., and I will be pleased to do what little I can in the County of Lanark. If whoever is in charge of the campaign will communicate with me as to when he would like me to go to Lanark I will try to make my arrangements at the office here fit in with his wishes.

I must confess that I have not been watching Dominion Politics as closely as I should and that I do not feel prepared to make any very long addresses, but will do the best I can.

Believe me, with kind regards,

Very faithfully yours,

H. R. Hill

HPH. LW.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056923

Ottawa, Ont. November 18th. 1922.

My dear Senator Pope:

Have just received yours of the 16th. instant. Was expecting to see you yesterday or the day before in Montreal, but evidently you were in Cookshire.

They want you badly on the 21st. at Carleton Place for a big meeting there. If by any chance you feel yourself able to attend wire me on the receipt of this.

I am forwarding your letter to Doctor Preston, as I know he will appreciate it.

If you cannot come right away, let me know by note or by wire when you will be available. As a matter of fact they find themselves very short of speakers and you were the first one they asked for.

Yours very truly,

Senator R. H. Pope,
Cookshire, Que.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056924

Ottawa, Nov. 18, 1922.

Dr. R.F. Preston,
Carleton Place,
Ont.

Dear Dr. Preston:

McConnell

I attach herewith copy of letter which I have just written a Western enquirer, which may be of help.

Yours truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Form 1 T.W.

056925

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Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L.

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HEAD OFFICE TORONTO, ONT.

GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER

1922 NOV 18 PM 2 04

N21 54 12

PRESCOTT ONT 18 NFT

ARTHUR MEIGHEN 244

OTTAWA ONT

DR REID IS IN NEWYORK WILL NOT BE BACK BEFORE A WEEK

MRS LABATT.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056926

Ottawa, November 19th. 1922.

Dear Doctor Preston:

I am sending you today some material which I hope will be of value to you. Am having similar ones prepared on the patronage question and the abandonment of returned soldiers, which will go forward shortly.

Will be very glad to hear from you as to how the campaign is progressing. You are too old a campaigner to gain much advice from me, but I will venture to say this: do not rely too much on any vote that you have not canvassed yourself or had canvassed by some pretty good man. Also, press to the utmost an organization of women both for canvassing and getting out the vote. That is all I have to say.

I hear Mrs. Stewart is quite doubtful as to the result and that would indicate that possibly she feels that the women are not organized as they should be.

You know of course that if you want Doctor Edwards for any special point, you can get him by writing or wiring him to Cataracqui. I think I will run up quietly early in the week.to see how things are going. All success to you.

Yours very truly,

Dr. R. F. Preston,
Carleton Place,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056927

THE SENATE
CANADA

Cookstown
19th Nov 1922

Right Hon
Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

My dear Meighen

I shall be in Ottawa on Tuesday going to Renfrew Wednesday. If you have any dope now to put in a memorandum have it bottled up for me. I only came home on the 7th. Is the reason that many of the 20 Bills to be dealt with by myself.

Yours
R A Bruce

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056928

Ottawa, Nov. 20, 1922.

Wilson McCue, Esq.,
Smith's Falls,
Ont.

Dear Mr. McCue:

I have just heard from Lanark county that you have loyally swung in in support of Dr. Preston, and I write to express my pleasure at this news. To tell the truth I felt confident all along that you would stand true and side by side with us in this contest, and I feel sure your assistance in Smith's Falls and in the county generally. will be of very great advantage. Naturally I am very anxious for success in that county.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 180)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056929

Ottawa, Nov. 20, 1922.

Major J.A. Hope,
Perth, Ont.

Dear Major Hope:

Confirming what I said over the phone to-day W.F. Garland will arrive and report to you Thursday afternoon. H.P. Hill will report at Perth at noon of the 23rd and be ready to speak the 23rd and 24th. I am writing Mr. Nesbitt to ask that he be available for next week.

I am advising Sir Edward Kemp to see Miss Bolton and ask her if possible to report at Smith's Falls. I will ask Sir Edward to wire you her decision, and if she is going please see that she is met by appropriate parties, and arrangements made to have her start work without delay.

Yours very truly,

P.S. I think Miss Bolton should arrive before Monday as the date mentioned over the 'phone. This takes time.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056930

Ottawa, Nov. 20, 1922.

W. H. Newman, Esq.,
Merrickville,
Ont.

Dear Mr. Newman:

I know you took a very active and useful part in the contest last fall and helped Mr. Stewart very much in your end of his county. I sincerely hope you will be able to repeat the service in this by-election. The importance of this contest is very great and you can realize how anxious I am about it! How anybody who knows the facts can vote for the King government is hard to understand. They have got some benefit by being elected themselves. There may be other lucky people who have also, but for the life of me I don't know what the public in general have got except neglect, extravagance, taxes and injustice.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 180)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056931

Ottawa, Nov. 20, 1922.

Sir Edward Kemp,
199 River St.,
Toronto.

Dear Sir Edward:

I attach copy of letter sent to Major Hope, Perth, to-day. Please 'phone Miss Bolton on your arrival and ask her if she cannot help us through in Lanark, and if she can please wire Major Hope advising him accordingly.

Yours truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056932

Ottawa, Nov. 20, 1922.

E.W. Nesbitt, Esq.,
Woodstock,
Ont.

Dear Mr. Nesbitt:

I wired you to-day but have wire in reply that you are absent for this week. Our friends in Lanark are very anxious to have you help them in the campaign there. Would you not do so next week? Of the importance of the campaign I do not need to emphasize, and I know I need not press the matter but that you will go if you possibly can. Will you kindly wire me when you get this letter.

Yours very truly,

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056933

T.W. Form 2A

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RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK

SEND the following message subject to the terms printed on the back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

Ottawa, Nov. 20, 1922.

E.W. Nesbitt, Esq.,

Woodstock, Ont.

Friends in Lanark anxious that you should speak there twenty-third and twenty-fourth instant. Sincerely hope you can. stop. Wire.

Arthur Meighen.

D.H. F.S. 62.

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056934

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Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L.

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HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT.

GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER

RA 221 8

1922 NOV 20 PM 4 05

WOODSTOCK ONT 20 335 P

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN PC

345 OTTAWA ONT

SORRY MR NESBITT WILL BE AWAY THIS WEEK

A.W MUIR.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056935

ONTARIO

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

KINGSTON, November 20th. 1922.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,

Parliament Bldgs.,

Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Mr. Meighen:-

Yours addressed to me to Toronto, under date of November 14th, has come to Kingston.

Some three or four weeks ago I had a very sharp attack of Laryngitis, and was forbidden by the doctor to do any more speaking than was absolutely professionally necessary. In addition to this, since leaving the Commons, I have not kept myself au fait with the problems of the Federal House and do not feel competent, therefore, to enter into the present contest in Lanark. Yesterday I had a telephone message from Mr. Hope of Perth, and I have explained the matter to his satisfaction.

With kind regards to all,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

M/C.

W. F. Nickle

MEIGHEN PAPERS; Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056936

A. C. Casselman
BARRISTER, SOLICITOR & NOTARY.
SOLICITOR FOR THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA
PHONE No 38 OFFICES, ROYAL BANK BUILDING
PRESCOTT, CANADA

Nov. 20th. 1922

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

I have your kind letter of the 14th. inst., in which you ask if I am free so that I could address meetings in Lanark County.

As far as I know at present, I am not engaged from Wednesday evening 29th. inst., but when I consider the heavy artillery that is being used in the County, I think it would be a mistake for me to make an appearance.

Further, I have been troubled with laryngitis for some time, and am at my worst in this damp weather, so I really think it would be a mistake on my part to offer my assistance.

I regret that I find it necessary to write you along this line, as I am very anxious to assist in any way I can, and trust that you will see my position.

Yours faithfully,

A. C. Casselman

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056937

Ottawa, Nov. 21, 1922.

A. C. Casselman, Esq.,
Prescott,
Ont.

My dear Mr. Casselman:

Very many thanks for your letter of the 20th. Perhaps under the circumstances you should not be called upon to go into Lanark. Many thanks, however, for offering to go.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056938

Ottawa, Nov. 21, 1922.

W. F. Nickle, Esq., M.P.P.,
Kingston,
Ont.

My dear Nickle:

I am very sorry you cannot go to Lanark. It is an important contest, and I haven't the least doubt that you have federal affairs well enough in hand to make an excellent speech. I am sorry indeed you have had trouble with your throat.

I am most thankful that ~~Miss Bolton~~ Gordon has signified her willingness to assist. I had a 'phone message yesterday saying she was going and our friends there were highly pleased.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours truly.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056939

Ottawa, Nov. 21st, 1922.

Major J.A. Hope,
Perth,
Ont.

Dear Major Hope:

A typographical error was made in the article I sent you yesterday entitled "Political Railway Rates". On page 3, will you please change the last word on the fifth last line on the page, to read "eastward" instead of "westward".

Yours truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056939

Ottawa, Nov. 21st, 1922.

Major J.A. Hope,
Perth,
Ont.

Dear Major Hope:

A typographical error was made in the article I sent you yesterday entitled "Political Railway Rates". On page 3, will you please change the last word on the fifth last line on the page, to read "eastward" instead of "westward".

Yours truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056940

Ottawa, Nov. 21, 1922.

S. Charters, Esq., M.P.,
Brampton,
Ont.

Dear Mr. Charters:

I haven't heard a word from you as to my request that you help us in Lanark. It must be that you did not get my letter. This is a most important contest.

Are you sending the weekly news and views to the Belleville Intelligencer? They keep writing me for material.

Yours truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056941

T.W. Form 2A

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SEND the following message subject to the terms printed on the back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

November 22nd. 1922.

J. L Stansell M.P.,

Strafordville Ontario.

They want you in Lanark commencing Friday. Wire me favourably if possible.

Arthur Meighen

Dead Head FS 62

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CANADA

056942

T.W. Form 2A

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RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK

SEND the following message subject to the terms printed on the back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

NOV. 22nd. 1922.

Colonel James Arthurs, M.P.,

Powassan Ontario.

Requested you on the 14th. to volunteer assistance in Lanark. No reply. Please wire me immediately. They are most anxious .

Arthur Meighen

Dead Head FS62

CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.

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Form 1 T.W.

056943

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Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L.

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RA315 10 COLLECT 1922 NOV 22 1922 NOV 22 PM 8 54

POWASSAN ONT 22 NFT

ARTHUR MEIGHEN

419

OTTAWA ONT

AVAILABLE ANY DATE AFTER 26 INSTANT

FOR LANARK

COLONEL JAMES ARTHURS.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056944

Ottawa, Ont. November 22nd. 1922.

Dear Mr. Kidd:

I have received a request to-day from our organization in Lanark to write you and through you to our other friends in Burritt's Rapids district requesting the best co-operation possible on your part to help to victory in the present by-election in Lanark. There is a portion of the riding which closely adjoins you, and I am advised that there is very considerable you can do.

I do not need to impress the importance of winning this contest; it is very, very important and the Government forces seem to be reeking with money and workers of every kind and character. The most thorough organization is essential, and I sincerely hope, indeed I know, that you will render every service in your power. Please convey the same message to those of our friends there who so nobly stood by me in the Grenville election.

Yours very truly,

J. Harold Kidd, Esq.,
Burritt's Rapids,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056945

Ottawa, Ont. November 22nd. 1922

Dear Mr. Spence:

I communicated with you to-day through Sir Edward Kemp.

Doctor Preston is most anxious for your help in Lanark and undoubtedly requires help. The Government are making a desperate struggle there and seem to be reeking with money and workers of every kind. Doctor Preston is confident he can carry it but needs considerable number of respected experienced men not only for speaking but chiefly for organizing and canvassing.

Sir Edward intimated that you will try hard to be up in a day or so, and I write now to urge that you reach Smith Falls Friday morning if there is any possible chance of you doing so. Do not let us neglect anything to win this County. I feel it my duty to get every man the candidate asks for.

Yours very truly,

David Spence, Esq., M.P.,
13 O'Hara Street,
Toronto, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056946

Merrickville
Nov. 22nd 1922

The Right Hon Arthur Meighen
Ottawa Ont

Dear Sir
Your letter of Nov 20th
Received this P.M. Re. Re-Election
in Lanark. and I will be
very pleased to assist the
Hon. R. L. Preston in his campaign
and I hope on the fourth of Dec
that the Good Old County
of Lanark will remain true
to the party.

Yours very truly
W. H. Herman

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

File

056947

House of Commons
Canada

Brampton. Nov. 27. 1922

Hon. A Meighen
Ottawa

My Dear Mr. Meighen

I have your letter of yesterday. I am planning to be in Lanark for Monday Tuesday. Wednesday and Thursday next week.

I am fully convinced that I can be of more service at organization meetings in country districts than at Public meetings. There are plenty of speakers. What is required most is arrangements for getting out the vote.

I can help no more this way I think. We are having a convention here on Saturday to nominate a Provincial Candidate. Very truly S. C. Charlis

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056948

Ottawa, Ont. November 23rd.1922

Dear Mr. Clysdale,

Following some telephone conversation I have written Major Hope regarding the services of several men, and attached you will find copy of ther letter for your information.

Yours very truly.

William Clysdale, Esq.,
Rideau Hotel,
Smith Falls,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056949

T.W. Form 2A

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RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK

SEND the following message subject to the terms printed on the back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

Ottawa, Nov. 23, 1922.

J.R. MacNicol Esq.,

Dominion Radiator Co.,

Toronto.

Regret am engaged out of city to-morrow and next day. ~~xxxxx~~ writing.

Arthur Meighen.

D.H. F.S. 62.

CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 130)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056950

House of Commons
Canada

Madoc Nov 23rd 1922

Hon Arthur Meighen
House of Commons
Ottawa .

Hon Sir ;

Yesterday on the spur of the moment when speaking to you over the phone I promised to go to Smith Falls today Owing to business engagements I find I cannot possibly get away this week .

If I had gone for Friday I would have had to be back for Saturday morning .

Mr Tummon whom I spoke to you about is away from home and will not be back before Saturday night .
I will go to Smith Falls on Monday and size up the situation and if there is anything I can do towards organizing to get the vote out etc, I will be glad to render what assistance I can .

I am not a platform speaker and do not think it would be in the best intrest of all concerned that I should be called upon to address public meetings .

Yours Truly

T H Thompson

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056951

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

TELEGRAM

FORM T. D. 1

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

H 91 RNP 18

GUELPH ONT NOV 23-22

R T HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA ONT

190

HAVE SOME APPOINTMENTS FOR NEXT WEEK BUT COULD BE IN LANARK TUESDAY AND POSSIBLY WEDNESDAY IF REQUIRED ANSWER

H GUTHRIE

228 P

Also my Market Sp. 2 '19

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056952

T.W. Form 2A

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HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER.

RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK

SEND the following message subject to the terms printed on the back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

November 23rd. 1922.

W. F. Garland Esq., M.P.,
C-O Walker House,
Toronto, Ontario.

Be sure and procure the two parties mentioned. Phone Kemp for particulars. The delay very [redacted] discouraging.

Arthur Meighen

Dead Head FS62

CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 130)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056953

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CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L.

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, GENERAL MANAGER

File

1922 NOV 24 PM 4 07

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KN TORONTO ONT 24 330 P

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 322

OTTAWA ONT.

LANARK REQUEST JUST RECEIVED COULD GO MONDAY NEXT WIRE PLACE AND DATE IF NEEDED

STANSELL.

Chatterdale.
Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
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Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

056954

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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J ARTHURS.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056955

STEWART, HOPE & O'DONNELL
BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS, &C.
HON. JOHN A. STEWART, K.C., LL.B.
JOHN A. HOPE · HUGH A. O'DONNELL
PERTH, ONTARIO

November 27, 1922.

The Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

On my return from Smiths Falls, on Saturday evening, last, the Perth Station Agent advised me that a package was in the ticket office addressed to me. This I found to contain the copies of the brief which you had been good enough to prepare for the use of the speakers, and which you had sent with your letter dated the 21st. instant. Apparently, this had been lying in the Perth Ticket Office for some days. However these briefs are going to prove very useful to the speakers this week. I gave one copy to Mr. Donald Sutherland this morning.

The following is a list of the meetings which you attend this week. I understand that you will be accompanied by Senator Gideon Robertson. The Candidate will also attend these meetings:-

Tuesday, Nov. 28th. Smiths Falls,
Wednesday, Nov. 29th. Almonte,
Friday, Dec. 1st. CArleton Place,
Saturday afternoon, 2 o'clock, Dec. 2nd. Lanark Village,
Saturday evening, December 2nd. Perth.

JAH/RM.

Yours faithfully,

J.A. Hope

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056956

Ottawa, Ont. November 27th. 1922.

Private & Personal.

My dear Nesbitt:

I thank you for your letter of the 24th. November.

After thinking the matter over I believe you are probably right about not coming into Lanark.

As to your own riding, I would of course much rather you would succeed as an out-and-out supporter, but you know the riding best. I hope to see you very many time before another contest comes in Oxford.

With kindest personal regards.

Yours very truly,

E. W. Nesbitt, Esq.,
Woodstock, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056957

Ottawa, Ont. November 29th. 1922

Dear Bill:

Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Watson of 475 Somerset Street, Ottawa, left Smith Falls ten years ago and are no longer on the list. Mr. Watson's father, however, is still entitled to vote - he left there only a month ago - but unfortunately Watson senior is away in the bush just now and is not expected back for two weeks. However, Mr. Watson will do his best to persuade his father to get in here Saturday and if so, I will see that he gets to Smith Falls on Monday.

From all accounts we seem to have had a good meeting at Smith Falls last night.

Good luck!

Yours faithfully,

W. G. Clysdale, Esq.,
Hotel Rideau,
Smith Falls,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Lanark

056958

The Winnipeg Tribune

Printed and published every evening, except Sunday, by The Tribune Newspaper Company, Limited a joint stock company, incorporated under the laws of Manitoba, at their office, Northeast corner of Smith Street and Graham Avenue.

WILLIAM SOUTHAM - - - - - President
M. E. NICHOLS - - - - - Vice-President and Managing Director

The Tribune aims to be an independent, clean newspaper for the home, devoted to public service.

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London—Trafalgar Building, Northumberland Avenue.
Paris—10 Boulevard des Capucines, corner Place de l'Opera.
Berlin—14 Unter den Linden.
Peking—5 Hsi La Huntung.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1922.

UNJUST AND UNGENEROUS

Mr. Meighen, speaking in the Lanark by-election campaign, seemingly allowed the vigor of his criticism of the government and its policies to carry him to regrettable lengths. In the course of his speech he had things to say about the personnel of the new board in charge of the National Railways, remarks pointed and by no means out of place. But his references to Sir Henry Thornton, the new president of the system, were both unjust and ungenerous.

Sir Henry is tackling a job that presents tremendous difficulties, and he has many adverse influences to contend with. It requires a man of courage to undertake it at all, and to carry it out successfully will require not only courage but iron determination, poise, strength of character and railroading ability of a very high order. Sir Henry has a reputation that he doubtless values highly. Failure on the job he has accepted means a great loss to himself. The people are behind him, hoping he will make good on it for the sake of the country as well as for his own advantage.

Beyond all question there are influences constantly and insidiously at work to weaken the National system and destroy public confidence in it. Sir Henry will need all the assistance that supporters of public ownership can give him if he is to be successful in combatting these interests. That is why The Tribune dislikes to see Mr. Meighen even by inference strengthening the hands of the opponents of the National Railways. He has manifested for a long time a consistent and wholesome interest in the welfare of the system, defending it ably against those who would traduce it. Mr. Meighen of all men should be upholding the hands of the new president at this time. That is the attitude one would naturally expect him to take, and his words at Smith's Fall, quite out of accord with his former stand, will be read by the people with surprise and disapproval.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 130)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Lanark

056959

Le Canada

MONTREAL, Vendredi, 1er Décembre 1922.

Incorrigible

M. Meighen continue de recourir, dans la campagne électorale de Lanark, à la vieille tactique que nous lui connaissons de longue date: celle de soulever les préjugés et de faire des personnalités.

Voyons ce que dit la GAZETTE, hier matin, dans une dépêche que lui transmet son correspondant:

"Dans l'élection partielle actuelle, le spectre de la domination de Québec joue un grand rôle et il aide sans contredit le candidat conservateur. Tandis qu'au cours des années passées, en Ontario, le nom de Laurier était un anathème parmi les loges orangistes, dans l'élection actuelle, les orateurs conservateurs parlent de la puissance de sir Lomer Gouin et des solides soixante-cinq de Québec."

Un peu plus loin:

"Un nouveau cheval de bataille a été introduit dans la campagne, depuis quelques jours: les orateurs conservateurs de tout le comté disent que la campagne libérale dans Lanark est financée par l'alcool de Québec et que le comté est plongé dans la débauche."

Tout d'abord, il n'y a rien de surprenant d'entendre dire à M. Meighen que le gouvernement est dominé par Québec; c'est son vieux jeu de faire les élections sur les cris de race.

On se souvient de 1917 alors que M. Meighen avait soulevé le reste du Canada contre la province de Québec par ses néfastes et dangereux appels aux préjugés qui ont fait tant de tort à toute la population canadienne.

C'est lui qui a donné le mot d'ordre à ses orateurs; l'élection de Lanark, comté de vieille tradition conservatrice, doit être gagnée en soulevant les préjugés, les conservateurs n'ayant rien à reprocher au gouvernement King.

M. Meighen a-t-il vu la victoire en train de lui échapper? Car, comme dit la GAZETTE, bon nombre de conservateurs diminuent considérablement la majorité probable de leur candidat, ce qui ferait peut-être craindre du résultat définitif.

Ce serait sans doute par suite de cette crainte que le chef tory a décidé qu'un seul moyen était bon pour gagner la victoire: le cri de race, la domination de Québec.

Quant au whisky, l'insinuation est ridicule et ne vaut pas la peine qu'elle soit relevée; elle démontre tout simplement la petitesse d'esprit, le manque d'arguments des conservateurs.

Nous ne sommes pas surpris de voir les conservateurs de Lanark suivre fidèlement le mot d'ordre lancé par M. Meighen et faire leur campagne sur les appels aux préjugés: ça les connait depuis longtemps, mais cela leur réussira-t-il toujours?

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 130)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056960

Ottawa, Dec. 4, 1922.

Dr. Murphy,
Smiths Falls,
Ont.

Dear Dr. Murphy:

I have not heard the result yet but am writing you to ask that you get collected in some way as many copies as you possibly can of that pamphlet got out Friday last, calling on the voters to support Findlay to help their home town Smiths Falls, on the ground that in that way they would get the manufacture of a lot of W.B. connectors for the railways. This will be of very considerable importance so please don't fail to collect a goodly number and send them down to me here.

Yours very truly,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056961

LANARK Population—1921, 32,924.

Province of Ontario—Province d'Ontario.

Cause of vacancy.—Death of Honourable John Alexander Stewart, October 7, 1922.
Cause de la vacance.—Décès de l'honorable John Alexander Stewart, le 7 octobre 1922.

Returning officer / Officier rapporteur } Christopher M. Forbes, Perth, Ont.

Writ dated, Oct. 27, 1922.
Bref émis le 27 oct. 1922.

Nomination { November 20, 1922. / le 20 novembre 1922.

Election { December 4, 1922. / le 4 décembre 1922.

Polling Divisions. — Arrondissements de scrutin.			Ballots cast for — Bulletins déposés pour				
Name—Nom.	No.	Urban or rural. — Urbain ou rural.	David Findlay.	Richard Franklin Preston.	Rejected ballots. — Bulletins rejetés.	Total vote. — Vote total.	Voters on list. — Electeurs sur la liste.
Bathurst	1	R	89	69	.....	158	399
"	1A	R	95	50	1	146	
"	2	R	37	116	1	154	203
"	3	R	110	77	.....	187	237
"	4	R	75	141	1	217	306
Beckwith	1	R	39	135	.....	174	194
"	2	R	29	70	.....	99	134
"	3	R	60	55	.....	115	364
"	3A	.....	106	58	.....	164	
"	4	R	4	48	.....	52	60
Burgess North (Nord)	1	R	105	14	1	120	347
" "	1A	.....	74	36	.....	110	
" "	2	R	18	15	.....	33	46
Dalhousie & N. Sherbrooke	1	R	49	32	.....	81	114
" "	2	R	118	48	1	167	240
" "	3	R	149	24	1	174	249
" "	4	R	66	15	.....	81	151
Darling	1	R	28	15	.....	43	75
"	2	R	35	35	.....	70	130
Drummond	1	R	60	59	.....	119	330
"	1A	.....	52	55	.....	107	
"	2	R	46	91	.....	137	192
"	3	R	64	60	.....	124	361
"	3A	.....	77	61	.....	138	
"	4	R	44	96	.....	140	163
Elmsley North (Nord)	1	R	26	60	.....	86	381
" "	1A	.....	34	63	.....	97	
" "	2	R	52	75	.....	127	171
Lanark Township	1	R	93	52	.....	145	189
" "	2	R	133	41	.....	174	292
" "	3	R	61	67	.....	128	164
" "	4	R	38	35	.....	73	94
Lavant	1	R	52	47	.....	99	128
"	2	R	25	27	.....	52	87
Montague	1	R	62	77	.....	139	151
"	2	R	8	108	.....	116	155
"	3	R	73	89	.....	162	197
"	4	R	64	86	.....	150	192
"	5	R	77	134	.....	211	300
Pakenham	1	R	40	88	1	129	179
"	2	R	52	48	.....	100	148
"	3	R	65	141	.....	206	411
"	3A	.....	53	82	1	136	
"	4	R	73	51	.....	124	145
Ramsay	1	R	81	93	.....	174	225
"	2	R	86	109	5	200	254
"	3	R	48	72	1	121	303
"	3A	.....	62	68	1	131	
"	4	R	72	67	.....	139	233
Sherbrooke South	1	R	46	138	.....	184	282
" "	2	R	53	54	.....	107	175
Lanark Village	1	R	114	58	2	174	430
" "	1A	.....	145	42	.....	187	

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056962

LANARK—Con.

Polling Divisions. — Arrondissements de scrutin.			Ballots cast for — Bulletins déposés pour		Rejected ballots. — Bulletins rejetés.	Total vote. — Vote total.	Voters on list. — Electeurs sur la liste.
Name—Nom.	No.	Urban or rural. — Urbain ou rural.	David Findlay.	Richard Franklin Preston.			
Almonte	1	R	89	148	1	238	319
"	2	R	38	186		224	306
"	3	R	111	116		227	413
"	3A		94	36		130	
"	4	R	49	78	2	128	180
"	5	R	80	94	1	175	434
"	5A		77	91		168	
Carleton Place	1	U	80	139		219	289
"	1A		87	123		210	264
"	2	U	105	86		191	226
"	2A		128	76		204	251
"	3	U	107	156		263	326
"	4	U	90	139		229	270
"	4A		109	132		241	281
"	5	U	52	125		177	202
"	5A		49	135		184	230
"	6	U	44	127	2	173	204
"	6A		49	79		128	163
Perth	1	U	89	77		166	239
"	1A		97	74		171	227
"	1B		86	59		145	189
"	2	U	110	75		185	225
"	2A		103	79		182	240
"	3	U	99	133		232	312
"	4	U	52	73		125	193
"	4A		50	68		118	173
"	5	U	49	118		167	233
"	5A		66	91		157	236
"	6	U	87	130		217	303
"	6A		91	115	1	207	301
Smiths Falls	1	U	69	87		156	207
"	1A		51	89	1	141	197
"	2	U	73	81	1	155	222
"	2A		52	95		147	202
"	3	U	93	123		216	298
"	3A		79	89		168	247
"	4	U	84	88		172	293
"	5	U	84	78		162	292
"	5A		83	86		169	268
"	6	U	62	98		160	220
"	6A		49	88		137	185
"	7	U	49	67		116	177
"	7A		48	63		111	166
"	8	U	43	75		118	180
"	8A		50	66		116	156
"	9	U	53	71		124	181
"	9A		60	73		133	199
"	10	U	42	92		134	196
"	10A		34	111		145	202
" —Advance Polls			56	172		228	
Totals—Totaux	103		7,048	8,497	26	15,571	20,885

Majority for / Majorité pour } **Richard Franklin Preston, 1,449.**

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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WILLIAM HUNTER,
MANAGING DIRECTOR

W. H. WARDROPE,
PRESIDENT

W. R. HITCHINS, F. A. S.
SECRETARY AND ACTUARY

056963

THE COMMONWEALTH LIFE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMPANY

F. C. AVERY,
DISTRICT MANAGER

PERTH, ONT.

Dec. 4th. 1922

Right Hon. Arthur Meighen,

Ottawa.

Honorable Sir,-

"Lanark has spoken" and with no uncertain voice in protest to the broken pledges of the King Government.

At no time in her history has this constituency been so much longed for by a Liberal Government as at the present time and at no time have they resorted to such desperate efforts and still "Lanark has spoken" and congratulations to you on the mighty fight you fought to help us win.

Yours very sincerly

F. C. Avery

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CANADA POST CARD

THE ADDRESS TO BE WRITTEN ON THIS SIDE

056964

OCT 4

ONT.

Hon. Arthur Meighen.

Ottawa

Ont.

Parl. Bldgs.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

Arthur Perth
I guess Ont.
Lanark County
still approves
of You, So.

Congratulations
King will still
have to ting-a-ling
as before Eh.
Burke with
the good Irish name.

MJB.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056966

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 192

Dear Mr. Thompson:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed silenced the talkative assembly here known as the Government of Canada.

By the result in Pakenham I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

Richard Thompson, Esq.,
Carleton Place, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056967

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

It is not necessary for me to say how pleased I feel over the result in Lanark. The effect will be visible all over the Dominion because the result was really a wonderful achievement.

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the part you took and for the work you did.

Yours very truly,

T. A. Thompson, Esq.,
Carleton Place, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056968

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Steadman:

It is not necessary for me to say how pleased I feel over the result in Lanark. The effect will be visible all over the Dominion because the result was really a wonderful achievement.

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the part you took and for the work you did, and please be good enough to convey to the members of the Committee over which you presided, my heartfelt thanks for the excellent spirit shown and the hard, consistent work that was done.

Yours very truly,

Mr. Steadman,
Perth, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056969

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Shaw:

It is not necessary for me to say how pleased I feel over the result in Lanark. The effect will be visible all over the Dominion because the result was really a wonderful achievement.

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the part you took and for the work you did.

Yours very truly,

Mr. Shaw,
Merchant,
Perth, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

056970

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Hart:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed silenced the talkative assembly here known as the Government of Canada.

By the result in Pakenham I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

W. B. Hart, Esq.,
Perth, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056971

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Colonel Arthurs:

I am writing to extend to you my thanks for the work you did in Lanark county.

The most effective work was done in this contest by very few men like yourself who went from house to house in the country. Such work is not easy but it gets results.

Yours very truly,

Colonel James Arthurs, M.P.,
Parry Sound,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056972

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Doctor Metcalfe:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed silenced the talkative assembly here known as the Government of Canada.

By the result in Pakenham I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

Doctor Metcalfe,
Almonte, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056973

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 192.

Dear Major Hope:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed silenced the talkative assembly here known as the Government of Canada.

By the result in Pakenham I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

Major J. A. Hope,
Perth, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056974

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Both you and I will be feeling considerably more at ease than we did on the occasion when we met at the Chateau Laurier about a month ago. What has been done in the meantime in Lanark is really remarkable, and I am quite aware that for a large share of the success we are indebted to yourself and some others who directed the contest and contributed powerfully to the victory. The result will have a splendid outlook throughout Canada.

Please accept my warmest thanks.

Yours very truly,

William Nichols, Esq.,
Carleton Place, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056975

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Rosamond:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed silenced the talkative assembly here known as the Government of Canada.

By the result in Pakenham I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

Archibald Rosamond, Esq.,
Almonte, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056976

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th.

Dear Mr. Bates:

I certainly received a surprise last night when the returns came in from Lanark and the results in Carleton Place were quite remarkable, but I know of none higher than you had figured. The country polls though, gave us almost everywhere far beyond our expectations.

The vast amount of work that was done in the face of the concentrated energy of a new Government has met with a reward, and for the sake of our leaders throughout the county, I am more than pleased.

Please accept and extend especially to Mrs. Bates my warmest thanks. With all good wishes to yourself.

Yours very truly,

Charles Bates, Esq.,
Carleton Place, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

056977

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

Form 1-TW

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

1PRO 8

PEMBROKE ONT 930A 5 DEC 1922

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA ONT.

SOME ACCOMPLISHMENT ARTHUR HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR VICTORY.

ARTHUR H CAMPBELL.

949A

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056978

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Spence:

I am writing to thank you heartily for the work you did in Lanark County.

The most effective work was done in this contest by very few men like yourself who went from house to house in the country. Such work is not easy but it gets results.

Yours very truly.

David Spence, Esq.,M.P.,
Toronto, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056979

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

My dear Clysdale:

You will no doubt be as pleased as I am over the result in Lanark. It was an election fought with the utmost significance and the result will have far reaching effects in Canada.

You threw yourself into the conflict with vigour and did not let up until success was won. Please accept my congratulations on the excellence of the work you did.

Yours very truly,

William Clysdale, Esq.,
Confederation Life Building,
Toronto, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

056980

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

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MOA46 DH

CX MONTREAL QUE 5

HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

067

OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR REMARKABLE VICTORY IN LANARK

LORNE C WEBSTER.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056981

December 5th. 1922.

My dear Donald:

I want to thank you for going as far as you did in Lanark to help us in the contest there.

I am very sorry indeed to hear of the death of your Mother, and beg to tender you my sincere sympathy.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Sutherland and yourself.

Yours truly,

Donald Sutherland, Esq., M.P.,

Ingersoll, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

H 5 RNP 7

TORONTO ONT DEC 5-22

27

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

HOUSE OF COMMONS OTTAWA ONT

SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS UPON SPLENDID RESULT IN LANARK

F W STEWART

953 A

056982

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056983

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Thanks for your telegram of to-day.

I have no final news to-day but Doctor Preston says he will have between fifteen and sixteen hundred majority - in fact, it is there now and he says it will not be reduced. The vote in the country was the surprising feature. We did not get more in the towns than our Committees counted on, but a great deal more in the country; in fact, the atmosphere seemed to me to be good from the beginning.

The Government made a spectacular fight which, of course, now does us all the more good. They had a man at every gate-post and a woman in every kitchen.

Yours very truly,

F. W. Stewart Esq.,
47 Mayor Street,
Montreal, P.Q.

P.S. Although the telegram is from Toronto, I am presuming it is from you.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056984

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Bob:

Very many thanks for sending me the "Extra" of the "Expositor". I was going to write you anyway.

I heard last night that your poll gave almost the whole Perth majority. I now have the details and wish to thank you most sincerely.

The majority in Lanark was away beyond anything I even thought of - it seems now to be running up toward 1,600. The result in the rural parts was a real surprise. This is most encouraging and will give heart to the Conservative Party throughout the Dominion.

With kindest personal regards.

Yours very truly,

Robert J. J. Smith, Esq.,
Perth, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056985

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Stafford:

Needless to say I am highly gratified with the result in Lanark. The majority which seems to be ranging between fifteen and sixteen hundred, is a wonderful achievement, and the surprising results in the rural districts are very significant.

The towns, with the exception of Almonte, were no higher, if as high, than our committees estimated, but the rural returns show a state of feeling that bodes very much for the future..

I want to congratulate you very highly on the excellent results achieved by yourself and the organization in Almonte and Pakenham, and express the hope that I may more often meet you in the future.

Yours very truly,

Mr. Stafford,
Barrister,
Almonte, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Personal

056986

Perth, Ontario
5th December 1922

Dear Mr. Meighen, —

Following up our victory of yesterday, may I, on behalf of the Women's Conservative Association of Perth, assure you of our loyalty to you and the principles for which you stand.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056987

we feel that this is not merely a triumph for Dr. Preston — It is a demonstration of Lanark's belief in our distinguished Leader, whose Statesman like qualities, whose absolute integrity and Sincerity of purpose mark him as the out-standing figure in our good Canada today. We

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056988

Send you our cordial good wishes on this occasion of the "Strengthening of your hand," - and hope you may long be spared to lead us along those lines which will make us, in the highest sense, nationally great.

With my personal good wishes to you, as well,

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Helen Gillie Scott

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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056989

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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Form 1-TW

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RA31 9

'22 DEC 5 AM 10 02

PRESCOTT ONT 5 950 A

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHAN 049

OTTAWA ONT

HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR GREAT VICTORY IN LANARK YESTERDAY

J D REID.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056990

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922

My dear Doctor:

Thanks for your telegram.

I have no final news to-day, but Doctor Preston says he will have between 1500 and 1600 majority; in fact, it is there now and he says it will not be reduced. The vote in the country was the surprising feature. We did not get more in the towns than our Committees counted on but a great deal more in the country, - in fact, the atmosphere seemed to me to be good from the beginning.

The Government made a spectacular fight which of course now does us all the more good. They had a man at every gate-post and a woman in every kitchen, and must have spent over $40,000.

Yours very truly,

Honourable Doctor J. D. Reid,
Prescott, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056991

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Rosamond:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has silenced the talkative assembly here knownas the Government of Canada.

By the result in Almonte and Pakenham I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Please also give my warmest congratulations to Mrs. Rosamond.

Yours very truly,

Archibald Rosamond, Esq.,
Almonte, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056992 In on treat
42 Bishop St

Rept. from Arthur Meighen MP
Ottawa

My dear Meighen. I hope the doctor
writes Lamont it's not fatal but
important to you. The Gazette
certainly did their best to put you
in wrong on the R.R. question.
Having been with you
on the Saturday previous & heard
what you said to day, I was able
to give me the few people I met the
true statement. It's strange you make
a conservative believe anything about
his leaders. It was never thus. Yet
it will be forever & ever amen.
What I want to write you about
is our position in Quebec. which
is in a very peculiar state just
now & might be made very
interesting for our opponents.
There is no question that through
the medium of the age. The
local Govt are in trouble
& will continue to be so if
the Clerks on both

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056993

an would play and right off no
delay. The first act in the
drama must be left in the
hands of the Orange with Reverne
young Bingue & local grits.
They should hold meetings
in the chief centers from Hull
to the Ile City - & Below
Comes the Province as liberally
against the Jackeroo Port-
where this is done right off
no delay. The ground will be
prepared for the man
like Patterson to come out
with the cry for honest
government - for the people
by the people. To get Patterson
out he has to be approached by
a serious English group.
For the first part of
the program it will require
say not more than $1500 dollars
& mind you this will surely
set the weather on fire!

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

but this money can not be
raised here unless a new mine
is opened up. The Quebec govt
care for the interests. The are
of course is unworthy of being
considered the Hon. Child
blamed - Brown is only for
Black Mailing. In fact it would
be fatal for them the pub-
lic look behind the true facts
they know nothing today only
that there is foul play in a certain
over who killed Blanche Farmer
occasioned by that unworthy,
low down, Beach Mailing Hon
the angle. There we must let them
rest in peace fatal so hell to
let them know what I know
There the 16th June that is
required for the First act
to be played on Science. Murder
come from outside of this
Province. You should be
able to get - that in Ottawa
in a day. Then the ball
will open

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

by the time ~~[illegible]~~ these
meetings are ended. The Tories
can follow up & the many
seats can be won.
Get-busy on their work
I had the money I spent
~~from~~ 1896 to 1910.
I would not waste time in
writing this letter but-
in less ~~[illegible]~~ time than
it takes to tell the story
there would be a meeting
in Stellarton. Think what-
I did for Borden by propaganda
in this Province but you can't
wind two apes at the same time
The personal opposition
has to be put aside very
often never thought of
Those men are scarce
& are called to do by
Rich people Get-
busy for Long Grays
M A Cope

056995

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056996

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Senator Pope:

By this time you will be pleased over the result in Lanark. I personally had very little hope of anything over a majority of 500. I have no final news to-day but Doctor Preston says he will have between fifteen and sixteen hundred majority; in fact, it is there now and he says it will not be reduced. The vote in the country was the surprising feature. We did not get more in the towns than our committees counted on, but a great deal more in the country, - in fact, the atmosphere seemed to me to be good from the beginning.

The Government made a spectacular fight which, of course, now does us all the more good. They had a man at every gate-post and a woman in every kitchen.

Now as to the contents of your letter. I am going to be in Montreal for Thursday and, I think, I will stay over Friday. If you are there, I want to see you. I will be at the Ritz.

Yours very truly,

Senator Rufus H. Pope.
42 Bishop Street,
Montreal, P.Q.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056997

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Both you and I will be feeling considerably more at ease than we did on the occasion when we met at the Chateau Laurier about a month ago. What has been done in the meantime in Lanark is really remarkable, and I am quite aware that for a large share of the success we are indebted to yourself and some others who directed the contest and contributed powerfully to the victory. The result will have a splendid effect throughout Canada.

Please accept my warmest thanks.

Yours very truly,

William Nichols, Esq.,
Carleton Place, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056998

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Murphy:

It is not necessary for me to say how pleased I feel over the result in Lanark. The effect will be visible all over the Dominion because the result was really a wonderful achievement.

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the part you took and for the work you did, and please be good enough to convey to the members of the Committee over which you presided, my heartfelt thanks for the excellent spirit shown and the hard, consistent work that was done.

Yours very truly,

Doctor Murphy,
Smith Falls, Ontario.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

056999

Murphy

Parkenham Dec 5th 1922

The Hon Arthur Meighen

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the local Conservative Association of Parkenham we extend to you the heartiest Congratulations on the splendid results in Lanark Co yesterday. May your heart be cheered by many similar returns as the years go by.

Yours most sincerely.

Wm Millar

Secy.

Parkenham Ont

W H Edwards

Chairman

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES

ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

057000

Ottawa, Ont. December5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Millar:

It is not necessary for me to say how pleased I feel over the result in Lanark. The effect will be visible all over the Dominion because the result was really a wonderful achievement.

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the part you took and for the work you did, and please be good enough to convey to the members of the Committee over which you presided, my heartfelt thanks for the excellent spirit shown and the hard, consistent work that was done.

Yours very truly,

William Millar, Esq.,
Pakenham,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

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057001

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

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Form 1-TW

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RA6 6

22 DEC 5 AM 9 14

TORONTO ONT 5 904 A

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 017

LEADER AND OPPOSITION OTTAWA ONT

CONGRATULATIONS ON GREAT VICTORY IN LANARK

W T MIDDLEBRO.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057002

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Middlebro:

Thanks for your telegram.

I have no final news to-day but Doctor Preston says he will have between fifteen and sixteen hundred majority - in fact, it is there now and he says it will not be reduced. The vote in the country was the surprising feature. We did not get more in the towns than our Committees counted on, but a great deal more in the country; in fact, the atmosphere seemed to me to be good from the beginning.

The Government made a spectacular fight which, of course, now does us all the more good. They had a man at every gate-post and a woman in every kitchen.

Yours very truly,

W. S. Middlebro, Esq., K.C.,
Owen Sound,
Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

TELEGRAM

FORM T. D. 1

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

H109 RNP 16

TORONTO ONT DEC 5-22

THE RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

OTTAWA CAN

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON SUCCESS IN LANARK

I DID NOT EXPECT TO SEE SUCH A SPLENDID MAJORITY

R C MATTHEWS

5 40

301

057003

Same as Renaldo Gibbs

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 110)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057004

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I am writing to extend to you my thanks for the work you did in Lanark County.

As an instance of its effectiveness, I learned to-day that Poll 31 Montague, which was thoroughly covered by yourself, got a hundred votes out of a hundred and eight.

The most effective work was done in this contest by very few men like yourself who went from house to house in the country. Such work is not easy but it gets results.

Yours very truly,

T. H. Thompson, Esq., M.P.,
Madoc, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057005

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Bates:

I certainly received a surprise last night when the returns came in from Lanark. The results in Carleton Place were quite remarkable, but I know they were no higher than you had figured. The country polls though, gave us almost everywhere far beyond our expectations.

The vast amount of work that was done in the face of the concentrated energy of a new Government has met with a reward, and for the sake of our leaders throughout the county, I am more than pleased.

Please accept and extend especially to Mrs. Bates my warmest thanks. With all good wishes to yourself.

Yours very truly,

Charles Bates, Esq.,

Carleton Place, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057006

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Burke:

I thank you very much for the very kind telegram of yesterday.

The result in Lanark was excellent and I am indeed grateful to all who contributed to the victory.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burke, Esq.,
Perth, Ontario.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057007

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Jack:

We have just got through an election in Lanark. It was, I think, the most strenuous contest there has been staged in a single constituency for many a day.

The Government were undoubtedly confident of victory, and we came out with a majority of between fifteen and sixteen hundred.

Your brother, W.F., was undoubtedly the most effective single worker we had in the county. He personally went through at least three townships and the results there have been quite surprising. Perhaps some day there will be a regeneration in Portage la Prairie.

Yours very truly,

J. J. Garland, Esq.,
Portage la Prairie, Man.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057008

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Bowen:

I am writing to extend to you my thanks for the work you did in Lanark County.

The most effective work was done in this contest by very few men like yourself who went from House to house in the country. Such work is not easy but it gets results.

Yours very truly.

F. W. Bowen, Esq., M.P.,
R. R. No. 2,
Newcastle, Ont.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Goodsham

057009

Home Smith and Company,

Cable Address "Homesmith"
Western Union Code

16 King St. East,
Toronto,

December 5th 1922

Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Parliament Buildings,
Ottawa.

My dear Meighen:

My hearty congratulations upon the result in Lanark. The general majority is more than satisfactory, but an analysis of the figures gives even greater cause for joy. We are coming back.

Yours very truly,

R Home Smith

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057010

Ottawa, Ont. December 5th. 19

Dear Arthur:

Thanks for your telegram of to-day.

I have no final news to-day but Doctor Preston says he will have between fifteen and sixteen hundred majority - in fact, it is there now and he says it will not be reduced. The vote in the country was the surprising feature. We did not get more in the towns than our Committees counted on, but a great deal more in the country; in fact, the atmosphere seemed to me to be good from the beginning.

The Government made a spectacular fight which, of course, now does us all the more good. They had a man at every gate-post and a woman in every kitchen.

Yours very truly,

Arthur H. Campbell, Esq.,
21 Edgehill Rd.,
Montreal, P.Q.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

FORM T. D. 1

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

7 RN Z. 712AMDEC 6TH
9RED---

EDMONTON ALTA DEC 5TH-11

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN
OTTAWA-

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON LANARK RESULTS MORE POWER TO YOU.

GEO. B. HENWOOD.

057011

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 130)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057012

Ottawa, Dec. 6, 1922.

R.W. Marshall, Esq.,
121 Bishop St.,
Montreal.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of the 5th instant.

Our majority in Lanark is probably over fifteen hundred, which is more than double the normal majority for the combined counties.

The Government made the most concentrated and strenuous efforts I have ever witnesses in a single constituency and trusted as well to the well known temptation hitherto so powerful in Canada, to follow a new administration, to secure for itself a victory which its members thought would throttle the Opposition. They have received a rude disappointment, and the majority is to them a staggering one.

I may feel too strongly on this subject but it is a mystery to me how this Government, in the light of its conduct through these eleven months as contrasted with the committments and expletives of its members

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057013

and followers last year, could look for any support from a self-respecting constituency.

Yours very truly,

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. GEO. D. PERRY, VICE PRES'T AND GEN'L MANAGER

Form 1-TW

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057015

MOA207 9

1922 DEC 5 PM 5 05

P MONTREAL QUE 5 442 P

THE RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

332 OTTAWA ONT

ON BEHALF OF ASSOCIATION HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON

LANARK RESULT

R W MARSHALL.

121 Bishop
~~49 Maple St~~

Same as Renaldi
Joliet

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057015

Ottawa, Ont. December 6th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Matthews:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of the 5th. instant.

Our majority in Lanark is probably over fifteen hundred, which is more than double the normal majority for the combined counties.

The Government made the most concentrated and strenuous efforts I have ever witnessed in a single constituency, and trusted as well to the well known temptation, hitherto so powerful in Canada, to follow a new administration, to secure for itself a vimtory which its members thought would throttle the Opposition. They have received a rude disappointment, and the majority is to them a staggering one.

I may feel too strongly on this subject but it is a mystery to me how this Government, in the light of its conduct through these eleven months as contrasted with the commitments and expletives of its members and followers last year, could look for any support from a self-respecting constituency.

Yours very truly,

R. C. Matthews, Esq.,
C. P. R. Building,
Toronto, Ont.

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CANADA

057016

Ottawa, Dec. 6, 1922.

Dr. A.E. Ross,
Kingston,
Ont.

Dear Dr. Ross:

Many thanks for your letter just received. The men who did the best work in Lanark were some of our members who went through the country on a personal canvass. The unselfishness they showed in doing this hard kind of work deserves high praise.

I must add as well from the beginning there was an excellent atmosphere in the riding, and hard work was done by our local supporters. This is most significant and encouraging.

Yours very truly.

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CANADA

Kingston General Hospital

057017

Kingston, Ont. 192

Dear Mr Meighen

I am convinced that the victory in Lennox is due to your splendid work - I was sorry that I could not go to Perth Dist the night I was asked as I had a previous engagement in London.

While I have sent congratulations to Dr Preston, I send the real ones to you. Best wishes to all.

Yrs,

A E Ross MD.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057018

December 6th. 1922.

My dear Miss Scott:

Permit me to thank you not only for your kind letter of the 5th. instant, but as well for the splendid part taken by yourself and the Women's Committee of Perth in achieving the wonderful victory on Monday last.

The effect of the result in Lanark will be felt throughout the Dominion, more so perhaps than the result of any other by-election for many a year.

May I ask you to convey to the Secretary and all the workers my sincere thanks for their unselfish and most efficient labours.

Yours truly,

Miss Helen Estelle Scott,

Perth, Ontario.

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CANADA

057019

Ottawa, December 6th. 1922

My dear Senator:

Many thanks for yourtelegram of yesterday.

I see the "Montreal Star" has surpressed from its readers any knowledge of the majority. The "Ottawa Journal" has persisted in making it two or three hundredd less than the real majority. Outside, however, of Ottawa and Montreal, we are now getting very encouraging newspaper support, and I feel confident we can show our strength at any time in almost any city west of the Ottawa River.

My experience in Lanark was gratifying. I found the audiences most responsive and the great majority there voted against the Government not because they objected to its professed policies but because of its crude and brazen breaches of faith. Most people, after all, want to be treated like decent citizens and not be fooled with.

Yours very truly,

Senator Lorne C. Webster,
Montreal, P.Q.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057020

Ottawa, Ont. December 6th. 1922.

Dear George:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of the 5th. instant.

Our majority in Lanark is probably over fifteen hundred, which is more than double the majority for the combined counties.

The Government made the most concentrated and strenuous efforts I have ever witnessed in a single constituency, and trusted as well to the well known temptation, hitherto so powerful in Canada, to follow a new administration to secure for itself a victory which its members thought would throttle the Opposition. They have received a rude disappointment, and the majority is to them a staggering one.

I may feel too strongly on this subject but it is a mystery to me how this Government, in the light of its conduct through these eleven months has contrasted with the commitments and expletives of its members and followers last year, could look for any support from a self-respecting constituency.

Yours very truly,

G. B. Henwood, Esq.,
Edmonton,
Alta.

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057021

Ottawa, Ont. December 6th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Avery:

Many thanks for your kind message of the 4th. instant.

The Conservatives of Lanark have performed a feat that will be of very great importance throughout the Dominion. The Government counted on throttling the Conservative Party by a defeat in Lanark and believed that the well known temptation in this Dominion to fall in line with a newly formed Government would do the trick for them. They have received a rude jolt, the majority being for them a staggering one.

I cannot sufficiently thank all who took part and beg you to accept a full portion yourself.

Yours very truly,

F. C. Avery, Esq.,
District Manager,
Commonwealth Life & Accident Ins. Co.,
Perth, Ontario.

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Lanark
A. M.

Manitoba Free Press Dec. 6/22
057022

Unwise And Undignified

While Mr. Meighen may express satisfaction with the result of the by-election in Lanark, his part in the contest has certainly not enhanced his reputation. In assailing the government he not only criticized the new board of the National railways but he also went out of his way to make very disparaging remarks about Sir Henry Thornton, the new president. A report to a Conservative paper of one of Mr. Meighen's speeches says that he "poured the vials of his scorn upon "Sir Henry Thornton and the new "railway board, and, indeed, the fea-"ture of his two-hour speech was "his attack upon Sir Henry Thorn-"ton whom he urged to change his "habit of speechmaking to a habit "of railway economizing." Mr. Meighen also remarked that the new president had never had any experience in Canadian railway life, and he objected to Sir Henry receiving any pay under his appointment while he returned to England to wind up his affairs, as was indicated in the sarcasm with which Mr. Meighen chose to refer to this matter.

For this unworthy pettiness the Conservative leader is promptly reprimanded by the Montreal Gazette, one of the leading Conservative journals of the Dominion. The Gazette says:

A good deal of latitude is allowed politicians in the heat of an electoral battle when hard blows are struck and intemperate language used, but Hon. Mr. Meighen's disparagement of the new president and board of the Canadian National railways is not to be palliated by the excuse that it was made under incitement of an audience craving strong meat. For the reason of its deliberation many people will regard the attack on Sir Henry Thornton as ungenerous and unjust.

It is true Sir Henry Thornton has never been employed on a Canadian railway, nor ever managed a road more than one-tenth the length of our National lines. As much might have been said of Sir William Van Horne when he took the management of the Canadian Pacific, or of Mr. Hays when he joined the Grand Trunk. Sir Henry Thornton has had experience, has gained reputation, and is surely deserving of a cordial welcome to his new field of work. He may or may not make a success of the Canadian National railway, but he should be allowed to put his capacity to the test, and not be weighted as he enters upon his new duties with the sins of the government. It will be time enough to turn the party battery upon him when his policy and practises have been revealed as censurable, and Hon. Mr. Meighen might better make meanwhile the government the target of his shafts.

Mr. Meighen seems to have ignored the fact that the appointment of Sir Henry Thornton has been approved as an excellent one by the country generally—including many Conservatives—and that the government has been given credit for a very good stroke of business. The bitter vindictive attack to which Sir Henry has been subjected would have been bad enough coming from one of Mr. Meighen's supporters in parliament or from some other election spell-binder. It is a good deal worse coming from a national political leader and the lack of judgment and of dignity exemplified in such a course are likely to come back upon him with the result that he will be the chief one to suffer from the whole affair.

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CANADA

057023

Ottawa, Dec. 6, 1922.

F.A.G. Davis, Esq.,
The Central Canadian,
Carleton Place,
Ont.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I want to thank you for the good and efficient service you gave personally, and chiefly through your newspaper, in the late campaign. You realized from the beginning the importance of the contest and contributed most effectively to the splendid result achieved.

Yours very truly,

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057024

Ottawa, Dec. 6, 1922.

Dear Dr. Metcalfe:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed had a sobering effect on many who thought they had succeeded in trifling with the Canadian electorate.

By the result in Almonte I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

Doctor Metcalfe,
Almonte,
Ont.

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057025

Ottawa, Ont. December6th. 1922

Dear Bob:

Would you mind collecting for me half a dozen or more of Mr. Findlay's manifesto of which you received, I think, four. I may need these for the future.

Yours very truly,

R. J. Smith, Esq.,
Perth, Ontario.

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CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

450 OTTAWA ONT

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE BUSINESS MENS CLUB SITTING DOWN AT DINNER SEND YOU HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR GREAT VICTORY IN LANARK

R C MATTHEWS PRESIDENT.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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057027

Ottawa, Dec. 6, 1922.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed had a sobering effect on many who thought they had succeeded in trifling with the Canadian electorate.

By the result in Carleton Place I am much gratified indeed, and extend to yourself and the Committee my heartiest thanks.

Yours very truly,

Richard Thompson, Esq.,
Carleton Place,
Ont.

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CANADA

057028

Ottawa, Dec. 6, 1922.

Dear Mr. Hart:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has indeed had a sobering effect on many who thought they had succeeded in trifling with the Canadian electorate.

Yours truly.

W.B. Hart, Esq.,
Perth, Ont.

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CANADA

057029

Ottawa, Dec. 6th, 1922.

Dear Major Hope:

The result of the contest in Lanark will be encouraging not only to the Party in the Federal House but to the rank and file throughout the Dominion.

The majority is really astonishing and has silenced much of the boasting that was becoming too evident here.

Against Perth the heaviest assault was made, and against all, it did well indeed.

Yours truly,

Major J.A. Hope,
Perth, Ont.

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CANADA

057030

Ottawa, Ont. December 6th. 1922.

Dear Senator:

Many thanks for your kind telegram of the 5th. instant.

Our majority in Lanark is probably over fifteen hundred which is more than double the normal majority for the combined counties.

The Government made the most concentrated and strenuous efforts I have ever witnessed in a single constituency andntrusted as well to the well known temptation hitherto so powerful in Canada, to follow a new administration, to secure for itself a victory which its members thought would throttle the Opposition. They have received a rude disappointment, and the man rity is to them a staggering one.

I may feel too strongly on this subject but it is a mystery to me how this Government, in the light of its conduct through these eleven months as contrasted with the commitments and expletives of its members and followers last year could look for any support from a self-respecting constituency.

Yours very truly,

Senator George G. Foster,
Montreal, P.Q.

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CANADA

057031

HAWTHORN MILLS, LIMITED

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS

CARLETON PLACE ONTARIO

December 7th, 1922.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

Your note of the 6th inst. to hand and thank you very much for your congratulations.

As you say, the majority was really astonishing when it is considered that the whole force of the Government Party which had all the necessary power behind them was thrown into the conflict.

We conducted ourselves very soberly and splendidly throughout the whole action and to-day we stand stronger and better than at any time.

Some time when I am in town I will drop in and see you.

Again thanking you for your kind words, I am,

Yours very truly,

R. Thomson

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons of Canada,
Ottawa, ONT.

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CANADA

057032

Ottawa, Dec.9th.1922.

Dear Mr. Gooderham:

I have your letter of the 6th. and thank you very much for its kindly terms.

The result in Lanark was not only significant but astonishing. Practically twice the normal majority was secured in the face of the most determined and systematized effort with the most lavish expenditure that I think I have ever known in a single constituency. The atmosphere seemed to be favourable from the first and this was especially true of the rural sections.

With kindest regards,
Yours truly,

Henry F. Gooderham, Esq.,
The Union Trust Company, Ltd.,
Toronto,
Ont.

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CANADA

The Union Trust Co. Ltd
Toronto.

Dec 06 1922
097033

Hon Arthur Meighen
Ottawa.
Ont.

Dear Mr Meighen

The success in Lanark must be a great source of satisfaction to you and I heartily congratulate you

The fact that you have held that seat in the face of such strong effort would seem to indicate that in Ontario at least we

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have settled down are
057034
holding our own and
now that the adherents of
the Conservative party see
that is the condition you
will find a steadily growing
interest in and attachment
to your cause. From
now on it is to be
entirely a forward
movement.

With kind regards
and best wishes for
the Christmas season
and a successful and
happy New Year

I am
Yours sincerely
Henry Rodgham

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057035

Ottawa, Dec. 9, 1922.

My dear Home Smith:

I have your letter of the 5th. December, and thank you for its kindly terms.

The result in Lanark was not only significant but astonishing. Practically twice the normal majority was secured in the face of the most determined and systematized effort with the most lavish expenditure that I think I have ever known in a single constituency. The atmosphere seemed to me favourable from the first and this was especially true of the rural sections.

With kindest regards,

Your very truly,

R. Home Smith, Esq.,
Home Smith & Company,
16 King Street, East,
Toronto, Ont.

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CANADA

057036

December 9th. 1922.

My dear Hanson:

I have your letter of the 6th. instant, and thank you very much for its kindly terms.

The result in Lanark was not only significant but astonishing. Practically twice the normal majority was secured in the face of the most determined and systematized effort with the most lavish expenditure that I think I have ever known in a single constituency. The atmosphereseemed to me favourable from the first and this was especially true of the rural sections.

With kindest regards.

Yours very truly,

R. B. Hanson, Esq., M.P.,
Fredericton, N.B.

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CANADA

057037

Same as Goodurham

House of Commons
Canada

Fredericton, N.B.,
December 6th, 1922.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
O t t a w a, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

You must feel very much gratified at the result of the Lanark election on the 4th. I must confess that I made inquiry at the newspaper offices that evening with fear and trembling and was greatly relieved to learn that our man had won so handsomely. I heartily congratulate you on the result. From what I can gather by the Canadian Press reports, the Government singled you out for special attack, and you have every reason to be satisfied with the result. I hope that the statement in last night's papers emanating from Ottawa to the effect that Dr. Preston carried not only the urban polls, but also the rural polls is correct, because it shows that the Conservative Farmers who voted against us last year are not going over to the enemy, but will come back when the third party is finally eliminated, as I feel sure will prove to be the case, perhaps before the next general election. I am satisfied from reports down here that such is the case.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours faithfully,

R. B. Hanson

RBH'

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CANADA

057038

December 9th. 1922.

Dear Mrs. Bates:

Very many thanks for your kind letter of the 7th. instant. The Lanark result has been the talk of Canada since and will do an immense amount of good.

Lillian has done her full part in persuading her Mother to make a visit to Carleton Place, and I think it not at all improbable that we will be through that way sometime next summer. We appreciate your great kindness very much indeed.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Charles Bates,
Carleton Place, Ont.

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057039

Dear Mr. Meighen:—

I am writing you on behalf of the Women's Liberal Conservative Organization to tender you our hearty congratulations on the victory

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of last Monday. We feel that the handsome majority that rewarded the contest was largely due to your record and your brilliant speeches, and confidently hope that it presages a speedy return to power.

In the first enthusiasm of victory I promised to telegraph, but in the throng of more pressing duties the right moment for a telegram slipt by: so I write instead and take this opportunity of wishing a Happy New Year to you and yours. If you should be coming here, I, we hope that you will make

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our home your stopping place; and an equally warm welcome awaits Mrs. Meighen and Lillian if you can bring them with you. With repeated warm congratulations believe me

Sincerely yours

C. W. Bates

Earlscourt Place
Dec 4th 1922

057041

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057042

December 9th. 1922.

My dear Mrs. Rosamond:

It was good of you to write me in the terms of your letter of the 7th. December. The smashing victory in Lanark has been the talk of the country since and will do substantial good in every province.

I have been telling Mrs. Meighen about Almonte and its attractions, and we both hope to be able to pay a visit that way during the coming summer.

With all good wishes.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Archibald Rosamond,
Elm Glen,
Almonte, Ont.

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Elm Glen
Almonte, Ont.

057043

Dec 7th 1922

My dear Mr. Meighen
It was very
kind of you to send
such a nice message
by my husband! I
should have added
my note of congratulation
earlier, only thought
you would be inundated

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by Thursday p.m. for tomor-
It was a wonderful treat
for Yr. personally. For,
on all sides, one hears
how great an impression
Yr. made in the Country-
the all feel greatly privileged
to have met Yr. and
Archbishop, at least.
Hope Yr. will be here
many times yet. But
for a rest, not a campaign!
Yr. and yours will be
always very welcome!
Yours faithfully
Margaret Rosamond.

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057045

Ottawa, Ont. December 9th. 1922

Dear Mr. McClenaghan:

Very Many thanks for the kindness of your letter of the 8th. instant. I am glad to have your sister's address.

As you can readily understand I was delighted over the results in Lanark - nothing was so encouraging as the results of the rural polls. It shows that the process of trying to lure the Conservative farmer into the Grit fold through the medium of a Progressive Party is breaking down.

With many thanks to you for your assistance and encouragement.

Yours very truly.

W. H. McClenaghan, Esq.,
Rural Route #1,
Perth, Ontario.

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CANADA

57046 Perth. Dec. 8. 1922.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Sir

I am sending you Mrs. J. R. Munro's address which I promised to give you the other night in Perth. It is 133 Calle Liverpool, Mexico City.

Yours Sincerely

W. H. McLenaghan
R. R. No 1. Perth.

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P. S.

057047

We had a great victory on election night. The first returns came in were favorable to the opposition and they were jumping sky high but in a very short time the tide turned and they all took to their hole and were not to be seen.
If they had have won this time we poor Tories might have got out of the country. I guess they will not try that trick

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057048

on us again for a while.
I hope the time wont be long till you will have such a victory over the whole dominion.

Wishing you every Success

Yours.

William

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057049

Ottawa, Ont. December 9th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I am a little late but am writing to thank you for the help you gave us in Lanark. Your paper was the only one reaching the riding that gave a word of assistance at all - nevertheless, the atmosphere was good from the beginning and against the most thorough well organized and Herculean efforts of the Government we secured practically double the normal majority. The result in the rural districts was especially encouraging.

I rather expect to be in Toronto on Thursday next and if so, I hope to have the pleasure of a short talk with you.

Yours very truly,

C. A. C. Jennings, Esq.,
The "Mail & Empire",
Toronto, Ont.

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CANADA

057050

Ottawa, Ont. December 11th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Davidson:

I have your letter of the 7th. instant and thank you for its kindly terms.

We got a surprise ourselves in Lanark. I was pretty confident of victory after going through the riding but would have been well satisfied with five hundred majority. Our Committees figured on eight hundred at the outside. The towns did no better than we expected taken altogether, but the country polls were in excess. This, you will realize, is very significant. We must be careful of course, not to build too much upon one result. It has given a jolt to the Government which they needed badly.

Things this summer have been running pretty much themselves, and all the Government appears to be attending to is patronage.

I see Robb is coming home very shortly with a Reciprocity Treaty. Apparently the contents of same are being kept from the Australian public who are engaged at the present time in an election, as well,as the public of Canada. My own impression is that this trip was much like Fielding's trip - it was a gesture in the confident belief that there would be no actual results.

Yours very truly,

A. L. Davidson, Esq.,

Middleton, N. S.

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A. L. DAVIDSON
BARRISTER, ETC.
MIDDLETON, N.S.

057051

December 7th., 1922

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighan,
Leader of the Opposition,
Ottawa, Ont.,

Dear Mr. Meighan;-

Will you please accept my warmest congratulations for your success in Lanark. Down here, we looked upon the contest almost as your personal battle and were all exceedingly gratified over the result.

As a rule, by-elections go favorably to the Government during the first year or two of an administration, and the fact that our party has won every contested election since the last general, argues, I think, that the hold of the King Administration on the confidence of the people is very precarious. The by-election in Halifax, which was entirely a domestic quarrel, has served, I think, to disintegrate the forces of our opponents. Had we put a candidate in the field I am inclined to think we would have done pretty well. We are getting into shape quietly in the different constituencies in this province and I believe that in the next election Nova Scotia will make a very different showing.

Wishing you a very happy Christmas season, I am,

Yours very truly,
A L Davidson

M/D

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057052

Ottawa, Ont. December 11th. 1922.

My dear Doctor:

Please do not object to an acknowledgment of your kind note. I was going to write you anyway.

We got a surprise ourselves in Lanark. I was pretty confident of victory after going through the riding but would have been well satisfied with five hundred majority. Our committees figured on eight hundred at the outside. The towns did no better than we expected taken altogether, but the country polls were in excess. This, you will realize, is very significant. We must be careful, of course, not to build too much upon one result. It has given a jolt to the Government which they needed badly.

Things this summer have been running pretty much themselves, and all the Government appears to be attending to is patronage.

I see Robb is coming home very shortly with a Reciprocity Treaty. Apparently the contents of same are being kept from the Australian public who are engaged at the present time in an election, as well as the public of

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CANADA

057053

Canada. My own impression is that this trip was much like Fielding's trip - it was a gesture in the confident belief that there would be no actual results.

With all good wishes.

Yours very truly,

Honourable R. J. Manion, M.D.,
Fort William
Ont.

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057054

House of Commons
Canada

Hearty congratulations
re Lanark.
No acknowledgement
necessary
R J Cameron

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Toronto Star Dec. 12/22

057055

On a Former Occasion

It may have suited Mr. Meighen's purpose, temporarily, while addressing meetings in the Lanark by-election, to assert that the failure of the Canadian government to offer promptly to send a Canadian contingent to the Near East in reply to the alarmist telegram sent out by Winston Churchill was a great mistake and one which "stained the honor of Canada." It is difficult to see, however, how Mr. Meighen can take the same view in the Canadian parliament or how he possibly could, as a representative of Canada at a future Imperial conference, take any such view. His complaint against the action of the Mackenzie King government is suited only for use on the political stump and in a selected locality where fault-finding with the Liberal administration is wanted regardless of the merits of the case.

As to the "call" made to Canada and the other Dominions the incident had two phases. If the message had been sent to the Dominions privately, as an effort at consultation, little fault could have been found with it and no fault could have been found with the reply sent by the Canadian government, asking for fuller information. There had been supplied to Canada no information at all on which a decision could have been made. But while the message, as sent to the governments of the various Dominions, was marked "secret" and not to be published, the same message or a sensational version of it was broadcasted to the world from London by Mr. Churchill. This action was indefensible. Nobody in England or anywhere else so far as we know undertakes to defend it. He violated every understanding that ever existed between the mother country and the Dominions. It broke through every convention arrived at in the Imperial conferences of thirty years. Every newspaper and nearly every public man in England except Mr. Churchill admits it and calls his action a blunder.

Canada is supposed to have developed greatly along the lines of self-government since 1885. In that year Sir John Macdonald was premier and Great Britain had a war in the Soudan. A small Australian contingent took part and Britain invited Canada to send a force. The invitation was declined. The Manitoba Free Press publishes a letter written at that time by Sir John A. Macdonald to Sir Charles Tupper, high commissioner in London, giving the reasons for Canada's refusal. The letter is of interest to-day:

"I have your notes of the 18th and 27th on the subject of sending Canadian troops to the Soudan. I wrote you a hurried note the other day on this question, and have both before and since talked it over with my colleagues, and we think the time has not arrived, nor the occasion, for our volunteering military aid to the mother country.

"We do not stand at all in the same position as Australasia. The Suez Canal is nothing to us, and we do not ask England to quarrel with France or Germany for our sakes. The offer of those colonies is a good move on their part, and somewhat like Cavour's sending Sardinian troops to the Crimea. Why should we waste money and men in this wretched business? England is not at war, but merely helping the Khedive to put down an insurrection, and now that Gordon has gone, the motive of aiding in the rescue of our countrymen has gone with him. Our men and money would, therefore, be sacrificed to get Gladstone and Co. out of the hole they have plunged themselves into by their own imbecility.

"Again, the reciprocal aid to be given by the colonies and England should be a matter of treaty, deliberately entered into and settled on a permanent basis. The spasmodic offers of our militia colonels, anxious for excitement or notoriety, have roused unreasonable expectations in England, and are so far unfortunate."

Sir John Macdonald had a backbone of his own, and it did not enter his mind that he had no right to ask questions—it did not occur to him that he should come when called and allow his thinking to be done for him in London. As far back as 1885 he asserted that any question of reciprocal aid "should be a matter of treaty." There was not then, as there is now, a distinct understanding that there must be "consultations" in regard to all those foreign affairs i[illegible] ultimately our interests may become inv[illegible] is[illegible]t, then, that in b[illegible]adcasting [illegible] "I w[illegible]nt beyond [illegible]

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057056

Ottawa, Ont. December 12th. 1922

Dear Mr. Stansell:

I want to thank you for the kindly terms expressed in your letter of the 8th. December.

Lanark was a great win. We got a surprise ourselves. I was pretty confident of victory after going through the riding but would have been well satisfied with five hundred majority. Our committees figured on eight hundred at the outside. The towns did no better than we expected taken altogether, but the country polls were in excess. This, you will realize, is very significant. We must be careful, of course, not to build too much upon one result. It has given a jolt to the Government which they needed badly.

Yours very truly,

J. L. Stansell, Esq.,
Vice-President,
Canadian Ayrshire Breeders' Association,
Staffordville, Ont.

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President
Gilbert McMillan, Huntingdon, Que.

Vice-President
J. L. Stansell, Straffordville, Ont.

Canadian Ayrshire Breeders' Association

Secretary Treasurer
W. F. Stephen, Huntingdon, Que., Drawer E

057057

Eastern Directors 1922

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J. H. Black, Lachute, Que.
Gilbert McMillan, Huntingdon, Que.
Frank Byrne, Charlesbourg, Que.
Bert R. Brown, Little York, P. E. I.
George G. Fish, Ayers Cliff, Que.
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George Gillespie, Ventnor, Ont.
E. A. Wells, Sardis, B. C.
Wm. Braid, Oak River, Man.

Straffordville Dec 8/22

Hon Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear sir:

Allow me to congratulate you on the success of the party in the Lanark bye-election. The result will be very re-assuring to all our friends and will do much to encourage the party in the coming Provincial contest.

I regret very much that I was unable to come at once in response to your wire although I could have gone the following week had I not been assured that they had all the help required. However results were most gratifying.

With best wishes
I am yours truly
J. L. Stansell

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057058

Ottawa, Ont. December 11th. 1922

Dear Doctor Murphy:

I am glad indeed to have yours of the 9th. instant, and especially to have the enclosures. This pamphlet will be a thorn in their side.

I wonder could you find our whether it was brought to the attention of the Prime Minister or of Mr. Murdock before their speech in Smith Falls of the Saturday night previous tothe election. I am quite certain they never repudiated it and equally certain that they knew of it, but I would like proof of both. I am sorry to be troubling you so much but this incident is of importance.

Yours very truly,

Yours very truly,

Doctor W. S. Murphy, B. A.,
39 Russell Street,
Smith Falls, Ont.

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W. S. Murphy, B.A., M.D.

39 Russell Street

057052

Smiths Falls, Ont., Dec 9 1929

Rt. Hon Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr Meighen.

Am enclosing some - W B Connector pamphlets. will try and get some more for you.

Yours Sincerely

W S Murphy M.D.

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file

W. S. Murphy, B.A., M.D.

39 Russell Street

057060

Smiths Falls, Ont., Dec 5 1922

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen
Ottawa

Dear Mr. Meighen, Your letter received to-night. I shall try and get you some of those pamphlets, and will send them to you as soon as I can.

We now know the results of the battle in Lanark, and we are all very grateful and delighted to know that Lanark stands by you and your policies. Smiths Falls did nobly. And you may confidently rely upon her in the days to come. Kindly accept my heartiest congratulations

Yours truly, W. S. Murphy M.D.

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T. A. THOMPSON, Clerk-Treasurer. Telephone 44 r 11.

File

Ramsay Township Council

05061

Almonte, Ont. Dec 11th 1922

Hon Arthur Meighen.
Ottawa.

Dear Mr Meighen:

I am in receipt of your kind letter of the 5th inst for which I thank you. When a man has worked hard it is always a great satisfaction to know that his efforts have been appreciated.

I was delighted with the results of the election. I am living on a farm that my grandfather settled on in 1820. and for over 100 years our family has been fighting the battles of the Conservative party in this County, and I wish to assure you that I will ever be ready to assist you in any way that lies within my power

Wishing you success in the not too distant future.

I remain
Yours very truly
T. A. Thompson

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057062

Ottawa, Ont. December 12th. 1922.

Dear Mr. Badger:

I have yours of the 7th. instant. Many thanks for your good words as to Lanark. The majority was about twice the normal majority and three times what I expected. We must of course, take care not to base too much on the result of one contest.

I will be glad indeed to see you when I get to Winnipeg, but scarcely think it likely that I shall be out there before Easter anyway.

With all good wishes to yourself and your organization.

Yours very truly,

W. T. Badger, Esq.,
Canada Colonization Assoc. Ltd.,
303 Bank of Hamilton Bldg.,
Winnipeg, Man.

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057063

Ottawa, Ont. December 12th.1922

Dear Harry:

A. Meighen & Mrs. Dunton.

I have yours of the 9th. and certainly am delighted to find you expect to get the bulk of the taxes. They have not much longer now.

As regards Lanark, there is a lot of encouragement to be taken out of that contest. Usually in Canada it takes a long while before an Opposition can win a bye-election, but I found the atmosphere favourable especially in the rural districts. The Government got s severe jolt as they made a powerful concentration in the riding and the most determined efforts that I think I have ever know to win a seat. The majority was nearly double the normal majority for the combined ridings.

Yours very truly,

H. R. Hooper, Esq.,
Carberry, Man.

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HAROLD RICHMOND HOOPER, B.A.
BARRISTER, SOLICITOR, ETC.
SOLICITOR FOR THE BANK OF HAMILTON AND
MUNICIPALITY OF NORTH CYPRESS.
CARBERRY, MANITOBA.

057064

December 9th.1922

Right Hon.Arthur Meighen.
Ottawa. Canada.

Dear Arthur,

RE...MRS ARTHUR DUNTON

I note your letter of the 4th instant,

I have a letter from Mrs Dunton to-day I have been putting it up to her strong I think if she does not pay all, she will pay the major portion of them, that is the taxes and I will advise you in due course.

We were very pleased ~~that~~ with the Lanark By-Election and got results here the night of the election.

With kind regards

Yours truly. H. R. Hooper

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Session of 1911

057065

37

Mr. Ferguson (Grenville) moved, seconded by Mr. McEbroy.

That in the opinion of this house, no language other than the English language, should be used as a medium of instruction in the schools of this Province.

And the motion having been proposed, the mover asked the leave of the House to substitute therefore the following words: " That the English language shall be the language of instruction, and of all communications with the pupils in the Public and Separate Schools of the Province, except where, in the opinion of the Department of Education, it is impracticable by reason of pupils not understanding English"

And the House having consented thereto, it was therefore "RESOLVED:" That the English language shall be the language of instruction and of all communications with the pupils in the Public and Separate Schools of the Province, except where, in the opinion of the Department of Education, it is impossible by reason of pupils not understanding English.

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(Copy)

057066

Toronto, August, 5th, 1914.

Sir:-

I am directed by the Minister of Education to say that your Board proposes to introduce the teaching of French into the St. Edmond and St. Francis Separate Schools. The Minister desires me to inquire whether this report is correct.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(sgd) A. H. U. Colquhoun,

Deputy Minister of Education.

D. Gourd, Esq.,

Secretary-Treasurer,

Separate School Board,

Windsor, Ont.

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(Copy) 057067

Windsor, Ont., August 8th, 1914.

To the

Deputy Minister of Education,

Toronto, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

Your letter of August 5th received and contents noted. In reply would beg to say that we intended to introduce French in the St. Edmond and St. Francis Schools and you will find a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting held on June 1st, 1914.

In your letter you ask me a question which I am answering you and I am asking you a question which I would like answered. From what source did you get this information.

Awaiting your reply on same by return mail, I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(sgd) D. Gourd,

Sec-Treas. R. C. S. S. Board

of the City of Windsor.

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(Copy)

057068

A copy of the Resolution passed by the R. C. S. S. Board and which was sent to the Principal of the St. Edmond and St. Francis Schools.

Moved by A. Langlois seconded by R. Langlois:

That a Sister be engaged to teach the French language exclusively in St. Edmond and St. Francis Schools. The said teacher to be a French Canadian and to hold a first class teaching Certificate and capable of teaching the French language in all its branches. That she is to teach the said language one hour in each class except the entrance class each day at St. Edmond and half an hour each day in all classes at St. Francis School. Salary at $ 350.00 per annum to commence at date of service.

Carried unanimously.

Windsor, June 1st, 1914.

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(Copy) 057069

Toronto, October 31st, 1914.

Sir:-

I am directed by the Minister of Education to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 8th., and to say in reply that the subject has been under his carefull consideration and that he finds that the Regulation of the Department of Education do not allow French to be taught as a subject od study in any of the Separate Schools in the City of Windsor with the exception of the School of the Sacred Heart. You will accordingly, within a reasonable time, make such changes in the organisation of your school as may be found necessary under this instruction.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(sgd) A. H. U. Colquhoun,

Deputy Minister of Education.

D. Gourd, Esq.,
Secretary-Treasurer,
Separate School Board,
Windsor, Ont.

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057070

COPIE.

Plantagenet, Ont, 14 juillet,1915

To the Minister of Education
Toronto. Ont.

Honorable Sir:

We, undersigned, ratepayers, supporters of the R.C.S.S. No 5, Plantagenet, all of French origin, hereby declare that we want the French language efficaciouly taught to our children in the school we support with our own money, together with the English tongue.

We, therefore, respectfully request the Honorable Minister of Education to consider this the expression of the will of the parents in the Education of their own children.

Olivier Simard
Clement Pilon
Cyprien Gour
Baptiste Fauteux
Joseph Mayer
Alexandre Mayer
Camille Desjardins
Isaie Barbarie
Arthur Beaulieu
Joseph Desjardins
Patrick Bissionnette
Adelard Beaulne
Albert Gauthier
Nap.Lalonde
Paul Lalonde
Louis Lalonde
Octave Giroux
Nelson Bertrand
Emerie Seguin.

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057071

COPY

Toronto, March 4th, 1916.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the Minister of Education to acknowledge the receipt of a petition of certain ratepayers of Roman Catholic School Section, No 5, Plantagenet, declaring their desire to have the French language taught to the children in this school, and to say in reply that from information in the possession of the Department it would appear that the French language does not prevail in this section. It is, therefore, impossible for the Minister to grant the petition.

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd(A.H.U. Colquhoun,
Deputy Minister of Education.

Emerie Seguin Esq.,
Secretary R.C.S.S.
5 Plantagenet
Plantagenet, Ont.

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057072
p. 1-15

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

QUEBEC CANADIAN CLUB

AT QUEBEC

TUESDAY, MARCH 28th; 1916

BY

The Honorable N. A. BELCOURT, K.C., P.C.

BI-LINGUALISM

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ADDRESS DELIVERED

BEFORE THE

QUEBEC CANADIAN CLUB

AT

QUEBEC

TUESDAY, MARCH 28th, 1916.

BY

The Honorable N. A. BELCOURT, K. C., P. C.

Gentlemen of the Canadian Club:—Your president has asked me to adress you this afternoon in the English language. It is with great pleasure that I received this invitation and that I avail myself of the privilege of speaking to you in that language with regard to the every troublesome, somewhat distorted, and certainly misrepresented school question in your sister province. First of all, I wish to assure you that I shall not make a speech. I desire, in as simple and lucid English as I can command, to endeavor to explain to you the difficulties of that school question, addressing myself preferably to your intelligence, rather than to your hearts.

I want, if I can, to enlighten you as much as possible with regard to this school trouble, a trouble which unfortunately is not a new one for us in Ontario, which we have had many times in the past, and which I am none too sure we shall not have again in the future. This time, as you know, it has broken out over the notorius regulation No. 17. That has been in the centre of the storm, and until the question it has raised is solved it must, I am afraid, continue to be a storm center. I want to tell you what is the real meaning, what is the object and what will be the effect of this regulation. I am going to give you concrete evidence of everything that I propose to tell you.

Let me tell you also that I will do so with greatest care and moderation, and, whislt I feel strongly, as you may imagine, upon this question, I am going to suppress my own feelings and make a calm and dispassionate analysis of the question. I will leave to your intelligence and to your own sympathy to decide what course of action each one of you individually may feel called upon to follow.

Regulation No. 17 has been designed, enacted and enforced with no other object than the gradual proscription of the French language in the primary schools of the Province of Ontario. I say there is no question about that, and if anyone of you will take the trouble

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to follow me closely, and afterwards, if any doubts remain about the matter, and you will take up the regulation and study it carefully, I am sure you will agree with me.

The regulation treats of the use of French in the primary class in Ontario in two ways: First, as a means of instruction or communication; and, second, as a subject of study.

Now, as a means of instruction, that is, as a medium of communication between the teacher and the pupil, the use of that language in all schools, in all classes, at all stages, and on every subject is limited to where, in the opinion of the Chief Inspector of the Province, IT IS NECESSARY. In other words, as a medium between the teacher and the pupil, the French language cannot be used with French-speaking children to impart to them any information on any subject whatsoever, unless the Chief Inspector has previously decided that in the case of each particular child the use of the French language is absolutely necessary because the child does not understand enough English to receive instruction in that language. I say without hesitation that if anyone of you will read regulation No. 17 you will come to no other conclusion than that.

And you can imagine how impraticable and impossible it would be for the Chief Inspector, with all his other duties, to examine each individual child in the hundreds of schools in the Province of Ontario to ascertain if such child understands the English language well enough to receive instruction in English.

Now, as a subject of study. As a subject of study there is a distinction to be made between the schools which were in existence prior to the enactment of the regulation, and the schools subsequently established. That is, prior to the month of June, 1912, the use of the French language as a subject of study was confined to begin with to the elementary subjects of reading, composition and grammar. In the schools then in existence subject to the approval again of the Chief Inspector, these subjects may be taught to the French Canadian children whose parents demand that they shall be taught those subjects. The maximum time fixed is one hour, but the Chief Inspector may increase that by special order given by himself. But in all cases, let me repeat, these subjects cannot be taught for one hour or one minute to any French-speaking child in any class, in any school in Ontario, unless the Chief Inspector has pronounced upon each individual case. I said a moment ago that the time is limited to one hour, but he may make one minute if chooses. With reference to the use of the French language, whether as a means of instruction and communication, or as a subject of study, the decision of the Chief Inspector is in every case final and conclusive. There is no appeal.

I told you a moment ago that I would endeavor to give concrete evidence of what I say.

The regulation, as I have said, was promulgated in the year 1912. There were hundreds and hundreds of separate schools in Ontario—corresponding to your dissentient schools in this province—where French had been a subject of study, where French had been used as a means of communication. And the permission to use French as a subject of study, as I have already explained, is confined to these schools. In all schools established after the month of June, 1912, the French language is banished at once, completely and forever; and I propose to prove it to you in a very conclusive way.

In the Green Valley case, in the county of Glengary, was a case brought by Scotch Catholic ratepayers against the Roman Catholic school trustees because during one hour of the day the teacher, who was a French-Canadian, taught in French for fifty minutes reading, grammar and composition, and gave ten minutes to catechism in

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French. An action was taken for an injunction, and the court granted the injunction. It was proved in the case that about seventy-five per cent of the rate-payers and seventy-five per cent of the pupils were French-Canadians. The injunction was granted and when the trustees continue to employ this system they were called up before the judge on a charge of contempt of court, with an application to commit them to imprisonment. The judge ordered that each of them should pay a fine of five hundred dollars, not because they had taught French reading, grammar and composition for fifty minutes each day, but because for ten minutes of each day catechism had been taught in French to the French-Canadian pupils. Now. Catechism is something that is always taught in a Catholic separate school. That is the very principle —that is the reason why separate schools were established by law. So you will see the extent to which French is prohibited in Ontario under this regulation.

Now, with reference to the use of the French language as a subject of study in the schools since 1912 we have had several complete and authoritative demonstrations of the meaning of the regulation. In the City of Windsor there were in 1912 three Roman Catholic Separate Schools, namely, the "Sacred Heart" with 45 per cent, "St Francois" 65 per cent, and "St. Edmond" 85 per cent of French speaking Catholic pupils. Prior to 1912 French was a subject of study in the Sacred Heart school only. French has continued since 1912 to be a subject of study in that school. Prior to 1912 there was no French taught in St. Francois and St. Edmond School; since 1912 the trustees of these two schools have applied to the Department, for permission to teach French in these two schools for one-half hour in one of them and for one hour in the other. The following letter from the Department peremptorily denies them the right to have even one minute of French in these two schools:

Catholic Separate School Board,
Windsor, Ontario.

"The Minister of Public Instruc-
"tion requests me to aknowledge
"receipt of your letter of August
"8th, and to say in answer that
"he has studied the subject care-
"fully and finds that the regula-
"tions of the Department of Educ-
"ation do not allow French to be
"taught as a subject of study in
"any of the separate schools of
"the city of Windsor, with the
"exception of the Sacred Heart
"School. Consequently, with a
"reasonable delay, you will make
"such changes in the organization
"of your school as may be necess-
"ary under this regulation."

This letter was signed by Mr. Colquhoun, Deputy Minister of Education in Ontario, and is dated October 31st, 1914. Now, the other day the acting minister of the department, the Hon. Mr. Ferguson, published a long statement covering nearly two pages of newspaper, explaining this matter. With regard to this particular case, concerning the schools in the city of Windsor, his answer was, I respectfully submit, unworthy of himself, unworthy of the province, an especially unworthy of the great subject of education. His answer was that the children of the French-speaking Canadian parents at Windsor had not been refused anything to which they were entitled under regulation 17. That was his answer, begging the whole question.

May I now give you a very independent and impartial opinion as to the effect and nature of this regulation? Within a year after it was promulgated and sought to be enforced, the six inspectors appointed by the Government, for the very purpose of enforcing the regulation, were called to Toronto by the Head of the Department of Education, to make a report of their findings after the regulation had been in force about a year. The six inspectors were three English-spaking and three French-speaking inspectors. They met in Toronto, and, after comparing notes, made a unanimous report to the Minister

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of Education, and please remember that this report and the investigation from which it arose were both made at the request of the Minister of Education. The report was unanimous. I shall not quote it all, but only a few lines:

"The inspectors agree that the above regualtion (17) has not been effective, for the following reasons:

"IT WAS TAKEN TO MEAN THAT FRENCH COULD NOT BE USED AS A LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AND COMMUNICATION:

"IT WAS REGARDED AS AN ATTEMPT TO GRADUALLY ELIMINATE THE FRENCH LANGUAGE FROM THE ENGLISH-FRENCH SCHOOLS."

That is not my statement, remember, gentlemen, but the unanimous statement of three English inspectors and three French inspectors charged with the duty of enforcing this regulation.

Naturally the French-Canadians of Ontario, of whom there are 250,000, who have in the past enjoyed the right of teaching their language to their own children, promptly and strongly resented all this. But they have not been the agressive and turbulent agitators which they have been reprsented to be. On the contrary, they took the constitutional means of going to the Department about the matter. Memorials, representations and calm and dignified protests were made. Delegations were sent to Toronto. On one occasion the chairman of the Ottawa separate school board went to Toronto as the representative of most of the different separate chool boards throughout the province. Nothing came of it. Sir James Whitney told them that he was not going to establish RACIAL SCHOOLS in the Province of Ontario, whatever the meaning of that may be. He sought to make them feel that he looked upon the use of French in the Ontario schools as introducing racial schools.

Gentlemen, I have to touch on these points very briefly because I know your time is precious, and I do not want to trespass upon your indulgence. I might say that such litigation followed. However I do not propose to go into that as I do not know that much profit could be derived from it in the time which you have kindly allowed me.

Then this statute was passed last year, of which we are now asking the disallowance, and I am going to speak of that briefly. I am sure you have heard something of the petitions which have been circulated, not only in the Province of Ontario, but also in Quebec, calling upon the Dominion Government to disallow this statute passed in 1915. The statute has two effects, the validating of regulation 17, which in the meantime was being tried in the courts, and the purpose of establishing the Ottawa Separate School Commission, of which I have no doubt you have also heard.

The act takes all the powers from the Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees elected by the Roman Catholic rate-payers and confers them upon the Commission. This Commission—which I shall not qualify, but which I shall describe—was composed of three gentlemen, Mr. Denis Murphy, Mr. D'Arcy McGee, and Mr. Charbonneau. The first two being Irish Catholics, and the other a French-Canadian Catholic.

The Roman Catholic population of Ottawa is composed of nearly 50,000 people, of whom about 33,000 are French-Canadians and about 17,000 are Irish Catholics. As I said, the Government appointed two Irish Catholics and made one of them chairman, the other vice-chairman, and Mr. Charbonneau simply a member. This commission was vested with all the powers which the board of elected trustees had the statutory right and the duty to administer. You can imagine, gentlemen, how efficiently these schools could be conducted under such conditions and with such a commission. You can imagine the

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provocation it was to the French-Canadian population of Ottawa. I should add that one of the commissionners—they are all respecable men—but one was in the unfortunate position of being a license holder under the Government which appointed him. Mr. Charbonneau, or the firm to which he belonged, held a licence for the sale of intoxicating liquors. He held his license from the Government appointing him, and this was the man who was going to administer these schools in the capital of Canada. You can imagine the resentment of the people and how difficult—how impossible—it was for such a commission to administer in a proper way the schools confided to their care. The result was confusion worse confounded, and considerable agitation, with the result that to-day there are nearly 5,000 children belonging to the English-French schools of Ottawa who are deprived of an education, and have been so deprived for two months. Their teachers have not been paid some of them for five, ten, fifteen and twenty months. The taxes belonging to the French-Canadian supporters of these schools have been used for the payment of the teachers in the schools attended by the Irish Catholics, schools which have not in any way, at any time, under any conditions being interfered with by the French-Canadian people of Ottawa.

Another result of regulation No. 17 is—I doubt if there is anyone in this room who will really believe me, but I assure you that it is true— let me tell you, gentlemen, that to-day the Germans in the Province of Ontario have and are enjoying, with the consent and participation of the Department, rights that are absolutely denied to the French-Canadian population. I knew you would say "shame". I know no intelligent person will believe this at first, but I pledge you my word that that is the case. I am going to read you regulation 15 so that I shall not be misunderstood. Regulation 15 says: "15. In "school sections where the French "or German language prevails, the "trustees may, in addition to the "course of study prescribed for pu-"blic schools, require instruction "to be given in reading, grammar "and composition to such pupils as "are directed by their parents or "guardians to study either of these "languages, and in all such cases "the authorized text books in "French or German shall be used."

Regulation 17 has abrogated this provision with respect to French in all schools established after June, 1912, and with respect to German the matter remains as it was under regulation 15.

Now, what is the case of the French Canadians of Ontario, on what do they rely, on what do they base their claim that French should be used in their schools? By the British North America Act it is provided that the rights and privileges enjoyed by Roman Catholics in the Province of Ontario at the time of Confederation, or by the Protestant minority in the Province of Quebec, shall not be interfered with by the provinces. Subject to these rights the provinces are given absolute power to legislate on school matters. There is the whole question so far as the legal and constitutional aspect is concerned. You have to see what in 1867 were the rights of the respective minorities in Ontario and Quebec. So far as Quebec is concerned, it is not and never was subject of misunderstanding. Everyone has agreed as to what the rights of the Protestant minority were and are, and no one has interfered with them. But it is different in Ontario. I have been there for thirty-two years, and it has always been more or less a subject of discussion and dispute. The rights of the Catholics in Ontario in 1867 were the rights given by the act of 1863.

The first part of the act gave to the Roman Catholics the right to elect trustees to conduct the Catholic separate schools, in other words the right to fully administer the schools. Other provisions of the statute dealt with the right to determine the kind and des-

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cription of the schools, in other words the right to have schools where both languages would be taught, as it had been previous to 1863. Then there was the right to appoint teachers and define their duties; also to appoint inspectors or superintendents. Every one of these essential things has been wiped out and taken away from the separate schools supporters of the city of Ottawa, not in part, but wholly and completely, and conferred upon Government appointed Commissionners.

Let us see what this means. The question involved in this controversy are in principle as essential and as important as any question that ever came before the British people. Why, it goes back to Runnymede, when this principle was settled forever—No taxation without representation. The French-Canadians of Ottawa are compelled to pay taxes and they have no representaton. They are taxed and have to pay taxes for schools, and yet they have nothing to say regarding the expenditure of their taxes or the conduct of these schools.

What would you say if my good friend, Sir Lomer Gouin, undertook to say to the city of Quebec: I don't like the members that you send to represent you—they don't do things as I like to have them done, and hereafter you are not going to select your representatives, but I am going to name or appoint them for you; or if he arrogated to himself the right to have your dissentient schools conducted and administered wholly not by your elected trustees or Commissioners, but by certain persons choosen by him. Gentlemen, I say in all solemnity that there is no difference between that and the things that have been done in the Province of Ontario. Am I not right in saying that this question should be of the then and still have to-day, and British constitutional history?

Now, as to the second point, the kind, number and description of schools.

Prior to Confederation there were French schools—not English-French schools, but exclusively French schools under the Department of Public Instruction in the Province of Ontario. I use that term advisably, because it was so called at that time, although it is now called the Department of Education. Time and again it occurred, with the approval of the educational authorities, that teachers who could not speak a word of English, but only German or French, where employed in the schools of Ontario. There were schools in the Province of Ontario before Confederation where no English was taught, and that with the sanction of the Department. In many parts of Ontario there were schools, many of them where there was only French, and there were many others where both the English and the French languages were taught. They had French teachers and French inspectors, and French text books. I am referring to this in order that you can fix in your minds what were the the conditions in 1867. In other words, what were the conditions which the Act of Confederation, an Imperial Act, has made perpetual in Ontario as well as in Quebec.

We had these rights in 1867; in what way and when have we been deprived of these rights—on what authority have they been taken away? Absolutely none? There was only one authority that could deprive the Roman Catholics French-Canadians of Ontario of their rights in that province, or the Protestant minority of their rights in the Province of Quebec. There is only one authority, not the Ontario Legislature, not the Quebec Legislature, not the Dominion Parliament, but the Parliament of Westminster. The Act of Confederation is an Imperial Act which no Canadian Parliament or Legislature can in any way affect. The Imperial Parliament has not dealt with the question. If I have made it clear to you that there were rights which were enjoyed in 1867, since those rights have not been touched by the only authority that could touch them—have I

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not made out an absolute case that those are rights which we had then and still have to-day, and ought to have now and in the future?

Section 133 of the British North American Act—and I refer to it because, strangely enough, it has been quoted and relied on by both sides in this controversy—section 133, you will remember, provides that either English or the French language may be used in the Parliament of Canada, the Legislature of Quebec, and the Federal and Quebec provincial courts, and it places these two languages on an equal footing in such Parliament, Legislature and courts. It is argued by those opposed to us that that is a restrictive provision, a limitative provision, on the doctrine "inclusio unius fit exclusio alterius." I do not think so at all. Here were new forums being created: The Parliament of Canada, the Federal Courts, where it was absolutely necessary that the language to be used should be determined without doubt—there shoud be no doubt that in the Federal Parliament both languages should be official—no doubt that is what was in the minds of the fathers of Confederation.

But, they say, why mention Quebec at all? Why did they say that English could be used in the Legislature of Quebec and why not say that French could be used in the Legislature of Ontario?

The answer to that is that the English language was safeguarded in the Legislature of Quebec, simply because our English friends were on that occasion, as usual, a little more practical than we are. Thew wanted the English language to be official in the Legislature of Quebec, and asked to have it stated in the Act. That was a concession to the Protestant, or rather, in the Province of Quebec. Section 133 is not limitative. Some people are apt to look upon this matter in a very strange way. We are told that we are not to claim any rights for the French language in Ontairo, because there is no text of law. I ask you, gentlemen, if you have ever seen anywhere a text of law which says that the English language is the official language of the British Empire? No, there is no such law, none anywhere, not at Westminster at Ottawa or at Toronto. Why? Simply because language is a natural right—there are rights that we all enjoy which do not need the sanction of the law, the right to live, to breathe, the right of property—these are rights which do not need the sanction of law, that is, of any special text of law, but belong inherently to all individuals and everyone is entitled to their enjoyment without any text of law. These rights are the necessary attributes of individual freedom.

The rights of the minority in the Province of Quebec with reference to their religious tenets and their language have no other and no better foundation than the same rights of the French or Catholics in the Province of Ontario. If we are deprived of the right to use the French language in our schools in the Province of Ontario, and if that is constitutionnally sound, there is nothing to prevent the government of the Province of Quebec from saying that in the English schools of the Province of Quebec there shall be no word of English spoken. I should think the contemplation of such a thing would make you shudder. It is really inconceivable with anyone in Quebec.

I have tried to show you the conditions at Confederation. I said I would give you authority for my statements, and I am going to give you the authority of different and most competent people. First of all, I will give you the authority of Sir Oliver Mowatt. He had no doubt on this matter, nor had Sir George Ross, and both of them said so in every clear and unmistakeable language. As long as their authority lasted the use of the French language in the Province of Ontario was not interfered with, but was treated in a broad and sympathetic way. I will quoté also from Doctor Ryerson, who was the father of the Ontario school sys-

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tem, and who for thirty-five years exercised undisputed sway over the schools of that province. I will likewise cite Sir James Whitney.

Sir Olivar Mowatt, in a speech made at Woodstock, on December 3rd. 1889, said:

"French-Canadians cherish "their own language lovingly; they "wish their children to love it and "be educated in it; but they know "it will be for their interest to be "familiar with English also, and "to be educated in English, as well "as French. Proscribe French, "their mother tongue, and they "will hate you and have nothing "to do with your schools. Permit "their own language to receive at-"tention, and they are glad to have "their children learn English al-"so as soon and as fast as it can "be imparted. Such was the view of "the Commissioners as to the pro-"per policy; it is the view of this "Government; and it is the view "of all intelligent men, except our "political opponents. It was the "view of Dr Ryerson and his Coun-"cil of Public Instruction, even to "the extent of putting no pressure "whatever on French or German "schools, and of awaiting their "spontaneous action as to English "and other matters.

"Our opponents insist that the "Government should insist on all "instruction being given to the "French children in the English "language. No such regulation was "suggested by the Commissioners, "and none such has been made, "because such a regulation would "be absurd; and, instead, of serv-"ing the cause education, would "often prevent education altoge-"ther. How can you teach in a lan-"guage which the children do not "understand?"

Gentlemen, I want to quote also a letter of Dr Ryerson, whose name I have just mentionned, dating as far back as 1857, and this letter, although it contains but four lines, contains the whole thesis upon which this question rests. I invite your special attention to every word of this letter, not only because of the man who wrote it, but on account of the significance of the words he uses. It is as follows:

24th April, 1857.

"Gentlemen:—

"I have the honour to state "in reply to your letter of the 16th "instant THAT, AS THE FRENCH "IS THE RECOGNIZED LAN-"GUAGE OF THE COUNTRY, as "well as the English, It IS QUITE "PROPER AND LAWFUL for the "trustees to ALLOW BOTH LAN-"GUAGES TO BE TAUGHT in "their schools to children whose "parents may desire them to learn "both.

"I have the honour to be, Gen-"tlemen,

"Your obedient servant.

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"(Signed) A. H. Colquhoun,

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This letter was written to Reverend Father Chaine, of Arnprior, a town not far from Ottawa.

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whom I have the honour of calling my friends, and whom I see before me, my Protestant friends of Quebec, how would you like it if the Roman Catholic School Comittee in this province were to arrogate to itself the right to appoint the teachers in your dissentient schools, and to define their duties? How would you like it? Would you think that was keeping faith with the British North America Act? Woud you think that was keeping faith with the Confederation partnership? How would you like if this same Committee, not only would assume to appoint your teachers and your inspectors, and would take good care also to appoint Catholic inspectors in your Protestant schools—how would you like it? Will you not take that suggestion home with you, gentlemen, and think it over? How would you like this regulation No. 17 to be applied to the Province of Quebec?

Let me read the two or three most important sections of the regulation and substitute the word "French" for the word "English" and vice versa wherever they occur, and I want you to take that home also and think it over. Let us read section 3 of the regulation No. 17.

3. Subject in the case of each school to the direction and approval of the superintendent of Education (I use that term advisably as corresponding to the term used in Ontario) the following modifications shall also be made in the course of study in separate schools.

The use of ENGLISH FOR INSTRUCTION AND COMMUNICATION.

(1) WHERE NECESSARY, in the case of English-speaking, pupils, English may be used as the language of instruction and communication; but such use of English shall not be continued beyond Form 1 (that is the first two years the child goes to school) excepting that on the approval of the Superintendent of Education, it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication in the case of pupils beyond Form 1, who are unable to speak and understand the French language."

Now, gentlemen, will you seriously consider that? How would you like that kind of thing, you the English-speaking people of the Province of Quebec, if you could use your language in your schools, as a means of instruction and communication in the first form, that is during the first two years, only if and when the Superintendent of Education for this Province, after examination of your children, might say it was absolutely necessary to use English?

As a subject of study let us carry on the same process. I will read further from the regulation 17, making the same transposition:
"English as a subject of study in separate (or dissentient) schools."

4. In schools where English—(remember, gentlemen, we are now in 1912)—has HITHERTO been a subject of study, the separate (or dissentient) school board may provide, under the following conditions, for instruction in English to the subjects prescribed for the reading, grammar and composition in Form I et IV in addition to the subjects prescribed for the separate (or dissentient) schools. whose parents or guardians direct that they shall do so and may, notwithstanding section 3 above, be given in the English language.

(2) Such instruction in English shall not interfere with the adequacy of the instruction in French, and the provision for such instruction in English in the time-table of the school shall be subject to the approval and direction of the Superintendent of Education, and shall not in any day EXCEED ONE HOUR in each class room, except where the time is increased upon the order of the superintendent."

Would that be agreable to you, gentlemen, to have only one hour

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of English in your school, and that confined to reading. composition and grammar, and nothing else, and just one hour—and more than that if it pleased the Superintendent of Education to say that you should have English for one minute only each day, would you be satisfied with that? That is regulation No. 17 in all its simplicty!

Are you surprised, gentlemen, that the French-Canadians of Ontario have strenuously protested and intend to continue to do so, and have asked the support of the Province of Quebec under the conditions of that kind? We have sougth the support of our French-Canadian friends in the Province, and we have got it; but I for one am very much more anxious to have the sympathy and the help of the English-speaking people of the Province of Quebec. If I accepted the invitation to come here within half an hour after getting the telegram, from my good friend Mr. Paradis, it was because I thought that I might contribute in some small way to assist my English-speaking friends in the Province of Quebec to a proper understanding of the real meaning and object of this very troublesome question.

Perhaps you may think it impertinence on my part, but will you not allow me to say that you owe it to yourselves first of all to look carefully into this matter. To-day it is a question in Ontario, but tomorrow it may be a question in Quebec. Don't you owe it to yourselves to consider this most carefully? But, to put it on a higher ground—because I have unbounded confidence in the feelings of justice and fair play of the Protestants in the Province of Quebec—don't you owe it to us French-Canadians, in both Provinces, to come to our assistance in the Province of Ontario, where we are seeking the preservation of our most elementary rights? I think you owe it also to Canada, to Confederation, to take a part in this matter. I am not trying to convince you of something which is not right or just or fair, but convince yourselves, gentlemen, look into these questions, and if you are not satisfied with the explanations that I have given, come to me, or go to some one else in whom you may have more confidence and, find out —learn about it all. Permit me also to say to you, with all the solemnity and earnestness of which I am capable, that it is your duty, because the present is as grave and as much dangerous a situation as ever arose in Canada. I say Quebec is as much a partner in Confederation as the other provinces. Confederation is a partnership in which we are all jointly and severally responsible for the performance of duties and obligations assumed by every one of the provinces, and for that reason I am sure—I hope at all events—that you will agree with me, that it is incumbent upon you to look into this very serious matter and do what you can to bring about a just settlement of it.

Nay more, I say in the interests of the Empire—and I am one of those who believe in some form of a united Empire—though no one seems to have yet found the formula, yet I hope it will be found some day—is it not necessary that we should first have national unity, Canadian unity, before we can seriously consider Empire unity? How are you going to bring it about? And is national unity, in Quebec, in Ontario, in Canada, or the British Empire, dependent upon unity of langage? How shall we have a united Empire if all parts must speak the English language? How and when are you going to change the 144 dialects of India into English? Then there are Jersey, Guernsey, the Isle of Man, and other places where French is spoken. And what about South Africa? Here is colony which a few years ago was under arms against England, and did everything it could do to break the British power. When the time came for England to deal with the Boers she treated them not with her ancient generosity only, but with a measure overflowing—she treated the Boers in a way in which

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we are not treated in the Province of Ontario. To-day in the Boer States the Boer language and the English language are on an absolute equality. They do not have to ask a superintendant or any one else for one hour a day in the school to learn their national language. And are we, the French-Canadian people, the descendants of the race who colonized not only this country but a large portion of the North American continent, who explored it from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the St. Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains, to leave behind us and bury for ever, a history which has never been surpassed anywhere in the world, for courage, devotion and heroism; are we the descendants of these men, in this Canada of ours, to be deprived of the use of the language of our forefathers? Are we to be told that in order to have a united Canada and a Empire we must forever renounce and deny our origin, our traditions and or beloved langage? I ask you, gentlemen, is there any man in the city of Quebec, any Protestant or English-speaking man, who would not despise me if I threw all this to the winds. If I did so I would richly deserve your supreme contempt and you would not be slow in extending it to me—and yet this is what we are asked to do.

And was there ever a time, gentlemen, less than the present, when Frenchmen any where in the world, let alone in Canada, could be asked to forget their origin and their language? When the France of 1915 and 1916 has compelled the unbounded admiration of the whole world for her sublime courage and devotion. And yet we are asked, we who speak the same language as the men, our full brothers who have fought so nobly in the trenches in Flanders, whose defence of the Verdun forts is the finest and most glorious event of the present horrible war, to forego our French language and all that it carries with it, we are told that our children cannot learn it, and must despise it and allow it to die an unnatural death in Canada. I ask you, my English-speaking friends of the Province of Quebec, will you not come to our rescue and look into this question? I believe that there is not one who has done me the honor to listen to me to-day, and who will take the trouble to seriously ponder over the matter, but will say: Yes, I am going to help our French-Canadian friends in Ontario to solve this question and obtain justice and British fair play.

I hope the appeal which you have permitted me to make to you will bear some fruit, and that the interest, the influence and the sympathy of the English-speaking minority in the Province of Quebec will be aroused, and that you will take such steps as you may think proper to bring about a solution of a question which, I repeat, is of the very gravest character, a question which, if not solved promptly, will bring about—I dare not say what—I would rather let you draw your own conclusions. We French-Canadians of Ontario have done all we can in the Province of Ontario to enlighten public opinion. But all in vain. There is not one English newspaper in the Province of Ontario which has printed or paid the slightest attention to any of the arguments which for four years we have advanced. All our literature has been thrown in the waste-paper basket—not one newspaper has taken the trouble to investigate the question. Our arguments have been met with nothing but contempt and abuse.

Now, I say again, I, for one, wish to appeal as earnestly, as solemnly as I can, to you English-speaking Protestants and Catholics of the Province of Quebec, for your help and succor in the solution of this momentous situation. I wish to again offer you my most grateful thanks for your very kind attention and indulgence.

The Honorable Mr. JUSTICE McCORKILL: — Mr. Chairman and Senator Belcourt, fellow-members of the Quebec Canadian Club. When I left the Court House to come here, I had not the faintest idea that I was going to be singled out for the duty of moving a vote of thanks for the lecturer of to-day. I came here because I am a Canadian, because

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I think I have a proper appreciation of the French race and the French language, and thirdly because I have known Senator Belcourt for a good many years. We were students at the same time—I am sorry to have told you that, because you will think that he is older than he really is—and I knew that what we would hear to-day would be worth hearing.

The English Canadians of the Province of Quebec have been puzzled—I mean the English Canadians native-born, those who have been brought up with the French-Canadians, who have spoken with them in their language, who have played with them in their school grounds, as I have done, on the lacrosse fields, who have served with them in the ranks of the militia, and in the Legislature.

I am sorry that I was not given warning of the task that was before me. I came here determined to listen, and I have listened. Nothing has gone through my mind as to what I am to say, except to express my humiliation to think that we English-Canadians here have listened to a French lecturer who can speak our language as well as his own, as well as we can ourselves. Of how many of us could the same be said with regard to the French language?

I may say, as far as I have known the speaker of to-day, he is a thorough Canadian, and I am sure that the fact that we all listened to what he has said to-day will produce an effect. I am sure he was moved not only because he is a French-Canadian, but because he is a Canadian, to come here and address us on this occasion. It is a very serious question agitating the Province of Ontario, and we English here, as I said a moment ago, cannot understand how such a feeling should arise.

I have some friends in the Province of Ontario, and I must say they are imbued with the same idea as those who passed regulation No. 17 I am sorry for it; I have done my very best to convince them they were wrong, and I knew they wouldn't feel as they dit if they had had the experience I have had with French-Canadians.

I need not tell you that I have been a student of Canadian history from the very earliest days. I have read with the greatest interest the history of the old regime, the opening up of the country, and then of the abandonment of the people by their country, so to speak, and of the tremendous efforts they made to keep the country for themselves. I have read the history of the country under the British regime, and how they have fallen in so well with the administration of justice, the administration in our Legislatures and municipalities under the British system. I believe that a certain French-Canadian at Ottawa is one of the greatest parliamentarians under the British Constitution that we have in any part of the Empire.

They have adopted our system, but there are two things they have clung to, their religion and their language. I believe that their national sentiment is even stronger than their religious sentiment—I really believe so. The national feeling among them is intensely strong, but I would ask you English, Irish and Scotch descendants born in this country, and brought up here, supposing a regulation similar to No. 17 were passed in the Province of Quebec, what do you think our duty towards it would be? Supposing Sir Lomer Gouin—I cannot imagine it—but supposing he did have the courage, or the nerve, so to speak, to pass a regulation of that kind. There would be a rebellion in this Province, I think. And here we have our French-Canadian brethren in the sister Province who by constitutional means are trying to obtain the repeal of the modification of the regulation, or some other settlement of the question which would be satisfactory to all concerned.

Gentlemen, you didn't come here to hear me, and I am not going to detain you any longer. I wish to express, on behalf of the members of this club, our sense of pleasure and obligation to Senator Belcourt for coming here to address us on

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this question. I am delighted to see so many English-Canadians here to-day. Some may have felt it required a little extra courage to appear, but I do not think so. It does not mean that you are all in sympathy with everything that has been said, but it means that you want education and enlightenment on this matter. And I am sure the appeal the Senator has made to us to study the question will have its effect. And I will agree with him, in the hope that they may have our sympathy and co-operation in bringing about a satisfactory settlement of the question in Ontario.

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Pillum

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MLIGEN (APEIO, Series J (H.G. 76, I, Volume 100)

Ottawa, Ont., 15 décembre, 1922.

Nouvelle Emission
$50,000

Le Courrier Fédéral
Limitée

IMPRIMEURS ET EDITEURS

Siège social, 303-305 rue Dalhousie
OTTAWA, ONT.

AVISEURS LEGAUX :

BELCOURT, LEDUC ET GENEST
Edifice La Banque Nationale
OTTAWA, ONT.

BANQUIERS :

LA BANQUE PROVINCIALE DU CANADA

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Conseil d'Administration

Président: J. P. LAURIN, Manufacturier de Monuments, rue George, Ottawa, établie en affaire depuis 1900, succursale à Montréal.

Vice-Président: H. J. E. COTE, Courtier d'assurances représentant des meilleures compagnies d'assurances faisant affaires à Ottawa;

Secrétaire-Trésorier: A. EDMOND MAJOR, Comptable en chef de la Maison S. J. Major Ltée, une de nos institutions canadiennes-françaises la plus prospère du pays dans le commerce de l'épicerie;

Auditeur: HECTOR LAPERRIERE.

Directeur-Gérant: E. J. LABELLE, éditeur et ex-échevin de la ville d'Ottawa, directeur du journal "Le Courrier Fédéral" reconnu aujourd'hui dans le pays comme le meilleur hebdomadaire canadien-français; fondateur de l'oeuvre des Bulletins Paroissiaux répandus dans plusieurs paroisses du diocèse d'Ottawa; pendant six années, Directeur de la Cie Gauthier Ltée., entrepreneurs de pompes funèbres; pendant quatre années, membre de l'Exécutif de l'Exposition Canada Centrale; vice-président de l'Association Libérale de Réforme d'Ottawa.

Directeur: R. LANTHIER, typographe et propriétaire d'immeubles et fort détenteur d'actions et directeur des plus intéressés au succès de la Cie.

Debut de la Compagnie

Lorsque les directeurs actuels prirent au mois de Septembre 1920, le contrôle de l'administration de cette compagnie en achetant les actions entières détenues par M. V. P. Aubin, fondateur de l'Imprimerie Canadienne aujourd'hui le "Courrier Fédéral Ltée," ils étaient loin de s'attendre qu'après deux années de travail ils pourraient offrir aux actionnaires de la Compagnie des résultats financiers aussi satisfaisants comme l'atteste d'ailleurs le rapport financier publié ci-après.

Ses succès ont été prodigieux. Le chiffre d'affaires de la Cie qui était de $16,000 en 1920 est monté à $28,374.73 en 1921 et à $54,425.69 en 1922 prouvant qu'avec du travail et de l'énergie nos Canadiens-français peuvent réussir en affaires aussi bien que toute autre nationalité. En 1920 elle avait un personnel de 14 employés avec une liste de paye de $1,500 par mois, aujourd'hui elle emploie 25 employés avec une liste de paye de $2,800 par mois.

Ci-suit le rapport financier pour l'année fiscale se terminant le 30 septembre 1922.

ACTIF

Caisse	$ 112.02
Comptes recevables	13,369.42
Compte recevable (dépôt pour soumission)	100.00
Billets recevables	3,548.71
Machineries et outillages	50,256.50
Inventaire "Marchandises"	2,488.00
	$69,875.31

PASSIF

Comptes payables "courants" pour marchandises		$ 1,979.55
Comptes payables pour dépenses diverses		1,730.60
Comptes payables pour machineries		21,463.89
Emprunt de la Banque, $2,675.00 et $726.69		3,401.69
Billets Rec. escomptés		3,548.71
Total des dettes		$32,124.44
Capital autorisé	$45,000	
Capital souscrit	30,500	
Capital payé		28,448.75
Compte de réserve sur machineries		6,250.00
Balance compte P. et P. pour l'an dernier		1,208.49
Surplus		1,843.63
		$69,875.31

PROFITS

Achats depuis le 17 septembre 1921 à date	$10,269.28
Plus inventaire du 17 septembre 1921	2,497.36
	$12,766.64
Moins inventaire du 1er octobre 1922	2,488.60
Total des marchandises vendues	$10,278.04
Ventes et impressions	54,425.69
Total des profits bruts sur ventes et impressions	$44,147.65
Abonnements	1,712.44
Total des profits bruts	$45,860.09

PERTES

Taxes d'affaires municipales	$ 137.58	
Taxes pour Workmen's Compensation	66.47	
Dépenses générales	1,642.93	
Loyer	1,595.00	
Force motrice	407.91	
Commissions	485.00	
Réparations	1,897.26	
Timbres	389.41	
Salaires	31,210.63	
Intérêts	488.19	
Dépenses pour concours d'abonnement	1,065.74	
Dépréciation sur machineries 10% sur $25,000 et 5% sur $25,000	3,750.00	
Total des dépenses		$44,016.46
Profit net pour l'année		$ 1,843.63

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N.B.—Les profits réels de la Compagnie sont donc comme suit d'après ce rapport:

Réparations	$1,897.26
Dépréciations	3,750.00
Surplus net	1,843.63
Total	$7,490.89

Le capital souscrit actuel de la Cie étant $30,500 les actionnaires auraient donc reçu en dividende cette année au-delà de 24% sur leurs actions si toute la machinerie avait été payé, etc. Il est à noter que sur une évaluation totale des machineries de $50,256.56 il n'est dû à la date du présent rapport qu'une somme de $21,463.89, montant qui a été réduit de $1,500 depuis cette date et lequel montant il nous a fallu prélever sur les recettes régulières.

But de la Nouvelle Emission

Compléter le paiement de la balance due sur la machinerie et acheter un immeuble convenable pour la compagnie car il ne serait pas prudent pour une institution comme la nôtre de rester à la merci d'un propriétaire.

PRINCIPAUX TRAVAUX ACTUELLEMENT SOUS CONTRAT

La Gazette du Travail, contrat considérable accordé par le Gouvernement Fédéral.

Minutes, Règlements, etc., de la Corporation d'Ottawa, contrat annuel.

The Friend of Ukraine, journal ukranien publié sous le contrôle du Département de l'Immigration avec un tirage de 15,000 exemplaires par semaine, contrat annuel.

The Ottawa Valley Star, journal hebdomadaire, tirage 10,000, contrat annuel.

Bulletins Paroissiaux: Notre-Dame d'Ottawa, Ste-Anne d'Ottawa, St-Charlesd e Clarkstown, St-Joseph de Wrightville, St-Rédempteur de Hull, avec la perspective d'en établir un dans chaque paroisse du diocèse.

Le Courrier Fédéral, journal hebdomadaire qui malgré son grand format est forcé très souvent de refuser des annonces faute d'espace tellement il jouit de prestige auprès des marchands annonceurs.

Les actions sont de $100.00 chacune et il n'y a pas d'actions préférentielles, ce qui garantit à tous les actionnaires une part égale des bénéfices.

Chiffres Intéressants

Rapport des opérations de la compagnie pour les mois d'octobre et novembre 1922:

ACTIF

Argent en mains		$ 158.97
Dépôt à la Banque (pour soumission)		100.00
Comptes recevables		12,574.05
Combustible		15.00
Stock		2,500.00
Fixtures		50,256.56
		$65,604.58

PASSIF

Banque	$ 912.04	
Billets Payables	2,575.00	
Comptes payables	22,999.94	26,489.98
		39,117.60
Capital	28,408.75	
Balance au compte P. & P. 1921	1,208.49	
Balance au compte P. & P. 1922	1,843.63	
Réserve	6,250.00	37,710.87
		$64,197.85
Profit net		$ 1,406.73

PROFITS ET PERTES

Ventes		$10,037.43
Achats		4,433.80
		$ 5,603.63
Stock en mains		2,500.00
Profit brut		$ 8,103.63
Assurances	87.58	
Dep. Générales	254.67	
Taxe d'affaires	64.58	
Loyer	250.00	
Force motrice	137.73	
Réparations	60.61	
Timbres	63.92	
Salaires	5,677.59	
Intérêts	72.72	6,714.40
		1,389.23
Abonnements		17.50
Profit net		$ 1,406.73

H. LAPERRIERE, Auditeur.

A. E. MAJOR, Sec.-Trés.

Déc. 1er, 1922.

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Recommandations

Notre compagnie possède déjà la confiance et l'appui financier de nos Canadiens-français les plus en vue entre autres: L'Honorable Sénateur Belcourt, l'Honorable Chs. Murphy, Ministre des Postes; M. E. R. E. Chevrier, député au Fédéral; M. le Dr J. E. Fontaine, député de Hull au Fédéral; M. l'avocat Robert Laurier, neveu du regretté Sir Wilfrid Laurier; M. Osc. Forest, de la Cie Ottawa Fire-proof; Dr J. U. Archambault, ex-maire de Hull; Dr J. T. Coupal, Dr R. Chevrier, avocat Paul Leduc, Oscar Poirier, contracteur.

Les Facteurs du Succès

Le but principal de toute entreprise qui émet du stock est de faire des profits qui pourront ensuite être repartis entre les actionnaires. C'est pour en arriver à ce but que la principale chose à faire est de choisir un bon bureau de direction et de confier l'administration des affaires à des hommes capables, ayant de l'expérience dans les affaires et dans la finance et qui réussiront à bien mener l'entreprise.

Lorsqu'une entreprise de ce genre est mise sur pied, comme dans le cas d'une imprimerie, qui a l'intention d'offrir un service première qualité au public, il faut choisir une localité où il sera facile de vendre le service qu'on offre.

La Compagnie Le Courrier Fédéral Ltée., sur ces deux points a fait un choix judicieux. Ses bureaux situés sur le principal artère de la Basse-Ville, sur la rue Dalhousie, ne peuvent être mieux situés pour assurer l'expansion de son commerce qui n'a pas de limite.

Son bureau de Direction se compose de citoyens qui ont fait leur marque, qui ont de l'expérience des affaires et qui peuvent facilement juger des besoins d'une industrie comme celle de l'imprimerie. Lorsqu'on prend toutes ces choses en considération on ne doute pas que ceux qui ont investi de l'argent dans cette entreprise peuvent être assurés qu'ils ont quelque chose de solide en mains.

Garanties Morales

Au passé de l'entreprise, à l'expérience des administrateurs, à la solidarité entre les patrons et les employés s'ajoutent comme garanties morales, le succès dans les affaires, l'honnêteté et la probité de chacun des directeurs.

La Valeur d'un Placement

Canadiens-français, il est de la plus haute importance que vous placiez vos fonds dans des entreprises canadiennes-françaises!

Pour votre sûreté, il importe que vous fassiez vos placements dans une exploitation déjà établie et sûre, dont vous pouvez suivre pas à pas la marche progressive.

Pourquoi répondre aux sollicitations étrangères qui, sous un faux mirage, essaieront de vous intéresser à des choses lointaines dont le développement et même l'existence peuvent être mis en doute et dont les dividendes ne vous atteindront jamais?

Vous aurez cent pour cent de plus de garanties en plaçant votre argent dans des entreprises d'utilités publiques en voie normale de développement et de progrès.

"Le Courrier Fédéral Ltée," fait son oeuvre. Assis sur des bases solides, il présente aujourd'hui le maximum de sécurité qu'un prêteur puisse désirer. Ces livres peuvent vous être ouverts à tout moment.

Par l'intermédiaire de nombreux bulletins paroissiaux, il donne à chaque famille dans nos paroisses une lecture saine dont jusqu'à date il n'a eu que des félicitations tant du côté civil que du côté religieux.

Canadiens-français, voulez-vous aider à notre oeuvre, tout en faisant un bon placement?

SOUSCRIVEZ A

La Cie du Courrier Fédéral Ltée

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TROISIEME

RAPPORT ANNUEL

Pour l'année 1922-1923

Le Courrier Fédéral, Limitée

Siège Social 303-305 rue Dalhousie
Ottawa, Ont. Tél. Rideau 3702.

CAPITAL AUTORISE $45,000,
450 actions de $100 chacune

AVISEURS :
Belcourt et Leduc,
Ottawa, Ont.

BANQUIERS :
La Banque Provinciale
du Canada.

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Ottawa, Décembre le 12 1923.

Cher Monsieur,

L'assemblée annuelle des Actionnaires du Courrier Fédéral Ltée, aura lieu au Monument National Notre-Dame, rue Dalhousie, vendredi soir le 28 décembre, à 8.30 p.m.

Vous êtes prié d'y assister.

Bien à vous,

A. ED. MAJOR,
Secrétaire-Trésorier.

Le Courrier Fédéral, Limitée

Rapport financier

Etat de l'Actif et du Passif au 1er Octobre 1923.

ACTIF

Caisse		$ 60 48
Comptes recevables		16,132 97
Billets recevables		3,404 09
Marchandises "Inventaire"		2,986 22
Machineries et outillages		50,849 87
		$73,433 63

PASSIF

Comptes payables "courants" pour mdses		2,797 19
Comptes payables pour dépenses diverses		1,613 57
Comptes payables pour machineries		17,482 72
Emprunt des Directeurs		495 00
Emprunt de la Banque		3,600 00
Chèques en circulation		1,105 65
Billets Rec. escomptés		3,404 09
Total des dettes		30,498 22
Capital autorisé	$45,00 00	
Capital souscrit	31,300 00	
Capital payé		29,570 70
Compte de réserve sur machineries		10,000 00
Balance compte P. et P. l'an dernier	$3,052 12	
Moins dividende de 3 p.c.	728 50	2,323 62
Surplus au 1er octobre		1,041 09
		$73,433 63

16000
7900
8100

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057080

Etat des Profits et Pertes à partir du 1er octobre 1922 au 1er octobre 1923.

PROFITS

Ventes et impressions		$58,358 08
Achats au 1er octobre 1923	$11,383 28	
Plus inventaire au 1er octobre 1922	2,488 60	
	$13,871 88	
Moins inventaire du 1er octobre 1923	2,986 22	10,885 66
		$47,472 42
Abonnements		1,389.70
Total des profits bruts		$48,862 12

PERTES

Assurances	$ 872 35	
Dépenses générales	1,070 39	
Taxes d'affaires municipale	121 58	
Loyer	1,757 50	
Force motrice	667 08	
Commission	155 00	
Réparations	60 61	
Combustible	311 88	
Intérêt	379 82	
Timbres	404 68	
Salaires	37,414 38	
Comptes perdus	855 76	
Dépréciations sur machineries	3,750 00	
Total des dépenses		47,821 03
Profit net pour l'année		$1,041 09

PROCURATION

A tous ceux qui les présentes verront:

Je, soussigné, nomme et constitue par les présentes .....

..... comme mon procureur légal et pour agir comme mon substitut et fondé de pouvoir pour voter en mon nom à l'asemblée annuelle du Courrier Fédéral Ltée, qui aura lieu le 28ième jour de décembre mil neuf cent vingt-trois, ou à tout ajournement d'icelle, avec le même effet que si j'agissais moi-même; et je revoque par les présentes toute procuration que j'aurais pu donner avant ce jour à qui que ce soit.

Et j'ai signé, ce ..... jour de décembre 1923.

Témoin. . . ..

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Officiers pour l'année 1922-1923

J. P. Laurin, Président

H. J. E. Côté, Vice-Président

E. J. Labelle, Directeur Gérant

R. Lanthier, Directeur

A. Ed. Major, Secrétaire-Trésorier

Auditeur: H. Laperrière, gérant de la Banque Provinciale du Canada.

Le Courrier Fédéral, Limitée
303-305 rue Dalhousie,
OTTAWA, ONT.

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Thompson, Coté, Burgess & Thompson

Successors to

Pringle, Thompson, Burgess & Coté

Barristers-at-Law

Parliamentary, Supreme Court and Departmental Agents

122 Wellington Street

Andrew T. Thompson, K.C.
Louis Coté, B.A.
Thomas A. Burgess, B.A., LL.B.
Walter H. Thompson

Telephones
Office Queen 3135
Res. Andrew T. Thompson, Queen 313
Cable Address "Thompson"
Western Union Code

Ottawa, Canada January 12th., 1924.

The Right Honourable,
Mr. Arthur Meighen,
Parliament Buildings,
O t t a w a .

Dear Mr. Meighen;

I am enclosing herewith, in case it should be of interest to you, copy of a letter which I have written to Mr. Ferguson and copy of draft regulation mentioned in my letter.

I am also enclosing a printed statement in three columns. The first column is regulation 17 as passed by the Department, the second column is the proposed amendment of regulation 17, prepared by Mr. Belcourt and the Association of Education of Ottawa. I am not saying what the third column is because I know you can read it as easily as the other two.

Personally I do not think Mr. Belcourt is asking too much, but it is quite possible that the Ontario Government would not dare to mutilate regulation 17 in so many respects. The draft that I have prepared could, I think, be more easily explained to and defended against those who are opposed to any concession.

Yours very truly,

Louis Coté

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Thompson, Coté, Burgess & Thompson
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Walter H. Thompson

Telephones
Office Queen 3135
Res. Andrew T. Thompson, Queen 313
Cable Address "Thompson"
Western Union Code

Ottawa, Canada January 11th., 1924.

Dear Mr. Ferguson;

While conversing the other day with our good friend the leader of His Majesty's opposition, Mr. Meighen, he suggested that I write you to express my views regarding regulation 17. Hence this intrusion upon your time, my only excuse being the great importance of the matter to my compatriots, to our party at large and may I be bold enough to suggest to yourself, since the day you have been called by public esteem and confidence to stand "in loco parentis" politically speaking, to all the citizens of this province of every creed and race.

I have prepared a draft of a regulation which could be passed as a supplementary regulation and ruling upon certain clauses of regulation 17, more particularly sub-sections 3 and 4 and the word hitherto. I fell sure that the draft which I have prepared would be acceptable to the

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French speaking population.

In effect it provides for the existence and designation of bilingual schools or classes whenever the parents or guardians of a sufficient number of French speaking pupils to form at least a class, request for their children a bilingual education. It also sanctions the principle of real bilingual education of French speaking pupils by providing the compulsory teaching pf English and allowing the use as a subject and as s medium of communication of French, in such a way as to insure the acquisition by the pupils of a good working knowledge of both languages.

I venture to say that it is unnecessary for me to endeavour to impress upon you the equity and the pedagogical advantages of a real bilingual education for French speaking pupils. The principle has been recognized and advocated by leading educationalists and by the statesmen who have drafted and the nations who have approved and ratified the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaties with Turkey and Bulgaria in as much as these Treaties provide ample security for the bilingual education in state schools of the children of racial minorities in those states, which under the Treaties are transferred from one allegiance to another, excepting I think, Alsace Lorraine.

Dr. Merchent who made for your Department the report which preceded the promulgation of regulation 17, himself accepts the principle and it is strange that regulation 17, which after all, was based upon that report, should depart so much from that principle. To my mind regulation 17, goes very much futher in its tendancy to curtail the use and teaching of French than the intention of the Government which passed it. I

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cannot help but feel that this strange result was brought about by the fact that the draftman of the regulation endeavoured to impose too fixed and rigid a rule.

The way to get away from the difficulties and misunderstandings which have been created by regulation 17, is to find a different formula. Although the draft that I have prepared may be subject to improvement it is clear that the formula that I have adopted is more elastic than regulation 17. It provides from the point of view of the French speaking citizen a greater measure of use of French all through the primary course and at the same time it also provides for efficient teaching of the English language.

Purposely I have not determined the length of time that should be devoted to English or French each day, whether as a subject or medium of communication, because I think that the time table should be determined for each school, but I have given to the Minister the right to impose a time table should either the inspector or the parents of the children report that the progress made by the pupils in either language be not satisfactory. Under regulation 17 the fixing of the time table within the restrictions imposed by the regulation is left to the inspector. This is leaving too much to the discretion of inspectors. Inspectors may be qualified to supervise and to assist and to judge of the results but to give them the right to apportion the time that is to be devoted to the teaching of French or English is too much of a political function.(I am using the word in its purest sense), to entrust to inspectors. That is the reason why my draft regulation gives to the Minister himself,

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the personal right to meddle with the time table. In this way the instruction in English will be estimated by results which no doubt would be reported by the inspectors rather than on the basis of time table. or methods which might vary with the personal opinion of the inspectors as to what bilingual education means or should be.

I realize that my draft gives to the Minister wide powers. I did this on purpose because I know that it is important that you be in a position to explain to the majority of the house, that possible abuses of the concessions made are carefully guarded against. by that power which the Minister is given to intervene and himself draw the time table. In order to safeguard the teaching of English and guarded against also by a system of inspection which will keep the Minister constantly advised as to the results in each school.

On the other hand I feel that my compatriots will not have any objection to this power being granted to the Minister.and that they will feel confident that as the regulation recognizes bilingualism and also that results acquired and not the method is the test of efficiency. the Minister will be guided by those two beacons and will at all times hand them substantial justice.

I have referred to the system of inspection. I am not suggesting any change in the system of inspection although the French element very much objects to the double inspectorate. I think they would be willing to compromise and withdraw their objection to the double inspectorate provided the powers of the inspectors to arrange the time table are given to the Minister as outlined in my draft. It is obvious that the

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retaining of the double inspectorate will be an additional guarantee to the Department that bilingual schools will not become wholly French schools. but remain real bilingual schools.

The 6th paragraph of my draft is I think. essential. It is not possible to have efficient bilingual schools unless you have real efficient bilingual teachers. It will be up to the Department with the assistance of French Canadian educationalists to find ways and means to properly train bilingual teachers. The question of teachers is really the gist of the whole situation. I dare say that if all the teachers in the bilingual schools of Ontario had been qualified to teach in 1913. that there would never have been any regulation 17. and a great deal of trouble and distress and hardships would have been avoided. Any amendment or alteration of regulation 17 must be supplemented by adequate steps to train bilingual teachers.

May I say a word about the political effect of the settlement by you without delay of this vexed question. As you know our political opponents have adroitly made use of the difficulties which have followed the enactment of regulation 17. and the result has been that the Conservative party which has all through its history shown such tolerance and broad mindedness in its dealings with the rights of the minorities. is now painted to the old Conservatives and to the rising generation of voters as a party inimical to the French in this Country. As you know the result at the poll has been greatly to our detriment. At the last election because of the assurances which we gave to our people that a remedy would soon be forthcoming the French voters have started to come back to the fold.but it is important that the assurances which we gave should be implemented

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by acts. It is equally important that anything which your Government is going to do to relieve the situation whould be done before the Session so as not to give some of our opponents the opportunity to anticipate by their suggestions what the Government is going to do, and then walk away with the whole credit for their benefit and the benefit of their party.

I know that this question should not be settled for political considerations only, but when one can do a good act and have some political benefit from it, I think it would be a pity if he did not reap the reward.

If you think the draft I am enclosing to you is acceptable, I could if you wish, quietly approach the leaders of the French organizations without disclosing that fact and obtain their approval.

I am looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you in Ottawa on the 17th. From all appearances we will give you and Mr. Meighan a very fine reception.

Yours faithfully,

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REGLEMENT XVII

English-French Public and Separate Schools

Circular of Instructions

1.—There are only two classes of Primary Schools in Ontario—Public Schools and Separate Schools; but, for convenience of reference, the term English-French is applied to those schools of each class annually designated by the Minister for inspection as provided in 5 below and in which French is a language of instruction and communication as limited in 3 (1) below.

2.—The Regulations and Courses of Study prescribed for the Public Schools, which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this circular, shall hereafter be in the English-French Schools —Public and Separate— with the following modifications: The provisions for religious instruction and exercises in Public Schools shall not apply to Separate Schools, and Separate School Boards may substitute the **Canadian Catholic Readers** for the Ontario Public School Readers.

3.—Subject, in the case of each school, to the direction and approval of the Chief Inspector, the following modifications shall also be made in the course of study of the Public and Separate Schools:

The use of French for instruction and Communication

(1) Where necessary in the case of French-speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction and communication; but such use of French shall not be continued beyond

English-French Public and Separate Schools

Proposed Circular of instructions.

1.—There are only two classes of Primary Schools in Ontario—Public Schools and Separate Schools; but, for convenience of reference, the term English-French is applied to those schools of each class which shall be designated as such by the Minister whenever requested so to do by the Board or the Boards having jurisdiction in the matter, for inspection as provided in 5 below and in which French shall be a language of instruction and communication as limited in 3 (1) below.

II.—The Regulations and Courses of Study prescribed for the Public Schools, which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this circular, shall hereafter be in force in the English-French Schools—Public and Separate—with the following modifications: The provisions for religious instruction and exercices in Public Schools shall not apply to Separate Schools and Separate School Boards may substitute the Canadian Catholic Readers for the Ontario Public Schools Readers and may add with the approval of the Inspector such other text-books as may be required for the general proficiency of the pupils both in English and French.

III.—The following modifications shall be made in the Course of Study of the Public and Separate Schools.

The use of French for instruction and communication

1.—In the case of French-speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction and communication but such use of French shall not be continued for the Study of En-

Ecoles publiques et séparées anglo-françaises.

Projet de modifications au Règlement XVII

1.—Il n'y a que deux catégories d'écoles primaires dans l'Ontario: les écoles publiques et les écoles séparées; mais comme indication usuelle, la désignation "anglo-française" s'applique aux écoles des deux catégories que le ministère soumet — toutes les fois qu'il en est prié par les commissions scolaires ayant juridiction dans la matière—à l'inspection déterminée par l'art. V ci-dessous, et dans lesquelles le français servira de langue d'enseignement et de communication, avec les restrictions indiquées au paragraphe I de l'art. III.

II.I—Les règlements et programmes d'études prescrits pour les écoles publiques, compatibles avec les dispositions de la présente circulaire, seront désormais en vigueur dans les écoles anglo-françaises, publiques et séparées, avec les modifications suivantes: les règlements applicables à l'instruction et aux exercices religieux dans les écoles publiques ne s'appliquent pas aux écoles séparées, et les commissions des écoles Romaines Catholiques séparées peuvent substituer les **Canadian Catholic Readers** aux manuels des écoles publiques d'Ontario et peuvent ajouter avec l'autorisation de l'inspecteur, tout autre manuel qui peut être requis pour l'avancement général des enfants tant en anglais qu'en français.

III. — Les modifications qui suivent sont faites dans le cours d'étude des écoles publiques et séparées.

Emploi du français comme langue d'enseignement et de communication.

(1) Lorsqu'il s'agit d'élèves de langue française, le français peut être employé comme langue d'enseignement et de communication, mais cet usage de français

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Form 1, excepting that, on the approval of the Chief Inspector, it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication in the case of pupils beyond Form 1 who are unable to speak and understand the English language.

glish beyond Form I, excepting that, on the approval of the Inspector, it may also be used as the language of instruction and communication for the study of English in the case of pupils beyond Form I who are unable to speak and understand the English Language.

ne sera pas maintenu pour l'étude de l'anglais après le premier cours, sauf lorsque l'inspecteur décidera que le français peut servir comme langue d'enseignement et de communication pour l'étude de l'anglais dans le cas d'élèves qui, après le premier cours, sont incapables de parler et de comprendre suffisamment la langue anglaise.

Special Course in English for French-Speaking Pupils

(2) In the case of French-speaking pupils who are unable to speak and understand the English language well enough for the purposes of instruction and communication the following provision is hereby made:

(a) As soon as the pupil enters the school he shall begin the study and the use of the English language.

NOTE.—A Manual of Method for use in teaching English to French-speaking pupils has been distributed amongst the schools by the Department of Education. This Manual should be used in all schools. Where necessary copies may be procured on application to the Deputy Minister.

(b) As soon as the pupil has acquired sufficient facility in the use of the English language he shall take up in that language the course of study as prescribed for the Public and Separate schools.

Special Course in English for French speaking pupils.

2.—In the case of French-speaking pupils who are unable to speak and understand the English language well enough for the purposes of instruction and communication, the following provision is hereby made:

(a) As soon as the pupil enters the school he shall begin the study and the use of the English language.

NOTE.—A Manual of Method for use in teaching English to French-speaking pupils has been distributed amongst Schools by the Department of Education. This manual should be used in all schools. Where necessary copies may be procured on application to the Deputy Minister.

(b) As soon as the pupil has acquired sufficient facility in the use of the English language he shall take up in that language the study of English.

Classe spéciale d'anglais pour les élèves de langue française.

(2) Le dispositif suivant s'appliquera désormais aux élèves de langue française qui sont incapables de comprendre et de parler l'anglais suffisamment pour les fins de l'enseignement et des communications:

(a) Dès que l'élève entre à l'école, il doit être mis à l'étude et à la pratique de la langue anglaise.

NOTE:—Le Département de l'Instruction Publique a fait distribuer dans les écoles un manuel indiquant la méthode d'enseigner l'anglais aux enfants de langue française. Ce manuel doit être employé dans toutes les écoles. Au besoin, on peut s'en procurer des copies en s'adressant au sous-ministre.

(b) Dès que l'élève a acquis une connaissance suffisante de l'anglais, il doit poursuivre dans cette langue l'étude de l'anglais.

French as a subject of Study in Public and Separate Schools

4. — In schools where French has hitherto been a subject of study, the Public or the Separate School Board, as the case may be, may provide, under the following conditions, for instruction in French Reading, Grammar, and Composition in Forms I to IV (see also provision for Form V in Public School Regulation 14 (5) in addition to the subjects prescribed for the Public and Separate Schools:

(1) Such instruction in French may be taken only by pupils whose parents or guardians direct that they shall do so, and may, notwithstanding 3 (1) above be given in the French language.

French as a subject of Study In Public and Separate Schools

4.—In Schools designated as determined by Section 1, provision shall be made, under the following conditions, for the study of French in Forms 1—V inclusive in addition to the subjects prescribed for the Public and Separate Schools.

(1) The study of French may be taken only by pupils whose parents or guardians direct that they shall do so.

Enseignement du français dans les écoles publiques et séparées.

IV.—Dans les écoles désignées en vertu de l'article I. en plus des matières prescrites pour les écoles publiques et séparées, on pourvoira à l'enseignement du français dans les cours I à V inclusivement selon les dispositions suivantes:

(1) Cet enseignement du français ne peut être donné qu'aux élèves dont les parents ou les tuteurs l'ont réclamé.

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(2) Such instruction in French shall not interfere with the adequacy of the instruction in English, and the provision for such instruction in French in the time-table of the school shall be subject to the approval and direction of the Chief Inspector and shall not in any day exceed one hour in each class-room, except where the time is increased upon the order of the Chief Inspector.

(3) Where, as permitted above French is a subject of study in a Public or a Separate School, the text-books in use during the school year of 1911-1912, in French Reading, Grammar, and Composition remain authorized for use during the School year of 1913-1914.

Inspection of English-French Schools

5.—For the purpose of inspection, the English-French schools shall be organized into divisions, each division being under the charge of two inspectors.

6.—(1) In conducting the work of inspection, the Inspector of a division shall alternately visit each school therein, unless otherwise directed by the Chief Inspector.

(2) Each Inspector shall pay at least 220 half day visits during the year in accordance with the provisions of Public School regulation 20 (2), and it shall be the duty of each Inspector to pay as many more visits than the minimum as the circumstances may demand.

7—Each two Inspectors of a division shall reside at such centre or centres as may be designated by the Minister.

8.— Frequently during the year the two Inspectors of a division shall meet together in order to discuss questions that may arise in their work and to standardize the system of inspection. For the same purposes all the Inspectors shall meet at such times and place as may be designated by the Minister.

9.—Each Inspectors shall report upon the general condition of all the classes, on

(2) Such study of French in the time-table of the school shall be arranged as to permit French pupils to acquire a good working knowledge of both the English and French languages during the Primary Course.

(3) Where French is a subject of Study in a Public or Separate School the text-books now in use therein remain authorized.

Inspection of English-French Schools

5.—For the purpose of inspection the English-French Schools, shall be organized into divisions, each division being under the charge of one inspector competent in both languages and Catholic for Separate Schools.

6.—(1) In conducting the work of Inspection, the Inspector of a division shall visit each school therein, unless otherwise directed by the Chief Inspector.

(2) The Inspector shall pay at least 220 half day visits during the year in accordance with the provisions of Public School Regulation 20 (2), and it shall be the duty of the Inspector to pay as many more visits than the minimum as the circumstances may demand.

7.—The Inspector of a division shall reside at such center as may be designated by the Minister.

8—Frequently during the year the inspectors of English-French Schools shall meet together in order to discuss questions that may arise in their work and to standardize the system of inspection. For the same purposes the inspectors shall meet at such times and place as may be designated by the Minister.

9.—The Inspector shall report upon the general condition of all the classes, on

(2) Cet enseignement du français devra être distribué dans l'horaire des classes de façon à permettre aux élèves de langue française d'acquérir dans le cours primaire une connaissance efficace des deux langues anglaise et française.

(3) Dans les écoles publiques ou séparées où le français est matière d'enseignement les manuels actuellement en usage restent autorisés.

Inspection des écoles anglo-françaises.

V.—Pour les fins de l'inspection, les écoles anglo-françaises sont groupées par divisions, chaque division étant soumise à la juridiction d'un seul inspecteur, compétent dans les deux langues et catholiques pour les écoles séparées.

VI. — (1) L'inspecteur d'une division devra y visiter chaque école sauf lorsque l'inspecteur en chef en décide autrement.

(2) L'inspecteur devra faire durant l'année au moins 220 visites d'une demi-journée chacune, conformément aux prescriptions de l'Art. II du règlement No 20 (2) des écoles publiques. Il est du devoir de l'inspecteur de faire le nombre supplémentaire des visites que les circonstances exigent.

VII. —L'inspecteur d'une division devra résider à l'endroit désigné par le Ministère de l'Instruction publique.

VIII. — Les inspecteurs des écoles anglo-françaises devront se rencontrer fréquemment durant l'année, afin de discuter les conditions de leur travail et de systématiser leur mode d'inspection. Pour les mêmes raisons les inspecteurs devront se réunir aux dates et endroit que le ministère déterminera.

IX. — L'inspecteur devra faire rapport sur la situation générale de toutes les

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the form prescribed by the Minister. This report shall be subject to the approval of the Minister upon the report of the Chief Inspector.

10.—If either of the Inspectors of a division finds that any Regulation or Instruction of the Department is not being properly carried out, he shall forthwith report specially on such cases to the Minister.

11.—Each Inspector shall forward a copy of his ordinary inspectional report on the prescribed official form to the Minister within one week after the visit.

12.—The Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools shall be the supervising inspector of the English-French Schools.

13.—(1) No teacher shall be granted a certificate to teach in English - French schools who does not possess a knowledge of the English language sufficient to teach the Public and Separate School Course.

(2) No teacher shall remain in office or be appointed in any of said schools who does not possess a knowledge of the English language sufficient to teach the Public and Separate School Course of Study.

Legislative grants to English-French Schools

14. — The Legislative Grants to the English-French Schools shall be made on the same conditions as are the grants to the other Public and Separate Schools.

15.—On due application from the School Board and on the report of all the Inspectors approved by the Chief Inspector, an English-French school which is unable to provide the salary necessary to secure a teacher with the aforesaid qualifications shall receive a special grant in order to assist it in doing so.

Department of Education,
August, 1913.

the form prescribed by the Minister. This report shall be subject to the approval of the Minister upon the report of the Chief Inspector.

10. — If the Inspector of a division find that any Regulation or instruction of the Department is not being properly carried out, he shall forthwith report specially on such cases to the Minister.

11.—Each Inspector shall forward a copy of his ordinary inspectional report on the prescribed official form to the Minister within one week after the visit.

12.—The Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools shall be the supervising Inspector of the English-French Schools.

13.—(1) No teacher shall be granted a certificate to teach in English - French Schools who does not possess a knowledge of both languages sufficient to impart to the pupils during the Primary Course, a good knowledge of the English and French languages.

(2) No teacher shall remain in office or be appointed in any of said schools who does not possess a knowledge of both languages sufficient to give the pupils a good working knowledge of the English and French languages.

Legislative Grants to English-French Schools

14. — The Legislative Grants to the English-French Schools shall be made on the same conditions as the Grants to the other Public and Separate Schools.

15.—On due application from the School Board and on the report of the Inspector, approved by the Chief Inspector, an English-French School which is unable to provide the salary necessary to secure a teacher with the aforesaid qualifications shall receive a special grant in order to assist it in doing so.

classes, selon les formules prescrites par le ministre. Ce rapport est sujet à l'approbation du ministre après revision par l'inspecteur en chef.

X.—Si l'inspecteur d'une division constate que l'un quelconque des règlements ou des ordres du département n'est pas observé convenablement, il doit immédiatement présenter au ministre un rapport particulier de ces cas.

XI. — Chaque inspecteur envoie au ministre, durant la semaine qui suit l'inspection, une copie de son rapport ordinaire rédigé selon les formules officielles.

XII. — L'inspecteur en chef des écoles publiques et séparées est l'inspecteur surveillant des écoles anglo-françaises.

XIII.—(1) Aucun instituteur ne recevra un certificat l'autorisant à enseigner dans une école anglo-française s'il ne possède une connaissance des deux langues suffisante pour inculquer aux élèves dans le cours primaire, une connaissance efficace des langues anglaise et française.

XIII—(2) Aucun instituteur ne restera en fonction ou sera nommé dans aucune de ces écoles à moins qu'il ne possède une connaissance des deux langues suffisantes pour inculquer aux élèves une connaissance efficace des langues anglaise et française.

Subventions aux écoles anglo-françaises.

XIV.—Les subventions législatives sont accordées aux écoles anglo-française aux mêmes conditions que celles accordées aux autres écoles publiques et séparées.

XV.—Sur demande particulière de la commission scolaire et sur le rapport de l'inspecteur, approuvé par l'inspecteur en chef, une école anglo-française incapable de pourvoir au traitement nécessaire pour s'assurer les services d'un instituteur possédant la compétence exigée, recevra une subvention spéciale afin de lui permettre d'atteindre ce résultat.

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REGULATION.

WHEREAS uncertainty and misunderstanding have arisen regarding the interpretation and application of regulation 17. the Department of Education hereby promulgates the following ruling and regulation.

(1) That schools or classes in which prior to August 1913. French was taught as a subject and used as a medium of communication.shall be known as English French Schools and continue to be known as such for the purpose of regulation 17 and of this regulation so long as their existence is warranted by the attendance therein of a sufficient number of French speaking pupils.

(2) The Minister of Education shall designate as English French Schools new schools or classes as occasion requires upon request of a sufficient number of parents or guardians of French speaking pupils to warrant the designation of such schools or classes as English French Schools.

(3) Whenever the parents or guardians of a sufficient number of French speaking pupils to form a class request for their children. a bilingual education.it shall be deemed that the existence or designation of an English French School within the meaning of regulation 17 and of this regulation is warranted.

(4) In English French schools the teaching of English shall be compulsory but French may be taught as a subject and used as a medium of communication and the time table in such schools shall be so arranged as to permit the pupils to acquire a good working knowledge of both the French and English languages.

(5) Should. at any time. the progress made by the pupils of any such English French School in either language be inadequate.having regard to the age of the said pupils. the length of their school attendance. the qulifications

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of their teacher and other causal circumstances, the Minister may upon report of the Inspectors or of the parents or guardians of the pupils, revise the time table for such schools so as to ensure the acquisition by the pupils attending such schools of a good working knowledge of both the English and the French languages.

(6) No teacher shall remain in office, or be appointed to, or be granted a certificate to teach in an English French School, who does not possess a knowledge of both the English and the French languages, sufficient to impart to the pupils a good working knowledge of both languages.

(7) In case of apparent or real conflict between this and regulation 17, this ruling and regulation shall prevail.

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Bilingual ?

Ottawa, Jan. 14, 1924.

Louis Cote, Esq., B.A.,
c/o Thompson, Cote & Co.,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Cote,

I have your letter of the 12th instant and the question to which you refer is one which I have really never investigated personally, as the same has belonged to the provincial arena. However I am quite aware and appreciate generally its Federal repercussions and am grateful for the information contained in your enclosures.

I am to have a discussion on the question on Thursday next with Mr. Ferguson and I am sure the views you present and the suggestion you make will be earnestly considered by him. I sincerely hope so.

Yours truly,

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THE UNITY LEAGUE OF ONTARIO

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TREASURER:
PROFESSOR JOHN SQUAIR, 368 PALMERSTON BLVD., TORONTO

THE OBJECT OF THE LEAGUE—THE PROMOTION OF GOOD WILL, BETTER UNDERSTANDING, AND MORE CORDIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS.

COMMITTEE:
BRIG.-GEN. JOHN A. GUNN
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WALTER MCKEOWN, ESQ., M.D.
PROFESSOR W. S. W. MCLAY
W. H. MOORE, ESQ.
M. H. STAPLES, ESQ.
PROFESSOR G. M. WRONG

348 Bay Street, Toronto
VICTORIA COLLEGE, TORONTO

The Right Honorable Arthur Meighen
OTTAWA. ONTARIO

Dear Mr. Meighen;

I beg to acknowledge with pleasure receipt of your letter of January 24th. I appreciate fully the many practical difficulties which have to be overcome. As a matter of fact however, I think the situation is ripe for a settlement. The Unity League has been proceeding very quietly for the last two years endeavoring to educate public opinion, and at the same time prevent the question becoming a political issue. We realize that if the fires of racial prejudice were ever re-lit it would be hopeless to effect a fair settlement.

We have also been endeavoring to work out some practical plan for a settlement which would be acceptable to everyone. Some time I would like to have a confidential chat with you over the whole situation.

The next time I am in Ottawa I will endeavor to arrange this.

Yours very truly,

JMG.T.

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3/

The "Bonne Entente" League
invites you to be present at
The Third Historical Lecture
given at
The Chateau Laurier
Wednesday, Jan. 16th, 1924, 8. p. m.

LECTURES:
MR. ARTHUR HAWKES, TORONTO
M. JULES TREMBLAY, OTTAWA
VOCAL NUMBERS: MRS. I. W. SHEPARD
THE C. D. D. UNDER MME. A. B. LACERTE

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Chief Dr. Thos Arthur Meighen
I will find the address
of the Authorities of
Toronto on the Rights & Development
of the B.E.L. farm as far back as
1915-1916-1917, quite interesting, I think.
Belvedere Drac Duty 22

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Ottawa, January 26, 1924.

John M. Godfrey, Esquire,
348 Bay Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Mr. Godfrey:

I have your letter of theent date. I shall be pleased to see you when you are in Ottawa.

Yours very truly,

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Ottawa, January 24, 1924.

Dear Mr. Godfrey:

I duly received your letter of the 12th of January. Owing to my absence from the City same had to wait some days for a reply.

I have reason to believe that the Prime Minister of Ontario is very sincerely anxious to effect a settlement of the long standing trouble to which you make allusion. I fear that I appreciate more than you do the difficulties in Mr. Ferguson's path. These are realized better in posts of responsibilities than elsewhere. However, of his earnest desire to help, I have no doubt at all. You may quite appreciate how important the subject is to myself. Apart, however, entirely from its party significance, I am profoundly anxious to remove from the arena of Canadian politics this cause of dissention so long and so ~~unscrupulously~~ successfully used by unscrupulous politicians to divide our people to their own party advantage. I cannot say that I am hopeful that with the removal of this

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obstacle, another will not replace it, but nevertheless the very desirable and patriotic thing now to do is to seek to cure the malady of the hour.

Yours very truly,

John M. Godfrey, Esquire,
348 Bay Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

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THE OBJECT OF THE LEAGUE—THE PROMOTION OF GOOD WILL, BETTER UNDERSTANDING, AND MORE CORDIAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS.

COMMITTEE:
BRIG.-GEN. JOHN A. GUNN
W. C. MIKEL, ESQ., K.C.
WALTER MCKEOWN, ESQ., M.D.
PROFESSOR W. S. W. MCLAY
W. H. MOORE, ESQ.
M. H. STAPLES, ESQ.
PROFESSOR G. M. WRONG

348 Bay St.
~~VICTORIA COLLEGE, TORONTO~~

Toronto, January 12th, 1924

Right Honorable Arthur Meighen, M.P.

OTTAWA.Ont.

PRIVATE & PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Meighem;

As one of the promoters of the Bonne Entente between Ontario and Quebec, I was greatly delighted with your London speech. Although, since the historic election of 1917 I have had very little to do with practical politics, I have always maintained my interest in the movement to promote good will between the two races. Those of us who were connected with the original Bonne Entente have come to the conclusion that permanent good will cannot be established unless something is done to remedy the grievance, which the French feel they have on account of Regulation 17.

I know it is argued that this grievance is more imaginary than real. Be this as it may, it is certain that the French regard the Regulation as an insult to their nationality. The regulation has become a national obsession and they believe the test of good faith is the removal of this grievance.

Your peregrinations in the Province of Quebec

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must have convinced you that the French-Canadian is essentially practical. He knows that his sons and daughters have little chance of success in Ontario, unless they have a thorough knowledge of English. If you have read the report of Dr.Hughes on the Ottawa Schools you will find that although these schools have been operated for the last ten years, in defiance of the regulation, they are teaching English most efficiently. If you have any doubt concerning the Doctor's conclusions an investigation, either made by yourself, or someone on your behalf, would soon convince you that this is the fact.

The Doctor has also made a similar report regarding outlaw rural schools in the County of Russell. If you are sufficiently interested I can have Dr.Hughes send you compositions written in English by French pupils, which would compare favorably with similar compositions in the same grade in any Toronto School.

I think therefore, you can accept it as an established fact that given the necessary facilities the French Canadians in Ontario, are entirely willing that their children should learn English. That being the case, why, should they not be given the fullest opportunity to perfect themselves in their own language.

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The whole question is an educational one and should be treated from that point of view. The best authorities agree that the study of French makes easier the acquisition of English.

I am writing this because, I know, you have great influence with the Honorable Howard Ferguson, in whose hands rests the settlement of this much vexed question.

Being somewhat of a practical politician I do not overlook the political possibilities. Some time ago I had reported to me an interesting conversation between Joe Archambault and Chubby Powers. Joe ventured the remark that he thought public opinion was changing in Ontario, that soon justice would be done to the minority. Chubby replied, " You damn fool, don't you know if the Tories settle the Bilingual question it will be all up withthe Liberal Party in Quebec.

Of course, I do not suggest that political advantage would influence you in this matter. Neither would political disadvantage influence the leaders of the Liberal party in preventing a settlement of the dispute. I thihk the best man on both sides are anxious to get rid of the dispute in order to bring about national unity.

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Mr. Ferguson has a great opportunity of doing a real big thing, but he should do it at once. He has so large a majority that he can afford on this question, to lose the votes of a few of his followers from some of the strong Orange Constitutencies. Any loss would be made up by the unanimous support of the Liberals and by most of the U.F.O. group. In fact, a fair and decent settlement, would receive almost the unanimous support of the whole legislature. The Ontario Government has three years before an election and by that time the whole question would have been forgotten.

The old Bonne Entente League has been superseded by the Unity League of Ontario, of which I am President. In our membership we have practically all the leading educationalists of this Province. We have also the support of most of the prominent business men and manufacturers. Big business realizes that the continuance of this dispute effects, very seriously our commercial relations with Quebec. They also feel that it will cause a diversion of business from New Ontario to Montreal.

Whatever settlement is made should not be by way of half measures. It must be whole hearted, and generous to

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bring about the best results.

If you desire to study this question from an educational point of view, I would suggest that you have an interview with Mr. Belanger, director of Separate Schools at Ottawa. You can rely upon him treating such interview as absolutely confidential.

I also enclose an interesting article by Senator Belcourt, which deals with the question from another point of view.

Yours truly,

JMG.T.

J. M. Godfrey

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THE STATUS
OF THE
FRENCH LANGUAGE IN CANADA

BY

HON. N. A. BELCOURT
P.C., LL.D., K. C.

AN ARTICLE CONTRIBUTED TO
THE ARGOSY

AN UNDERGRADUATE PUBLICATION OF MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY, SACKVILLE, N. B.

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The Status of the French Language in Canada

NEW FRANCE—A NATION

BEFORE and at the time of the cession of Canada to the Crown of England, the French language was the only polished language spoken, and written, over the territory (with much larger area) out of which have been carved the nine provinces of the Dominion.

The population of New France, not counting the Indians, was then about 60,000, all French with the exception of about 1,000 English speaking.

New France possessed in 1760 all the essential elements and attributes of a nation, its people having institutions, administrative, judicial, civil and educational, a religion, customs and usages of its own. All over this territory, extending from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the French language alone held constant dominion for nearly two centuries. Outside of the territorial limits of the original thirteen American colonies, the whole of the North American continent had been traversed in every direction by the French pioneers and missionaries, bringing with them and implanting the civilization of France and the Gospel of Christ. They had founded towns and other establishments, such as Port Royal, Louisbourg, Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal, Kingston, Detroit and many others, erected military defences, trading posts and missions along the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa and many other rivers, the Great Lakes, in the Northwest, along the Mississippi as far as as New Orleans. The colony was equipped industrially and commercially so as to meet all the needs of its inhabitants.

The people of New France constituted a separate and distinct nationality, inasmuch as they had community of origin, ambition and destiny, of territory, of race, of religion, of law, of customs and traditions, as well as an incipient literature of their own. They composed a natural society of men brought

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and clinging together by unity of territory, origin, customs, religion and language, worked into a community of political, religious, civil, social, industrial and commercial life, able and determined to live, develop and prosper, the whole in the light and with the means of the highest form of civilization then attained in the world, and in accordance with the characteristics and traditions of the ethnical group from which they had come and of which they still formed a part.

The absence of sovereignty was immaterial, since the existence of nations does not depend upon the degree of autonomy they enjoy and is not affected even by the want of any autonomy. At the time of the cession, New France had the French language as its unique expression. It was in that language that the laws were written, that its tribunals administered justice, that its jurisprudence, already ancient, had recorded the decisions of its Courts; it was in French that the children were being taught in the schools, that the religious exercises were carried on, that business and social intercourse were conducted, that, in a word, the life of the whole colony and of its members found expression.

From the moment an ethnical group has implanted itself on some part of the globe and has brought or created for itself and has established a language of its own, the right to that language exists and persists, superior to all the decrees of man, and its exercise thereby becomes a legitimate, legal, imprescriptible and fundamental right, which is not in any way affected by cession or conquest.

In giving New France political and civil organs, France had brought this people to the complete enjoyment of national life. New France was to all intents and purposes a nation. The people were recognized in France and in the colony as and were called "*Canadiens.*"

LINGUISTIC RIGHT IS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT.

The right of the French language to exist and to persist in Canada, both for the individual and the collectivity, needs no other, no better basis than the very fact that it has existed and still persists; and is still in common use by the whole ethnical

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group, now fifty times more numerous; its permanence is limited only by its ability to survive. The birth of the human offspring gives it the complete, unquestionable, primordial and imprescriptible right to live and to seek happiness. And so it is with one's speech, with the speech of every organized community or ethnical group.

Like the individual, like the collectivity, it is bound by and subject to but one law as to its existence—that of the survival of the fittest.

Like the right to breathe, to enjoy one's share of the sun, to liberty, to seek happiness—the right to one's speech is one of those primordial and fundamental rights which do not depend on the consent or the will of any man, any body of men, any state or any number of states. It is a right not dependent upon, but superior to all decrees of man or state.

Any attempt to proscribe the use or teaching of the language of any man or nationality should anywhere throughout the civilized world be considered as a violent and unbearable abuse of power.

ABUSE OF POWER BY CERTAIN PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

Yet such an abuse of power has been committed in some of the provinces of the Dominion, where the use or teaching of the French language in certain schools under provincial control has been in certain cases unduly limited and in certain other cases immediately and completely proscribed. The exercise of this power has been defended on the ground that the Act of Confederation (B. N. A. Act, 1867, Section 93) has assigned to the provinces the exclusive power to *legislate* on educational matters, and, since the constitutional act contains no express provision or specific text recognizing the use or teaching of the French language in such schools, the legislatures have the right to abolish such use or teaching.

It must be a source of equal astonishment and regret that during the whole of the controversy which the legislation referred to has provoked and even now on the platform and in the English press, and even before all the courts which have

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dealt with the litigation arising out of the legislation, a strange misapprehension has been constant and general, and still persists.

Unconsciously by some and designedly by others the terms "power" (another name for *force*) and "right" have been given a similar meaning. They have been treated as synonomous, when every one knows or ought to know that they are not, and that their meaning is entirely different and frequently contrary. *Power* is one thing and *right* quite another. Every one has the power, for instance, by process of Court, to compel the attendance of his neighbor before a court of justice to answer a claim based on neither justice nor right. This would be a violation of right and an abuse of power.

Any provincial legislature of the Dominion, because it has the exclusive power to legislate, for instance, on "property and civil rights," has the *power*, in violation of all the rules of law, or the principles of justice or equity, to confiscate my property, in the province, declare it to be the property of another, and vest it absolutely in him; and that without providing any compensation or remedy of any kind. And what is more, the province can enforce such legislation by setting in motion the machinery of its own Courts. True, such legislation may be disallowed by the Cabinet at Ottawa. But if the Dominion refuses disallowance, the party aggrieved would be deprived of all remedy; and we have had such cases in Canada.

Evidently power is one thing and right quite another.

To the misapprehension or denial of this all important difference must be ascribed the miscarriage of justice complained of with regard to the use of the French language in the schools of several provinces of the Dominion.

POWER OF LEGISLATURES CONCERNING EDUCATION IS TO REGULATE, NOT TO PROHIBIT.

The power to legislate in every part of the civilized world is subordinated always to the fundamental principles and the human rights briefly above referred to.

When the power to legislate on educational matters was delegated by the Imperial Parliament, in the B. N. A. Act, to the Provincial Legislatures, it was so conferred upon the as-

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sumption that its exercise would always be predicated upon a complete respect of such fundamental principles and human rights.

The power, though exclusive, given to the Provincial Legislatures, to legislate on educational matters, is not without limits, and its exercise must always be subordinated to all fundamental and essential principles and human rights.

Is it conceivable that, when delegating to the Provincial Legislatures, the powers of Sec. 93 of the B. N. Act, the Imperial Parliament for one moment contemplated that such a provision would or could be invoked for the purpose of justifying the abolition anywhere in Canada the right to the use or the teaching of the French language, one of the official languages of the Dominion, a right which the Imperial authorities have at all times fully recognized and protected? Nor is it conceivable that the French speaking population of Canada, one third of the whole, would not have at once and indignantly refused to join Confederation with such a power allotted to the provinces.

IS A TEXT OF LAW NECESSARY?

The two grounds upon which the validity of the legislation or regulation in Ontario, is sought to be supported are the one which has already been canvassed, and the other that the French language has no legal standing in the provinces, there being no *specific text of law* granting such a standing.

Such a text is wholly unnecessary, because, as already stated, the right arises out of and is amply supported on the demands of individual liberty, on fundamental and primordial human rights, which have received the sanction of every civilized community and of constant international law. The most recent and solemn of such sanctions is to be found in the treaties of Peace with Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. In the latter it is provided:

> "Article 54. Bulgarian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Bulgarian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions,

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schools and other educational establishments, *with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.*

"Article 55. Bulgaria will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Bulgarian nationals of other than Bulgarian speech are resident, *adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Bulgarian nationals through the medium of their own language.* This provision shall not prevent the Bulgarian Government from making the teaching of the Bulgarian language obligatory in the said schools.

"In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Bulgarian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured *an equitable share* in the enjoyment and application of sums which may be *provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.*"

The laws of England will be searched in vain for a specific text guaranteeing in so many words to its subjects, whether in the Realm itself or any of the Dominions or Colonies, the use of the English language; or of any one of the 150 different languages of India, or of the many other languages recognized and protected throughout the British Empire.

And yet at no time within the Empire, outside of certain parts of Canada, has the natural, fundamental and imprescriptible right of a minority to speak, teach and seek to perpetuate its language been violated or even questioned.

True, the suggestion to abolish French was made shortly after the Conquest, but the proposal was peremptorily rejected and the French population was confirmed in a full and ample manner in the enjoyment of its fundamental rights, usages and customs; and no one thought it necessary or even opportune to enact any text to ensure to the new subjects of the Crown the permanent use of the French language, since it was the only language spoken and written in the newly acquired territory.

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The right of the French language to exist and persevere in Canada had the soundest and most indestructible basis, a basis more ancient, and better and stronger than a mere governmental or legislative title and not subject to the whims, vicissitudes and uncertainties of man or time.

It was as if implanted in the soil, in every phase of the spiritual and temporal activities of the people,—a living, robust, healthy and beautiful thing it was; the only medium through which the colony could be governed, made to develop and prosper and could be held for the Crown of England.

Thus the right to the use, teaching and permanence of the French language became and has ever since remained a part of the Common Law of Great Britain, the unwritten law of the British Empire, and of the French Colonies which were ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris, the unwritten law of the Empire upon which is founded and depends the exercise of so many of the most fundamental and precious rights, privileges and immunities of the King's subjects at home, in the Dominion and British possessions.

When was it that this right, so universally and constantly recognized, respected and sanctioned by the British Crown and Parliament, and by British pro-Consuls in Canada, was altered, or destroyed or even questioned?

When was it that the King of England, who owes to all his subjects equal treatment and equal justice, or the Parliament at Westminster withdrew or restricted this right.

Never at any time or in any part of the British Empire, outside of certain provinces of the Dominion, has the right of the established language of any British community or group been taken away or denied. (The Imperial Act, known as the Union Act (1841) did put a restriction on the use of the French language in the parliamentary debates, but the restriction was very soon repealed.)

STATUTORY TEXTS EXIST.

If the right to use and teach the French language in the schools of any of the Provinces of Canada needs the support of a specific text embodied in a statutory law of England applicable to the Dominion and its provinces, then such text is

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readily available, and from several of the most important and far-reaching British enactments.

Firstly: In Magna Charta, the most important and comprehensive of all British legislative enactments,— Magna Charta, Art. 39:

> "No man shall be taken or imprisoned, nor prejudged of life or limb, nor be disseized or put out of his freehold, franchises or liberties or free customs, nor be outlawed or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed unless he be brought in to answer and prejudged of the same by due course of law; nor shall the King pass upon him, nor condemn him but by lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land; and the King shall sell to no man, nor deny or defer to any man, either justice or right."

Secondly: The Legislature of the Province of Ontario has by a special provision incorporated the very text of Art. 39 of Magna Charta just quoted—and it is found in Chap. 322 of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1897, Section 2.

Thirdly: By the Act 14, Geo. III, Ch. 83, known as the Quebec Act, 1774, Sec. 8:

> "8. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all his Majesty's Canadian subjects within the Province of Quebec, the religious orders and communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their property and possessions, together with all customs and usages relative thereto, and all other their civil rights, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as if the said proclamations, commissions, ordinances, and other acts and instruments had not been made, and as may consist with their allegiance to His Majesty, and subjection to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and that in all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights resort shall be had to the laws of Canada as the rule for the decision of the same; and all causes that shall hereafter be instituted in any of the Courts of justice to be appointed within and for the said Province by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall, with respect to such property and rights be determined agreeably to

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the said laws and customs of Canada, until they shall be varied or altered by any ordinances that shall from time to time be passed in the said Province by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Commander in Chief, for the time, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council of the same, to be appointed in manner hereinafter mentioned."

Fourthly: The Legislature of Ontario has incorporated the whole of this section in and made it a part of the statutory law of that province. Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1897.

To justify its right to exist and persist anywhere in Canada, if a text of law be required on behalf of the French language there exist the two ancient and solemn texts of English Statutory Law above quoted and both of which have by the Province of Ontario been made part of its statutory law.

The provisions of Magna Charta, binding on the British Empire as a whole and of the Quebec Act, 1774, as well as the enactments of the Legislature of Ontario, above quoted, have not at any time since been repealed or in any way amended. They are now in full force and effect.

RECENT DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The soundness of the propositions herein discussed has recently received the full and definite approval and sanction of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

In the Constitution of the Republic the disposition of Magna Charta quoted above has been incorporated.

By the 14th Amendment it is provided that "no state" shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

The Supreme Court of the United States in June last, in a very definite and conclusive way, upheld the contentions submitted in this article, as a perusal of its judgment will convincingly demonstrate.

ROBERT T. MEYER, Plff. in Err.,
VS
STATE OF NEBRASKA.

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Constitutional law-guaranty of liberty—what included.

1. The liberty guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution denotes not merely freedom from bodily restraint, but also the right of the individual to contract, to engage in any of the common occupations of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, *and generally to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men.*

(For other cases, see Constitutional Law, IV. b. 3, in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.)

Constitutional law-interference with liberty-protection of public interests.

2. *The liberty protected by the 14th Amendment to "the Federal Constitution may not be interfered with, under the guise of protecting the public interests, by legislative action which is arbitrary or without reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the state to effect.*

(For other cases, see Constitution Law, IV, b. 3. in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.)

Courts—determination of police power.

3. Determination by the legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive, but is subject to supervision by the courts.

(For other cases, see Courts I. e. 3, b, in Digest Sup. Ct., 1908.)

Parent and child—duty to educate child.

4. *It is the natural duty of a parent to give his children education suitable to their station in life.*

(For other cases, see Parent and Child in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.)

Constitutional law—forbidding teaching foreign language in school-violaton of liberty.

5. *Forbidding the teaching in school of any other than the English language until the pupil has passed the eighth grade violates the guaranty of liberty in the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, in the absence of sudden emergency rendering knowledge of the foreign language clearly harmful.*

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(For other cases, see Constitutional Law, IV. b. 3, in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908.)

Constitutional law—who protected by.

6. *The protection of the Federal Constitution extends to those who speak other languages as well as to those who speak English.*

(For other cases, see Constitutional Law, II. a. in Digest Sup. Ct. 1908).

Mr. Justice McReynolds delivered the opinion of the court:

Plaintiff in error was tried and convicted in the district court for Hamilton County, Nebraska, under an information which charged that on May 25, 1920, while an instructor in Zion Parochial School, he unlawfully taught the subject of reading in the German language to Raymond Parpart, a child of ten years, who had not attained and successfully passed the eighth grade. The information is based upon "An Act Relating to the Teaching of Foreign Languages in the State of Nebraska," approved April 9, 1919, which follows:

"Section 1. No person, individually or as a teacher, shall, in any private, denominational, parochial or public school, teach any subject to any person in any language other than the English language.

"Sec. 2. Languages, other than the English language, may be taught as languages only after a pupil shall have attained and successfully passed the eighth grade as evidenced by a certificate of graduation issued by the county superintendent of the county in which the child resides.

"Sec. 3. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction, shall be subject to a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25) dollars, nor more than one Hundred ($100.) dollars or to be confined in the county jail for any period not exceeding thirty days for each offence."

'Sec. 4. Whereas, an emergency exists, this act shall be in force from and after its passage and approval." (Laws, 1919, Chap. 249.)

The supreme court of the state affirmed the judgment of conviction (107 Neb. 657, 187 N. W. 100). *It declared*

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the offence charged and established was "the direct and intentional teaching of the German language as a distinct subject to a child who had not passed the eighth grade," in the parochial school maintained by Zion Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, a collection of Biblical stories being used therefor. And it held that the statute forbidding this did not conflict with the 14th Amendment, but was a valid exercise of the police power. The following excerpts from the opinion sufficiently indicate the reasons advanced to support the conclusion:—

"The statute, therefore, was intended not only to require that the education of all children be conducted in the English language, but that, until they had grown into that language, and until it had become a part of them, they should not in the schools be taught any other language. The obvious purpose of this statute was that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this state."

* * * * * *

"The problem for our determination is whether the statute, as construed and applied, unreasonably infringes the liberty guaranteed to the plaintiff in error by the 14th Amendment. "No state.....shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

While this Court has not attempted to define with exactness the liberty thus guaranteed, the term has received much consideration, and some of the included things have been definitely stated. Without doubt, it denotes not merely freedom from bodily restraint, but also the right of "the individual to contract, to engage in any of the common occupations of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, *and, generally, to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free man.*"

* * * * * *

"The established doctrine is that this liberty may not be interfered with, under the guise of protecting the public interest, by legislative action which is arbitrary or without reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the

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ate to effect. Determination by the legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive, but is subject to supervision by the courts."

* * * * * *

"Corresponding to the right of control, it is the natural duty of the parent to give his children education suitable to their station in life; and nearly all the states, including Nebraska, enforce this obligation by compulsory laws."

* * * * * *

"Plaintiff in error taught this language in school as part of his occupation. *His right thus to teach and the right of parents to engage him so to instruct their children, we think, are within the limits of the Amendment."*

* * * * * *

"Evidently the legislature has attempted materially to interfere with the calling of modern language teachers, with the opportunities of pupils to acquire knowledge, and with the power of parents to control the education of their own."

* * * * * *

"That the state may do much, go very far, indeed, in order to improve the quality of its citizens, physically, mentally and morally, is clear; but the individual has certain fundamental rights which must be respected. The protection of the Constitution extends to all,—to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with English on the tongue. Perhaps it would be highly advantageous if all had ready understanding of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution—a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means."

* * * * * *

"The power of the state to compel attendance at some school and to make reasonable regulations for all schools, including a requirement that they shall give instruction in English, is not questioned. Nor has challenge been made of the state's power to prescribe a curriculum for institutions which it supports. Those matters are not within the present controversy. Our concern is with the prohibition approved by the supreme court.

* * * * * *

"We are constrained to conclude that the statute as ap-

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plied is arbitrary, and without reasonable relation to any end within the competency of the state."

* * * * * *

How very much stronger is the case of the French language in Canada, where it is the language of the pioneers and *of one third of the whole population and one of the official* languages of the country!

If the prohibition of a foreign language, like the German language, in a state of the American Union, constitutes a violation of liberty and of fundamental rights and of the provisions of Magna Charta, must it not *afortiori* be a much more grave violation of liberty when resorted to in one of the provinces of the Dominion?

It has often been said that in the Province of Ontario it was not the intention of the Legislature or of the Educational Authorities to prohibit the use or teaching of the French language in any of the schools of that province. If such is the case, since the regulation complained *of does so prohibit, and is in violation of fundamental and* essential rights and of liberty, may not the aggrieved minority of that province and of certain other provinces of Canada be permitted to entertain the hope that a proper and sufficient remedy will be forthcoming at an early date to remove the injustice caused to such minorities?

25 November, 1923.

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SECRÉTARIAT DES OEUVRES
DE
L'Action Sociale Catholique
105, RUE SAINTE-ANNE
Québec

Adresse télégraphique : ACSOCA-QUÉBEC
Téléphone Bell : 8700
Casier postal : 126

057108

QUÉBEC, LE 1er février 1924.

Monsieur A.-N. Merriam, secrétaire privé,
du Très Honorable Monsieur Meighen,
O T T A W A , ONT.

Cher monsieur,

Le soussigné a eu l'honneur d'écrire, le 21 décembre dernier, à Monsieur Meighen au sujet du bilinguisme.

Vous avez bien accusé réception de sa lettre mais se trompe-t-il en pensant que cette lettre n'a jamais été passée sous les yeux de Monsieur Meighen.

Il y a pourtant lieu de croire que cette lettre était de nature à intéresser particulièrement le chef de la loyale opposition de sa Majesté à la veille de sa tournée dans la province de Québec.

Ne pourriez-vous pas dissiper le doute qui avec assez de raison dans l'esprit de

Votre bien dévoué,

V. Germain ptre

G

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SECRÉTARIAT DES OEUVRES
DE
L'Action Sociale Catholique
105, RUE SAINTE-ANNE
Québec

Adresse télégraphique : ACSOCA-QUÉBEC
Téléphone Bell : 8700*
Casier postal : 126

057109

QUÉBEC, LE 21 décembre, 1923.

Très Honorable Monsieur Meighen,
Chef de la Loyale Opposition de
Sa Majesté,
OTTAWA, ONT.

Monsieur,

Il se fait un mouvement considérable actuellement parmi les canadiens-français pour obtenir que le bilinguisme s'installe définitivement dans tous les services du gouvernement fédéral.

On demande, en particulier, l'émission d'un timbre-poste, d'une monnaie et d'un papier-monnaie bilingues.

On se base, pour cela, sur le fait que les canadiens-français

1o.-sont les premiers occupants de la terre canadienne et jouissent d'un droit d'aînesse;

2o.-qu'ils sont, sur une population totale de 8,788,483, l'imposante minorité de 2,442,782;

3o.-que des canadiens-français sont disséminés, comme les anglais, les irlandais et les écossais, dans toutes les provinces du Dominion ainsi qu'en font foi les chiffres du dernier recensement:

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057110

Très Honorable Monsieur Meighen.,
(suite-lettre 21-XII-23)

Sur une population totale de 8,778,483, nous sommes 2,452,782.

Ile-du-PRINCE-EDOUARD	11 971
Nouvelle-Ecosse	56 619
Nouveau-Brunswick	121 000
Québec	1 889 000
Ontario	248 -000
Manitoba	40 638
Saskatchewan	42 152
Alberta	30 913
Colombie	11 246
Yukon	248
Territoires Nord-Ouest	258

4o.-qu'en composant le nouveau blason du Canada, la Secrétairerie d'Etat aussi bien que le gouvernementcentral paraissent bien avoir reconnu ces faits et avoir voulu les enregistrer définitivement pour l'instruction non seulement des citoyens du Dominion mais aussi pour les autres nations et pour la postérité.

Serait-ce indiscret de vous demander si la Loyale Opposition de Sa Majesté jugerait opportun ou équitable de critiquer l'adoption généralisée de formules simultanément bilingues dans tous les services des différents ministères du gouvernement fédéral?

Serait-ce également indiscret de vous demander s'il est vrai que les éléments anglais, irlandais et écossais du parti conservateur verraient d un mauvais oeil l'adoption d'une semblable mesure?

Veuillez croire, Monsieur, que le signataire de cette lettre vous sera particulièrement reconnaissant de la bonne attention que vous daignerez consacrer à la présente lettre et à la réponse qu'elle comporte.

V. Germain ptre.

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057111

Ottawa, 26 décembre, 1923.

Rev. V. Germain,
L'Action Sociale Catholique,
105 rue Ste. Anne,
Quebec, Que.

Cher Monsieur:

Dans l'absence de l'honorable M. Meighen j'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception de la votre du 21 décembre, par rapport au sujet de bilinguism dans tous les services du gouvernement fédéral.

Votre tout dévoué,

Sécretaire privé.

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Ottawa, 7 février, 1924.

Rev. V. Germain,
L'Action Sociale Catholique,
105 rue Ste. Anne,
Québec, Qué.

Cher Monsieur:

Votre lettre du 1 février adressée à mon sécretaire à été placée devant moi, et aussi votre autre lettre du 21 décembre dernier. Je puis vous dire en quelques mots mes opinions au sujet de bilinguisme.

Je crois dans la jouissance sans réstriction de tous les droits par rapport au bilinguisme qui sont permits par la constitution de notre pays, et dans une genereuse interprétation ét non pas une étroite interprétation de ces droits.

Je crois aussi, dans l'encouragement partout dans notre Dominion de la connaissance des deux langues par les jeunes gens des deux races.

Puis-je ajouter qu'a moins qu'il y ait raison de se plaindre de la fidélité avec laquelle en pratique les droits donnés, ci-haut mentionés, sont estimés, je serais

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réellement peiné a voir l'injection inutile de cette question vexe en discussion publique. Cette question était utilise pour des buts politiques dans le passé et j'étais sincèrement dans l'esperance que tel usage ne sera point fait de nouveau. A cet égard permettez-moi de dire que l'honorable Ernest Lapointe, a présent Ministre de la Justice, à proposé une resolution dans la chambre féderale dans l'année 1916 concernant le sujet de bilinguisme comme appartenant à l'arène provincial d'Ontario. C'était fait par M. Lapointe pendant le régime d'un gouvernement conservateur dans Ontario. Vous devrez avoir remarqué, cépendant, que durant le temps d'office du gouvernement progressif sous l'honorable M. Drury, ni M. Lapointe ou autre personne a soumit aucune résolution à cet égard, et tous étaient eminemment silencieux à ce sujet.

Votre tout dévoué.

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THE SENATE
CANADA

Montreal, February 25, 1924.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Rt. Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Chief of the Opposition,
O t t a w a.

My dear Mr. Meighen:-

Senator Belcourt has told me of your timely intervention in the matter of the Ontario School question. He says that you are determined to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this vexatious matter, which has for years caused deep resentment amongst the Canadian people.

If you can succeed in removing this cause of very just grievance, all Canadians of French language throughout Canada should be very deeply grateful to you.

As one who, for many years, has time and again striven earnestly but vainly for a satisfactory settlement of this question, I desire to thank you most sincerely for your present efforts and trust that you may at last succedd where so many have failed in the past.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

C. P. Beaubien

CPB/AG

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Ottawa, February 26, 1924.

Dear Senator Beaubien:

I have yours of the 25th February. This matter has been the raison de'etre of much inter-race difference in that last few years and I am, indeed, deeply anxious to have this as every other cause of such difference removed.

Yours very truly,

Senator C. P. Beaubien,
House of Commons,
O t t a w a.

sM

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37

OFFICE OF
THE PRIME MINISTER & PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL
ONTARIO

TORONTO,
FEB. 25,
1924.

Private.

My dear Arthur:

I am returning you herewith the memorandum enclosed in your letter of the 23rd instant, as requested.

Yours sincerely,

E. C. Ryckman

(Enclosure)

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Canada.

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Ottawa, February 23, 1924.

Dear Howard:

Please return the attached note--a memo of a conversation over the telephone by my secretary this morning.

I have not heard from you as to whether you are to be in Toronto regularly or not, but I shall be up within the next four or five days any way, unless I hear you are not going to be there.

Yours very truly,

Honourable Howard Ferguson,
Prime Minister of Ontario,
Toronto, Ontario.

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MEIGHEN

Mr. Lalonde, at the request of Mr. Monty who is absent from Montreal today, has just telephoned the following message:

"Information has reached Mr. Monty that Premier "Taschereau will have today or tomorrow an interview with "Premier Ferguson in Toronto. Word came from Quebec that "Taschereau stated before leaving that he was going to "Toronto to talk settlement on the school question. This "statement was made by Taschereau in order to try and "have benefit of whatever settlement may be arrived at "on this issue, as some talk has been going on in the "public that the question is to be settled in the near "future. Please have Mr. Meighen telephone or communicate "without fail with Mr. Ferguson informing him and requesting "him to avoid anything that may allow Taschereau to take "advantage of the settlement or to brag about it."

A.W.M.

10.05 A.M.

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THE SENATE
CANADA

Personal

March 1st, 1924.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

I thought you would like to have a translation of the articles which have recently appeared in some of the Quebec papers with regard to the abolition of Regulation 17.

Yours sincerely,

NAB/RB

Encl.

N A Belcourt.

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Ottawa, March 6, 1924.

Dear Senator Belcourt:

Thanks for yours of the 1st inst. enclosing translation of articles which recently appeared in some of the Quebec papers in regard to the abolition of Regulation 17.

Yours very truly,

The Honourable N.A. Belcourt,
The Senate,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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THE SENATE
CANADA

March 13th, 1924.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen;

I am sending you a translation of the articles which have appeared in some of the Quebec papers since I sent you translation of those which previously were published.

Yours sincerely,

NAB/RB

N A Belcourt

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057122

(COPY)

37

Ottawa, February 22nd, 1924

The Honourable Howard Ferguson, K.C.,
Prime Minister and Minister of Education
Toronto
Ont.

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I have the honour to send you herewith a Memorandum, with appendices, dealing with the difficulties which have arisen in regard to the English-French schools of this Province, suggesting the principles by which these difficulties may be removed and submitting a proposed regulation which contains the specific methods through which a fair and equitable adjustment of such difficulties could be achieved and maintained.

I wish to give you the assurance, which I hope you will readily accept, that myself and those who have labored with me in the preparation of this proposed solution have given the best of their intelligence, good will and patriotism in elaborating the present proposal, and that whilst we have not been unmindful of your desire to restore complete harmony and to insure to these English-French schools their full capacity in the accomplishment of their purpose, we have always kept in mind certain difficulties which you may possibly meet with in the carrying out of such desire on your part. We have limited our suggestion to what appears to us to be the minimum which would insure for these schools the fulfilment of the educational requirements of the French minority of Ontario.

It will, I hope, be apparent to you that we have limited our proposition to embodying the principles which we submitted several years ago and which your predecessors in office accepted, namely: (1) the acquisition of the English language by all; (2) the teaching of the French language on the demand of the parents and (3) the means to secure efficient teachers and qualified inspectors for the schools in question.

The sanction to the proper carrying out of the proposed regulation, consisting in the withholding of all legislative grants, is left to the sole discretion of the Minister of Education.

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I hope and trust that my suggestion may meet with your approval and that you will deem it just and proper to take such steps as I have indicated to, not only put the English-French schools of Ontario in a better position than they have been for years past, but to render them capable fully of accomplishing the end for which they have been founded and afford them the capacity to meet the educational requirements and aspirations of the French-speaking minority and of any one of English speech who may desire to acquire knowledge of both the official languages of the Dominion.

I very respectfully and earnestly submit the matter to your sympathetic consideration, confident, as I am, that it is your desire to at once improve the educational facilities for the Canadians of French speech who compose a substantial proportion of the population of this Province, and thus in a great measure contribute to the early establishment of harmony and concord between the two mother races of Canada and at the same time promote and perpetuate that spirit of national unity so necessary to the progress and prosperity of the Dominion.

Yours sincerely,

Signed N. A. Belcourt

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057124

To the Honourable Howard Ferguson
Prime Minister and Minister of Education
for the Province of Ontario.

The Petition of the undersigned sheweth:

CONSIDERING that there exist serious misunderstandings concerning the Provincial school law governing English-French schools, which have seriously affected the good relations between the English and French citizens of Canada, as well as the progress and prosperity of the Dominion:

CONSIDERING that "The Imperial Conference on Education" 1923, has adopted certain principles concerning bilingual education in the different parts of the Empire;

Appendix "A" "Imperial Conference on Education 1923".

CONSIDERING that the same principles have been sanctioned by a committee of the "Board of Education of England" in an enquiry upon the teaching of English in England, in 1921, and, in 1923, by the "National Council of Education" at the National Conference held in Toronto:

Appendix "B" (1) Extracts of the Report on the "Teaching of English in England".

(2) National Council of Education, 1923, Circular 3.

CONSIDERING that these principles form the basis of the laws in force in several countries of the Empire, and particularly in the divers provinces of South Africa, as well as methods observed in the schools of these countries.

Appendix "C" (1) Ordinances enacted by the Provinces of Orange Free State, and passed also by the Transvaal, Cape Colony and Natal Provinces.

(2) Bi-lingual teaching in Wales.

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CONSIDERING that by the Treaty with Bulgaria, sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada on the 7th of April, 1920, as well as by the Treaties with Germany, Austria and Poland, the same privileges and the same methods of bilingual teaching are imposed upon Bulgaria and the other countries named, in favor of the minorities in such countries;

Appendix "D" (1) Speech by the Honourable N. A. Belcourt in the Senate of Canada on the Treaty with Bulgaria, April 7th, 1920.

CONSIDERING that similar privileges and methods are in use in certain Anglo-French Schools in Ontario and that their efficiency, for the teaching of English in particular, has been established by eminent pedagogues, more especially by Dr. James L. Hughes, ex-inspector of the public schools of the city of Toronto;

Appendix "E" "A principle of education vindicated".

CONSIDERING that such legislation, if promptly enacted, resting upon the example of Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire and the above authorities on educational matters, would greatly contribute to the removal of the misunderstandings which exist with regard to the present school law concerning the Anglo-French schools of Ontario and would re-establish between the two great races of Canada the concord and harmony so essential to the progress and prosperity of the Dominion;

1. To cause to be enacted in this Province, a school regulation founded upon the principles and authorising the methods above referred to in the schools where French-speaking parents desire their children to learn the French language, in addition to the English language.

2. And for that purpose and in conformity with such principles and methods to cause to be enacted the proposed regulation hereinto annexed marked F.

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3. To adopt such measures as may be necessary for the proper organisation of these schools in order to insure therein the efficacious application of these principles, methods and proposed regulation, as well as the appointment of properly qualified inspectors, for such schools-and the training of competent teachers.

signed N. A. Belcourt

L'Association Canadienne-française
d'Education d'Ontario.

20, février, 1924

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IMPERIAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

1923

PRINCIPLES FOR BILINGUAL TEACHING

Report as accepted by the Conference.

The Committee after giving full consideration to their reference decided to make thefollowing recommendations:-

GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR BILINGUAL TEACHING.

1.- Bilingual teaching within the British Empire necessary implies as an aim the acquisition of a competent knowledge of English.

2.- The language best known and understood by the child on his entry into school life is, from the educational point of view, the most effective medium for his instruction in the preliminary stages of school education.

3.- The second language may be used generally as a medium of instruction in some or all of the subjects of the curriculum as soon as the child has reached in it such a degree of proficiency as to be able to profit from lessons conducted in that language.

4.- In cases where the two languages (i.e., that mentioned in 2 above and the second language) are both highly developed and possess an adequate literary content, instruction in them should thenceforth proceed concurrently, where the organization of the school permits, throughout the whole school course.

5.- The learning of a third language is not, as a rule, desirable before the pupil enters the Secondary School stage.

6.- Effective teaching in the two languages either as subjects or as media in a school - requires that adequate provision to that end should be made in the teacher's course of training.

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THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN ENGLAND

Being the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education to inquire into the position of English in the Educational System of England.
1923.

Page 10

"It is self-evident that until a child has acquired a certain command of the native language, no other educational development is even possible. If progress is not made at one time in the region of arithmetic or history or geography, the child merely remains backward in that respect, and the deficiency can be made up later. But a lack of language is a lack of the means of communication and of thought itself...."

-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-

Page 67

We do not, however, suggest that the suppression of dialect should be aimed at, but that children who speak a dialect, should, as often happens, become bi-lingual, speaking standard English too. Every dialect has, for those who have been brought up to speak it, intimate associations of its own, and side by side with standard English, dialect will probably persist and be used in the playground and the street.

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

on

Education and Citizenship

Held at Toronto, April 2nd., 8th, 1928.

Circular No 3 -- Page 3

Literature as the Gateway to Knowledge

.....

....."It must follow therefore that if such contention is admitted on behalf of the English children of the Island, so too, it must apply equally to the English-speaking children, of Canada. Thus, for the French it must be further admitted that Eduction must find its basis on their own language and their own Literature, for obviously development finds its fullest expression and reaches its greatest heights in one's own mother tongue".

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ORDINANCE

TO ATTEND THE SCHOOL ACT, 1908 (Act 35 of 1908) AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHER'S ACT, 1910 (Act 13 of 1910).

(Assented to 9th May, 1912)

Be it ordained by the Provincial Council of the Province of the Orange Free State with the consent of the Governor-General-in-Council as follows: (This Ordinance is also passed in Transvaal & Cape Province. In fact it was 1st passed by the Transvaal in 1911, and then the other 2 provinces followed suit).

PRELIMINARY

Repeal of Sections 15, 16 and 17 of Act 35 of 1908

1. Sections fifteen, sixteen and seventeen, of the School Act, 1908, shall be and are hereby repealed, together with any other provision of that Act which is repugnant to or inconsistent with the Provisions of this Ordinance.

Interpretations of Terms

2. In this Act, unless inconsistent with the context "Home Language" shall mean the official language best spoken and understood by the child.
"Official Language" shall mean the English or Dutch language and no other.
"Second language" shall mean the official language which is not the home language of the child.

Any expression defined in and for the purposes of Act 35 of 1908 shall when used in this Ordinance bear the same meaning as in that Act assigned to it.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

3. (1) The medium of instruction of every pupil in all the standards of any Public School up to and including the Fourth Standard shall be the home language of the pupil; provided that the parent of any pupil shall have the right to claim that the second language shall be gradually introduced, and thereafter regularly used as a second medium of instruction in accordance with the intelligence of the pupil, and in such case provision shall be made for the instruction of such pupil accordingly.

1. This Ordinance was first enacted by the Transvaal Province in 1911, in 1912, it was passed also in the Cape Province and in the Orange Free State.

(2) If, in the carrying out of the provisions of sub-section (1) hereof, it be found that in any such Standard aforesaid or group of such Standards the medium of instruction of the majority of the pupils must be exclusively one official language, and that of the minority exclusively the other official language, arrangements shall be made for the efficient instruction of that minority.

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(a) By means of parallel classes, if the existing organisation of the school permits;

(b) By means of parallel classes in every case in which the pupils forming the minority are not less than fifteen;

(c) In any case not described in paragraph (a) or paragraph (b) by means of teachers qualified to instruct in both official languages.

4. (1) In all Standards of any Public School above the Fourth Standard, provision shall be made for the instruction of the pupils attending thereat through the medium of both official languages and the parent of any such pupil may choose for such pupil -

(a) One of the official languages as the sole medium of instruction; or

(b) Both of the official languages as media of instruction.

If the parent of any such pupil fail to exercise his right of choice under this section, such pupil shall be instructed through the home language, the second language being as far as possible used also as a medium of instruction for such pupil.

(2) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of sub-section (1) hereof the organization of the system of Public Schools shall be such as to provide.

(a) Schools in which the English language is the prevailing medium of instruction;

(b) Schools in which the Dutch language is the prevailing medium of instruction;

(c) Schools in which the English language is the medium of instruction in certain subjects and the Dutch language t the medium of instruction in certain other subjects.

But in all cases due regard shall be had to the medium of instruction prescribed by Section 3 for use in the Standards up to an including the Fourth Standard.

(3) If in any Public School in Standards above the Fourth, one of the two official languages is the prevailing medium of instruction, and a minority of pupils have to be instructed through the medium of the second languages provision shall be made for the instruction of the pupils forming that minority.

(a) By means of parallel classes if the existing organisation of the school permits;

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(b) By means of parallel classes in every case in which the pupils forming the minority are not less than ten;

(c) In any case not described in paragraph (a) or paragraph (b) by means of teachers qualified to instruct in both official languages.

(4) Whenever in a Public School described in sub-section (2) (c) of this Section the one official language is the medium of instruction in certain subjects and the other official language the medium of instruction in certain other subjects the decision as to the number of subjects to be taught through the medium of each official language, and the selection of those subjects shall, subject to the approval of the Department, be made by the Board or Governing body (as the case may be) having the supervision of the school, or is there be no Board or Governing Body, shall be made by the Department. The wishes of the parent shall, if possible, be met in carrying out the provisions of this sub-section, provided no sacrifice of general educational efficiency be thereby involved.

If provision has to be made for the instruction of a minority of pupils solely through the medium of one or other of the official languages arrangements similar to those describs in sub-section (3) shall be made.

LANGUAGE AS A SUBJECT OF INSTRUCTION

(5) Every pupil in every Standard of a Public School up to and including the Fourth Standard, shall be taught his home language, and adequate provision for the teaching of the Second language shall be made in every Public School, and such second language shall be taught to every pupil in such school unless the parent of such pupil otherwise desires.

6. Adequate provision shall be made for the teaching of both official languages to every pupil in every standard above the fourth Standard of a Public School and both official languages shall be taught to every pupil in such school unless the parent of such pupil otherwise desires.

GENERAL

7. Reasonable attitude in giving effect to the provisions herein before contained shall be allowed for a period of three years after the coming into operation of this Ordinance. If the application of the said Provisions to any Public School or Sectio n thereof involve a change in the existing system, relative to the medium of instruction that change shall be made gradually so as not to interfere with the Educational interests of the pupils affected.

8. In any case in which there is any doubt as to which of the two officials languages is to be considered the home language of any pupil the parent's decision shall be final, and so such decision shall be duly registered.

9. If a dispute or difficulty arises in connection with the application to any Public School of the provisions of this Ordinance the Department shall, subject to any rights conferred By-law on any Board or governing body having supervision of the school, have power to deal with the dispute or difficulty, and it shall be the duty of the Department to see that these provisions are carried out in such away as to conduce as much as possible to the general efficiency of the school.

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10. The inspection of Public or Model schools and the regulations relative to school examinations shall be in conformity with the provisions of this Ordinance and shall be such as to secure an equal standard of proficiency in both the official languages.

11. Whenever the language best spoken and understood by any pupil is not one of the official languages the Department shall make such provisions as may be necessary to satisfy the educational requirements of the case.

12. The provisions hereinbefore in this Ordinance contained other than those of the last proceeding Section shall apply mutatis mutandis in respect of any such schools, classes and institutions described in Sections twenty-one and twenty-three of the school Act, 1908; provided that in the application of these provisions to those schools, classes and institutions the right of choice exercisable by the parent of student.

13. Section 18, Sub-section (b) of Act 35 of 1908 shall be and is hereby amended by deleting the words "Section 15 above" in line three thereof and substituting therefore the following: Section 3, Sub-section 1 of Ordinance 2 of 1912".

14. Sub-Section (j) of Section 27 of Act 35 of 1908 shall be and is hereby repealed, and there shall be substituted therefore the following provision; - (j) that the provisions of Section 3, Sub-Section 1; Section 4, Sub-Section 1, and Sections 5, 6, 8 and 10 of Ordinance 2 of 1912 be complied with.

15. Section 67 of Act 35 of 1908 shall be and is hereby amended by adding the following Sub-Section thereto: - (5) A member of a School Board may be paid all expenses incurred in connection with his attendance at Board meetings, or any other necessary functions of the Board. Th amount to be so allowed shall be fixed by Regulation to be framed by the Administrator".

16. Section 85 Sub-Section 3 of Act 35 of 1908 shall be and is hereby amended by delegating the following words and figures in lines seven and eight thereof "Sections 14, 15, or 16", and substituting therefore the following: "Ordinance 2 of 1912.

Language Qualification of Teachers

17. In respect of the training and certification of teachers the FOLLOWING conditions shall apply, anything to the contrary in the Classification of schools and teacher's Act, 1910, or any amendment thereof or any regulations made thereunder notwithstanding that is to say:

(a) Both official languages shall be included in the course of instruction for all teacher's general certificates, and shall be likewise included in the subjects of examination for such certificates except in the case of the highest certificate where the examination is of a purely professional character.

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(b) In all examinations other than for the highest certificate there shall be a higher and lower test, both oral and written, in each official language.

(c) As far as possible the two higher tests shall be of the same standard, and the two lower of the same standard, corresponding tests carrying the same number of marks.

(d) Every candidate must pass the higher test in one or other official language, must obtain forty per cent , of the aggregate maximum of marks and not less than twenty per cent, of the marks obtainable in any subject, if such marks are to count towards the aggregate minimum required for a pass.

(e) The candidate shall be entirely free to choose the medium of examination.

(f) The subjects in which the candidate passes and in the case of the two official languages, the grade (higher or lower) obtained shall be endorsed on the certificates.

(g) The provisions hereinbefore contained shall not apply to the case of teachers in course of training for employment in schools in which the language best spoken and understood by the children is not one of the two official languages.

(h) Whenever the provisions hereinbefore contained are not already operative, due notice of their introduction shall be given and they shall not apply to candidates who have already entered on a course of training.

18. With regard to teachers who are in the service of the Department at the commencement of this Ordinance, the following conditions shall apply:-

(I) No English-speaking teacher shall be penalised on account of a lack of knowledge of Dutch and no Dutch-speaking teacher shall be penalised on account of a lack of knowledge of English, provided he fulfilling satisfacterily the duties for which he was appointed.

(II) Facilities shall be offered whereby unilingual teachers shall have opportunity of becoming qualified in both official languages.

<u>Title and date of operation</u>

19. This Ordinance may be cited for all purposes as "The School Act and classification of Schools and Teacher's Act Amendment Ordinance,1912" shall be read as one with the School Act, 1908, and the Classification of Schools and Teacher's Act 1910, or any amendment thereof, and shall commence and come into operation at a date to be fixed hereafter by the Administrator by Proclamation in the Provincial Gazette.

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REPORT

OF

The Sub-Committee on the teaching of Welsh appointed by the school management Committee beg to recommend the adoption of the following scheme, which has been drawn up in consultation with the similar sub-committee appointed in Carnavonshire, and with His Majesty's Inspector for the district.

J. Morris Jones

W. Lewis Jones

Owen Roberts

THE TEACHING OF WELSH

The Education Committee are of opinion that in the Primary Schools of the County it is of the highest educational importance that the Welsh language should be utilised and taught. They consider that the time has come to organise the curriculum of the schools on a basis which fully recognizes that fact that the bulk of the children are Welsh-speaking.

It may be well to state in some detail the considerations which weigned with the committee in the preparation of the following scheme.

It is now matter of commen agreement among educationalists that your children should be instructed exclusively in the mother-tongue. The disadvantages of the prevailing system in Wales can be illustrated by taking as an example the case of reading. Infant classes are taught to read nothing but English, though Welsh is largely used for purposes of explanation. This is educationally unsound, for it not only violates the new generally recognised method of language teaching, but involves the manifest absurdity of putting the child when he first enters the day school, to read another language than his own. He reads words with which he associates no meaning, and is denied access to the written word which would at once call up ideas and stimulate his intelligence. Thus, when he has attained the age of six or seven, his books tells him nothing; the language he reads he cannot understand, and the language he understands he cannot read. It is obvious that the first step in a child's education should be to teach him to read intelligently the language he speaks.

The Committee are therefore of opinion that the younger children should, in the first place, be taught to read Welsh only. They consider that this course offers the following advantages:-

(1) It avoids the necessity of using the language in teaching another.

(2) It avoids confusion between two alphabets, and two systems of ortography, and provides an introduction to reading through a simple and logical, because phonetic system.

(3) Owing to the simplicity of the system, the child learns to read with little difficulty.

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(4) He understands what he reads; his book is full of interest and suggestiveness; he has learnt what reading means.

(5) When he comes to read English his knowledge of what reading really means frees him from the tyranny of the letter; he instinctively applies to the new language the principles which have governed his reading in his own. Experience shows that a child so taught learns to read English intelligently at a much earlier age than is possible under the present system.

What has been said of reading applies to object lessons and to arithmetic. Object lessons, the aim of which is to quicken the faculties of observation and stimulate thought, should obviously be given at first in the child's own language. His early lessons in arithmetic should deal with the numerals which he has been accustomed to employ in counting objects, so that he will from the, first have a true conception of the real meaning of arithmetic. In short, the Welsh language is to be taught and utilized because at the early stage it must necessarily form the chief medium of instruction, and the better it is understood the more effective will be the teaching; and at a later stage the intellectual training gained by its use will form the natural foundation upon which to build a rapid and thorough knowledge of English.

The question now arises how and when English should be introduced; under the prevailing system English as a language is not taught, but only spoken to children who, for the most part, understand but little of it. The Committee deem it necessary that some attempt should now be made to teach English systematically. Instruction in English should at first take the form of conversation lessons; the Direct Method, rather than translation, should be adopted, and Welsh should not be spoken during the English lesson. The conversation lessons should begin early; two or three a week may be given in infant classes, and one lesson a day in the first standard. When the children have thus learnt to understand and speak simple English, and also when they have learnt to read Welsh with comparative ease, but not before, English reading should be commenced. The advantages of this postponement of English reading will soon become apparent. The children's progress will be rapid; the natural mode of phrasing which they will have acquired in reading Welsh which they understand, will also characterise their reading of English, now no longer unintelligible; and the monotonous intonation of mechanical and unintelligent reading will be less heard in the schools. The Committee are of opinion that the stage at which English reading should ordinarilly begin is the second standard. They are at the same time aware that conditions very in different localities, and that in some schools it may be found advisable to introduce it earlier. They would therefore deprecate any attempt to lay down a too rigid line of demarcation, and would leave the matter largely to the discretion of head teachers.

It is intended by the Committee that Welsh should be taught not only in the infant classes and the lower standards but throughout the school, and that at least two or three lessons a week should be devoted to Welsh reading, Welsh composition or translation into Welsh. In addition to this, opening and concluding prayers should be said in Welsh; Welsh as well as English hymns should be sung; scripture lessons should be given alternately in Welsh and English; passages of scripture, when committed to memory, should be learnt in both languages; half the recitation should be in Welsh; and the Welsh language should utilized

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wherever it may seem to the teacher desirable. In particular, through English should at first be taught directly, in the higher standards translation from Welsh into English may be found to afford a useful lesson in English composition.

Ded. 1904

SUPERBIND
LINEN REINFORCED

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CANADA

The Debates of the Senate

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

The HON. N. A. BELCOURT

SENATOR

ON

THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH BULGARIA

In the Senate of Canada, Ottawa, on Wednesday, April 7, 1920.

TREATY OF PEACE WITH BULGARIA

Resolution Approving it Agreed to

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of a Message from the House of Commons with a Resolution approving of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria, and requesting the Senate to unite with that House in the said Resolution.

Hon. Sir JAMES LOUGHEED: . .

Hon. Mr. BOSTOCK: . . .

Hon. N. A. BELCOURT: Honourable gentlemen, I desire to take up the time of the House for a few moments for the purpose of drawing the attention of honourable members to certain provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Bulgaria which seems to me to be of special interest to Canada, and, I may say, of chief concern to a large number of Canadians. I want to put on record the following articles which I find in section 4, under the heading, "Protection of Minorities," on page 23:

Article 49. Bulgaria undertakes that the stipulations contained in this Section shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation of official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Then I pass on to Article 53:

All Bulgarian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Bulgarian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Bulgarian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Bulgarian Government of an official

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language, adequate facilities shall be given to Bulgarian nationals of non-Bulgarian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the Courts.

Article 54. Bulgarian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Bulgarian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 55. Bulgaria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Bulgarian nationals of other than Bulgarian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Bulgarian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Bulgarian Government from making the teaching of the Bulgarian language obligatory in the said schools.

In town and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Bulgarian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assurent an aquitable share in the enjoyment and application of sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgests, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

Article 57. Bulgaria agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles of this Section, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be palced under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The Allied and Associated Powers represented on the Council severally agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Bulgaria agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

This is the second time that the League of Nations has dealt with the protection of minority rights. In the Treaty with Germany similar provisions were contained. The League of Nations has therefore solemnly on two occasions declared and proclaimed the right of minorities to the free use of their language and their religious beliefs. They have gone further: they have provided the means whereby these rights may be freely and without infringement enjoyed, not only with regard to religion and language, but with regard to education as well. They have gone further; they have decreed in this case, as they have previously done with regard to the coutries within the German Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, that the minorities shall have a right to a share of the public money devoted to educational purposes. They have gone further than that again: they have declared that this question of the protection of minorities is a question of international concern. They have provided that if any of the parties to these Treaties—and Canada is one of them—has any complaint to urge of infraction, or danger of infraction, of any law or regulation relating to such rights, the Council will take the matter up and will, to use the words of the section, "take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances."

I wish to ask the question whether we in the British Empire to-day can claim with truth that we have applied throughout the Empire these principles and enforced the rules which are sanctioned by this Treaty, with our approval, as they have already been sanctioned in the case of the German Treaty. I am free to admit that throughout the British Empire the Golden Rule, to which effect has been given in this Treaty and

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the previous one, has been observed; but it is my duty once more to remind this House that there is a part of the British Empire in which this rule has not held good, but the contrary rule has been applied and is being applied to-day. There are in the Confederation of Canada two provinces which are to-day denying the right which they say must be accorded to the minorities in Bulgaria, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. In the province of Manitoba the French Canadian Catholic minority, in order to be able to teach their children the language of their forefathers, and the religion they have inherited from them, must pay double taxes. In other words, they have to pay the public school taxes, and they have to tax themselves for the maintenance and support of their own schools, in order to have their children taught their laugnage and religion. In the province of Ontario, in regard to language, the same difficulty exists to-day. In the so-called English-French schools—and what a parody it is to call them by that name!—French has been banished altogether in some of the schools, and is gradually but surely being eliminated from the rest.

The British Empire has given the best example of freedom and liberty to the peoples which have come under the British flag, and are we in Canada going to be content to allow this blot to remain on our statutes? Are we going to continue to deprive the minority in Manitoba and the minority in Ontario of rights which we declare must be given to those far-away minorities of whom we know little or nothing? If to-morrow the minority in the Dominion of Canada, which is, as a unit, party to the League of Nations, were to submit to the League this question, would it be said that the question was a provincial one and must be settled by the province in which the trouble has arisen. No, we could not say that. We have interfered with what might otherwise be called a local question in continental Europe, and we would be bound to deal with the question affecting Manitoba and Onatrio in the same way. This question has long passed the provincial boundaries; it has become in Canada a national question of very great importance; and not only that, but by these Treaties it has been given with our participation and full approval the character of an international question.

Now, are we, the French Canadian minority in this country, in view of the conditions which have been created, and the rights which have been secured to those minorities in continental Europe—are we going to be condemned indefinitely to envy them the freedom and the liberty which the League of Nations freely accords to them, and which the League of Nations has taken the means of preserving and maintaining for them? We French Canadians, living under the British flag, supposed to enjoy full British liberty and freedom, are in such a position to-day that with truth, I can say that we are being treated in a way far different from the way in which these European minorities are treated. I want once again to emphasize the importance, the significance, of these

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provisions in the Treaty. I want once more to ask the majority of this country if they will not take this matter up, if they will not deal out to the minority at least as fair, impartial and just treatment as the majority are to-day dealing out to the continental minorities in Europe. Surely French Canadians have the right to say: "Are we going to be treated with less justice than you are willing to treat these people with? Are we going to be deprived of our money to educate our children as we wish, while you are granting these rights to these people in Europe?" I again solemnly appeal to the majority in this country, and ask them if the time has not arrived when, consistently with the action which we are taking to-day, consistently with the action which we took upon the German Treaty, justice must be rendered to the minority in Manitoba and Ontario.

The resolution was agreed to.

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A PRINCIPLE
OF
EDUCATION VINDICATED

REPORTS
ON THE
Teaching of English in the English-French schools of Ottawa and certain rural localities in Ontario

BY

Dr. JAMES L. HUGHES, LLD.,
Former Chief-Inspector of the Public Schools of Toronto.

Dr. C. B. SISSONS, B. A., LLD.,
Professor of Ancient History in Victoria College, University of Toronto.

M. H. STAPLES, M. A.,
Member of the Committee of Education of the U.F.O.

Aurélien BÉLANGER, M. A., M. L. A
Director of the English-French Schools of Ottawa.

Issued by the R. C. S. S. Board
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FOREWORD.

An equitable and effective settlement of the Ontario bilingual school difficulties will be facilitated by the dissemination of unimpeachable information regarding the conditions, methods and results that obtain in typical English-French schools. Experience has shown that the English-speaking citizens of this province, who have made a thorough and unprejudiced examition of the problem and of the data connected therewith, with an open mind and a firm resolve to grasp its real meaning, have come to a conclusion entirely different from that which they might have formed, had they depended for their information on the partisan assertions so frequently made on this subject.

The five reports herein published are unbiased statements of facts; the results of investigations conducted independently at various times by competent enquirers. They have already contributed powerfully towards securing a clearer and saner appreciation of the bilingual question and should prove of interest to all who wish to see the citizens of this province and of the Dominion united in the bonds of national unity, with a firm resolve to do justice to all legitimate aspirations and claims, in a spirit of mutual trust and forbearance.

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REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE ENGLISH-FRENCH SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF OTTAWA.

To the Unity League of Ontario.

DEAR SIRS:

As requested by your Provisional Committee, I spent two days in Ottawa examining the senior classes of the French Separate Schools, testing the ability of the pupils in the use of the English language. I tested them in reading, in speaking and writing English, when they hear it spoken. I have pleasure in reporting the result of my investigations:

1. *In reading English* I found the pupils able to read as fluently and as expressively as children do in the English-speaking districts of Ontario, both new selections, and those they had read before. I found, too, that they understood what they read. I made a practice of asking all who could tell me the meaning of the uncommon and more difficult words to stand up, and I always got a prompt response from several members of the class. When I asked for other words that might be used correctly instead of the words in the book I always got two or more words to correctly express the same meaning. In one third book class I heard as good reading in tone, emphasis, fluency and especially in dramatic expression as I ever heard in any School in which English was the language of the pupils. In one School I heard excellent recitation. In reading new selections, while some new words were not quite properly pronounced, the readers did not hesitate to pronounce them and freely read words they had not read before without leaving out a syllable. In this respect I think they would not take second place, if tested in competition with English-speaking children anywhere.

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2. *In writing English* I usually put there subjects on the blackboard and allowed each pupil to choose the one he preferred to write about. I gave them only five minutes to write. The penmanship, the spelling and the composition in all the schools, were quite as good as would be found in corresponding English classes of the same grades in Ontario. The pupils had no time to re-write their compositions. In reading the compositions I was very much impressed by the fact that the pupils of ten, eleven or twelve years of age expressed their ideas better than the older pupils. I attribute this to the better methods of teaching introduced by the Director of Education who has held his position only a few years.

3. *In speaking English,* considering the fact that I was a stranger I had ready responses, several rising to answer my questions or to speak about subjects I suggested. I often asked their opinions about subjects I named, and followed up each answer by asking their reasons for holding the opinions they expressed. When the first one I asked had expressed his opinion and given his reasons I gave opportunity to others to give their reasons or to express other opinions. The classes responded freely, The answers showed independant thinking and good command of the English language.

4. *In understanding English; when spoken to them.* There was no doubt about this. I paid special attention to this on the second day. I often began in a new class by pointing to the Director of Education and saying as if I really meant it, "I do not think that gentleman is of any use in the schools. How many of you do not agree with me?" No other suggestions I made brought every pupil to his or her feet so quickly, and it was very delightful to get their earnestly expressed reasons to prove that I was wrong. When I told them I had been pretending and that I fully agreed with them, their stern faces relaxed into smiles, and I congratulated them on their courage in defending their own opinion. They understood perfectly what I said to them. I told them stories, humorous, pathetic, inspiring. They caught the meaning and spirit of the story in every case, and their faces responded more quickly to their emotion than the faces of English children do.

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The children of the higher classes of the French Separate Schools in Ottawa, read, speak and write the English language well, and they thoroughly understand English when it is spoken to them. Only one pupil was unable to pass the test in English, and he had come recently from an orphanage in the province of Quebec.

The Separate School Board of Ottawa even without the Government grants has been and is doing a wonderful work so far as book education is concerned, but no modern thinker regards book learning as all the education a child should get. Every child should be developped partly, and many of them largely, by constructive hand work in which he achieves his own plans and designs in order that he may attain his best and most productive intellectual power. The development of the achieving power of a child's mind greatly increases the value of all other departments of educational training, by increasing his own happiness and by qualifying him for higher service for his fellowmen. For the lack of the Government grants for ten years the Separate School Board of Ottawa has not been able to provide for this important Educational work.

The Separate School children of Ottawa are compelled to attend schools, many of which are badly lighted, have imperfect heating and ventilation, and very defective sanitary conveniences. Some of the classes are in small rooms above stores, and in one at least that I saw many of the children's lives would probably be lost in case of fire. The schools are without suitable playgrounds, and about two thousand children can get no school accommodation at all.

With a view of testing the practical result of the teaching of English in business life I visited Mr. Freeman's store, the largest departmental store in Ottawa. Mr. Freeman is not a Roman Catholic. I asked if the pupils from the French Separate Schools were able to talk English satisfactorily to customers whose language is English. The answer was, "most satisfactorily". I went slowly past the counters, and asked permission to listen when customers were speaking English, and I found the French clerks conversing freely in excellent English, quite as good as English-speaking clerks in the cities of Ontario, where English is spoken by all the people. I also saw the manager of the tele-

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phone company whose operators must be able to speak both English and French. I asked him if the girls from the French Separate Schools could speak freely to English people over the 'phone. He told me they speak both languages fluently. The tests made in the schools, and the tests I made in connection with business life prove that the French Separate Schools are teaching English successfully to all the French children attending them. It is right that all children in the Public Schools of Ontario should learn the English language, but there can be no just reason why French children should not learn their own language also. The teachers in the French Separate Schools of Ottawa have proved that both languages can be learned by French children well during the years usually spent in Public School work.

I have seen the best schools in America, in the British Isles, in Belgium, and in Germany; and I have never seen in any other first book class any teaching that impressed me as more vitally satisfactory than the teaching of English I saw in a class of little children who were beginning their work in learning to speak English in one of the French Separate Schools in Ottawa.

In securing the very satisfactory results shown in the French Separate Schools of Ottawa the teachers use the language children understand without conscious effort; the language they learned in their earliest years in their homes; the language they speak fluently and by the use of which their parents and friends revealed new facts to them and trained them to think before they went to school. In doing so the teachers followed one of the most important fundamental principles of psychology. No child or adult can get definite conceptions regarding any new step in learning any subject, if the teacher uses a language which the pupil does not understand. In teaching any subject the first essential is that the pupil must clearly understand the problems he is expected to solve in advancing from one step in his development to a higher step. If the mental problems are stated in a foreign language it is impossible for him to understand them clearly, and therefore, impossible to solve them definitely and by solving them obtain from his mental efforts the development that should have come to him. Mental development of students of any age depends on the clear presentation of problems adapted to the stage of development of the students. Clear thinking results from definite conception of the

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problems under consideration and of their relationship to each other. Unless a child does understand the mental problems presented to him he cannot learn to think definitely. If a child has to give part of his attention to understanding a foreign language he has only a part of his mental power left to comprehend teacher's new thoughts and principles.

Even when the language of instruction is the language of the child, many children are forced to try to solve problems without fully comprehending them. This must weaken mental power and lead to indefinite thinking throughout the life of the child. Indefinite thinking prevents definite action. If it is difficult for children to fully comprehend abstract matter taught to them in the language they have always used, how infinitely more difficult it must necessarily be, if the language of instruction is one they but imperfectly understand. To prevent a teacher from using the language of his pupils when he is explaining new steps in any subject or revealing new principles, must prevent good teaching and successful learning, and produce confusion and indefiniteness in the mind of a child through life.

When the child's mind responds naturally and automatically to the English language in the comprehension of new principles or new knowledge presented by the teacher it is wise to use English as the language of instruction. To use English as the language of instruction earlier must prevent the best education and the highest development of the child.

I have much pleasure in stating that the Director of the French Separate Schools in Ottawa made a most favorable impression on me. I have rarely met an education leader in any country of more distinctive ability, more thorough training academically and professionnally, more power of inspiration, or more modern ideals of the true meaning of education than Mr. Belanger.

Do the French people object to the teaching of English to their children ? Emphatically "No". So far as I could find the French people ardently desire that their children should learn English as thoroughly as possible for the very natural reason that they require to be able to speak and write English in order that they may obtain the highest success in business and in social life. They desire that their children shall be taught En-

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glish quite as earnestly as the Department of Education does. I asked in all senior classes that all who were glad to be taught English would stand. In every case, with the exception of the boy from the orphanage, every child stood up. When I asked why they were glad I received two answers: first, "We need English for business", and, second, "We wish to be able to converse with our English friends".

The children without exception said they liked to study English, and that the English Grammar was easier than French Grammar. Two reasons for this were given by the children: first, There are not so many rules in English, second, "When we know French Grammar it is easy to learn English Grammar".

Nearly all the children I saw live in French districts where French is the language of the home and of the play-ground. Remembering this, the results obtained in the schools in English are successful far beyond my expectations.

Yours hopefully,

JAMES L. HUGHES.

December 1922.

Issued by the Ontario Unity League.

President—John M. Godfrey, K.C., 152 Bay St., Toronto.
Secretary—Prof. C. B. Sissons, Victoria College, Toronto.

MEMORANDUM re THE BILINGUAL ISSUE IN THE CITY OF OTTAWA.

So many conflicting statements are current in regard to the conduct and condition of Separate Schools in French speaking localities of Ontario and particularly in Ottawa, from such data

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that one can form no intelligent individual opinion on the matter. Being frequently asked for information on the subject and not knowing what to say, I made some personal investigation while recently at Ottawa.

Class room accommodation.

There are some forty-three separate schools in Ottawa vitally affected by Regulation 17. Through the courtesy of some members of the school board I was given the opportunity of visiting eighteen of the schools or places where instruction is given. In these buildings I visited almost all the rooms. In about half the cases the classes were in session, and in my presence various subjects were reviewed in English. Also opportunity was given for conversation in English.

The situation in regard to accommodation is not merely unfortunate but distressing as the following typical case will show.

In the central part of the city there are a few good buildings erected some years ago. Although much overcrowed and in need of repair they are sanitary, well constructed, and satisfactory. The serious feature is that they do not provide sufficient accommodation, and overflow classes are necessary. One such class is in the basement of a neighboring church were dozens of little children sit in a damp, ill-lighted room. Many cases of serious sickness developped amongst the children and teachers in this room, presumably from the constant dampness. At almost all the schools centrally located there is hardly any provision for play grounds. For instance one of the largest has a yard about forty feet by sixty feet in which its four hundred pupils may enjoy open air play.

In the eastern end of the city there is a school building which accommodates scarcely more than half of the pupils seeking admission. Overflow classes are conducted in the Parish Hall for which a very high rent is paid. Originally one large room, it has been divided by a narrow hall partioned off the full length of the building, by erecting two single board walls. Then two cross partitions of the same character divide each side into three class rooms. The rooms are litterally filled with children,

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the ceilings low, no proper provision for ventilation, and the voices of pupils and teachers in adjoining rooms are as audible as if there were no partitions.

Then in the western part of the city even worse conditions prevail. In one block a room or two has been secured on the back part of the ground floor of what has been a dwelling house. Nearby, a large store room on the second floor of a shop has been utilised. Three or four blocks away a back stair leads up to two dingy rooms over a store. A stove sits in the corner of one room and when burning makes almost half the room too hot while the other part is too cold. Then in the direction of the river and less than a mile from the Parliament Hill a door way opens on a narrow stair leading to the second floor of a business block. From this, another dark narrow stair leads to the third floor. There is no provision for lighting either stair, and I negociated the ascent by the aid of a lighted match. A door then opens at a curious angle into a large room with improvised seats serving as a class-room. A raised platform is at one end and opening off the platform is a door leading to a diminutive lavatory with a single toilet bowl. The only access to this lavatory is from the platform. So one might go on and multiply instances but these are typical and sufficient to form some basis for passing judgment on the situation, so far as physical accommodation is concerned. In addition it is stated by well informal parties that there are several hundred children in Ottawa who should now be at school but who are not attending because there is not room for them in even such classrooms as exist.

The pupil's knowledge of English.

As remarked before many classes were conducted in English in my presence. Most of the classes were boys, some of them were girls. They ranged all the way from beginners to continuation students preparing for matriculation examination. The subjects reviewed embraced English reading and composition, grammar, arithmetic and geography. Besides, there was much conversation on every day subjects. Some of the schools were in the most prosperous districts, some in the poorer. In the beginners class, there appeared to be a very limited knowledge of English while a few of the pupils seemed to have almost no

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knowledge of the language whatever. This condition disappeared rapidly however as one visited the more advanced classes and it would be fair to say that, with few exceptions, when the pupils had advanced through five or six classes they appeared to possess a good working knowledge of English. It was noticeable that the boys had a greater facility in the use of English than girls of the corresponding grade and age. These results have been obtained in schools where Regulation 17 is not observed but where French is the ordinary medium of instruction and where French is a subject of study.

The teachers and the pupils.

Wherever a class was in session I had conversation with the teacher and in every case he or she spoke English readily, often without any unusual accent. One could not but note the unfailling politeness of the pupils, and the intimate relationship existing between teacher and children. Particularly was this apparent on the afternoon of St. Catherine's Day, when coming unexpectedly into a class room one found the teacher seated, surrounded by the pupils, telling or reading them stories, or playing checkers of some other diverting game.

ATTITUDE OF THE FRENCH SPEAKING CITIZENS ON THE BILINGUAL ISSUE.

Of this I had only limited opportunity to judge first hand, but at least every one interviewed was like-minded. All were anxious to possess, an adequate knowledge of English, affirming that it is a distinct advantage judged either from a business or a cultural stand point. This attitude was unmistakably manifested by the children in the lively spirit with which they entered into the classes conducted in English. At the same time the adults cling tenaciously to their mother tongue and demand adequate instruction for their children in the use of their own language. Any measures interfering with this latter they regard as provocative and are determined to resist, not with wanton violence, but with patient endurance, confident that the sheer weight of evidence piling up against the present restrictive

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regulation will stir fair minded citizens of Ontario, regardless of race, to demand ~~appeal~~. repeal.

CONCLUSION.

In the light of this first hand information one is led to believe, so far as Ottawa is concerned, that Regulation 17:—

1. Has had little effect in repressing the use of French or increasing the use of English.

2. Has caused hundreds of children to meet daily for instruction in unsanitary, ill-equipped room, and many who should be at school are not attending at all through lack of accommodation.

3. Has made clear to the children that this state of affairs is the result of repressive measures, a fact not calculated to promote friendship with English-Speaking children or adults.

4. Has left many teachers greatly underpaid.

5. Has created a situation in which the separate schools threaten to drift into a parochial system operating independent of the regulations governing the conduct of pupils and separate schools in Ontario.

6. Has provoked regrettable resentment in the part of French speaking adults.

7. Has brought on long-drawn-out lawsuits in which the French speaking minority have won their main points, and judged on moral grounds now occupy stronger positions then at any previous time.

M. H. STAPLES.

November 1921

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REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN ENGLISH-FRENCH SCHOOLS OF CERTAIN RURAL LOCALITIES.

John M. Godfrey, Esq., M.A.,
President, Unity League of Ontario.

Sir,

I visited three French Separate Schools in Russell County. In the three schools there was but one child who came from a home in which the English language is spoken. The schools visited are in the villages of Bourget, Clarence Creek and Hammond.

THE BOURGET SCHOOL.

The Bourget school has six teachers. The school itself is a fine brick building, and the general conditions of the school, and its environment are very satisfactory.

I found the standing of the pupils in the highest class to be excellent. In speaking and writing English this class ranks on an equality with the best schools in English speaking districts of Ontario. The compositions, written by the pupils were of a high order both in thought, language, penmanship and spelling. I send them with my report that they may be preserved for reference.

I spent no time in hearing the pupils read, as I wished specially to test the pupils in the quality of their mentality, their power to think independently, and their readiness in expressing their own original thought freely, definitely and effectively.

I began by asking the whole class to stand, and told them I was going to ask them to tell me which of their subjects of study they liked best. The first one I asked said, History. I then said, those who do not like history best, sit down. Nearly half the class remained standing. I then asked several to tell me why they liked to study history. Their reasons were given freely and intelligently. I then asked those who could add other reasons not given to raise their hands. Hands were promptly raised and reasons given.

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Then the history group sat down, and the others stood at my request. Subject after subject was chosen, and reasons for liking them were given as in the case of history, till only one girl remained. She preferred nature study.

I congratulated her on her independence in standing alone and asked her to state her reasons for making her choice. She gave them with enthusiasm, thoughtfully, and with unusual eloquence for her age in excellent English. I was so much pleased that I told her that I too, loved the temple shrines of nature, and that, if she would accept it, I would send her a copy of a volume of poems I had written entitled "In Natures Temple Shrines". She gracefully accepted my offer. I regard her letter of thanks as a model in its expression of courtesy and gratitude. It is a remarkable production for a school girl in the fourth of fifth reader. I was not surprised to find such a letter in a language foreign to her after reading the compositions of her class. I asked the pupils who had choosen history as their favorite subject to stand and to tell me the story in Canadian history that is most interesting to them. The girls told the stories of Madeleine de Vercheres, and of Laura Secord, and they told their stories well in good and fluent English. The boys chose as their hero "Dollard des Ormeaux" who with his sixteen companions went up the Ottawa to meet the Indians, and fought so bravely till all were killed.

I asked each pupil to tell the lesson for life that should be impressed by the story, and was pleased with the answers given. Other subjects were discussed in the same way. My questions were unexpected, but they were understood clearly and discussed with independence and in expressive English. I have always believed that the supreme test of good educational training is not the amount of knowledge stored in the memory but the type of mentality developed; it's independence, its vitality, its interest in new ideals, its clearness of perception its definitness of conception and its power to use all available knowledge in wisely thinking about life's problems and deciding in regard to their best solution.

By these tests of mentality the children in the highest class in Bourget School are entitled to a very high rank. They grasp new problems accurately, they think quickly and they express their reasoning clearly in good English, to them a foreign lan-

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guage; and this power has been attained without lessening their interest in their own language ~~of~~ or their power to use it. I tested their mentality in many ways. In the highest part of the class there are thirteen pupils; of these nine intend to become teachers.

I asked at the ~~class~~ close, of my visit if the class would sing "God Save the King" and was delighted to hear teacher and pupils sing it as enthusiastically and as earnestly as any class to which I ever listened. It was most gratifying to hear and see them.

I visited the other five rooms in which the pupils remained long after four o'clock to allow me to see them.

The spirit of the entire school is remarkably fine. There is genuine comradship between the pupils and their teachers. There are no evidences of coercive restraint. The pupils are free, courteous, cheerfull, responsive, considerate and vital. They have become so, because their teachers exhibit the same graces and virtues in dealing with their pupils. Such comradeship will do more to develop the best elements of power in the children, and qualify them for good citizenship than any other element in their training.

I was a very happy man, when I left the school in Bourget.

CLARENCE CREEK SCHOOL

This school is a four room school. I tested the highest class in reading, writing, speaking and understanding English. Incidentally I tested the power of the children to concentrate their minds under distracting conditions by having three fourths of them writing while the other one fourth was reading aloud Each row was asked to stand in turn and read aloud while the other three rows were writing.

They showed good power to focus their minds on their own work of writing while the others were reading aloud. They wrote well under the conditions. I tested them by asking them to stand and conduct conversations about various subjects in the English language. They proved that they can speak English fluently and understand English well.

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The Senior class in this school is younger than the highest class in Bourget. For their age they are nearly on a par with the class in Bourget.

The excellence of the work done in Clarence Creek School may be estimated by the way the pupils of the past have succeeded in life. Father Poulin informed me in answer to a question I asked that during twelve years more than thirty of the pupils became teachers, twelve priests, one a lawyer, two official interpreters in the Civil Service, six bank clerks and many others successful business men especially in Northern Ontario.

I found the spirit and general conditions of the school in Clarence Creek to be very similar to those in Bourget. The teachers are experienced teachers, and the results of their training are very satisfactory. The children sang God Save the King like loyal young Canadians.

HAMMOND SCHOOL.

In Hammond School there are only two class rooms, so that the grading of the children is not so satisfactory as in the other two schools. The teachers are young teachers, both being graduates of one of the Ontario Bi-lingual training schools. They are bright earnest young women, but they are yet inexperienced.

The children are mainly young children so the development of the highest class does not compare favorably with more advanced classes of much older pupils.

The children in the third and fourth book classes can speak and write fairly well. They could converse with me in English. They also read fairly well aloud so far as naming the words goes, but they read many words without understanding their meaning, so they could not explain very clearly what they had been reading.

I noticed on the blackboard some examples of work in fractions, and I found on questioning the pupils that they understood the meaning of the fractions, and the logical steps in solving the problems better than they understood many of the words in their reading books. I am of opinion that it would be better not to compel pupils in French schools to use the third or fourth readers

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just because they understand the arithmetical work of the third or fourth grade according to the standards of the Education Department. Reading words they can name but do not understand must have a blighting influence on the mentality of children. This is true whether the children are English or French.

The Teachers in Hammond school trained as they were in Ontario Bilingual training schools, are certainly not superior to the rank of the third class teachers, trained in Ontario in the old County Model schools.

The marked superiority of Bourget and Clarence Creek Schools is naturally accounted for by the culture and experience of the teachers. One of the chief problems connected with Bilingual schools is the securing of well trained teachers who undersand both languages well, and can speak them freely and accurately.

It is manifest to all who really study the problems relating to Bilingual Schools that until some English speaking children are allowed to begin the study of the French language as early as French children study the English language, all students who will be able to speak both languages correctly, and fluently, and understandingly must necessarily be French students. We should have Bi-lingual teachers from both our Canadian mother races. We can never secure them so long as English-speaking children are not allowed to study French, until they attend High Schools. For the sake of English children they should be placed on a footing of equality with the French children in Ontario. The French children who at fourteen or fifteen can speak and write both languages correctly and freely, have a distinct advantage over the English children who can use only their mother language.

In closing my report I wish to express my sincere appreciation of the courtesies shown to me by the teachers in the three schools I visited, and also to Rev. Father Raymond of Bourget, Rev. Father Poulin of Clarence Creek, and Rev. Father Landry of Hammond.

Yours hopefully,

JAMES L. HUGHES.

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MEMORANDUM re GENERAL SITUATION CREATED BY REGULATION XVII.

The situation in Ottawa as described by Dr. Hughes and Mr. Staples is acute and to a degree distinct from the general situation. My observation of the excellent work being accomplished by the faithful teachers of Ottawa in spite of deplorable physical conditions are in substantial agreement with this statement. But elsewhere in the province in French-speaking districts, containing some thirty thousand children, educational conditions exist which should cause serious concern to the government and people of Ontario. It is contended in some quarters that steady and sure improvement in conditions is taking place. I believe, however, that under the present policy the bilingual schools of the province can never satisfy either the parents immediately affected or the educational needs of an advanced society. I submit the following observations in support of the contention:

1. The parents believe that they are being unjustly treated under the existing regulation. Laws relating to education, to be successful, must command the respect and enlist the ready support of parents.

2. Nothing is more important to the stability and morals of a state that laws should be enforced. Regulation 17 has not been enforced.

3. Regulation 12, relating to schools in districts where the French language prevails, is still officially employed in many of the older schools and, I understand, is being applied to a good many schools established since the promulgation of Regulation 17. The two regulations are inconsistent. Justice Hodgins decision in Green Valley case would appear to show that in law an earlier provision is rendered invalid by a later contradictory provision. Apart from legal considerations, however, which have had too large a place in this whole matter, it is not satisfactory that the parents so vitally interested should be in doubt as to the laws.

4. Regulation 17 itself is complicated and, from an educational point of view, unsatisfactory. Their Lordships of the Privy Council spoke of it in these terms: "Unfortunately it is

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couched in obscure language and it is not easy to ascertain its true effect." While its history has never been fully written it is clearly not the work of educationalists, and the questions involved are too important to be settled on any other ground than that of the interests of the children as prospective citizens.

It is imperative that these conditions should be corrected. They have far-reaching consequences. If permitted to continue they cannot fail to accentuate those racial animosities, the avoidance of which should be the concern of statesmen in a composite country like Canada. The language question is the greatest barrier to national unity. Further, British precedent is quite opposed to the spirit of the present Ontario regulations, with the restrictions they impose on the teaching of French.

It should be possible to effect a settlement on principles already accepted by representatives of the French-Canadian Educational Association, and acceptable as well, we believe, to the great majority of the English-speaking citizens of Ontario, namely:

English compulsory for all;

French in addition for those who wish it;

Emphasis laid on results rather than time-table and methods;

Improvement in the qualifications of teachers.

C. B. SISSONS.

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MEMORANDUM OF THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE ENGLISH-FRENCH SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF OTTAWA.

This memorandum is divided under the following headings:

I.—Time given to *English* as compared to the time given to *French:*

1. *As a subject of study;*
2. *As the language of instruction;*
3. *As the medium of discipline.*

II.—Methods used in the teaching of English.
III.—Text-Books.
IV.—Teachers.
V.—Provisions for the training of teachers.
VI.—Material accomodation and financial resources.
VII.—Inspection.

I.—AS A SUBJECT OF STUDY.

Time given to English and to French.

GENERAL REMARKS

The time-table as regards the teaching of English and French is slightly modified in certain sections of the City according as pupils have a greater or a less opportunity of speaking English outside of the school, and also as they bring to school a more or a less correct use of their mother-tongue.

In the junior grade of the first form the teaching of English comprises English conversation and oral composition; the teaching of French comprises conversation, composition and reading. In the other Forms, the language subjects comprise English and French Reading, Composition, Spelling, Grammar and Literature.

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FRENCH AS HELP TO ENGLISH

The time-tables are framed as much as possible especially from the 2nd Form up with a view to give fully adequate attention to English.

It must be remembered that every French lesson is in some measure — in fact in a great measure — a lesson in the corresponding English subject. Thus-:

(a) *In Reading,* lessons on expressive reading — pause, time, pitch, tone, inflection, emphasis, stress, once given in French, and they can be given more effectively and with less expenditure of time and effort if given in the pupils mother-tongue, are readily applied to the English reading lesson. Again, in the elementary reading many of the vowel sounds and most of the consonant sounds are identical so that the recognition of vowel sounds and consonant sounds in French are so much acquired for English reading ;

(b) *In Composition,* the principles regarding the selection and arrangement of ideas and the means of attaining clearness, force and elegance in expression, of visualizing thought, etc., are the same in English as in French ;

(c) *In Grammar,* the definitions and functions of the parts of speech, the analysis of the sentence, etc., once learned in French, are easily applied to English, all that is necessary being to supply the pupils with the English terms in which to clothe knowledge already acquired ;

(d) *In Literature,* if, by the study of French extracts, the habit is developped in the pupil of deep appreciative reading, of looking out for the images, of assimilating an author's emotions or the feelings of his actors, then the work in English literature is more than half done ;

(e) *In Spelling and Vocabulary,* the French etymological foundations of the English language are appealed to with enormous profit and economy of time in widening the pupils English vocabulary and securing the habit of correct spelling, so that the widening of the pupil's French vocabulary and increased skill in French spelling are so much gained for the pupil's English vocabulary and spelling.

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This close connection between English and French reduces to a minimum, for French-speaking students of English, the difficulties that attend the study of English by foreigners.

2.—ENGLISH AS A LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

1.—General principle.

As a general principle, it is claimed that when teaching the different subjects of the curriculum such as History, Geography, Mathematics, Nature Study, Elementary Science, the teacher and pupils must not be hampered by the difficulties of a foreign (or second) language but should be able to dispose of all the resources of the mother-tongue.

2.—Intimate correlation of all Subjects with English.

However, in the Ottawa English-French schools, the teachers are directed to establish a close correlation between all the branches of the curriculum and English.

So, after a group of lessons forming a chapter or a logical division of the subject, e.g. a period of history, a natural division of geography, an operation or table or problem in arithmetic, etc., the teacher is to review or recapitulate in English and use supplementary texts and readers in English; so that, once the pupil is in possession of the idea, he may be given the means of expressing his knowledge in English as well as in French.

3.—English given the preference in certain subjects.

In advanced classes such subjects as arithmetic, bookeeping and business papers are taught mostly in English.

3.—THE LANGUAGE OF DISCIPLINE.

The language of discipline is principally French, on the uncontrovertible principle:

1o That later in life the mental expression of thoughts, emotions and volitions will be in function of the mother-tongue.

2o. That the best avenues to the inner man is through the language that has developped along with, through and as an expression, firstly, of the race and, secondly, of the pupil's self or personality.

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However, during all lessons conducted in English, class and disciplinary directions are to be given in English.

Instructions have just been issued that "God save the King" in English and "O Canada" in French must be sung daily in every class-room.

Patriotic and other songs are taught in both languages.

II.—METHODS.

In elementary classes, English conversation is taught by the natural or direct method. It is only comparatively lately that the Department of Education has given a thought to methods of teaching English to French-speaking pupils and has published a small manual for teachers.

The methods in Ottawa have been developped by the teachers themselves. Those in charge have made a study of such methods as are in use in the United States and in bilingual countries such as Wales, Belgium, Switzerland, South Africa, and find that the methods used in Ottawa English-French schools are fully in accord with the best educational thought of polyglot nations.

The aim in the English-French Schools of Ottawa—and the Staples, Sissons and Hughes reports say whether such aim is being attained — is to secure in the pupils the habit of thinking freely in English when English is used by them in conversation, reading or writing.

III.—TEXT-BOOKS.

No particular text-books in the teaching of French Reading, Grammar, Composition, Spelling, etc., have been approved by the Department of Education, so that there is no uniformity in the schools and we are in this position that unless something be done to remedy the situation, the Separate School Board itself, in order to promote still greater efficiency in the teaching of English, will have to do, as it has had to do in other phases of the question, and itself regulate regarding text-books.

In the teaching of English, the readers and other text-books are those used in the purely English schools without any heed to the particular needs of English-French schools. As a result,

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in order to teach English more effectively we have tentatively introduced of late years "La Classe en Anglais" a series published by the Brothers of Christian Instruction, which is specially designed for the teaching of English to French-speaking pupils.

IV.—TEACHERS.

We suffer from a dearth of teachers properly qualified academically and professionally.

The English-French Training schools at Ottawa, Sturgeon Falls, and elsewhere have, to say the least, produced unsatisfactory results in this that they encouraged girls to enter the profession too young, intellectually and morally undeveloped and ill-prepared to take up pedagogical training.

With my long experience with the teachers provided by those schools, I can assert that, as a rule, such teachers are inefficient.

In view of the refusal or neglect of the Department to remedy the situation, we ourselves have attempted the following curative measures:

1. Pressure is brought to bear on parents to leave their children longer at school and take up secondary work before entering a training school.

2. Members of religious orders, who are already teaching, have been prevailed upon to continue their academic and professional studies under private instructors and secure higher certificates and university degrees.

3. Every week the members of the teaching staff hold meetings, where teachers of note give lectures and lessons on various aspects of the teacher's work, the teaching of English being one of the subjects particularly dealt with.

This year attendance at those lectures has been made obligatory.

4. One of the main functions of the Director of Bilingual schools is to go from class-room to class-room, give model lessons before the teachers proffer advice and suggest better methods.

NOTE.—It is worthy of note that the classes in rural schools found deficient by Dr. Hughes were conducted by pupils of the

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Training schools, while those who received his commendation were under the direction of teachers who had passed by the Ottawa schools and had received the supplementary help, instruction and training in methods, as explained above.

V.—TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

In view of the inefficiency and even the detrimental effect on the English-French teaching staff of the training schools as at present constituted, the request was often made in the past for a school where our teachers could receive formal training adapted to the particular problems of English-French schools.

The late Honourable Sir James Whitney had offered such a school, but unfortunately the number of pupils ready to take up the work was too limited to justify the expenditure.

We then set about remedying those conditions with the result that today a fair quota of prospective teachers is ready to take normal work, provided the work be given in such a way and under such conditions as will prepare them for teaching effectively in English-French schools and the successful students be granted sufficient inducement as regards certificates and salary.

A Normal School for the training of English-French teachers in order to be productive of adequate and lasting results. (1) must be in charge of teachers who have had the requisite experience in English-French schools, and are thoroughly conversant with the application of bilingual methods. (2) It must be so organized as to make it possible for members of religious orders to attend.

So as to remedy the present lack of proper training, a School of Pedagogy has been opened at great cost at the University of Ottawa, where eighteen pupils are now receiving normal training.

VI.—MATERIAL ACCOMODATIONS AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS.

The withholding of the grants from the Ottawa Separate Schools and the MacKell injunction have placed the Ottawa Separate School Board in such a precarious position financially that:

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(1) Over one thousand children of school age, under seven and above fourteen, are without accommodation ;

(2) Classes have to be held in wholly unsanitary and improper quarters;

(3) Much money is wasted in the payment of exorbitant rents for unsuitable quarters ;

(4) Much property is fast depreciating for lack of needed repairs;

(5) The teachers are paid altogether inadequate salaries.

From the Separate School supporters there was collected in 1923, at the rate of 12 miils on the dollar, $235,000 to educate over 10,000 children, while the Public Schools, out of a rate of 7.7 mills, will recieve nearly about one million dollars, $900,000 in 1923, to educate some units below 10,000 children.

VII.—INSPECTION.

The inspection of English-French schools has deteriorated until it has become a mere inquiry into time-tables and has ceased to be a rectifying, directing and stimulating agency.

AURELIEN BELANGER, M.L.A.

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ANGLO-FRENCH SCHOOLS

REGULATION

1. Any school, whether public or separate, may be designated an English-French school, wherein, at the request of French-speaking parents who are supporters thereof, the teaching of the French language is authorised and organised in conformity with recognised pedagogical methods so as to give the pupils of such parents a good working knowledge of both the English and French languages.

2. In every English-French school every teacher shall possess the necessary academic and professional qualifications for teaching the English and French languages and the other subjects of the curriculum.

3. Only such English-French schools wherein the teachers' qualifications and the results of the teaching of English and French shall be approved by the Minister, shall share in the legislative grants.

4. The Minister may make special grants, as he may deem proper, to aid any school board to secure for an English-French school, a sufficient number of teachers with the necessary qualifications, whenever such board is unable to fully provide for the salary of such teachers.

5. English-French schools shall be subject to inspection by a properly qualified Inspector to be appointed for each Inspectoral District having a thorough knowledge of the English and French languages, as may be required by the Minister.

6. The word "school" included "Class-room" and the word "Minister" means "Minister of Education".

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" LA PRESSE " EXTRA 28th Feb.,1924.

TO THE HON. G.H.FERGUSON,

Prime Minister of Ontario.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On many occasions you have expressed your desire to have perpetuated and maintained the good relations between the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec. This is because you understood long ago, and perhaps better since you have occupied t the position of Prime Minister, that the one and the other province, the two most ancient ones of Confederation, have a deep interest in always marching together and hand in hand. It is certain that the difficulties which have been caused by the adoption and putting into force of School Regulation 17 in the Province of Ontario shall not fail of producing a disastrous effect upon the minds of the people of the Province of Quebec. Our population cannot understand why, when here the Anglo-Protestant minority is treated with the greatest consideration and enjoys a full measure of liberty for all its institutions , the French Canadian minority of Ontario should remain under this vexatious law and be deprived of the privilege of having their children instructed by means of their mother tongue. The result has brought about a misunderstanding and an aloofness which assuredly is very detrimental to the consolidation of bonne entente between the two provinces.

If our compatriots refuse to learn English and to cuase their children to learn it, the Ontario Government might in a certain measure be justifiable in having recourse to coercion. But as you know very well, Mr. Prime Minister, it is the contrary which is the truth. The French Canadians of your province have constantly declared their will to speak English side by side with the French and they have imposed upon themselves heavy sacrifices in order to acquire as large a knowledge as possible of the one and the other language. Numerous investigations conducted by disinterested persons, even by persons with little or no sympathy for the French Canadian claims,

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have clearly established this fact. There is therefore nothing to fear on this score.

Then why allow to subsist a regime the only effect of which is to strongly indispose a considerable section of the province of Ontario? Let your government, Mr. Prime Minister, render once and for all justice to our people in suppressing the present cause of friction in the scholastic domain and it will certainly accomplish an act which will, in addition to winning for it the gratitude and the support of the French Canadian minority, no doubt provoke the esteem and admiration of posterity. It will this have rendered an eminent service,not only in the Province of Ontario but as well for the whole Dominion , by tightening the bonds which unite the two principal races of which the Canadian nation is composed.

The Province of Quebec is depending upon you, Mr. Prime Minister, it has faith in your breadth of view and your spirit of justice. You will know how to redress the grievance which has existed for too long and which forms a deep shadow on the picture of prosperity of the province over whose destinies you preside. "

La Presse

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" LA PRESSE" . 28th Feb., 1924.

OPEN LETTER

DEPLORABLE RESULTS OF REGULATION 17.

To the Hon. Mr. G.H.Ferguson,

Prime Minister of Ontario,

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As you know, Mr. H.Staples, a member of the Committee on Education of the late Farmer Government of Ontario, made in November,1921, a personal investigation of the situation and working of the Separate Schools of Ottawa. It is interesting to remember the conclusions to which this investigator arrived at, so much so since the state of affairs which he found is the same as in districts outside of the federal Capital.

What does Mr. Staples say? "In the light of the information obtained at first hand"he says" one is led to believe, as regards Ottawa, that Regulation 17 has practically not prevented the use of the French any more than it has helped the use of the English. Moreover, this Regulation has resulted in certain children being obliged to receive instruction in non-hygienic badly arranged quarters and a great number of others have not had any eduO cation for want of sufficient accomodation. This Regulation has also created upon the children the impression that the state of affairs from which they suffer is due to repressive measures, which is far from promoting friendly relations with the children and adults of English-speech".

A similar situation exists in the rest of the province. It is therefore clear upon these findings that the Regulation 17 is a law of which our compatriots have just reason to complain. If, as one has every right to hope for, after the declarations made by you during your last visit to the Province of Quebec, Mr. Prime Minister, you really desire to remedy the situation of your French Canadian constituents in school matters, the

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most efficacious means is to withdraw as soon as possible Regulation 17, the source of all this trouble. The radical suppression would be infinitely better because of the painful recollections for our people which are attached to this piece of legislation. Your government can then elaborate a law which would advantageously replace this regulation.

It suffices, we believe, Mr. Prime Minister, to expose these facts to your colleagues in order to have them impressed with the opportunity of a reparation in the sense proposed by our compatriots. The latter have suffered for many years under a regime which no citizen of Ontario of English speech would have accepted for himself and his own. Has not the time arrived for the re-examintion of thf whole School Question and to bring about a solution in conformity with the principles of British fair play? It is for you and your Government to speak. Be assured, Mr. Prime Minister, that a happly solution of the bilingual imbroglio of Ontario will do more to cement good relations between the people of Quebec and the population of your own province than all the propaganda and cordial entente visits.

La Presse.

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" LE SOLEIL " . 29th February,1924.

ONTARIO SCHOOLS .

Regulation 17.

" In a speech pronounced by him last December the Hon. Mr. Chapin said:" The province of Quebec is the most just of the provinces of the Dominion. If all did as she does the problem of bonne entente would soon be solved. Let others be just as we are and we shall soon have Canadian unity."

These words were pronounced in favor of the French Canadian minority of Ontario. They should be meditated. The two provinces live side by side; one of them, ours, contains an English minority living amidst an immense majority of subjects of French speech. The other contains a minority submerged by a very large population of Anglo-Saxon origin. Therefore, in each case the principle of minorities is to be found.

In Quebec the principle has thus been applied: The English element provided officially with its own schools and its own institutions, is absolutely on the same footing, in school matters, as the French Canadian group. The legislation recognizes and has always recognized the right of the minority to its maternal tongue, to its teachers, to its proper teaching, to its School Commission invested with the same rights, the same prerogative and the same privileges as those which appertain to their own nationality. Never has an authorised voice been raised in our Parliamentary Assemblies to put in doubt the perfect justice of this policy of national unity.

In Ontario, right next to our own province, the principle of the minority has been less understood; my compatriots who live there have lost, by virtue of Regulation 17, an iniquitous law, a sacred privilege of school liberty. The service of public instruction therein refuses to recognize the rights of our people, have officially proscribed French schools, compelled thousands of Canadian citizens to bear the double tax

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in the education of their children in the use of the maternal tongue.

Is there any reason to be surprised, after such facts, if our voices are raised to proclaim the just revendication of the weak and oppressed? Let the matter be judged by supposition: suppose for one moment that the Province of Quebec , countermanding suddenly its spirit of concord and unity, carried by a desire for cruel vengeance, should vote in its legislative assembly a regulation similar to Regulation 17 against the population of English tongue,which has here no more rights than have our people in Ontario; suppose that the language of Shakespeare should be ostracised and that French only should be officially taught? Would not thousands of protestations be made from one end to the other of the province of Ontario? Would not the cry of persecution and martyrdom be raised? Then it would be time to say" Do not do unto others what you would not have done unto yourself".

Let not the supporters of Regulation 17 support their contentions upon the vain exigencies of school details; these amount to nothing else but justifiable pretexts. There is a fact which dominates the whole matter in this country: bilingualism exists therein by tradition and by the Constitution. No human power can destroy this status of the Canadian nation.

Some years ago the Hon. Mr. Chapin, whose words were quoted above, discussed the question with that clarity which characterises the historian: " The existence of the French is the result of an historical fact which it is not in the power of any one to suppress. French exists, French is spoken, is written, is printed, is taught, is promulgated in Canada, for the simple reason that Canada was founded by France three centuries ago in July 1908. At the end of a century and a half it was solidly established on the two banks of the St. Lawrence, mistress of the soil and resting upon strong civil and religious institutions. Upon this fact has been supposed another. After 50 years the French

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Canadian nationality was violently separated from the old country. Other vanquished peoples have given up under similar trials and lost their distinct entity. Ours was exposed to the same painful firture, but God willed otherwise. Not only have we survived the catalysm of 1759 but we have strengthened ourselves, we have marvellously multiplied ourselves, we have conquered new domains, we have developed and perfected our national institutions".

Later on the historian writes:" How could men of good sense think of refusing the public, habitual and official use of their language to two millions of French Canadians , occupants of the soil, who for three centuries have spoken, prayed and sung in this language and who brought the light and benefits of civilisation to the extremities of this continent? What are they thinking about those who imagine that the two millions of French Canadians are going now to shamefully agree to trample under their feet their past, deny their traditions and abandon the clear and harmonious language left to them by their ancestors? What criminal error would be thought of people who would think it would be possible to tear it away from their lips, I say, away from their hearts. Let it be tried and the result will be soon seen."

The right of the French language was never better established . This affirmation of secular citizenship suffices to demolish the sophistries directed against the language of our forefathers. To say that we wish to officially learn French everywhere in Canadian territory is to say that we are here at home since a long time and forever. The rights peculiar to this language are superior and we insist upon their being respected.

Now, we are told that the Ontario Cabinet is receiving a large number of petitions asking for the abolition of Regulation 17 and that in any case it is well disposed towards the minority. We have reason to hope that the spirit

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of bonne entente and equity will prevail.

All the reasons we have just given will no doubt influence its decisions. There is another outside the racial consideration: that is, the economic value of French. Bilingualism is a capital. French is, with the English, the international language par excellence. It is the king of latin speech, which constitutes the language of half of the civilized peoples. It is this thought which caused recently Mr. James L.Hughes, Public School Inspector of Toronto, to say:" In their own interest the children of English speech should be placed upon an equal footing with the children of French speech who, at 14 or 15 years, because they can speak and write the two languages correctly, have a real advantage over the children of English speech who know only their maternal tongue. We should have bilingual teachers of the two races".

With such supporters we can wait the future with confidence.

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Schools

Delinquent Schools

~~Newspaper articles~~

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Ottawa, March 14, 1924.

Dear Senator Belcourt:

Thanks for yours of the 13th inst. together with translation of articles, which have appeared in some of the Quebec papers. I have read these with very great interest indeed.

Yours very truly,

Honourable N.A. Belcourt,
The Senate,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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Collège de Lévis, 5 avril 1924

Au très honorable Arthur Meighen
chef de l'opposition
Ottawa

Cher monsieur,

J'ai bien reçu la photographie que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer ainsi que l'aimable lettre qui l'accompagnait. Veuillez accepter mes plus sincères remerciements.

Me permettrez-vous de vous faire une suggestion?

Vous constatez que l'opinion publique dans la province de Québec n'est pas très favorable à votre parti. Aux dernières élections, il s'est constitué un bloc solide opposé à votre politique. Il semble bien que la loi de conscription, les autres mesures de guerre et un impérialisme outrancier ont particulièrement contribué à vous les sympathies de notre province. Vous cherchez aujourd'hui à remonter un courant contraire et vous constatez que ce courant est très fort et très difficile à endiguer.

Ce qui se passe dans la province d'Ontario, bien qu'échappant à votre contrôle politique, est de nature à éloigner de vous les Canadiens-français. Dans cette province en effet, des politiciens qui sont vos amis, persécutent ceux de notre race et s'attachent à leur enlever leur langue. Les descendants des hommes héroïques et généreux qui, les premiers, ont découvert ce pays, l'ont parcouru en tous sens, l'ont arrosé de leurs sueurs et de leur sang, l'ont conservé à la couronne d'Angleterre, les descendants de ces hommes sont traités en parias et on ne veut pas leur accorder plus de droits qu'aux Doukhobors ou aux Chinois. Par le fameux Règlement XVII, on veut étouffer la langue française sur les lèvres de nos compatriotes. C'est con-

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traire aux principes les plus élémentaires du droit naturel, c'est aux antipodes de ce que demande une sage politique. Comparez la position des protestants au point de vue scolaire dans la province de Québec avec la position actuelle de nos compatriotes en Ontario et dites laquelle des deux majorités comprend et pratique le mieux la justice et la générosité. Aussi longtemps qu'une injustice aussi criante subsistera, on pourra parler de bonne entente, mais la bonne entente sera impossible. Les Canadiens-français tiennent à leur langue et à leur religion. Ce sont les biens les plus précieux qu'ils veulent conserver au prix de tous les sacrifices.

Si par une amicale pression sur les gouvernants de l'Ontario, vous parvenez à faire rappeler l'inique Règlement XVII, vous aurez alors un fort atout en votre faveur dans notre province. Tout le reste ne servira qu'à fort peu de chose. Des actes, des actes marqués au coin de la justice, voilà le vrai, l'unique témoignage de bonne entente que nous demandons.

Veuillez, cher M. Meighen, accepter mes plus cordiales salutations et croyez-moi

votre tout dévoué

Elias Roy, ptre
supérieur
Collège de Lévis

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Bilingual schools.

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Ottawa, 8 avril, 1924.

Réverend Elias Roy,
Supérieur, Collège de Lévis,
Lévis, Qué.

Réverend Monsieur:

J'ai lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt et d'appreciation la votre du 5 avril.

Réferant à vos remqrques par rapport à l'état du langage Français aux écoles d'Ontario, je vais dire frânchement des le commencement que je n'ai pas de sympathie avec aucun effort de supprimer la langue Française dans notre pays. J'ai naturellement la plus grande sympathie a ce que les meilleurs moyens d'enseigner l'Anglais soient fournis.

Par rapport à la cause speciale de ressentiment parmi plusieurs de nos Canadiens-Français à Québec et les gens d'Ontario, j'aimerais beaucoup à voir une solution amicale et juste de cette difficulté, et je serais fier d'aider à une telle tâche. Cépendant, sans relâcher du moindre les efforts à cette fin,

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puis-je être permis d'indiquer que, dans la situation pratique qui existe maintenant, il y à beaucoup de mal-entendu du coté du monde de la province de Québec. J'ai visité partout dans Ontario, dans les districts Canadiens comme dans les districts Anglais, et je crois que vous seriez très surpris de savoir combien peu il existe une sentiment d'injustice chez les concitoyens d'Ontario. Je ne dis pas qui il y en a pas du tout, mais la chose a été exagérée à l'excès, (et j'ai peur qu'il faut admettre que cela a été ainsi exagéré principalement pour des buts politique.)

Mon espoir et mon effort, neamoins, seront de travailler à ce que cette question, comme toutes les autres causes d'éloignement, soit amenée à une condition mutuellement satisfaisante à tous.

Votre tout dévoué,

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For translation into French

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The Rev. Elias Roy.

Reverend Sir:

I have read with very much interest and appreciatéon your kind letter of 5th April.

Referring to your remarks as to the position of the French Language in the schools of Ontario, I will say frankly at the outset that I have no sympathy with any effort to suppress the French language in our country. I have, of course, the greatest sympathy with all proper means to provide effectively for the teaching of English. As to the special cause of ill feeling as between very many of our French Canadians in Quebec and the people of Ontario, I would indeed like to see a friendly and just settlement of this difficulty and would be proud to help in such a task. Still, without relinquishing in the least any effort to this end, may I be permitted to point out that, in the practical s ituation that now exists, there is much misapprehension on the part of the people of the sister province of Quebec. I have been much through Ontario, in French as ~~xxxx~~ in Englush districts, and I believe you would be surprised to know how little a feeling there is of injustice among the French citizens of Ontario.

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I do not say there is none, but the matter has been magnified unduly(and I fear I must say it has been so magnified mainly for political purposes).

My earnest hope and effort, however, will be to have this, as well as all other causes of estrangement, brought to a condition mutually satisfactory to all.

Yours very truly,

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THE SENATE
CANADA

June 28th, 1924.

The Hon. Arthur Meighen,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

My dear Mr. Meighen:

The Premier of Ontario, as you well know, probably better than anyone, has not yet shewn the slightest disposition to go into that very troublesome school question. To Mr. Taschereau's advances and suggestions he has offered a very polite attention but nothing more. He has made it clear to several influential men of his party and to others that for the present he has neither the time nor the opportunity for taking up the subject. I had entertained the fond hope that he would have given evidence of his expressed intention to have the whole matter discussed with the Prime Minister at Quebec and, if possible, arranged. The offer of the Prime Minister of Quebec seemed to be the very thing which would facilitate a prompt and quiet canvas of the situation and of the remedy to be brought to it. Do you think you could add to what you have already so generously done and urge him strongly

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THE SENATE
CANADA

not to put the matter off in this fashion?

It is strange to me that he who is such a shrewd politician cannot realize that the longer the thing is put off the more difficult it is going to be. Especially am I surprised that he does not recognize that a very great change has taken place in the public opinion of this province and that the great majority of the people of Ontario not only would be willing but well pleased to see the whole question completely removed from party politics. I am sure you must have observed, as I have, how strong to-day is the feeling in Ontario that not only should French Canadians be allowed to use and teach their mother tongue but also that the use of the French language should be acquired by as many as possible of the citizens of the Dominion.

I know that this, my appeal, will receive your kindest consideration and I hope that you may find it advisable to bring additional pressure upon Mr. Ferguson.

Yours sincerely,

NAB/RB

R. Bellamy.

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37

Bilingual question - schools.

Ottawa, June 30, 1924.

My dear Senator:

I have your letter of the 28th June. This matter has had my most earnest attention and I am exceedingly anxious that a solution of the subject be found. I fear you do not appreciate fully the difficulties from the other point of view. I purpose having the question up again as soon as I possibly can.

Yours very truly,

Honourable N.A. Belcourt, P.C.,
The Senate,
Ottawa.

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THE SENATE
CANADA

March 11th, 1925.

Personal

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., M.P.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

My dear Mr. Meighen:

Adverting to the short conversation we had last evening with regard to the Ontario School Question, I would like to give you the assurance that I am not personally in any way or in any degree responsible for what appears in the editorial or other columns of "Le Droit" or any other newspaper. I have never tried to interfere with the conduct of the paper nor given its director any advice or suggestion, except that for the last three years up to a certain while ago they acceded to my wish and abstained from carrying on any agitation with regard to this question. Recently I have again requested that no personal attack be made in the hope that the last visit of the Bonne Entente to Quebec would afford the Premier of Ontario an opportunity to relieve the anxiety prevalent all over the Province of Quebec and in many parts of Ontario. Unfortunately, as you may know, the recent visit to Quebec has done

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THE SENATE
CANADA

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really more harm than good and the disappointment of those who had laid great hopes on the result is greater than ever. Under the circumstances I know of no one, certainly not myself, who could prevent the publication of the articles which you mentioned to me last evening.

Speaking for myself, at no time have I done anything else but endeavour to enlighten public opinion in both provinces on this question, keeping well within strictly constitutional,historical and logical appeals. I have done a great deal more than you can possibly know in the way of suppressing agitation. I have spent my time, and I think with some success, in inspiring both my English-speaking friends and compatriots in Ontario, with a large and tolerant view and, if the present opinion in Ontario is now, as I know it is, generally prepared for a solution, I make bold to affirm that it is due in a substantial measure to my personal and individual efforts with both our ethnical elements.

You will pardon me, I hope, for going into these details, only some of which are known to you, but the principal purpose of my letter is to ask you to believe that the change in this province is probably much more general than

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either you or Mr. Ferguson believes. I make bold to say that the efforts of the Unity League, as well as the work done individually by very prominent English-speaking citizens of this province, have brought about a pretty general desire and disposition for an early and equitable settlement. I have reason to believe that even in his own ministry the majority of its members are of that mind and I am convinced that if Mr. Ferguson would inform caucus that he is ready to act, he would be supported by a substantial majority of his supporters. It is a fact, I believe, that practically the only one who is holding back is the Premier himself.

True, there is at present on the Order Paper of the Legislature a Notice of Motion given by the Member for Russell with regard to this question. In the intention of the proposer and myself, the matter is being brought up, not with any object of embarrassing Mr. Ferguson or his Government, but in order to further enlighten public opinion. Mr. Ferguson has often said that he would act when he felt he could rely upon the support of public opinion. The member for Russell will discuss this mat-

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THE SENATE
CANADA

ter solely with that object in view. I have always held and expressed a strong belief that if and when the question would be understood by the English-speaking majority of Ontario, the repeal or modification of the Regulation would be made.

May I also repeat what it has been my privilege to say to you before, namely, that the obnoxious regulation, in other words, the proscription of the French language in the schools frequented by French Canadian children in Ontario, is responsible- and alone responsible- for the animosity and dissatisfaction which have existed and still persist between the two provinces. I have not the slightest doubt that if this question could be settled equitably, all cause for agitation, for irritation and for ill-will would immediately disappear. Regulation 17 is the stumbling block and the only stumbling block on the road to national unity. I need not insist upon what, I am sure, is perfectly obvious to you, that we cannot and never will have national unity- our paramount need- so long as the use and teaching of the French language is proscribed in this Province or in any part of the

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THE SENATE
CANADA

Dominion.

I hope, my dear Mr. Meighen, you will pardon me for taking up so much of your valuable time. I have a too keen and grateful appreciation of your efforts in this matter and too sincere a belief in your wish and will to do all you can, to leave you under the impression that I have failed to take any step or make any kind of sacrifice necessary or which I considered helpful towards bringing about a settlement of this paramount national question.

If you can think of any suggestion that you might wish to make to me in that regard, I want to give you the assurance that I shall gladly place myself at your disposal at any time that may be convenient to yourself.

Yours very sincerely,

NAB/RB

N.A. Belcourt.

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Ottawa, March 13, 1935.

My dear Senator Belcourt:

I appreciate very much the trouble you have taken to write me following our short conversation the other evening. The letter has removed an impression I have been under for some time as to the newspaper referred to. I thank you especially for the statement you make as to my attitude in this question.

Yours very sincerely,

Honourable N.A. Belcourt,
The Senate,
Ottawa.

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THE SENATE CANADA

Office of the Hon.C.P. Beaubien,
50, Notre Dame St. West.

Montreal, March 28, 1925.

The Rt. Honorable Arthur Meighen, M.P.,
The Parliament,
OTTAWA.

My dear Mr. Meighen:-

I enclose excerp from "Le Canada" taken from "Le Droit" of Ottawa. I do so in case this should have escaped your attention, as I surmise you want to keep in close touch with the attacks of the French press of Quebec.

With best regards,

Yours very truly,

C. P. Beaubien

CPB-AG.

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057168

37

Ottawa, March 30, 1935.

My dear Senator Beaubien:

I am thankful foryou for sending me in your letter of the 28th the extract from "Le Droit". The way these people seize on something and misrepresent it in order to create prejudice is really discouraging. Nothing in the world was farther from my mind than to hold the French language up to ridicule as this article suggests. I noticed in the debate that scarcely anybody behind the Government was supporting them and in the course of an attack I commented on this fact, adding that the only one who had designed to defend them had taken care to do so in a language that not many of us understood. What I was emphasizing was that the Member probably did not want to be too widely understood.

By the way, I did not observe that "Le Droit" came to my defence when two or three Liberals in the House last session poured scorn upon my attempts, poor as they are, to speak some French in the province of

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Quebec. Their language was the language of ridicule, of that there is no doubt, my own had not the remotest connection with ridicule.

Yours very truly,

Hon. C.P. Beaubien,
50, Notre Dame St. West,
Montreal, P.Q.

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SECRÉTARIAT
DE LA
SOCIÉTÉ S.-JEAN-BAPTISTE DE MONTRÉAL
MONUMENT NATIONAL

64
?

Montréal, le 31 mars 1925

Monsieur le Député,

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint copie d'une résolution adoptée par le Conseil général de notre Société à son assemblée du 23 courant relativement à la proposition que M. Séguin, député de l'Assomption, doit présenter bientôt à la Chambre des Communes en vue d'obtenir que le gouvernement, dans le choix de tous les fonctionnaires publics, donne la préférence aux candidats qui ont la connaissance des deux langues officielles du pays.

Nous vous demandons, monsieur le Député, de bien vouloir appuyer cette proposition qui est tout-à-fait conforme à la nature et à l'esprit du pacte fédératif en vertu duquel les deux races principales de ce pays se sont unies définitivement pour créer la Confédération canadienne. Comme vous le savez, la Confédération ne se fortifiera que dans la mesure où les deux races égales qui la formèrent pourront se développer normalement chacune selon ses traditions. C'est donc un droit reconnu par la constitution même du pays en même temps que par la nature des individus qui forment ces deux races que M. le député Séguin veut faire respecter par sa proposition.

C'est avec le ferme espoir que vous donnerez suite à la demande de M. Séguin, que nous vous prions de croire à l'assurance de notre gratitude et de notre haute considération.

POUR LA SOCIETE S.-JEAN-BAPTISTE DE MONTREAL

Le chef du secrétariat

Jean Guérin

JG/JB

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057171

EXTRAIT DU PROCES-VERBAL

DU CONSEIL GENERAL DE LA SOCIETE SAINT-JEAN-BAPTISTE DE MONTREAL

Séance du 23 mars 1925

"ATTENDU que la création de la Confédération canadienne avait pour but l'union définitive de deux races égales désireuses de se développer chacune selon ses traditions, et que jamais le peuple canadien-français n'aurait de lui-même consenti à lier son sort à celui de l'autre race, s'il avait prévu qu'il ne recevrait pas un traitement égal et juste;

ATTENDU qu'un certain nombre de nos concitoyens, même parmi nos hommes publics, semblent ignorer la nature et l'esprit du pacte fédératif, comme le montrent abondamment les continuelles réclamations des Canadiens de langue française contre le traitement inégal qui est fait à leur langue et à leur race en général dans les divers services publics et dans l'administration générale du pays;

ATTENDU que cet état de choses dépend en grande partie des fonctionnaires de l'Etat agissant sous la responsabilité des ministres du gouvernement; et que, par suite de l'élimination progressive des hommes de notre race dans tous les services publics, le corps des fonctionnaires est de moins en moins imbu de l'esprit qui a dicté l'entente de 1867 et de moins en moins capable de comprendre les légitimes sentiments du peuple canadien-français;

ATTENDU que beaucoup de Canadiens français en sont venus à se convaincre qu'il leur est impossible d'être traités avec justice et équité, et qu'il est à craindre qu'ils ne se désaffectionnent tout-à-fait de l'union nationale créée par la Confédération;

ATTENDU qu'il importe au bien de la patrie canadienne que les doléances de la race canadienne-française puissent être entendues dans l'assemblée générale des représentants officiels des deux races;

ATTENDU que M. Paul-Arthur Séguin, député de l'Assomption, doit inviter la Chambre des Communes à voter une résolution recommandant que dans le choix de tous les fonctionnaires publics on donne la préférence aux candidats qui ont la connaissance des deux langues officielles du pays;

IL EST RESOLU:

1o Que le Conseil général de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, au nom de ses 102,000 membres, appuie le projet du député de l'Assomption;

2o Qu'il demande à tous les députés de l'appuyer, et aux députés canadiens-français de saisir cette occasion d'exposer nettement à toute la députation et le vrai sentiment et les plaintes fondées des hommes de leur sang, et de rappeler à tous les conditions auxquelles notre peuple a consenti à conclure l'union fédérale;

3o Qu'il demande à tous les journaux canadiens-français d'appuyer de leur influence ce projet important et de se faire l'écho puissant des sentiments de leurs compatriotes;

4o Qu'il prie les autres sociétés canadiennes-françaises d'adopter des résolutions semblables à la présente et d'en adresser copie aux ministres du Cabinet fédéral;

5o Qu'il adresse copie de cette résolution à M. le député de l'Assomption, à l'honorable premier ministre du Canada, aux ministres et aux députés fédéraux ainsi qu'aux journaux."

AUTHENTIQUE: Le chef du secrétariat

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057172

Ottawa, April 2, 1925.

Dear Sir:

I am very grateful to you for sending me copy of Mr. Seguin's resolution. I will be very glad to give it my most sympathetic consideration, but I beg to point out that this resolution has not yet been moved in the House. I am not sure whether it will be moved at this session or not.

Yours very truly,

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37

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA

Leader of the Opposition

6 pt ?

Ottawa, April 2, 1925.

Be Imperialism
C J S C 2

Dear Sir:

I am very grateful to you for sending me copy of Mr. Seguin's resolution. I will be very glad to give it my most sympathetic consideration, but I beg to point out that this resolution has not yet been moved in the House. I am not sure whether it will be moved at this session or not.

Yours very truly,

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CANADA

TÉLÉPHONE 3857

057174

"L'HOMME LIBRE"

ORGANE DU PARTI CONSERVATEUR

99, RUE DALHOUSIE

QUÉBEC,

Private

Quebec, August 21st, 1925

The Right Honourable Arthur Meighen,

P.C., M.P.

House of Commons,

Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

I would like to publish in "L'Homme Libre" the conservative organ in our district (Quebec) as much as was reported of your speech in London, this week, concerning the teaching in the french language in the public schools.

I would, therefore, be much obliged, if such a report, could be sent to me here (addressed to me at 99 Dalhousie St. Quebec.) as early as practicable.

Yours very truly,

A Gobeil

Editor "L'Homme Libre"
(A. Gobeil.)

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CANADA

057175

37

Ottawa, August 24, 1925.

Dear Mr. Gobeil:

I have your letter of the 21st August. Attached hereto is a copy as closely as I can recollect my words of the statement made by me at London on Wednesday last on the subject of the teaching of the two languages.

Yours very truly,

A. Gobeil, Esq.,
Editor "L'Homme Libre",
99 Dalbousie St.,
Quebec City.

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37

Ottawa, August 24, 1925.

Dear Mr. Moraud:

You asked me for a copy of what I stated at London with regard to the teaching of French and English. Attached is a copy as closely as I can remember my words.

Yours very truly,

Lucien Moraud, Esq., L.L.L., K.C.,
126 St. Peter St.,
Quebec City.

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Extract from speech delivered by the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen at London, Ontario, August 19, 1925.

(supplied from memory)

..... Mr. Gauthier has made reference to the fact that I supported in the last throes of the struggle of the Great War compulsory military service in this country. He has stated the truth, but when I listened to Mr. Gauthier and witnessed the magnificent command he has attained of a language, not his own but ours, I cannot withold a tribute to our fellow citizens of the French race for the wonderful manner in which they acquire a mastery of the two great languages of our country, English and French. I believe myself in the teaching of both these languages in this Dominion. I believe in having our young boys and girls thoroughly taught in English and thoroughly taught in French as well. It would be a good thing for Canada if this could be done and I say before this audience in London, although the subject is within provincial and not federal jurisdiction, that I for one would favour as strongly compulsory ~~the~~ teaching of the two languages as I would favour compulsory military service or compulsory anything else. .....

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MORAUD & ALLEYN
AVOCATS

LUCIEN MORAUD, L.L.L.K.C.
RICHARD R. ALLEYN, L.L.L.

EDIFICE DOMINION
126 RUE ST. PIERRE

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE
"MOSARD"

TÉLÉPHONES: 2-6829 & 2-6830

37

QUEBEC. 26 août 1925

Très Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Chambre des Communes,
Ottawa.

Cher Monsieur Meighen:-

Je reçois à l'instant votre lettre du 24 août.

Nous avons fait publier dès cette semaine dans notre petit journal " L'Homme Libre " un article au sujet de cette déclaration. Le journal paraîtra demain et je vous en enverrai copie.

Votre très dévoué,

M/R.

Lucien Moraud

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OFFICES:
WINNIPEG MAN.
SASKATOON, SASK.
CALGARY, ALTA.
EDMONTON, ALTA.
FORT WILLIAM, ONT.

PATERSON, WAUGH, O'FALLON & TAYLOR
INSURANCE ADJUSTERS

057179

A. F. VAISON,
RESIDENT ADJUSTER
PHONE S. 114

104 CUTHBERTSON BLOCK,
FORT WILLIAM, ONT.

Sept. 28th. 1925 .

To The Honourable Arthur Meighen EC.

Following our conversation of today's date , I would suggest that the statement made by yourself with regard to the early necessity of giving the French language its proper place in the curriculum of our public schools , be published and properly commented upon in such papers as " La Liberté " published in Winnipeg by the West Canada Publishing Co. , where a word from His Grace Archbishop A.A.Sinnott would arrange matters for you.

The same statement should be published in Prince-Albert by " Le Patriote de l'Ouest " and there His Lordship Bishop Prudhomme, who as you are no doubt aware , is the son of Judge Prudhomme of St.Boniface , should see to it that your London speech be printed in a conspicuous place and suitably commented upon .

The fact that your son will be enrolled as a student at Laval University should also be given as a news item in the above papers as a practical proof of the sincerity of your sentiments on this question and as an example of your broad-mindedness .

Should you find that my collaboration could be useful to you in any way whatever in helping to win this good fight for the welfare of our country , I should consider it a favor if you would call on

Your obedient servant .

A. F. Vaison

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057180

HOUSE OF COMMONS
CANADA

Leader of the Opposition

Portage la Prairie,

September 30, 1925.

Dear Mr. Merriam:

You will remember I sent to Lucien Moraud, K.C., Quebec, a typewritten copy of what I said at London as respects the teaching of the French language. Would you be good enough to look this up and have several copies sent to Lieutenant Albert F. Vaison De Fontaube, 104 Cuthbertson Block, Fort William, Ontario. Please have this done without delay.

Dictated but not read.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Meighen
Per W.F.

A.W. Merriam, Esq.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

See attached.

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CANADA

007181

Memo.

Merriam:

You will find this on the Bilingual file, No. 37. If it is not there you will likely locate an extra copy on the speech file No. 66.

Grant.

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057182

Portage la Prairie,

September 30, 1925.

Dear Lieutenant Vaison:

I thank you very much for your kind letter of the 28th. Naturally I feel a little diffident about sending this extract myself to the parties whom you suggest. I have, however, written to my Secretary at Ottawa asking him to forward you several copies of the extract and I suggest to you that you send a copy with such memo as you see fit to both the parties mentioned in your letter. I am sure the first at any rate will be very glad to do anything in hiw power to utilize the extract.

I am indeed pleased to have had the pleasure of meeting you Fort William and trust this will be repeated many times in the future.

Dictated but not read.

Yours sincerely,

Lieut. Albert F. Vaison De Fontaube,
104 Cuthbertson Block,
Fort William, Ont.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

057183

Portage la Prairie,

September 30, 1925.

Dear Mr. Merriam:

You will remember I sent to Lucien Moraud, K.C., Quebec, a typewritten copy of what I said at London as respects the teaching of the French language. Would you be good enough to look this up and have several copies sent to Lieutenant Albert F. Vaison De Fontaube, 104 Cuthbertson Block, Fort William, Ontario. Please have this done without delay.

Dictated but not read

Yours very truly,

A.W. Merriam, Esq.,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ont.

See attached.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

057184

Memo.

Merriam:

You will find this on the Bilingual file, No. 37, If it is not there you will likely locate an extra copy on the speech file No. 66.

Grant.

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CANADA

L'Homme Libre Dec. 26/25

057185

INSULTEUR...!

Les rouges ont du culot, ça c'est connu!

Aussi bien, faut-il avoir un rude culot pour agir comme ils agissent.

Toujours et partout, ils crient à bouche que veux-tu, que M. Meighen est un insulteur de la province de Québec et des Canadiens-Français.

Vingt fois déjà, M. Meighen a mis ces forcenés au défi de citer une seule parole ou de rappeler une seule de ses actions faite ou dite au détriment de notre province et de notre race:

Personne n'a relevé le défi et les accusateurs se sont tus faute de preuves...tout en continuant à le traiter d'insulteur.

Et vingt fois aussi, M. Meighen a prononcé des paroles qui comptent pour nous, il a posé des actes qui sont tout autres que ceux inspirés par un esprit prévenu dans le préjugé et le fanatisme.

Cependant, toujours pétris de culot, les rouges l'ont dénoncé âprement et avec une basse véhémence comme un insulteur des nôtres.

Cette légende d'infamie contre l'un de nos hommes d'Etat les plus remarquables doit finir; et le plus tôt elle n'aura plus court, le mieux ce sera pour l'honneur des nôtres et de notre province.

Certains journalistes conscients de leur dignité et de leur honneur professionnel ont entrepris de faire rendre justice à M. Meighen, et ces journalistes disons-le à leur louange, ne sont pas des conservateurs.

Le "St-Laurent" écrivait par exemple.

M. Meighen est venu dans Bagot. Il a parlé plusieurs fois, le plus souvent en français; et CETTE ATTENTION, MERITOIRE DE SA PART, quand on veut bien considérer que M. Meighen n'est plus de la première jeunesse et que notre langue est difficile, lui a attiré des compliments et des sympathies.

M. Meighen a été reçu dignement par ses adversaires, et très chaleureusement par ses partisans. On ne pouvait s'attendre à moins.

Le "Progrès du Saguenay" écrivait lui aussi:

IL FAUT LUI EN SAVOIR GRE

M. Arthur Meighen a été tellement accusé de tous les péchés d'Israël depuis dix ans QU'IL N'EST QUE JUSTE DE LUI DONNER AU MOINS CREDIT DE SES BONS MOUVEMENTS ET DE SES MANIFESTATIONS DE BONS SENTIMENTS ENVERS LES CANADIENS-FRANCAIS ET LA PROVINCE DE QUEBEC.

Ainsi, quand il louange notre race et notre province, ADMETTONS QUE SON TEMOIGNAGE EST PRECIEUX et qu'il mérite autre chose que des sarcasmes et des imputations de mesquine hypocrisie. Rendons nous compte qu'il ne nous prodique pas les compliments alors qu'il est déchu, isolé, sans prestige, comme il l'était, disons-nous, au lendemain des élections générales de 1921. N'est il pas aujourd hui à la tête du parti le plus nombreux à la Chambre des Communes? Et qui peut jurer qu'il ne sera pas dans quelques semaines à la tête du pays comme premier ministre.

Enfin, L'"Evénement" du 5 décembre 1925 va encore plus loin et prouve bien que M. Meighen n'est pas ce qu'on prétend qu'il est mais que par contre ses détracteurs sont eux des insulteurs de première force.

Voici ce qu'écrit L'"Evénement":

Nous nous sommes sincèrement réjouis de constater quelle réception courtoise et sérieuse l'électorat de Bagot avait donnée à l'Honorable Arthur Meighen parce que, à l'heure actuelle, le leader conservateur est le champion de l'idée protectionniste et qu'il promet de donner un meilleur gouvernement économique au peuple canadien lorsqu'il assumera la responsabilité du pouvoir. Et nous pouvons dire, A L'HONNEUR DE L'HOTE DISTINGUE DU COMTE DE BAGOT, QU'IL A TRAITE L'ELECTORAT AVEC PLUS DE RESPECT ET DE CONSIDERATION QUE QES LES TRIBUNS ROUGES QUI SONT ALLES COLPORTER DE PAROISSE EN PAROISSE DES HISTOIRES DE CROQUEMITAINE.

Voilà bien la conduite que sait tenir l'Honorable M. Meighen; il est ici bien jugé, et Meighen n'est pas l'insulteur des Canadiens-Français.

Meighen n'est pas l'homme de bas étage que les rouges veulent faire croire.

Et nous avons le devoir d'écrire maintenant, devant les faits que nous savons, que ce parti qui a comme homme de premier plan, le stupide Cardin, le pitre Cannon, deux superbes insulteurs, ne devrait pas se permettre de jeter des pierres dans le jardin du voisin.

—Guy FRASER.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

L'Homme Libre Quebec Feb. 20/26.

Language

057186

M. King et la Langue Francaise

Le Patriotiste de l'Ouest du 3 février 1926, publiait une petite note qui prouve que pour les canadiens-français, M. King n'est pas poli.

M. King est trop certain du vote franco-canadien pour nous faire des "mamours".

L'expérience nous apprend qu'on ne flatte que ceux dont on doute, et comme les libéraux ne peuvent douter de nous, ...ils nous méprisent.

Il faut remarquer, ici que *Le Patriote de l'Ouest* est publié à Prince-Albert même. Nous citont maintenant ce journal.

ON A ENCORE UNE FOIS SACRIFIE LA LANGUE FRANCAISE

Lundi soir, il y avait au manège militaire de Prince-Albert une grande démonstration libérale à laquelle M. Mackenzie King prit part. C'étaient les premiers coups de canon de la campagne électorale nécessitée par l'entrée en lice de M. Burgess.

Des centaines de Franco-canadiens étaient venus des centres du voisinage pour témoigner de leur attachement au parti libéral et pour entendre le premier ministre du Canada. Ils constituaient une bonne partie du bel auditoire de trois mille personnes auquel M. King adressa la parole pendant plus de deux heures.

Le vote franco-canadien est pratiquement tout libéral; on n'a qu'à consulter les résultats des élections du 29 octobre pour voir à quelle immense majorité les Franco-canadiens du comté ont été de fervents libéraux. L'occasion ne pouvait donc être plus favorable pour leur dire merci et montrer qu'on appréciait leur support. Mais au cours de cette assemblée de près de trois heures, on n'a pas eu un seul mot pour eux pas une phrase en français qui est pourtant l'une des deux langues officielles du Canada. Et c'est contre cela que nous désirons protester.

Est-ce parce que le concours des Franco-canadiens leur était assuré d'avance que les orateurs n'ont daigné faire aucun effort pour nous procurer le vif plaisir d'entendre quelques paroles, adressées bien à nous, dans notre langue à laquelle nous tenons tant. D'autres circonstances pourraient se présenter où le vote franco-canadien fût moins favorable.

Puis qu'elle leçon de bonne entente et de largeur d'esprit, quel respect pour les principes de la confédération, le premier ministre ou tout autre orateur désigné par lui aurait ainsi gravé dans la mémoire et l'âme de centaines de ses auditeurs qui ne connaissent du Canada que le coin de terre où ils ont élu domiile et n'ont aucune notion de son histoire!

Nous sommes convanicus qu'il n'y a eu mauvaise volonté d'aucune sorte. C'est seulement l'habitude, qui a monté une fois de plus à la surface, de nous oublier, de nous méconnaître chaque fois qu'on est sûr de nous ou qu'on n'a pas absolument besoin de nos services. Eh bien! c'est cette habitude que nous désirons leur faire passer et contre laquelle nous protestons de toutes nos forces.

M. King a manqué l'occasion de faire plaisir à ses plus chauds partisans du comté de Prince-Albert et nous voulons qu'il le sache.

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CANADA

Lavergne

Toronto Daily Star

Sept. 16/29

057187

Mr. Meighen

The statement is made by Mr. Armand Lavergne that there are but three men of sincerity in Canadian politics, Henri Bourassa, Arthur Meighen and himself.

Although Mr. Lavergne sometimes reminds us of George Bernard Shaw in his modesty of utterance, it must be admitted that of one of the three, Mr. Meighen, the estimate is a just one. Mr. Meighen is a sincere man.

One can say this of the Conservative leader while sincerely disagreeing with him on the main issues in Canadian politics. There are few who will deny that Mr. Meighen is a man of unusual mental capacity, ability in debate, admirable personal character. But Liberals would say of him that he has an essentially Tory mind, so they can perceive and respect his sincerity while disagreeing with many of the conclusions at which he arrives.

The present difficulty the Conservative leader is having with a Montreal group is probably due, more than anything else, to the sincerity of his nature. He favored the nationalization of the railways, and he will not reverse himself on that issue in order to gain the personal advantage of the support of the Montreal group. As leader of a party throughout Canada, it does not occur to him that he ought to abase himself before a few men in Montreal merely because they have the fullest bank-books in Canada. As a sincere believer in representative institutions he could not do that. He could not bring himself to be a led leader, secretly tied up to purposes the contrary of those which he publicly avows.

The Montreal group cannot understand, cannot get along with, a man of that sort. They feel that he is not practical enough, not versed in the ways of the world, more the apostle than the politician. They feel that he ought to make speeches to fool the people and win their confidence; they find that he believes what he says in his speeches. "What," they exclaim to each other, "do you think of that!"

There are two great divisions of the human race—those who live for the enjoyments and satisfactions that can be got out of life, and those who live in obedience to the sense of duty. Mr. Meighen is strong in his sense of duty. He sees his way cut out for him and he must take it, be it pleasant or not. The Montreal group of men who rebel against his leadership belong to the other class. They seek the enjoyments and satisfactions that can be got out of life. They are practical men, not idealists. They are high livers, free spenders, chance takers—amiable, agreeable men, if allowed to have their own way, and, if confronted with opposition, apt to ask how much it will cost to have it removed. They are interested in prices. They want to know what it will cost to erect and own a government that will do what it is told to do by its owners. A man of sincerity like Mr. Meighen is to them a total stranger and one with whom intimacy would scarcely be possible.

It may be that Mr. Meighen takes everything too seriously. He plays golf occasionally, but one imagines that even there he revels less in the glory of the drive than in the difficulties of the bunkers, and prides himself less in making a good score than in the resignation with which he accepts a bad one. A man may hold himself severely to the doing of his duty and be admirable in that, but if he begins to prefer whatever duty is the more painful, he makes life a sort of penance and sheds gloom along his way.

Mr. Meighen can never be an acceptable leader to the hedonists of Montreal, but if he could overcome a tendency towards sombreness of thought, if he could illuminate his sincerity with a few rays of hope he would brighten his pathway. But we join with those who believe he can give the country fine service as a public man.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

L'Homme Libre Quebec May 2/25

M. Arm. Lavergne au Directeur du Droit

Monsieur le directeur,

Je connais trop la largeur de vue et l'impartialité de votre vaillant journal, pour ne pas avoir la certitude que vous m'accorderez l'hospitalité de ses colonnes. Je m'efforcerai d'ailleurs de ne pas en abuser.

Abonné de la première heure, lecteur assidu et très souvent enthousiaste, j'ai toujours admiré le courage et la persistance avec lesquels vous n'avez cessé de défendre les droits de la justice, la conscience des enfants, et les prérogatives sacrées de notre langue, soit dans l'Ontario ou dans toute la confédération.

Le Droit a été plus qu'un journal depuis sa naissance : il fut le rempart inébranlable derrière lequel s'est abritée la faiblesse outragée par la force.

A son ombre tutélaire la minorité ontarienne a reformé ses rangs et s'est organisée pour la défense nationale.

Personne plus que moi ne l'admire, et je n'ai jamais caché cette admiration et ma reconnaissance émues devant votre oeuvre merveilleuse.

C'est vous dire que je n'ai pour vous que de l'estime, et que les remarques, qui suivront, ne partent pas d'un esprit aveuglé par le préjugé ou un antagonisme hostile.

Vous ne le croiriez pas vous-même, sachant bien que l'esprit de parti n'a jamais eu, sur mes décisions ou mon attitude politique, la plus légère influence.

Me permettrez-vous donc de dire que votre éditorial du 24 courant, "Une campagne conservatrice", écrit peu de jours après les assemblées de Hull et d'Ottawa, m'a quelque peu surpris. Non pas que je ne serais porté à m'accorder avec vous, sur quelques-unes des affirmations qu'il contient; mais il me semble ne pas y voir règner ce bel esprit d'indépendance et de sérénité à l'endroit de partis et des hommes qu'on trouve ordinairement chez vous.

Surtout quand vous écrivez comme suit :—

"Il faut qu'un conservateur ait du front tout le tour de la tête ou qu'il ait "la mémoire très courte pour parler de la dette nationale, des déficits de chemins "de fer, d'extravagance dans l'administration des fonds publics. On ne devrait pas "parler de corde dans la maison d'un pendu.

"Mais il ne faut pas oublier que si nous avons une dette nationale qui don-"ne le vertige, c'est au gouvernement précédent que nous le devons. C'est lui sur-"tout qui a lié le Canada dans une participation immesurée et irraisonnable à la "guerre; lui qui a nationalisé le réseau du Canadien Nord, lui qui a ainsi contracté "des obligations dont nous ne verrons pas la fin. En gagnant les élections de 1921, "les libéraux n'héritaient pas d'une belle succession ! Pendant des années à ve-"nir, les gouvernements, s'ils veulent équilibrer leur budget, devront chercher mil-"le expédients et s'exposer à la critique."

Est-ce bien juste ? Est-ce là la vérité, ou du moins toute la vérité ?

Notre dette est énorme, mais la plus claire partie ne vient-elle pas de notre participation à la guerre ?

Et cette participation les conservateurs en sont-ils seuls responsables? Ou bien les libéraux ne l'ont-ils pas approuvée, endossée et supportée de leurs discours et de leurs votes ?

Si ma mémoire est bonne, et je crois qu'elle l'est, nous seuls, les nationalistes, avons dénoncé cette politique comme dangereuse, comme un changement grave dans nos relations avec la métropole impériale.

En retour nous avons été accablés des plus infâmes accusations par la presse et les chefs des deux partis, à un tel point, que si nous sommes encore en vie, nous le devons au bon sens du peuple canadien, qui ne s'est pas trop énervé devant les appels passionnés de ses gouvernants.

Donc cette dette, qui en vérité "donne le vertige", nous ne la devons pas au gouvernement précédent, mais à la complicité des deux partis, emportés de bonne foi je veux bien l'admettre, par la folie de la guerre.

C'est l'héritage de M. Laurier comme de M. Borden, de M. Lapointe comme de M. Meighen. A moins que M. Charles Gauthier ne m'indiquerait une seule objection faite en chambre par le parti libéral à une seule dépense de la guerre ou même à la mise en opération de la loi de conscription.

Ne serait-il pas plus juste de dire que dans toute cette affaire les deux partis ont marché la main dans la main, se ressemblant comme deux frères jumeaux ?

Et ce me semble le comble de l'hypocrisie aujourd'hui, maintenant que le tour est joué, de charger la responsabilité de notre ruine sur les seules épaules des conservateurs ou de M. Meighen.

Il y a bien sur notre budget le lourd fardeau des chemins de fer d'état; mais ces voies ferrées, qui les a construites, et trente années trop tôt, si ce n'est M. Laurier pour garder les bonnes grâces de ses souscripteurs du Grand Tronc, ou de MacKenzie et Mann, Sifton et comparses.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

Devant la banqueroute imminente de tous ces réseaux, le gouvernement pouvait-il faire autre chose que de les nationaliser ?

Et leur déficit annuel serait un léger fardeau, si nous n'avions la dette de guerre,—largement compensé par le fait pour nous. Canadiens de langue française que nous sommes ainsi devenus actionnaires, ou directeurs dans des entreprises jusque là exclusivement réservées aux Anglo saxons.

Votre rédacteur dit également :

"Mais ce qui est renversant, c'est que ce soit des conservateurs qui vien-
"nent reprocher au gouvernement libéral l'instabilité du tarif, l'exode des Cana-
"nadiens aux Etats-Unis, le maintien de la préférence anglaise, l'augmentation
"des impôts, l'augmentation de la dette, l'ostracisme de la langue française, etc".

Il aurait pu ajouter, pour être dans le vrai, que, quand je fais ces reproches au gouvernement actuel, ça n'est pas un conservateur qui parle.

Mais je ne veux pas invoquer pareil argument, il convient d'examiner à son mérite respectif chacun de ces griefs.

Dirons-nous que le parti libéral a actuellement une politique tarifaire stable et définie ?

Chez chaque député ou ministre les opinions varient depuis la protection élevée, prônée par les Gouin, Marler ou Mitchell, jusqu'au "glas de la protection" de M. Stuart ou le libre-échangisme triomphant, de M. MacMaster.

Tot capita, tot census.

Chez les conservateurs au moins on leur en rendra témoignage qu'ils sont tous, à tort ou à raison, protectionnistes.

On sait où nous allons avec eux, et comme je suis partisan d'une protection très élevée, que je crois et je sais nécessaire naturellement, sans être bleu, je vais avec eux.

Je vois la conséquence de l'attitude vacillante des libéraux, cramponnés à la branche progressiste qui les garde au pouvoir, dans l'émigration des nôtres,—cent-cinquante-neuf mille cette année—aux Etats-Unis.

Comment expliquer que cet exode n'a atteint son paroxysme que depuis le régime de M. McKenzie-King ?

Les usines fermées, les faillites doublées, les files de miséreux mendiant la soupe de six heures à onze heures aux portes des institutions de charité, n'en sont-ils pas, hélas ! la preuve irrécusable.

Qu'a-t-on fait pour arrêter cette saignée; quelles mesures a prises le gouvernement actuel ? Rien. Sûrement pas les sept mille cinq cents piastres votées à chaque immigrant en vertu du "British empire settlement act".

J'aime mieux en face de cette inertie, devant l'émigration et cet empressement criminel du gouvernement envers l'immigration, la politique saine et claire, définie par M. Meighen : "I think it is better to keep one Canadian home, than import five immigrants in his stead".

Là-dessus, je crois que le chef du parti conservateur, le Droit et moi-même sommes d'un accord parfait.

Alors pourquoi ne pas le dire ?

Le même raisonnement s'applique à la préférence britannique.

Conçue par M. Laurier,—devenu le lendemain Sir Wilfrid, étrange coincidence,—le gouvernement King l'a intensifiée. M. Meighen la dénonce, et M. Gauthier voudrait que nous ne la reprocherions pas aux libéraux.

Etrange raisonnement ! Et ne se rait-ce pas le cas de dire devant le maintien de cette préférence idiote, ruineuse et sans profit : non possumus non loqui.

Reste l'ostracisme de la langue française, notre langue, si belle, si chère, officielle comme l'autre par la constitution du pays, et pour laquelle vous et votre journal livrez tous les jours de si fiers, de si nobles combats.

Je vous ai dit, Monsieur, que j'étais un lecteur assidu du Droit, vous dirai-je, —et ça ne vous surprendra guère,—que c'est la lecture de votre vaillante feuille qui m'a dégoûté et de mon vote libéral de 1921 et du groupe solide des 65 de Québec ?

En effet, c'est par vous que j'ai appris la persécution systématique du français au fédéral, depuis que les libéraux sont au pouvoir. C'est par vous que j'ai appris son ostracisme continu aux douanes, à l'immigration, aux postes ou aux finances, etc.

C'est vous qui m'avez appris le refus d'un maître de poste bilingue à Hawkesbury ou encore à Sherbrookke.

C'est vous qui m'avez enseigné l'affaire du Bulletin du Commerce.

Ou le "please write in english" de M. Egan'

C'est chez vous que j'ai lu les plus virulentes et combien méritées, dénonciations de la honte de Wembley.

C'est dans le Droit que j'ai vu, il n'y a pas deux semaines, la nomination ou la promotion de sept cents fonctionnaires anglais unilingues, contre le chiffre dérisoire de quarante ou soixante Canadiens-Français bilingues.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series (M.G. 26, I, Volume 1.0)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

057190

C'est dans le Droit encore que j'ai lu et relu nos continuelles déchéances, soit dans l'emploi du français ou dans les postes de l'administration, le sous-ministre de la justice par exemple nommé par M. Lapointe, et que vous avez dénoncé, unus inter multos.

Tout cela le reprocherons-nous aux conservateurs, puisque ça s'est fait depuis 1921 ?

Bref ! je m'arrête : cette énumération est pénible et la faire complète serait par trop long.

Je me résume donc en vous affirmant que si aujourd'hui, je fais la lutte, avec les conservteurs, c'est à cause du dégoût de nos soixante-cinq moutons que la lecture du Droit m'a justement inspiré.

Mais avant de terminer, dites-moi où et quand un seul de nos députés (1) du groupe solide, alors qu'il tient entre ses mains la vie même du gouvernement, a su revendiquer notre droit imprescriptible et sacré à des timbres et des monnaies bilingues.

S'il en est un, nommez-le moi, afin que je crie bien haut son nom; que ce nom soit un drapeau et qu'on l'élève tout droit, et que sa fierté brillant au grand soleil de la patrie, cache un peu, fasse oublier la veulerie et la lâcheté des autres.

Ah ! Monsieur, vous le savez comme moi, vous l'avez écrit si souvent, ce député là n'existe pas chez les nôtres et malheureusement ce n'est pas aux conservateurs qu'il faut aujourd'hui en faire le reproche, mais au seul parti libéral et surtout et pardessus tout au bloc solide dessoixante-cinq.

Un seul de langue française osa élever la voix, un conservateur, un Acadien (2), et tous nos compatriotes, pour ne pas perdre les trente deniers, prix de leur silence, ont cherché à étouffer sa parole sous leurs sarcasmes mesquins et leurs ricanement écoeurants.

Et vous voudriez que je me tairais—qu'à cause de fautes commises dans le passé par les conservateurs —avec l'absolue complicité d'ailleurs des libéraux, qui devraient au moins avoir la reconnaissance du ventre,—je laisserais passer toutes ces hontes sans rien dire, sans protestation : Ce ne serait pas digne de moi, ni de la race,—si fière autrefois,—; à laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'appartenir, et ce serait indigne des hauts enseignements et des courageux exemples que le Droit d'Ottawa m'a toujours donnés.

ARMAND LA VERGNE

Québec, ce 28 avril, 1925

(1)—Il convient de mentionner la tentative timide, mais qui enfin existe, faite par l'honorable M. Bureau, sur les timbres d'accise.

(2)—M. A.-J. Doucet, député de Kent, N. B.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 110)

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CANADA

VOLUME II No 25

DEUX SOUS

L'HOMME LIBRE

"SANS PEUR et TOUT DROIT"

REDIGE EN COLLABORATION

QUÉBEC, SAMEDI, 2 MAI 1925

REDACTION ET ADMINISTRATION } 99, Rue Dalhousie QUEBEC

057191

Lt Hon. Arthur Meighen, Parlement, Ottawa, Ont.

M. Armand Lavergne au Directeur du Droit, Ottawa

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Il y a bien sur notre budget le lourd fardeau des chemins de fer d'état; mais ces voies ferrées, qui les a construites, et trente années trop tôt, si ce n'est M. Laurier pour garder les bonnes grâces de ses souscripteurs du Grand Tronc, ou de MacKenzie et Mann, Sifton et comparses.

Devant la banqueroute imminente de tous ces réseaux, le gouvernement pouvait-il faire autre chose que de les nationaliser ?

Et leur déficit annuel serait un léger fardeau, si nous n'avions la dette de guerre,—largement compensé par le fait pour nous. Canadiens de langue française que nous sommes ainsi devenus actionnaires, ou directeurs dans des entreprises jusque là exclusivement réservées aux Anglo saxons.

Votre rédacteur dit également :

"Mais ce qui est renversant, c'est que ce soit des conservateurs qui vien-"nent reprocher au gouvernement libéral l'instabilité du tarif, l'exode des Cana-"nadiens aux Etats-Unis, le maintien de la préférence anglaise, l'augmentation "des impôts, l'augmentation de la dette, l'ostracisme de la langue française, etc".

Il aurait pu ajouter, pour être dans le vrai, que, quand je fais ces reproches au gouvernement actuel, ça n'est pas un conservateur qui parle.

Mais je ne veux pas invoquer pareil argument, il convient d'examiner à son mérite respectif chacun de ces griefs.

Dirons-nous que le parti libéral a actuellement une politique tarifaire stable et définie ?

Chez chaque député ou ministre les opinions varient depuis la protection élevée, prônée par les Gouin, Marler ou Mitchell, jusqu'au "glas de la protection" de M. Stuart ou le libre-échangisme triomphant, de M. MacMaster.

Tot capita, tôt sensus.

Chez les conservateurs au moins on leur en rendra témoignage qu'ils sont tous, à tort ou à raison, protectionnistes.

On sait où nous allons avec eux, et comme je suis partisan d'une protection très élevée, que je crois et je sais nécessaire naturellement, sans être bleu, je vais avec eux.

Je vois la conséquence de l'attitude vacillante des libéraux, cramponnés à la branche progressiste qui les garde au pouvoir, dans l'émigration des nôtres,—cent-cinquante-neuf mille cette année—aux Etats-Unis.

Comment expliquer que cet exode n'a atteint son paroxysme que depuis le régime de M. McKenzie-King ?

(Suite à la page 4)

OH! ZOZEPH!

M. Joseph Archambault, député de Chambly aux Communes, s'est la semaine dernière occupé de mon humble personne.

Les mortels doivent être reconnaissants aux dieux de l'Olympe, lorsqu'ils daignent laisser tomber sur eux un regard distrait; mais lorsqu'ils vont jusqu'à entretenir l'empyrée de nos faits et gestes, quelle légitime fierté ne ressent-on pas. Même l'injure, venant d'une bouche aussi auguste, est un motif d'orgueil et une réclame inespérée.

Zozeph, merci! Merci, Zozeph! Je garde pour vous la reconnaissance attendrie que White, que vous f'tes, comme substitut de la Couronne, condamner pour meurtre, garde aux cinq juges de la Cour d'Appel qui unanimement cassèrent ce verdict, trouvé par eux idiot, également unanimement.

Sans vous je serais mort ignoré: grâce à vous, je passerai dans l'histoire.

Et les générations futures diront en retrouvant mon nom: "Ce fut celui dont parla Joseph Archambault ! "

Que de gloire, Seigneur! Que de gloire pour un seul homme !

"Je ne suis que cendre et poussière, réprimez les mouvements d'orgueil qui s'élèvent dans mon âme".

Des méchants diront: au lieu de s'occuper d'un mort, (car le Soleil le dit, les nationalistes sont morts, le nationalisme est mort) Zozeph aurait pu depuis 1921 qu'il est à Ottawa, consacrer un peu de son temps à des questions plus intéressantes et surtout plus vitales.

Par exemple il aurait pu prendre la défense du français, proscrit et persécuté par le gouvernement King.

Il aurait pu protester contre l'ostracisme honteux et voulu qu'a subi et que subit encore notre langue à l'exposition de Wembley.

Il aurait pu, au risque d'avoir un peu à serrer son ceinturon autour de son rond petit bedon, et ron, ron petit patapon, réclamer pour notre pays des timbres et des monnaies bilingues.

Il ne l'a pas fait: il a préféré m'appeler "Kronprinz".

Gros méchant !

Ça y est : "prince", mon Dieu, je veux bien, s'il y tient, "crâne", je le revendique.

Et puis après ? Est-ce ça qui va soulager nos ouvriers qui crèvent de faim ?

Est-ce ça qui va empêcher les nôtres d'émigrer,—159,000 cette année,—aux Etats-Unis ?

Est-ce ça qui va arrêter le flot pollué de l'immigration vers la pure terre canadienne ?

Est-ce ça qui va faire rendre justice à la langue française, langue de M. Archambault, et avec laquelle son gouvernement s'essuie ses pieds sales ?

Non, évidemment; mais l'insulte, la grosse farce, peuvent détourner un instant les yeux du peuple de la crapulerie veule et plate du bloc solide et de ses bouffes composants.

Et il a plus : Zozeph voudrait être ministre ou au moins Zuse, pardon, juge.

En attendant, Zozeph manze, non mange, (ça devient une habitude) à la crèche du parti.

Il touche chaque année $3,000.00 comme avocat de la Couronne.

Vous comprenez qu'il trouve que tout va bien et ça explique, que pendant que le pays agonise, vous entendez de temps à autres chez ce député-créchard les petits bruits inévitables à une digestion trop laborieuse dans un estomac trop plein.

Oh! Zozeph, on dit : Excusez.

ARMAND LA VERGNE

LE FOUET A M. TASCHEREAU

L'hon. M. Veniot premier ministre libéral du Nouveau-Brunswick a déclaré en plein parlement de Fredericton que M. Taschereau lui avait déclaré qu'il sortirait s'il le fallait "son fouet" pour faire marcher ses députés pour faire adopter une loi qui donne à la province soeur le droit de venir chercher du pouvoir chez nous.

L'hon. M. Taschereau de son côté dit qu'il n'a jamais dit cela à son collègue et copain.

Il y en a pourtant l'un des deux qui ne dit pas la vérité ! Lequel est-ce le rouge du Nouveau-Brunswick ou le nôtre? Mystère ! !

Pourtant il y a une chose que M. Taschereau ne peut nier, c'est qu'il a fait son gros possible pour faire passer ce bill en faveur de la Province Soeur au détriment des comtés du bas du fleuve !

M. Taschereau dit n'avoir pas vu ou parlé à M. Veniot depuis un an... C'est peut être vrai !

Mais il a certainement vu l'hon. M. Michaud collègue de M. Veniot qui a passé un mois à Québec et qui a eu plusieurs conférences avec lui.

M. Taschereau veut il nous affirmer qu'il n'a pas montré son "fouet" à M. Michaud !

Qui connait M. Taschereau et sa bergerie, ne serait pas étonné que M. Taschereau ait un fouet !

L'a-t-il sorti son fouet en la circonstance.

C'est la question ! !

A PROPOS DE VIN

Le gouvernement et ses amis repètent sans cesse qu'un des moyens les plus efficaces de combattre l'intempérance, c'est de populariser le vin. Se pipe-t-on? ? Manque-t-on de franchise! Quoi qu'il en soit, l'esprit de mercantilisme se cache ici sous le masque de l'apostolat; consciemment ou non, on veut avant tout dans la plupart des cas que la Commission des Liqueurs fasse beaucoup d'affaires. Enfin de compte, est-il bien sûr, est-ce bien clair qu'à généraliser et intensifier l'usage du vin on favorise la sobriété???

Vous ne manquerez pas de sagesse en multipliant les points d'interrogation.

Que vous preniez du vin à table, qu'à l'occasion d'une visite vous présentiez du vin à vos amis ou à défaut de vin naturel, un mélange vinique de la Commission des Liqueurs, rien de repréhensible là-dedans. Le vin est en usage depuis le commencement du monde, ou du moins depuis Noé (qui sans le vouloir dépassa un jour la juste mesure!), et le Sauveur en a fait, à la Cène, la matière du plus auguste des Sacrements ; à Cana, l'objet d'un miracle. C'est assez dire.

Le vin est la boisson ordinaire dans les pays viticoles: il remplace communément les autres breuvages (ou plutôt ce sont les autres breuvages qui remplacent le vin dans les pays comme le nôtre: car le vin a réellement la primauté). L'ivrognerie n'en est pourtant pas plus répandue que chez nous; l'avantage au contraire, un avantage marqué, se trouve en faveur des pays viticoles. C'est, sans doute, que l'usage du vin y est réglé par une tradition dix, vingt, trente fois séculaire et que l'habitude de la modération se prend, dès le premier âge, tout comme l'habitude de la modération dans le manger: en ces pays-là le vin est une nourriture presque au même titre que le pain.

Mais le Canada n'est pas un pays viticole. Et par suite le vin n'est pas dans nos provinces d'un usage commun et ordinaire. Vouloir l'introduire dans nôtre vie courante, ou simplement vouloir le populariser par des moyens artificiels, par l'effet de la publicité et de la propagande, ce serait brusquer nos moeurs, ce serait risquer de les jeter ça et là dans l'indiscipline; en d'autres termes, sous prétexte de tempérance, on conduirait beaucoup de gens à l'intempérance.

Sûrement on ne guérira pas les ivrognes avec du vin: l'expérience enseigne qu'il n'y a pas de vrai remède à l'ivrognerie sans l'abstinence de toute boisson alcoolique. Quant aux personnes sobres, pourquoi les solliciter systématiquement de consommer du vin ou d'en consommer en plus grande quanttié? Quel avantage moral peut-il en résulter? Puisqu'elles se contentent de boire du thé et de l'eau, que ne les laisse-t-on tranquilles ?

Bref, le vin est chose bonne, l'usage modéré en est légitime et honnête. Il est honnête également de l'offrir en vente, pur et sans frelatage, selon les lois du pays. Mais n'entreprenons pas de croisade, ne faisons pas d'efforts systématiques pour en donner l'habitude aux braves gens qui savent s'en passer... Qu'on ne multiplie pas les dépôts de vin.

LES "PERSECUTEURS"

Quel est le journal qui mène une campagne perfide contre les ouvriers et leurs Unions? Le Soleil, organe de MM. King et Taschereau, propriété de M. George Parent député de Québec-Ouest !

Quel est le Gouvernement qui dans la Nouvelle Ecosse, étrangle les mineurs et les affaire? Le Gouvernement libéral de M. Armstrong grand ami de M. King et Taschereau !

Quel est le Gouvernement qui refuse de souscrire pour fournir du lait aux femmes et aux enfants de Sydney qui meurent de faim? Le Gouvernement libéral de MM. King et Lapointe à Ottawa !

Quel est le Gouvernement qui refuse à ses employés une augmentation légitime, promise depuis 3 ans? Le Gouvernement Taschereau !

Quel est le Gouvernement qui poursuit actuellement des centaines de municipalités pour leur faire payer des sommes exhorbitantes? Le Gouvernement Taschereau ! !

Quel est le Gouvernement qui a à son service des centaines de "spotters" qui parcourent les campagnes fouillent les demeures et les granges des cultivateurs pour les mettre à l'amende et se faire des surplus ? Toujours le Gouvernement Taschereau ! !

Quel beau régime que celui-là ! !

CANADA

057192

Dans la Province ★ A Ottawa

Les banquets libéraux.-L'admiration mutuelle.-Branlebas dans le cabinet.-M. Perreault et M. Caron.-M. David.-M. Perron-M. Nicol.-Le défi de M. Bray.-L'incident Véniot.-Taschereau.-Une opinion de la Gazette.-Une réforme agricole.

DANS LA PROVINCE

M. Taschereau et ses collègues, après une session assez mouvementée et plusieurs fois, fort difficile pour eux, ont transporté leur champ d'action vers l'ouest de la province et se donnent grand mal pour se raccorder à l'opinion qui leur a été si défavorable aux dernières élections.

Au cours de la semaine dernière, le ministre des Travaux Publics. M. Galipeault à qui s'est joint le vaste M. Perron, s'est fait donner un banquet à Montréal où l'on a chanté sur tous les tons la gloire du ministère, ses bienfaits pour la province, la faiblesse de l'opposition et la force renaissante du ministère.

Il faut avouer que le métier d'organisateur des banquets libéraux ne comporte pas une tâche bien difficile.

Dès lors que l'on a décidé d'une boustitaille, l'organisateur libéral du district ou doit avoir lieu la fête, convoque par une petite note bien anodine, les fournisseurs atitrés, les entrepreneurs de contrats en cours ou les soumissionnaires pour des travaux en perspective. La contribution est alors fixée, car dans ces sortes de réunions, il y a deux classes de fidèles; ceux qui sont appelés à couvrir les frais généraux, et la foule qui vient pour former la claque, dire "hourrah"! à l'orateur que l'on n'écoute pas mais qu'on applaudit quand même.

Les participants de la dernière classe sont les plus nombreux car c'est "à l'oeil" qu'ils assistent au banquet et c'est la première qui paie.

On comprend que souvent le nombre de l'assistance n'est limité que par la grandeur de la salle que l'on a louée. Quelquefois cela dépend de la plus ou moins grande générosité des principaux organisateurs.

Au banquet, c'est toujours la même ritournelle: nous vous avons donné ceci, vous avez reçu cela, et si vous vous comportez bien vous en aurez plus encore.

On jurerait, ma foi, que l'argent qui sert à administrer le pays, qui paie pour les différents travaux exécutés, sort de la poche de ces messieurs du ministère et que c'est par une générosité qu'ils ont le droit d'exercer, que certaines parties de la province, plutôt que d'autres, reçoivent leurs faveurs et que le contribuable leur en doit une reconnaissance éternelle.

Quand il y a plus d'un principal acteur comme dans le cas Galipeault-Perron, ils se renvoient la balle dans des discours d'une modestie sans pareille. Si quelqu'un a droit à des louanges pour sa belle administration ce n'est pas l'orateur, mais bien son copain, qui rougirait d'avoir à se complimenter lui-même. En bon camarade, M. Perron chante l'antienne de louanges que l'assistance fait suivre du psaume approprié.

Et demain, on lira dans le *journal* : "Soleil" ou "Canada" le triomphe remarquable de tous points qu'une foule en délire a décerné à ces deux ministres.

Ce qu'ils ont dit, peu importe. Si l'allocution manquait de fond ou de forme, le représentant du journal ami, la requinquera de la bonne façon, ajoutera à certains endroits la remarque que l'orateur aura oubliée et fera d'un discours décousu, ou la grammaire est sacrifiée, où les phrases sont attachées par des fils fort visibles et de couleurs disparates une perle d'éloquence que le lecteur sera appelé à admirer.

Et il y en sera ainsi, de temps à autre, jusqu'à la prochaine session ou jusqu'aux prochaines élections générales.

On dit cependant que M. David a fait entendre, avant son départ pour l'Europe, son chant du cygne et que dans un avenir prochain il abandonnera son portefeuille de ministre pour reprendre la robe de l'avocat. On se rappellera qu'il s'est prodigué, vers la fin de la session, de telle manière qu'on n'a pas été surpris d'apprendre son voyage de l'autre côté de l'océan pour se remettre de son surmenage oratoire.

On donne bien d'autres causes à son voyage quelque peu subit. Là-bas il a rencontré M. Gouin. Y aurait-il bisbille dans le camp ?

La rumeur publique n'a pas encore disposé du cas de M. Caron. On l'envoi un peu partout: à Lonmême à Ottawa pour y donner une direction nouvelle aux questions agricoles.

Mais il reste ceux qui croient qu'à lui échoira la succession de M. Taschereau, si ce dernier se décide à accepter l'hermine que dit la rumeur, on lui a offerte à plusieurs reprises.

Ce sera alors la lutte entre M. Caron et M. Perreault.

M. Caron a plus d'expérience, M. Perreault a plus de culture. Le ministre de la Colonisation est meilleur orateur celui de l'agriculture est meilleur "debater". Chacun a son bloc de fidèles, mais M. Caron a moins de popularité personnelle, et M. Perreault aura plutôt la jeunesse libérale pour lui.

Quant à M. Perron et M. Mercier, le premier voudrait bien se pousser de l'avant, mais il ne pourrait se faire élire dans aucun comté de la province et d'ailleurs quand la pluie de la popularité est tombée dans son voisinage il était abrité sous un énorme riflard et il n'en a pas même été humecté. M. Mercier est content de son sort et n'a pas d'ambition.

Il reste M. Nicol. C'est un gaffeur qui ne commande pas son propre district, qui y sera plus que probablement battu aux prochaines élection. Il ne compte pas.

Pour le seul ministère catholique de toutes les Amériques, ce n'est pas une collection bien remarquable.

L'opposition lui a donné des coups dont il reviendra difficilement. Il a du plomb dans l'aile.

Mais n'allez pas croire que ces messieurs du ministère se soient vantés de la reculade qu'ils ont effectuée sur les lois de l'Adoption et de l'Assistance Publique? Ils ne vous diront pas non plus qu'ils se sont servis de leurs profits sur le Commerce des Alcools, pour dégrever la province de certaines taxes qui oppriment le contribuable.

Quant à l'enquête sur la vente des alcools, elle a été conduite par le président, M. Perreault avec toute la partisannerie dont est capable un bon rouge quand il s'y met tout de bon.

Tout a été mis en oeuvre pour empêcher la lumière de se faire.

Comme experts on a appelé un ancien vendeur autorisé, M. Wilson, et M. Michaud et Giguère l'un gérant, l'autre secrétaire, et qui n'ont jamais eu l'occasion d'acquérir aucune expérience dans le commerce des boissons alcooliques.

On a confondu à plaisir le "coupage" des "scotch" avec le "*mélange*" dans lequel on a utilisé des déchets de toute espèce que l'on a vendu pour un liquide de qualité supérieure garantie par l'étiquette de la Commission.

Le coupage peut donner un produit de qualité supérieure. Il sera fait d'espèces de bouquets différents, et peut-être de force inégale, mais de bonne qualité toujours. Comme pour les tabacs ou le coupage existe aussi, entourer un paquet de feuilles de tabac inférieur d'une couverture de première classe et vendre le produit pour un pur havane c'est voler le consommateur.

On a vendu des boissons de qualité infâme pour du cru de première classe.

C'est un vol manifeste.

On dit au consommateur, cela n'arrivera plus car le stock inférieur que nous avons mélangé a été complètement utilisé. Il n'en reste plus. Belle chance pour le client.

Nous y reviendrons pourtant à la prochaine session et bon gré, malgré, il faudra que le pot aux roses soit découvert. S'il sent mauvais, tant pis pour les auteurs de l'infect déchet.

On a voulu faire état, d'une transaction hors du pays, à laquelle on a prétendu que M. Allan Bray, était mêlé. M. Bray a opposé une denégation absolue auxinsinuations que l'on s'est permis de faire et à défié soit le député Bouchard de St-Hyacinthe soit le Conseiller Législatif Perron, de venir poser leur candidature dans le comté de la cité de Montréal représenté par M. Bray à l'Assemblée.

N'ayez crainte, ils n'en feront rien ni l'un ni l'autre. Braves à trois poils quand ils sont couverts de l'unnumité parlementaire ils sont froussards tant qu'on veut quand ils ont à faire face au peuple.

Nous saurons à quoi nous en tenir à la prochaine consultation électorale.

—o—

A OTTAWA

Nous croyions lors de la publication de notre numero du 25 avril, que la semaine dernière verrait la fin du débat sur le budget.

Or, il n'en a rien été, et l'interminable discussion se continue avec promesse de finir... on ne sait quand.

Au cours de la semaine commencée le 20 avril, nous avons eu le discours de M. Archambault, député de Chambly-Verchères, qui a ramené sur le tapis la vieille affaire de la carabine Ross.

Les conservateurs ont vivement attaqué M. Archambault sur tous ces points, et surtout sur le sujet de la carabine Ross et les déclarations du général Currie. M. Meighen a avoué que la carabine Ross ne valait rien, mais que le gouvernement en a donné aux soldats parce qu'il n'en avait pas d'autres à leur donner. Il assure que le gouvernement en a donné d'autres aussitôt qu'il a pu. Il défie aussi le général Currie de prouver la vérité de ses assertions qui ont fait tant de bruit, et M. Archambault de faire nommer un comité pour étudier toutes les accusations du général.

Le député qui l'a suivi, M. Hanson a prêché l'économie dans toutes les branches de l'administration.

Voyage parlementaire à Wembley, achat de l'hôtel Scribe, stations radio-télégraphiques, terrains de golf, bureau du solliciteur général, réduction de l'indemnité des députés, tout y a passé, avec, probablement, le succès ordinaire. Les sermons sur l'économie passent comme toutes les bonnes résolutions et les bons conseils, bons à donner mais jamais suivis.

M. Gendron de Wright a parlé en français, suivi d'une coterie de députés parlant l'anglais qui n'ont rien dit de nouveau ni d'intéressant.

Un des bons discours de la session a été prononcé jeudi le 23 par M. Marler, député de St-Laurent, St-Georges (Montréal).

Parlant de la dette de nos chemins de fer Nationaux.

M. Marler affirme aussi que la dette de chemins de fer est une obligation directe sur le pays, qu'elle n'est pas recouvrable, et qu'ainsi, en réalité, elle augmente d'autant notre dette consolidée. Conservateurs et progressistes applaudissent, et les libéraux murmurent. M. Marler persiste cependant et affirme que notre dette totale se compose aujourd'hui des deux chiffres suivants : $2,431,407,113 pour la dette consolidée du pays, $913,913,082 pour la dette ferroviaire, qui, avec un dix-huit millions pris ailleurs, font un grand total de $3,363,400,195 que le pays doit bel et bien. Voilà le chiffre le plus juste auquel on puisse arriver en additionnant toutes nos obligations. Voilà le mot de la fin.

M. Marler a aussi fait d'autres calculs intéressants. En 1920, c'est 106 millions d'argent nouveau que le pays a donné au C. N. R.; en 1921, c'est 105 millions; en 1923, 59 millions; en 1924, 85 millions et en 1925, 84 millions, soit un total de $585,848,974.

M. Marler dit aussi qu'en 1920-21-22, la dette combinée du pays et des chemins de fer a augmenté de $898,489,254, et en 1923-24-25, elle a augmenté de $1,009,962,762, que pendant la première période, notre dette ferroviaire a augmenté de 50 millions, et pendant la seconde de 102 millions. Ces chiffres sont très intéressants car ils semblent contenir la clef d'un mystère. Est-ce que pour ne pas trop augmenter la dette consolidée, le gouvernement libéral n'aurait pas choisi de laisser augmenter la dette ferroviaire qui est plus mal connue, dont on ne tient pas compte la plupart du temps en faisant le bilan du pays, et qui est loin d'avoir l'importance de l'autre? Est-ce que, de plus, cette tactique ne permettrait pas au gouvernement de réclamer des surplus, à la fin de l'année fiscale, le chiffre de la dette consolidée étant moins élevé? M. Marler n'a pas jugé à propos d'étudier ce point.

M. Marler est un quasi-indépendant qui a failli verser dans le progressisme mais qui est devenu une espèce de franc-tireur parlementaire, prononçant des discours bien préparés et bien étudiés qui lui font prendre une position importante dans la députation.

Lerésultat de l'analyse fe M. Marler est à l'effet qu'il y a en réalité un déficit dans notre dernier exercice financier; qui est de 13 millions et qu'il peut atteindre et même dépasser 16 millions.

Il est difficile de faire avaler au pays cet avancé de M. Robb, qu'en ajoutant 13 millions à la dette du pays, il peut en même temps se vanter d'un surplus véritable.

Les deux ne s'accordent pas, et il faut être bien ministériel pour ne pas reconnaître ce qui ressort des chiffres officiels.

Un autre discours fort remarqué a été celui de M. Jacobs, député de George Etienne Cartier (Montréal) qui a traité de l'immigration et de la fusion de nos deux grandes compagnies de chemin de fer, le Pacifique et le National Canadien.

Il n'y a pas longtemps qu'un thème comme celui de cette fusion, présenté à la chambre aurait créé une opposition irréductible de la presque totalité des députés.

Mais on commence à tenir compte des déclarations de Sir Henry Thornton devant un comité de la Chambre, ces jours derniers. Elles sont à l'effet que la fusion du C. P. R. et du C. N. R. permettrait l'administration des deux réseaux sans déficit. Il ne faut pas oublier surtout que la conviction croît dans le pays qu'il faut tout de suite empêcher le déséquilibre de nos finances et nos augmentations infinies de dette.

M. Beatty du Pacifique a mis la question à l'étude dans une circulaire confidentielle dont le "Globe" s'est procuré copie et qui est ainsi tombée dans le domaine de la discussion publique.

Plusieurs raisons

Le Soleil aime à citer la Gazette, à l'appui de la politique ministérielle québecoise. Voici un passage d'un tout récent article de la Gazette que les lecteurs du Soleil courent tout de même risque de ne pas lire dans leur journal: "Il y a plusieurs raisons pour que non seulement Montréal mais aussi toute la province hésitent à voter pour le parti libéral, la prochaine fois qu'il faudra aller déposer son bulletin de vote. Les impôts provinciaux ajoutent aux fardeaux dont tous les citoyens se plaignent. Le gouvernement ne fait rien pour les diminuer. Les recettes nouvelles et considérables provenant du monopole des alcools passent dans la dépense générale, au lieu de servir à réduire les impôts et la dette de la province. Il y a des raisons d'ensemble, tout comme des motifs particuliers, pour Montréal, de ne pas revenir sur la décision des électeurs montréalais, à la dernière élection générale, décision qui ennuie tant M. Perron" (la Gazette, 24 avril). En d'autres termes, la Gazette se prononce contre le ministère Taschereau et sa politique. Le Soleil fera la grimace, et il escamotera le texte.

(*Le Devoir* 24 *avril*)

L'incident Véniot-Taschereau

D'après les dépêches, M. Veniot, premier ministre du Nouveau-Brunswick, avait dit en Chambre au sujet du bill de Grand Falls : l'hon. M. Taschereau m'a déclaré que le bill de Grand Falls serait voté par la Législature de Québec, même s'il fallait faire passer le "whip" du parti libéral sur les députés de la majorité. M. Taschereau s'est empressé de nier l'affirmation prêtée à M. Veniot par le télégraphe, ajoutant: je n'ai pamais vu M. Veniot au sujet du bill de Grand Falls. Un échange de dépêches entre les deux premiers ministres s'en est suivi. Voici d'après le *Soleil* du 22 avril.

Montréal, le 18 avril 1925

L'honorable M. JJ. Veniot,
Premier ministre,
Fredericton, N.-B.

Une dépêche de Fredericton publiée dans les journaux de Québec vous attribue la déclaration suivante : "Le premier ministre Taschereau m'a donné l'assurance que Québec soutiendrait le Nouveau-Brunswick même s'il fallait pour cela appliquer le "fouet" du whip au dernier des partisans du gouvernement". Vous avez été évidemment mal cité, puisque je ne vous ai pas vu au sujet de cette affaire et que je n'ai jamais fait de pareille déclaration. Veuillez mettre les choses au point. La députation libérale a volontiers appuyé votre bill, mais elle ne connaît pas ce qu'est le "fouet" du whip.

L.-A. TASCHEREAU

Le premier ministre vient de recevoir la lettre suivante de l'honorable M. Veniot.

"Bathurst, N. B. 20 avril 1925

L'honorable M. L.-A. Taschereau,
Premier Ministre,
Québec.

Mon cher monsieur

Votre télégramme reçu. Je m'empresse de vous assurer que j'ai été mal cité ou mal compris dans ce que j'ai dit concernant votre attitude sur notre bill hydro-électrique soumis à la Législature de Québec. En parlant de cette question, je vous ai remercié au nom de ma province pour ce que votre gouvernement aviez fais. J'ai aussi déclaré que tout le parti conservateur de la législature Québecoise avait combattu notre requête, et que je n'avais pas été inquiet parce que j'étais assuré que vous soutiendriez le Nouveau-Brunswick en cette affaire. J'ai ajouté que j'étais convaincu que vous et votre gouvernement étiez si sincères dans votre désir de nous aider que je pensais que, si la chose eût été nécessaire, le "fouet" du parti aurait été employé pour faire adopter

(Suite à la page 3)

FEUILLETON DE L'HOMME LIBRE

LES COUPS D'EPEE DE M. de PUPLINGE

PAR CHARLES BUET No 16

Henri fut tenté de rosser le maraud; il comprit enfin que l'honnête homme n'entendait que le piémontais, ce qui le calma.

Très perplexe, il allait s'adresser à un autre passant, quand il vit venir à lui, le nez au vent, les poings sur la hanche, le manteau flottant sur un habit à la française brodé de canetilles, chamarré de galons, couvert de noeuds, de bouffettes, de glands de soie, de passequilles, de passemteries, le capitaine Fabio Lambertenghi.

Il courut à lui.

—Capitaine, dit-il, tirez-moi d'un grand embarras...

—Monsieur?... Tiens! c'est ce cher Puplinge... Tout à votre service, mon ami. Hein! que ditesvous de mon costume de gala? Il m'est arrivé à l'instant de Paris, et j'en suis bien aise, car je vais ce soir au bal de la cour.

—Bah! reprit Henri d'un ton surpris. En effet, vous voilà reluisant comme une chasse, fleurant comme baume.

—Je crois que vous me vouliez demander quelque chose ?

—Oui. J'ai affaire à l'hôtel de Lecheraines et vous me voyez fort empêché, car je ne sais en quel endroit de la ville il est placé.

Le capitaine ébaucha un sourire et reprit :

—Connaissez-vous le monastère de Sainte-Claire ?

—Non, sur ma foi !

—Vous avez tort: on y chante de fort belle musique. Et le couvent de Saint-André ?

—Pas davantage.

—On y confectionne des confitures meilleures que l'ambroisie. Eh bien! prenez la première rue à votre gauche, tirez tout droit jusqu'à l'église Saint-Antoine. Vous verrez, sur la droite, les murs extérieurs du couvent, sur la gauche la façade du monastère, et, entre les deux, le sanctuaire où resplendit la divine Philiberte.

Henri ne perdit pas une minute à complimenter l'aventurier. Il le remercia en deux phrases et s'élança dans la direction indiquée.

Son coeur battait bien fort quand il souleva le dragon en fer forgé qui servait de marteau pour frapper à la porte de l'illustre seigneur.

Un portier rébarbatif lui ouvrit et s'enquit du motif de sa visite. Henri lui ordonna, d'un ton bref, de le conduire à son maître.

—Il est absent, monsieur.

—Je l'attendrai.

—Mademoiselle recevra monsieur dit un jeune page qui gambadait dans la cous en compagnie de deux grands lèvriers noirs.

—De quoi vous mêlez-vous, maître Bambo? gronda le suisse. Est-ce que mademoiselle...

Sans écouter ces observations, l'enfant fit signe à Henri de le suivre, et celui-ci ne tarda pas à se trouver dans une magnifique galerie, ornée de statues, ouverte d'un côté sur un portique de marbre.

Philiberte, assise sur des coussins lisait un armorial à figures coloriées. A côté d'elle, un duègne, embéguinée d'une coiffe et d'une guimpe blanche, ensevelie dans une robe de velours brun, travaillait à une tapisserie gigantesque.

La jeune fille leva un regard étonné sur Henri, dont l'embarras, la rougeur, la gaucherie, la firent sourire.

—Monsieur, dit-elle d'un ton décidé, approchez-vous et prenez cette chaise. Vous veniez voir mon père? Il est sorti, mais dans un instant il sera de retour.

—Mademoiselle, balbutia Henri, qui fit des efforts inouis pour trouver une phrase galante et ne put trouver qu'une fadeur, je suis heureux de cette... circonstance qui me fait... qui me donne... me permet d'avoir le bonheur de vous témoigner mon respect.

Elle fut flattée de voir si timide en sa présence ce cavalier dont la réputation de bravoure surpassait maintenant celle du marquis de Graglie, naguère le plus célèbre des raffinés, et gracieusement :

—Vous avez fait hier un bien mauvais parti à ce pauvre signor Bobba, monsieur, dit-elle. On raconte que vous êtes un tireur consommé. Savez-vous que je passe pour habile, moi aussi? Bolognese, le prévôt d'armes, n'a plus rien à m'apprendre. Puplinge? Je n'ai vu ce nom dans aucun livre héraldique.

—Hélas! mademoiselle, je suis le second de ma race qui le porte.

—C'est dommage! Il y a des magots qui représentent nos plus illustres maisons. M. le cardinal Maurice nous a parlé de vous; il vous a en grande estime.

Son Eminence est indulgente.

—L'abbé Soldati m'est venu ce matin. Le bruit court, m'a-t-il dit, que vous avez sauvé la vie à M. d'Aglié. C'est d'un vrai paladin, mais cela ne vous réconciliera pas avec Ascanio Bobba, qui déteste Philippe.

—Eh! mademoiselle, s'écria Henri avec feu, plût à Dieu que M. de Graglie me fit un second appel, je le guérirais de sa haine contre M. d'Aglié... et.. d'autdes sentiments qui blessent mon coeur... ajouta-t-il à voix basse et en jetant un regard suppliant à la jeune fille.

Philiberte se leva très calme : seulement ses lèvres tremblaient et deux larmes brillaient dans ses yeux noirs.

Elle passa devant le jeune homme droite et fière, balayant les dalles de sa longue traîne de satin bleu, se dirigea lentement vers une porte et sortit sans détourner la tête.

Henri, stupéfait, se répentit alors de son audace.

Il attendit le marquis, en proie à la plus vive anxiété.

Qu'adviendrait-il, si Philiberte apprenait à son père l'aveu déguisé que Puplinge avait osé lui foire? Il tremblait à la pensé d'avoir offensé la jeune fille.

L'arrivée de M. de Lescheraines mit fin au supplice qu'il endurait. Presé de pouvoir se livrer en toute liberté à la rêverie, ce remède à tous les maux, il s'acquitta aussitôt de sa mission.

La lettre du prince produisit sur le vieux gentilhomme un effet foudroyant.

Il pâlit, les veines de son front se gonflèrent, ses mains se crispèrent.

Il acheva sa lecture sans relever les yeux, puis baisant la signature apposée sur le vélin, il dit à Henri d'une voix qu'il s'efforça d'effermir :

— Veuillez dire à Son Eminence, monsieur, que je la remercie de ne m'avoir point leurré d'un espoir menteur. Entre gens de race, il faut de la franchise. Je n'en reste pas moins le plus dévoué de ses serviteurs.

XI

De l'affront que reçut Henri de Puplinge sans l'avoir mérité.

La galerie d'Argent du palais ducal étincelait de mille feux.

On l'appelait ainsi parce que les cadres, ouvragés à jour, des glaces de Venise qui l'ornaient étaient argentés, ainsi que les consoles à plateau de vert antique placés entre les fenêtres. D'épais rideaux de damas vert drapaient celles-ci.

Huit tableaux de maîtres, signés de Raphael, du Dominiquin, de Jules Romain, d'Andréa del Sarto, du Pérugin, de Cimabue, s'étalaient sur les murailles recouvertes d'une splendide tapisserie, qui eût mérité d'être célèbre comme celles de Courtray, de Reims et d'Arras.

Des girandoles et des lustres en cristal de Murano, teints des plus brillantes couleurs et affectant les formes les plus bizarres, reflétaient l'ardente lueur des torches de cire.

Aux deux côtés de la cheminée en marbre vert, dont le panneau supérieur portait les armes de Savoie, écartelées de celles de la maison d'Autriche, et dont le manteau était supporté par d'énormes lions, la griffe soutenant des boucliers chargés d'attributs symboliques, se dressaient, sur des piédestaux, deux colossales statues en argent massif, représentant, l'une la Religion, l'autre la Patrie.

Des portières entr'ouvertes laissaient pénétrer le regard dans plusieurs salons aussi remarquables par leur décoration, si leur dimension était moindre.

Un orchestre, placé sur une estrade, au fond de la galerie, et voilé par une tenture de gaze jouaient les pavanes, les quadrilles les danses les plus en vogue.

Une foule d'invités se pressaient dans cette enceinte magnifique.

Ils avaient fait assaut de luxe grandiose.

Gemmes curieusement montées, pierres précieuses serties dons l'or, étoffes brochées, broderies délicates, chatoyaient à travers une poussière lumineuse.

Rien ne saurait donner une idée de ces fêtes à ceux qui ne connaissent que notre faste étriqué nos costumes ridicules ou extravagants.

(A suivre)

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L'incident Véniot-Taschereau

(Suite de la page 2)

la mesure. Je n'ai jamais dit *que vous m'aviez informé* que vous recourriez au besoin du "fouet" du parti, ni ai-je cherché à faire naître une telle impression. J'ai demandé qu'une déclaration soit publiée dans la *Presse Associée*, en ce sens.

Bien à vous,
P.-J. VENIOT
"Premier Ministre"

Après cette lettre, le *Soleil* dit : L'incident est clos. Oui, mais.... On remarquera la forte conviction de M. Veniot ; "j'était convaincu... je pensais que, si la chose eût été nécessaire, le "fouet" du parti aurait été employé pour faire adopter la mesure". Le premier ministre du Nouveau-Brunswick, en bon libéral, sait comment les députés sont menés dans son parti : il sait en tout cas que le "fouet" fonctionne à Québec et il ne se gêne pas pour le dire.

— o —

Causerie médicale

Vaccination antituberculeuse

PREVENTIVE ET CURATIVE

Récemment, le professeur Calmette, dans une communication devant l'Académie de médecine, puis dans un article de la Presse médicale du 2 juillet 1924, nous a fait part des résultats obtenus dans des essais d'immunisation contre l'infection tuberculeuse. Il emploie un vaccinpréparé avec les bacilles vivants, d' origine bovine, artificiellement atténués et privés de toute propriété tuberculigène par des cultures successives en présence de bile de boeuf. Ces essais d'immunisation ont d'abord été faits sur de jeunes animaux indemnes de tuberculose préexistante, puis chez de très jeunes enfants (des nourrissons de moins de dix jours).

C'est donc une vaccination préventive et ne s'adressant qu'à des sujets indemnes de toute affection bacillaire.

Les résultats chez les animaux sont concluants. Des animaux (bovins) vaccinés dans les quinze jours qui suivent leur naissance, c'est-à-dire à un moment où ils n'ont pas encore eu le temps d'être gravement contagionnés, et revaccinés ensuite tous les ans, sont restés en parfaite santé, bien que laissés exposés aux contaminations naturelles.

Les essais d'immunisation sur les jeunes nourrissons ont porté jusqu'ici sur 217 sujets. On leur a fait ingérer à trois reprises, dans les neuf premiers jours de la vie (les troisième, cinquième et neuvième jours), de deux milligrammes à un centigramme de bacilles (plusieurs millions). Chaque dose a été donnée à la cuiller dans la demi-heure précédant une tétée. Sur les 178 enfants que l'on a pu suivre, l'ingestion vaccinale n'a déterminé aucun trouble des fonctions digestives, aucune modification de l'état général. Elle s'est donc montrée parfaitement inoffensive et jusqu'à maintenant efficace. Mais, évidemment, il faut encore attendre pour porter un jugement.

Calmette n'est pas le premier à avoir essayé de vacciner l'homme contre l'infection tuberculeuse.

Depuis longtemps, des tentatives ont été faites. On a cherché à utiliser à cet effet les tuberculines et les extraits bacillaires, puis les bacilles eux-mêmes, vivants ou tués.

Les essais faits avec la fameuse tuberculine de Koch (1890) ont été désastreux. Comme le dit excellement le docteur Colbert (de Cambo), les doses faibles ne mettent pas à l'abri des réactions dangereuses, et le choix des malades est très délicat; ce ne peut être qu'une méthode d'exception.

Restent les différents vaccins, ceux préparés avec des bacilles vivants mais atténués (du type de celui de Calmette), ceux préparés avec des bacilles morts (du type de celui de Maragliano). Et ici il semble bien que nous soyons en présence de deux écoles ennemis: l'une disant que les bacilles dont la vitalité a été détruite, soit par la chaleur, soit par diverses substances chimiques (iode, chlore, fluorure de sodium, urée, glycérine, etc.) ou par les radiations lumineuses, conservent la propriété de sensibiliser l'organisme aux réinfections (phénomène de Koch) et sont dépourvus de toute action protectrice à l'égard de celles-ci — c'est l'école officielle française (Calmette) ; l'autre, affimant, avec un nombre impressionnant d'observations, que le vaccin préparé avec des bacilles tués est inoffensif et efficace non seulement préventivement (Maragliano), mais aussi curativement (Duquaire, de Lyon), et déclarent dangereuses les méthodes de vaccinations avec des bacilles vivants.

Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est Maragliano, le savant Gênois, qui le premier a vacciné préventivement l'homme contre la tuberculose (1902). Son vaccin consiste en des bacilles de la tuberculose humaine que l'on à inoculés d'un cobaye à un autre pour en augmenter la virulence et que l'on a ensuite tués par la chaleur, puis dégraissés et mis en suspension dans de la glycérine. Pour vacciner on procède comme pour la vaccination jennérienne, les scarifications se font au bras; elles sont renouvelées tous les cinq ans.

Maragliano, au début de son expérimentation, interdisait l'emploi de son vaccin chez les individus tuberculeux avérés ou en imminence de tuberculose. Mais à la suite des travaux et des expériences du docteur Duquaire (de Lyon) —qui, le premier et depuis 1910, ne cesse de préconiser l'emploi, à titre curatifs du vaccin de Maragliano légèrement modifié, —plusieurs auteurs ont employé avec succès la vaccination curative de la tuberculose. Nous citerons: Duquaire, Cambiaso, Rappin (de Nantes), qui emploie un vaccin préparé différemment (bacilles humains desséchés, broyés et émulsionnés pendant sept jours dans une solution de fluorure de sodium etc.

La statistique de Duquaire porte sur 749 cas, celle de Cambiaso, qui possède un dispensaire, sur 12,890 cas: 5,745 guéris, 2,109 améliorés, 1,136 stationnaires, 2,723 non suivis.

Ces résultats sont très encourageants et il faut souhaiter que des travaux viennent encore les confirmer....

MORGAGNI

— o —

Le gouvernement poursuit les cultivateurs

Monsieur Joseph Dufresne, député conservateur de Joliette, questionne le gouvernement sur les poursuites contre les municipalités.

Voici ses questions, voici les réponses du gouvernement que les gazettes rouges créchardes et partiales de Québec, l'"Evénement et le "Soleil" nous demandent d'avaler de nouveau.

Monsieur Dufresne en date du 4 février demande au gouvernement :

1.—Combien de municipalités de la province de Québec ont-elles été ou sont-elles actuellement poursuivies par le gouvernement au sujet des travaux de voirie.

2.—Quelles sont ces municipalités et les montants des poursuites.

Réponse de l'honorable Perreault, aspirant premier ministre.

1.—Quarante-neuf (49) municipalités ont été poursuivies.

2.—St-François d'Assise, Co. Beauce .....$ 3,923.92

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St-Basile le Grand, Co. Chambly	15,653.38
St-François-Xavier de Batiscan, Co. Champlain	19,512.41
St-Narcisse, Co. Champlain	243.39
Ste-Thècle, Co. Champlain	5,078.27
Ste Marthe du Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Co. Champl.	2,677.84
Cap de la Madeleine, Co. Champlain	4,167.71
St-Alexis de la Grande Baie, Co. Chicoutimi	3,540.45
Bagotville, Co. Chicoutimi	4,398.32
St-Eustache sur le Lac, Co. Deux-Montagnes	7,896.93
Montréal Nord, Co. Hochelaga	20,231.65
Aylmer, Co. Hull	568.09
Hull, Co. Hull	4,152.68
Dundee, Co. Huntinghdon	63,209.56
Lasalle, Co. Jacques-Cartier	3,568.23
St François de Sales, Co. Lac St-Jean	3,798.20
Roberval, Co. Lac St-Jean	1,761.55
St Louis de Chambord, Co. Lac St-Jean	4,240.01
St-Hedwidge, Co. Lac St-Jean	1,128.21
St Méthode, Co. Lac St-Jean	906.10
L'Ephiphanie, Co. L'Assomption	6,492.44
Charlemagne, Co. L'Assomption	1,287.43
St-Sulpice, Co. L'Assomption	3,610.60
St Nicholas, Co. Lévis	2,957.64
St-Henri de Lauzon, Co. Lévis	51,792.97
St-Henri, Co. Lévis	8,854.48
St-Louis de Pintendre, Co. Lévis	86,679.54
St-Moise, (Village), Co. Matapédia	660.50
St-Moise (Paroisse), Co. Matapédia	461.88
Château Richer, Co. Montmorency	127.77
St-Jacques le Mineur, Co. Laprairie	13,492.59
Pointe-aux-Trembles Co. Portneuf	9,631.37
St-Ours, (Ville), Co. Richelieu	339.58
St-Victor, Co. Richelieu	38,378.20
St Ours, (Paroisse), Co. Richelieu	1,318.43
St-Pierre de Sorel, Co. Richelieu	25,398.88
St-Jean, Co. St-Jean	2,367.83
Hatley, Co. Stanstead	2,364.37
Stanstead, Co. Stanstead	7,107.43
St-Louis de Terrebonne, Co. Terrebonne	6,097.34
Ste Thérèse, Co. Terrebonne	3,589.28
Contrecoeur, (Village), Co. Verchères	2,127.22
Contrecoeur, (Paroisse), Co. Terrebonne	2,707.08
St Mathieu de Beloeil, Co. Terrebonne	15,940.87
	$488,284.78

Le 24 de mars 1925 suivant M. Dufresne demandait de nouveau au Gouvernement si ce dernier avait poursuivi les municipalités depuis le 4 février, date de sa première interpellation. M. Dufresne demande :

1.—Depuis la réponse du 4 février 1925 le Gouvernement a-t-il poursuivi d'autres municipalités au sujet des travaux de Voirie, quelles sont ces municipalités.

L'Honorable M. Perreault, Ministre des Terres répond que le Gouvernement a poursuivi seize autres municipalités qui sont les suivantes :

St-Joseph de Chambly, Co. Chambly .....$	7,289.77
De Léry, Co. Châteauguay	3,359.76
St-Malachie d'Ormstown, Co. Châteauguay	1,596.18
St Fulgence, Co. Chicoutimi	1,596.18
Ste Anne de Chicoutimi, Co. Chicoutimi	2,185.43
Bagotville, Co. Chicoutimi	10,691.63
Hinchinbrooke, Co. Huntingdon	10,144.40
Ste-Anne de Sabrevois, Co. Iberville	1,559.50
St Paul l'Ermite, Co. L'Assomption	3,000.00
Ste-Marie Sayabec, Co. Matapédia	2,150.24
Ste Foy, Co. Québec	13,706.39
St-Dunstan du Lac Beauport, Co. Québec	8,244.64
St Roch de Richelieu, Co. Richelieu	1,349.81
St-Paul-de-l'Ile aux-Noix, Co. St-Jean	118.40
Ste-Rose-du-Dégélé, Co. Témiscouata	13,362.00
Ste Thérèse de Blainville, Co. Terrebonne	32,278.81
	$121,834.63

Le 27 mars 1925 M. Dufresne demandait de nouveau au Gouvernement s'il n'avait pas oublié de mentionner des municipalités poursuivies dans sa réponse du 4 février et d'en donner les noms et l'honorable M. Perreault, aspirant Premier Ministre de répondre que oui et de donner la liste suivante :

Ete Tite, Co. Champlain .....$	1,165.69
Rivière du Moulin, Co. Chicoutimi	1,214.08
St Félicien, (Village), Co. Lac St-Jean	1,379.27
St Félicien (Paroisse), Co. Lac St-Jean	1,683.17
Hébertville Station, Co. Lac St-Jean	2 102.08
Roberval, (Ville), Co. Lac St-Jean	2,090.64
Roberval, Co. Lac St-Jean	2,578.75
Clarenceville, Co. Missisquoi	781.07
St-Joseph d'Alma, Co. Lac St-Jean	576.16
	$ 13,571.16

Grand total des poursuites du Gouvernement à date.$623.690.57

De plus le Gouvernement a fait envoyer des lettres d'avocat à 152 municipalités le tout pour un montant qui dépasse le million de dollars.

BEAU REGIME, OUI.

— o —

057194

La langue verte du Soleil [voir pubis]

M. Arm. Lavergne au Directeur du Droit

(Suite de la 1ère page)

Les usines fermées, les faillites doublées, les files de miséreux mendiant la soupe de six heures à onze heures aux portes des institutions de charité, n'en sont-ils pas, hélas ! la preuve irrécusable.

Qu'a-t-on fait pour arrêter cette saignée; quelles mesures a prises le gouvernement actuel ? Rien. Sûrement pas les sept mille cinq cents piastres votées à chaque immigrant en vertu du "British empire settlement act".

J'aime mieux en face de cette inertie, devant l'émigration et cet empressement criminel du gouvernement envers l'immigration, la politique saine et claire, définie par M. Meighen : "I think it is better to keep one Canadian home, than import five immigrants in his stead".

Là-dessus, je crois que le chef du parti conservateur, le Droit et moi-même sommes d'un accord parfait.

Alors pourquoi ne pas le dire ?

Le même raisonnement s'applique à la préférence britannique.

Conçue par M. Laurier,—devenu le lendemain Sir Wilfrid, étrange coincidence,—le gouvernement King l'a intensifiée. M. Meighen la dénonce, et M. Gauthier voudrait que nous ne la reprocherions pas aux libéraux.

Etrange raisonnement ! Et ne se rait-ce pas le cas de dire devant le maintien de cette préférence idiote, ruineuse et sans profit : non possumus non loqui.

Reste l'ostracisme de la langue française, notre langue, si belle, si chère, officielle comme l'autre par la constitution du pays, et pour laquelle vous et votre journal livrez tous les jours de si fiers, de si nobles combats.

Je vous ai dit, Monsieur, que j'étais un lecteur assidu du Droit, vous dirai-je, —et ça ne vous surprendra guère,—que c'est la lecture de votre vaillante feuille qui m'a dégoûté et de mon vote libéral de 1921 et du groupe solide des 65 de Québec ?

En effet, c'est par vous que j'ai appris la persécution systématique du français au fédéral, depuis que les libéraux sont au pouvoir. C'est par vous que j'ai appris son ostracisme continu aux douanes, à l'immigration, aux postes ou aux finances, etc.

C'est vous qui m'avez appris le refus d'un maître de poste bilingue à Hawkesbury ou encore à Sherbrookke.

C'est vous qui m'avez enseigné l'affaire du Bulletin du Commerce.

Ou le "please write in english" de M. Egan'

C'est chez vous que j'ai lu les plus virulentes et combien méritées, dénonciations de la honte de Wembley.

C'est dans le Droit que j'ai vu, il n'y a pas deux semaines, la nomination ou la promotion de sept cents fonctionnaires anglais unilingues, contre le chiffre dérisoire de quarante ou soixante Canadiens-Français bilingues.

C'est dans le Droit encore que j'ai lu et relu nos continuelles déchéances, soit dans l'emploi du français ou dans les postes de l'administration, le sous-ministre de la justice par exemple nommé par M. Lapointe, et que vous avez dénoncé, unus inter multos.

Tout cela le reprocherons-nous aux conservateurs, puisque ça s'est fait depuis 1921 ?

Bref ! je m'arrête : cette énumération est pénible et la faire complète serait par trop long.

Je me résume donc en vous affirmant que si aujourd'hui, je fais la lutte, avec les conservteurs, c'est à cause du dégoût de nos soixante-cinq moutons que la lecture du Droit m'a justement inspiré.

Mais avant de terminer, dites-moi où et quand un seul de nos députés (1) du groupe solide, alors qu'il tient entre ses mains la vie même du gouvernement, a su revendiquer notre droit imprescriptible et sacré à des timbres et des monnaies bilingues.

S'il en est un, nommez-le moi, afin que je crie bien haut son nom; que ce nom soit un drapeau et qu'on l'élève tout droit, et que sa fierté brillant au grand soleil de la patrie, cache un peu, fasse oublier la veulerie et la lâcheté des autres.

Ah ! Monsieur, vous le savez comme moi, vous l'avez écrit si souvent, ce député là n'existe pas chez les nôtres et malheureusement ce n'est pas aux conservateurs qu'il faut aujourd'hui en faire le reproche, mais au seul parti libéral et surtout et pardessus tout au bloc solide dessoixante-cinq.

Un seul de langue française osa élever la voix, un conservateur, un Acadien (2), et tous nos compatriotes, pour ne pas perdre les trente deniers, prix de leur silence, ont cherché à étouffer sa parole sous leurs sarcasmes mesquins et leurs ricanement écoeurants.

Et vous voudriez que je me tairais—qu'à cause de fautes commises dans le passé par les conservateurs —avec l'absolue complicité d'ailleurs des libéraux, qui devraient au moins avoir la reconnaissance du ventre,—je laisserais passer toutes ces hontes sans rien dire, sans protestation : Ce ne serait pas digne de moi, ni de la race,—si fière autrefois,—; à laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'appartenir, et ce serait indigne des hauts enseignements et des courageux exemples que le Droit d'Ottawa m'a toujours donnés.

ARMAND LA VERGNE

Québec, ce 28 avril, 1925

(1)—Il convient de mentionner la tentative timide, mais qui enfin existe, faite par l'honorable M. Bureau, sur les timbres d'accise.

(2)—M. A.-J. Doucet, député de Kent, N. B.

DU FRANCAIS "BLENDE"

Le Palais de Justice de Québec porte des affiches nouvelles. Dans un câdre noir, sous une vitre, blanche et noire, elles ont l'air de mortes mises au tombeau.

Evidemment elles sont symboliques de notre pauvre langue, qui meurt des coups nombreux, reçus des nôtres, quand ils ne viennent pas de nos ennemis.

Est-ce au puriste Alexandre, à l'érudit petit Charles ou au latiniste Cléophas que nous sommes redevables de l'incorrect avis qui suit et qu'on a apposé et distribué à foison dans tous les couloirs :

DEFENDU

de solliciter aumônes, souscriptions, etc.

Si cela part d'un bon naturel, à l'endroit des juges, avocats, greffiers ou autres plumitifs, l'on m'accordera que, malgré la phraséologie, ça manque de sollicitude pour la langue.

On sollicite quelqu'un à faire ou à ne pas faire une chose, enseignent et la grammaire et le dictionnaire, mais on ne sollicite pas quelque chose.

C'est un verbe intransitif, ne prenant pas de régime direct, ô Alexandre !

Oui, P'tit Charles, dans ce sens, c'est un anglicisme, "to solicit".

Ça vient du latin, solicitare, ô Cléophas, qui veut dire exciter à. —

Un jour, un personnage politique, député d'un comté situé au sud de Québec, de l'autre côté du fleuve, pour ne pas le désigner, s'avisa d'endosser la culotte de l'ouvrier pour défendre le parti libéral; me serait-il permis d'enculotter la robe du shérif pour défendre la langue française et demander la disparition de semblables horreurs.

Dans un édifice public de la seule province française, quand le Procureur Général est tout frais commandeur de la légion d'honneur, elles font l'effet de verrues sur le nez d'une belle fille. Tout comme si elle s'adonnait au prunoscotch du gouvernement.

Oserons-nous espérer que notre humble demande sera favorablement accueillie.

JEAN RENAUD

BON VOYAGE !

Ce bon monsieur Lapierre
S'en va d'laut' bord des mers
A Genève
Ou sans arrêt ni trève
Il va faire voir comment règler
Le gros problême ouvrier.
Qu'en sait-il ? A peu près rien
Mais il apprendra en chemin.
Galipeault lui donnera des notes
Lui montrera comment on vote
Et monsieur Roy lui écrira
Un beau discours plein de fla-fla.
Et quand de retour au pays
Il nous dira ce qu'il y fit
Nous trouverons q'ça coûte pas cher.
D'épater les gens d'au d'là des mers.

ON A PARLE DU LAIT DE LA VACHE ?

Les lecteurs de l'Homme Libre sont probablement trop occupés ou trop soucieux de la vérité pour perdre leur temps à lire le grand journal sinon le mieux renseigné, du moins le mieux rétribué de Québec, c'est quelquefois dommage.

Ils auraient eu l'avantage de lire le mirobolant discours du ministre de l'agriculture prononcé le 18 courant lors d'un banquet grotesque à Montréal. Ils auraient, entre autres, pu méditer ce passage: (page 15, 4ème colonne, Soleil du 20 avril).

Le fromage que consomment les Québecois est surtout du fromage étranger, des fromages français et des fromages suisses. Il faudrait apprendre à manger notre produit.

Ça, c'est bien trouvé, c'est même une idée géniale qui ne pouvait naître que dans l'esprit d'un grand homme qui s'y connaît certes en produits laitiers; il y a si longtemps qu'il tient l'assiette au beurre ! !

Qu'aurait-on pu dire de plus sensé, de plus élevé, patriotiquement parlant, n'est-ce pas le superlatif de l'éloquence. Apprendre au peuple à manger ce qu'on lui sert, et pourquoi ce peuple refuserait-il, ne lui a-t-on pas fait avaler d'autres couleuvres.

Un homme ordinaire aurait probablement dit ceci: **Les fromages étrangers, portant des marques françaises et suisses**, la plupart fabriquées aux Etats-Unis, se vendent en grande quantité sur notre marché, notre fromage canadien est déprécié, en Angleterre, nous perdons le marché, il est temps de réagir.

Essayons dans quelques fabriques, à proximité des centres la fabrication des fromages reclamés par la clientèle, nous avons les procédés à notre disposition, le lait de nos vaches vaut celui des vaches des autres pays. Travaillons donc à lancer de nouveaux produits, puisque la clientèle ne vient pas à nous, allons à elle en lui offrant ce qu'elle désire.

Parler ainsi eut été bien trop simple, indigne de l'imagination d'un grand homme, il fallait mieux que cela. Le peuple canadien mangera du fromage canadien ou il dira pourquoi.

Périsse les régime mais que les idées vivent et si le ministre de l'industrie laitière veut nous le permettre nous allons lui suggérer un moyen infaillible d'augmenter la consommation du fromage canadien dans des proportions telles qu'il faudra avant longtemps augmenter les troupeaux, de vaches laitières, bien entendu, car les moutons n'ont rien à voir là-dedans et la race diminue à grand train.

Que le Gouvernement des Monopoles ajoute aux autres celui de la vente du fromage canadien; qu'un stock important de ce produit soit déposé dans les magasins de vente de la Commission des Liqueurs et qu'il soit decrété que :

Tout client qui se présentera dans un magasin de la Commission des Liqueurs pour acheter une bouteille (une seule à la fois) d'alcool, de vin, ou autres produits mal dénommés, devra auparavant dans le rayon voisin, faire l'acquisition d'une quantité de fromage canadien d'une valeur proportionnelles à celle de la boisson désirée.

C'est bien simple, encore fallait-il y penser.

Ne pourrait-on pas invoquer la raison d'hygiène publique en considérant que le temps que les clients mangeront le fromage canadien, ils ne risqueront pas l'empoisonnement.

Ou encore rappeler que le fromage permet un meilleur dégustation des vins; ça se pratique beaucoup en France, il est vrai que là-bas, il s'agit d'un produit pur, naturel, exempt de tout mélange et non d'une mixture infecte qui n'a du vin que l'étiquette du flacon, étiquette sur laquelle on a omis la tête de mort sur fond rouge.

Les temps sont durs, la vie est chère, nous avons goûté le fromage cette semaine, nous attendrons la semaine prochaine pour déguster le vin, et avec votre permission, nous parlerons de la vache à lait.

Un cri de détresse des mineurs de la Nouvelle Ecosse

Une communication portant les signatures du président J.-W. McLeod et du secrétaire A.-A. MacKay du district 26 des Mineurs Unis d'Amérique a été envoyée au premier ministre E.-H. Armstrong. Cette communication dit en substance : "Demain commencera la huitième semaine de la cessation complète du travail dans les mines de charbon de la Nouvelle-Ecosse. Les hommes engagés dans l'industrie houillière et leurs familles sont insuffisamment nourris et tout près de la famine. Nous vous faisons un appel, en votre qualité de ministre, et nous faisons un appel aux organisations ouvrières du monde et au public du Dominion du Canada pour demander qu'une aide soit promptement assurée aux affamés. Dans la proportion de 33 pour cent, nos membres étaient dans une abjecte pauvreté depuis plusieurs mois, quand le travail fut interrompu. En vue de ce fait, il n'est pas humain de demander l'abaissement des salaires payés l'an dernier.

Agir ainsi serait simplement mettre une plus grande partie de nos hommes et leurs familles continuellement près de la famine et leur imposer la misère et la souffrance. Quand nos hommes n'ont pas un salaire suffisant pour vivre et faire vivre leurs familles, toute la communauté au milieu de laquelle ils sont, en souffre.

Actuellement, toutes les communautés, en Nouvelle-Ecosse, sont à un doigt de la banqueroute, parce que nos hommes ne peuvent pas obtenir du travail avec un salaire permettant de vivre.

Nos hommes ont quitté la Nouvelle-Ecosse au nombre de deux cents par semaine. Un très grand nombre de nos jeunes ouvriers sont partis. Ces producteurs seront fortement regrettés dans l'avenir. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire qu'à peu près cinquante pour cent des habitants de la Nouvelle-Ecosse ont maintenant à envisager une très grave situation économique, parce que la British Empire Steel Corporation insiste pour réduire nos salaires et qu'elle a recours à la famine pour triompher, malgré la désapprobation du gouvernement et la condamnation publique.

Sur le Gril

Un cirque a fait faillite à Montréal, la semaine dernière. Nous donnons ci-après l'histoire vraie de ces malheureux saltimbanques, dont le "manager" était un certain Antonin Galipeault.

Quinze jours durant, on fit pourtant de l'annonce dans tous les journaux gras et gros. Tout fut préparé de façon à ce que, la visite du cirque remporte un franc succès.

Au soir fixé fut organisée une parade monstre, dans laquelle devaient figurer le lion. l'ours le Chameau et le singe de la ménagerie provinciale. Tous ces animaux rares devaient être la principale attraction.

On paya, pour marcher en tête de la parade une fanfare aux cuivres sonores qui joua tant et plus et gagna bien son argent.

Une autre fanfare, bien payée elle aussi, au lieu de réunion attendait les susdits animaux rares pour leur faire fête.

Trente automobiles, louées spécialement pour cet usage, figuraient dans la parade; mais elles étaient vides, personne ne voulant s'afficher, même pour faire un tour d'auto gratuitement, avec ces Barnums.

A l'heure de la représentation, 300 personnes seulement vinrent pour voir ces curiosités remarquables, mais il retournèrent vite parceque dégoûtés. Le "Big Show" ne valait pas cinq sous.

20 policemen étaient là ... 10 pour protéger les bibites rares parce qu'on craignait qu'elles fussent volées; et 10 autres pour maintenir l'ordre. Il y avait plus d'un "Safety-First" parmi les membres du cirque.

Et malgré tous ces apprêts, le cirque a fait faillite : ... Le Manager Galipeault de La Galipette a fait long feu et ses Barnums gros et petits n'ont pu faire leurs frais parceque lesMontréalais n'ont pas voulu se laiser taper.

Maintenant on chuchote que c'est Baptiste qui va payer tous les frais de ce cirque en faillite. Hé oui, la Province est encore là, heureusement pour Galipeault et ses petits maîtres.

Telle est la véridique histoire de la dernière assemblée de M. Galipeault à Montréal. Le "Soleil" prétendait que c'était un succès. C'est que, voyez vous. Il est du Cirque lui aussi.

Au "Soleil", avec d'anciens jésuites dans la rédaction, on frappe au... Pubis. Voyons les braves, n'envoyez donc pas si Faure.

"Le Soleil" est un âne, (quoique portant le bonnet du Cardinal Mon-Oncle) et quand il donne du sabot, il n'est pas tenu de savoir ou il frappe.

Un grand général Romain disait à ses soldats : "Guerriers, frappez au visage ! " Le "Soleil" plus civilisé????... et plus lâche surtout, dit : "Frappe au Pubis ! "

Gageons que "Le Soleil", organe du Neveu de Mon-Oncle Le Cardinal, s'es trompé et à pris "Le Pirée pour un homme; autrement dit, a confondu le pubis avec cette partie charnue qui complète le dos. Le farceur en est bien capable.

"Le Soleil" frappe au Pubis et reçoit $200,000., l'an pour sa vaillance dans le combat. Il enfonce Dempsey, qui reçoit $500,000 il est vrai, mais qui doit toujours frapper au dessus de la ceinture.

Comment le directeur du "Soleil", Chevalier d'un ordre papal, peut-il permettre à ses rédacteurs de frapper au pubis. Cet acte ignoble et honteux du vaurien des coins de rues peut à lui seul lui faire perdre ses décorations pontificales.

CANADA
Province de Québec
District de Québec.
No 1712

Dans la Cour de Magistrat de District

Joseph Lacasse, de St-Henri de Lévis,

demandeur ;

vs

François Chamberland, ci-devant de l'Islet actuellement de lieux inconnus,

défendeur.

Il est ordonné au défendeur de comparaître dans le mois à compter de la dernière publication de la présente ordonnance.

QUEBEC, ce 28 avril, 1925.

(Signé) **J.-E. ROBITAILLE**,
Dep. G. C. M.

Vrai copie,

ARMAND LAVERGNE,
Procureur du demandeur

A NOS ABONNES

Nous prions ceux qui se proposent de changer de logement au 1er mai ou avant de nous faire parvenir leur nouvelle adresse, afin qu'il n'y ait pas d'interruption dans le service de notre journal.

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ARMAND LAVERGNE.

(a)

Sorry Quebec did not do better but you put up a valiant fight against terrible odds. Messrs Caron & Beland throw all their previous records

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MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series [illegible] (M.G. 26, I, Volume 110)

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CANADA

057196

Ottawa, October 30, 1925.

Dear Mr. Lavergne:

I hasten to thank you for your kind telegram. There have been disappointments in the campaign and I very much regret that members of the Government and their candidates succeeded again in diverting the minds of a large portion of our country from the real issues. It is gratifying, however, that the Government itself has been decisively defeated.

Sorry Quebec did not do better but you put up a valiant fight against terrible odds. Messrs Cardin and Beland broke all their previous records.

Very sincerely yours,

Armand Lavergne, Esq.,

Quebec, Que.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

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ARMAND LAVERGNE
AVOCAT
93 RUE SAINT-PIERRE
QUEBEC

057197

Personnelle.

Québec, ce 30 octobre, 1925.

Le Très Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Chef de l'Opposition,
Chambre des Communes,
Ottawa.

Cher Monsieur Meighen,

Permettez-moi d'abord de vous féliciter sur votre victoire personnelle, et sur le fait que vous êtes en tête du plus fort groupe.

Je crois donc qu'avant longtemps, vous serez le premier Ministre du pays, ce que je désire ardemment, dans l'intérêt de notre patrie.

Vous avez bien dû trouver que je n'étais pas un bien bon prophète, quant au district de Québec, mais je me permets de vous signaler tout de suite, les raisons de votre échec:-

1o- Absence de presse, pour rencontrer la campagne de calomnies, faite contre vous depuis des années, par les journaux libéraux;

2o- Erreur de tactique, dans le mouvement de Monsieur Patenaude.

Je reste convaincu, comme je vous l'ai toujours dit, que si vous étiez venu dans la Province de Québec, et que si Patenaude vous eût reconnu comme chef, le ré-

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057198

sultat aurait été différent.

3o La campagne de Bourassa, dans le Devoir, contre vous, a une influence formidable sur les électeurs.

Dans mon comté, où je me suis présenté comme votre candidat, et non celui de Patenaude, je suis battu par une majorité de trois à quatre cents, la plus petite de toute la province, et après une lutte effrénée de tous nos adversaires. La majorité libérale est réduite de 3700 à probablement 400.

S'il m'était permis de vous donner un conseil quand vous formerez le gouvernement, c'est de ne pas oublier la Province de Québec, et je crois qu'avec quelques temps à notre disposition, nous pouvons refaire la ~~moralité~~ mentalité de notre Province, qui n'est pas mauvaise, mais simplement aveuglée.

Il faut pour cela des journaux, et des chefs sincères et actifs. Les sénateurs de notre district n'ont absolument rien fait pour nous aider. Mais si vous aviez besoin d'un siège de sénateur pour Québec, pour un de vos ministres, je crois qu'il y en a un en vue, et si cela peut vous être utile, je vous donnerai plus de renseignements à ce sujet, si vous en avez besoin,

Veuillez me croire,

Votre toujours dévoué,

A. Lacoursière

LAV/JB.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057199

Ottawa, November 7, 1925.

Dear Mr. Lavergne:

I have your letter of the 30th October. Will not answer at any length as I am to have the pleasure of seeing you in the course of a very few hours. Will then discuss all these subjects with you.

Kindest regards.

Yours very sincerely,

Armand Lavergne, Esq.,
93 Rue Saint-Pierre,
Quebec, Que.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Form 6128
Replacing Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

057200

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. W. G. BARBER, General Manager

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12MOGR 12

W MONTREAL QUE 1130AM 8 NOV 1925

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 516

OTTAWA ONT

WILL ARRIVE TEN FIFTEEN IF TOO LATE PLEASE LEAVE WORD AT CHATEAU

LAVERGNE.

1155AM

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY'S TELEGRAPH

057201

FORM T.D. 1 X.

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

47RA. Y 12 1125PM.

W.MONTREAL,Q.,NOV., 9 1925. 1028PM.

172

RT.HON.ARTHUR MEIGHEN,

OTTAWA,ONT.

OUR MAN WILL BE IN OTTAWA TUESDAY NOON OR WEDNESDAY LATEST WRITING.

LAVERGNE.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057202

ARMAND LAVERGNE
AVOCAT
93 RUE SAINT-PIERRE
QUEBEC

2/XI/25.

Rt. Hon. A. Meighen.
Ottawa.

Dear Mr Meighen.

Many thanks for your very kind letters received this morning. I am heart broken over Quebec, specially as a Canadian, but there are many reasons for the situation.

I will give you my considered opinion of the situation when I see you. Any time you need me, just send me a call & I will go to Ottawa, very discretely.

In attendance I want you to understand that I have no personal ambitions, only that of helping you & us so doing Canada.

Yours very faithfully,
A. Lavergne.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CABLE ADDRESS "WINDREAL"

057203

THE Windsor ON DOMINION SQUARE Montreal

DONAT RAYMOND, PRESIDENT D. B. MULLIGAN, MAN. DIR.

Tuesday

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen
Ottawa.

Dear Mr Meighen.

When you get this you will probably have seen Roy of Bagot. If not he will be in Ottawa Wednesday morn.

In case he has not reached Ottawa I give the information I got round from him.

The country is entirely French & hardly anyone understands English.

Majority was about 1450 liberal. Manaile getting a rather large majority.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CABLE ADDRESS "WINDREAL"

057204

THE
Windsor
ON DOMINION SQUARE
Montreal

DONAT RAYMOND, PRESIDENT D.B. MULLIGAN, MAN. DIR.

they write.
Gaultier was well liked
specially by the women.
(not unexpected!!) & would
be keen on running again.
Security would not be
strong.
As far as I am concerned
I understand they are
sore at me for having
disappointed them.
They are remunerators willing
to fight the liberal
candidate & win the
seat with the best candi-
date that can be found.
There are many local am-
bitions amongst the liber-
als & that causes perp-
exities amongst them.
On Gaultier, our man,
would not accept running.

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CANADA

CABLE ADDRESS "WINDREAL"

057205

THE Windsor
ON DOMINION SQUARE
Montreal

DONAT RAYMOND, PRESIDENT D.B. MULLIGAN, MAN. DIR.

time.
As far as the issue of the battle is concerned they think it might be done, mais ce serait très cher.
I am going back to Quebec if you need me, would you kindly let me know a few days in advance, so I can arrange court business time, before I go to Ottawa.
If you could find time to spend a week end in Quebec I see even reminds some suggestions would probably come to light a nature.
On the other hand I ponder-

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CABLE ADDRESS "WINDREAL"

057206

THE
Windsor
ON DOMINION SQUARE
Montreal

DONAT RAYMOND, PRESIDENT D.B. MULLIGAN, MAN. DIR.

you need a few days rest
& I do not want to
impose upon you.
If you could find a few days
in the bush with Bryce
- myself it could be ar-
ranged easily.
In the mean time & al-
ways I remain at your
disposal sincerely
A. Lathington

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057207

Ottawa, November 12, 1925.

Dear Mr. Lavergne:

I duly received your letter written Tuesday. Have seen Mr. Roy and discussed very thoroughly with him the situation in Bagot. Have also had a report from Mr. Gauthier. I expect the writ for this county to be issued in less than a week. It is not an easy proposition, but we pranplangang at it. Thanking you for your help.

Yours very sincerely,

Armand Lavergne, Esq.,
93 St. Peter St.,
Quebec, Que;

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057208

Ottawa Nov.12th 1925.

Dear Mr.Lavergne,-

Herewith I am sending you copy of a letter I have received from a prominent Montrealer, which I thought might be of interest.

With kindest regards,

Yours very truly,

Armand Lavergne, Esq.,
Barrister,
Quebec City, P.Q.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057209

ARMAND LAVERGNE
AVOCAT
93 RUE SAINT-PIERRE
QUEBEC

Quebec, November, 16th., 1925.

The Honourable Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

Thank you very much for your two letters and the copy you semt me.

I believe that work is only beginning in Quebec and that you will yet see your day in our Province. You understand what a mountain of prejudice and lies has been raised against you; but with a good paper and proper organization we san master it in the end.

If you need me in Bagot, will you tell the organisation to let me know a few days in advance.

Hoping you are recuperating against all your fatigues,

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

A. Lavergne

LAV/JB.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057210

FORM T.D. 1 X.

CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY'S TELEGRAPH

TELEGRAM

CABLE CONNECTIONS TO ALL THE WORLD

J. McMILLAN, General Manager of Telegraphs, Montreal.

RA109 25

QUEBEC Q NOV 24-25 254

228

MR MERRIAM

PTE SEC HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN OTTAWA ONT

PLEASE SEND ME VOLUME OF HANSARD SESSION 1918 RE VOTE FIVE HUNDRED MILLIONS FOR PURSUANCE OF WAR WILL RETURN AFTER BAGOT ELECTION

ARMAND LAVERGNE

3.08 PM

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057211

144 Grande Allée.

Quebec. December 8th/25.

Dear Mr Meighen,

I am very glad you went to Bagot, and I hear, from all sides, you made strong speeches, in good french — Do not mind if Bagot failed you: there are such good reasons for it.

I told Hon. Mr Rogers, three weeks ago, in Montreal, that Mr Pantin was not the candidate for Bagot, nor Senator Lesperance. The

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

proper organiser 057212 Armand
knew the county very well – spent
two weeks there, last summer,
staying with Jarmes –
He would have run there, but
dear Mr Patenaude would not
finance —

Armand stood the Patenaude
movement – but could not
stand the L'espérance organisation
and only stayed two days in
Bagot –

I am anxious to hear very
soon from yourself Why you

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

thought of not coming to Quebec during general elections – because the bright man – keen and observer – took over the Ross Rifle factory years ago, does his own thinking and must be convinced that he can handle a situation better than a lieutenant?

I lost track of you during the last campaign – and I hate losing old friends –

I regret the lack of union amongst conservatives, in Quebec I think that Armand with his personality – spirit of fair play,

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CANADA

honest & reliable. independent of all
Bergeys & Cos is the most capable
of pulling the party together.
We would need a good french
paper and help from Ottawa.
And we want you to keep in
touch with us all.

Armand has rivals but no
real enemies — 12 years
parliamentary experience. splendid
debater — organised and took
Drake County in 1906. Drummond
Arthabaska in 1910.
Led the Nationalist movement

057214

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

in 1911 and took 27 counties.
Refused to be Secretary of State.
Got L. P. Pelletier a portfolio
who afterwards kicked him.

Will you forgive me this
long note? and remember
me kindly to Mrs Meighen.

A bientôt j'espère —

Sincerely Yours

Georgette Lavergne.

057215

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057216

Ottawa, Dec. 10, 1925.

Mrs. Armand Lavergne,
144 Grande Allée,
Quebec, P.Q.

Dear Mrs. Lavergne:

I am exceedingly pleased to receive your very kind letter of the 8th December. Will not have the least hesitation in answering the questions you ask. Indeed I was anxious for a talk with your husband on the occasion of our meeting in Bagot county but my difficulty was I was working so hard to be able to make a short French speech that I could not talk to anybody, and after the meeting I was disappointed in not seeing him.

I certainly was anxious to go into the province of Quebec in the late contest. I am sure you will realize, however, that after Mr. Patenaude took the stand he did, that is independent of myself, it was impossible for me to go without confusing the situation and doing harm. I would have preferred, and indeed very strongly urged that Mr. Patenaude and his friends come direct with us in full support of the Canadian Conservative principles.

No one appreciates more than

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ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

I the splendid stand your husband has taken. I know something of the considerable influence he exerts, and look forward to that influence growing from year to year. It will be my earnest endeavour to be worthy of the confidence he has so frankly and so fearlessly declared.

As regards the conduct of the campaign in Bagot county there were reasons which made it clearly wise to handle the matter as it was handled. These I will very gladly explain to your husband when I see him. After all we did very well. Certain events Overseas which occurred in the last week injured us much. The absence of a newspaper is, as you say, a great handicap and in view of all the circumstances the fight was very creditable indeed.

Yours sincerely,

057217

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

ARMAND LAVERGNE
AVOCAT
93 RUE SAINT-PIERRE
QUEBEC

057218

Quebec, June 9th., 1926.

Revised

Honourable Arthur Meighen,
House of Communes,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr. Meighen:-

I feel it my duty to tender you my resignation as president of the Liberal-Conservatice Association of the district of Quebec.

I hope you will understand that it is not dictated by any ill-feeling against you. You know in what high esteem I hold you personally and as leader of the conservative party.

But as Senator Lespérance has not thought it worth consulting any of our organization as to the representation of our district at the Montreal meeting, I believe that, in continuing to occupy the chair of the Association, I cannot do any good and that I am on the contrary a thorn in the side of the new organizer.

Before making my resignation public and tendering it to the Liberal-Conservative Association of the Quebec district, I thought it ~~is~~ proper

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CANADA

057219

ARMAND LAVERGNE
AVOCAT
93 RUE SAINT-PIERRE
QUÉBEC

to notify first.

I have endeavoured in the last campaign to defend your ideals and specially your personality before the elections of our province and I feel very proud to have done so.

And I hope you will rest assured that I remain,

Your faithful admirer,

A. Lavergne

LAV/JB.-

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057220

492

Ottawa, June 11, 1936.

Dear Mr. Lavergne:

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 9th June. There seems to have been some misunderstanding or mistake in connection with the arrangements for the delegation from Quebec City to the Forum Meeting. Just yesterday I had a letter from Mr. Rivard and I must frankly say both his letter and yours are to me a matter of regret.

Of course it would not ~~seem~~ to me resignations should be sent, but I would suggest that you do not act hastily in the matter. The Forum Meeting was really a wonderful success and it would be too bad to have the effects marred by subsequent friction. I feel sure the subject will be cleared up soon and I am working to that end.

Yours very sincerely,

Armand Lavergne, Esq.,
93 St. Peter St.,
Quebec, Que.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

2

057221

Form 6122
Replacing Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. W. G. BARBER, General Manager

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27BYQ 22

QUEBEC QUE 230P 21 JUNE 1926

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN

HU ONT

WILL BE IN OTTAWA TUESDAY NOON CAN YOU HAVE ITEM PAINT OXIDE CO WORKS PETITEROMAINE WHARF SUSPENDED UNTIL I SEE YOU

ARMAND LAVERGNE

3PM

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

057222

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Form 6122
Replacing Form 1-TW

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1926 JUN 21 PM 2 41
STANDARD TIME

OA190 22

QUEBEC QUE 21 225 P

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 430

OTTAWA ONT

WILL BE IN OTTAWA TUESDAY NOON CAN YOU HAVE ITEM PAINT OXIDE CO WORKS PETITE ROMAINE WHARF SUSPENDED UNTIL I SEE YOU

Answer. ARMAND LAVERGNE.

We do as you request
A W Merriam
Secretary

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Form 6122
Replacing Form 1-TW

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

057222

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1926 JUN 21 PM 2 41
STANDARD TIME

OA190 22

QUEBEC QUE 21 225 P

RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 430
OTTAWA ONT

WILL BE IN OTTAWA TUESDAY NOON CAN YOU HAVE ITEM PAINT
OXIDE CO WORKS PETITE ROMAINE WHARF SUSPENDED
UNTIL I SEE YOU

Answer. ARMAND LAVERGNE.

Will do as you request
A W Morrison
Secretary

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057223

Form 6102, replacing Form 2A-T.W.

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
Day Message	
Day Letter	
Night Message	
Night Letter	

Patrons should mark an X opposite the class of service desired; OTHERWISE THE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE TELEGRAM

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT.

W. G. BARBER, GENERAL MANAGER

Exclusive Connection with WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. Cable Service to all the World Money Transferred by Telegraph

RECEIVER'S NO.	TIME FILED	CHECK

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Ottawa, June 21, 1926.

492

Armand LaVergne, Esq.,

Barrister, etc.,

Quebec, P.Q.

Chief will do as you request.

A.W. Merriam

Secretary.

Charge Hon. A. Meighen.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057224

THE SENATE
CANADA

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Quebec, October 31st. 1925.

Right Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Ottawa.

Dear Mr.Meighen :-

I wired you from Montreal,yesterday, to congratulate you on your well deserved victory. But I could not,on a telegram,convey to you the great pleasure your success has caused me. I consider the result of this election a great triumph for you personally. You have smashed,forever I hope,that conspiracy which, while desirous to defeat the King Government, was perhaps still more anxious to depose you as Leader of the Conservative Party.

This is neither the time nor the place to give my views on the campaign just waged in Quebec. Suffice to say,for the present,that had the support given Patenaude and his group,been given to the men who stood by the Conservative Party and by yourself in the sombre days of the war,the result would not have been worse;on the contrary,it would,in my humble but very firm opinion,have been very much better. I,in unison

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CANADA

057225

THE SENATE
CANADA

with thousands of my fellow compatriots,considered as a great personal injustice to yourself and also as a gratuitous insult on the French Canadians the fact that you were debarred from visiting the Province of Quebec during the last election. I am absolutely convinced that you would have been personally received and greeted as well,if not better,than Mr.King was.

No permanent headway can be made in this Province until such time as you find and entrust with your confidence public men who are not afraid to espouse and defend the policies and ideals you profess yourself. A house divided amongst itself cannot reign. Our people are not what certain interested or ignorant people would have you believe. They love courage and sincerity and they would soon realise that you have these two virtues in abundance. But how can we make any headway against the liberal party, which is interested in blackmailing you,unless you surround yourself with men possessed of enough political sense to frankly and courgeously stand by you ?

L'Evenement is the only French daily paper in the Province which upheld your policies from first to last. In one or two editorials ,the paper deplored the fact that you were not invited to hold a few meetings in our Province. The group

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CANADA

057226

THE SENATE
CANADA

which would keep you out of Quebec was never able to put its hands on l'Evenement. I trust that you now realise why I was so much victimised on account of that paper, by the very men who, on a sign from certain interests in Montreal, were ready to turn their back upon you. They may say what they like today; to save their face they will put forth all kind of excuses; but the fact remains that the same conspirators, who knifed you in 1921, were behind the Patenaude movement, at this election, and for the very same purpose they had then in view. Had Mr. Patenaude come with us openly and sincerely, it would no doubt have helped; but the moment he tied himself hands and feet to that group, he was heading towards certain defeat; while we, French Canadians, unjustly bear the stigma of having debarred you from visiting this Province, whose inhabitants count among the most generous, the most courteous and the most broadminded in this Dominion.

Yours faithfully,

D O L'Esperance

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057227

Ottawa 5th Nov.1925.

Dear Senator L'Esperance,-

I hasten to thank you for your kind telegram of the 30th ultimo. There have been disappointments in the campaign and I very much regret that members of the Government and their candidates succeeded again in diverting the minds of a large portion of our country from the real issues. It is gratifying, however, that the Government itself has been decisively defeated. Again thanking you, believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Hon. D.O.L'Esperance,
Montreal, P.Q.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057228

Canadian National Telegraphs.

Senator L'Esperance,
care Senator L.C. Webster,
Board Trade Bldg.,
Montreal,

Ottawa, Nov. 5, 1925.

Would like when down this way please see me here if possible.

Arthur Meighen.

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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Form 6122
Replacing Form 1-TW

057229

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MDA48 15

CX MONTREAL QUE 6 927 A

041

RIGHT HONORABLE ARTHUR MEIGHEN

HOUSE OF COMMONS OTTAWA ONT

WIRE RECEIVED LEAVING FOR OTTAWA ONE OCLOCK WILL MEET YOU YOUR OFFICE FIVE THIS AFTERNOON

D O LESPERANCE.

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 1 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 110)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057230

Ottawa, Nov. 10, 1925.

Honourable D.O. L'Esperance,

Quebec, P.Q.

My dear Senator:

As I had the advantage of a talk with you since the writing of your letter of Oct. 31st, no extended reply is necessary. Suffice to say that I hage since given thought to the representations you have made, and to the understanding we have arrived at, and I have no desire to alter in the least that understanding. The opinion I expressed then as to the conduct of the campaign in the late contest in Quebec I adhere to unwaveringly.

Yours sincerely,

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

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CANADA

057231

CANADIAN PACIFIC TELEGRAPHS

Ottawa 11th November, 1925.

Hon. D.O.L'Esperance
c/o Honourable L.C.Webster
Montreal

Would like see you here today or tomorrow.

Arthur Meighen

Charge Rt. Hon. A.Meighen
Ottawa

MEIGHEN PAPERS, Series 3 (M.G. 26, I, Volume 100)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
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CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

057232 Form 6125, replacing Form 1-TW long.

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

HEAD OFFICE, TORONTO, ONT. W. G. BARBER, GENERAL MANAGER

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ACTONVALE QUE DEC 7TH 1925

RIGHT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN 611

OTTAWA ONT

BAGOT HAS NOT ELECTED HON FAUTEUX BUT THE LIBERAL MAJORITY WAS REDUCED BY OVER THREE HUNDRED THE TOWN OF ACTONVALE WHERE I HAD MY HEADQUARTERS HAS NOBLY DONE ITS DUTY IN REDUCING THE LIBERAL MAJORITY BY TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY FOUR WITH PRACTICALLY ONLY A WEEK AT MY DISPOSAL I WAS UNABLE TO BE EVERYWHERE EVERY OTHER PARISH WAS COVERED AS WELL AS POSSIBLE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES THE RESULT CLEARLY INDICATES THAT YOUR PRESENCE WAS HIGHLY APPRECIATED AND THAT THE FEDERAL ORGANIZATION AT THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION WAS WRONG AS NOT INVITING YOU TO VISIT THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC HERE IN ACTONVALE WHERE I FULLY EXPLAINED THE WORKING OF THE MILITARY SERVICE ACT OF 1917 THE RESULT WAS ASTONISHING AND BEYOND MY MOST SANGUINE EXPECTATION IF THIS POLICY IS ADHERED TO IN FUTURE YOU WILL SOON BECOME THE IDOL OF QUEBEC THE WOMEN WERE WITH [illegible] MORE THAN EVER AND WILL BE A GREAT FACTOR IN FAVOUR OF YOUR CAUSE FROM NOW ON THE CAMPAIGN OF ABUSES AGAINST YOU PERSONALLY HAS RUN ITS COURSE

D O LESPERANCE.

355AM

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057233

Ottawa, December 8, 1935.

My dear Senator:

I just received this forenoon your lettergram. Last-night I wired Mr. Fauteux at St. Pie and hope he received my telegram. Well the fight is over and while we did not win we put up a creditable contest. When one considers the circumstances, two Governments against us, no newspaper, and, super-added to this, the senseless statemend heralded through the press from Admiral Jellicoe, and, as well, the newspaper flaring again alleged rupture between Turkey and Great Britain, all these things were pretty hard to completely overcome. It remains only that I thank you most warmly for the plucky fight you organized and especially for the work done in Actonvale. I hope it will be possible to leave our friends in good spirits and resolute for the next struggle. The reduction in the majority at least was encouraging.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. D.O. L'Esperance,

one to Actonvale and one
c/o L.C. Webster.

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CLASS OF SERVICE	SYMBOL
Day Message	
Day Letter	Blue
Night Message	Nite
Night Letter	N L

If none of these three symbols appears after the check (number of words) this is a day message. Otherwise its character is indicated by the symbol appearing after the check.

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RT HON ARTHUR MEIGHEN MP.

OTTAWA ONT

MY VERY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR WELL DESERVED VICTORY

Hon' D O LESPERANCE.

Dear Senator L'Esperance

USE OUR DIRECT ALL-CANADA SERVICE TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA POINTS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

057235

THE SENATE
CANADA

Private

Confidential

Quebec, February 1st.1926

Right Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition.
Ottawa.

Dear Mr.Meighen :-

I beg to enclose copy of a personal letter received from Mr.John H.Price,which I think,you will be glad to peruse as the personal references to you are very complimentary. I had the pleasure to lunch with him today and I have his permission to send you copy of this letter.

Mr.Price appears to be very desirous to help; although,of course, as President of Price Bros.he does not think it would be quite proper to take a very open and active part . While it is only recently that I have had a chance to know him personally, I am convinced that he possesses these rare qualities which appeal to all men. He feels rather sympathetic to the Taschereau Government.In this,he shares the views of the great majority of the business men of Quebec. This is the very serious and delicate situation we have to face in our Province. It will have to be handled carefully as a false movement may prove fatal. I hope, with a little time and patience to be able to bring an understanding which may

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THE SENATE
CANADA

prove satisfactory to all concerned . I am quite pleased with the progress made so far; a much better feeling already exists in Quebec .

Yours sincerely,

D. O. L. Spence

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Copy

Quebec ,January 25th 26

Personal

Honorable D.O.L'Espérance.
The Senate .
Ottawa.

My dear Senator :-

Many thanks,indeed, for your letter,with enclosurrs, I have read the clipping from the"Gazette" with great interest as it had escaped my notice.

In speaking to you the other day I hope I did not give you the impression that I wanted to criticize Mr.Meighen'd stanf in relation to the Progressive Party. I think that he has been consistent,courageous and true to the principles of the Conservative Party,but I do not take exception to what was said in the House by Mr.Guthrie. I feel sure that what Mr.Guthrie said did not have Mr.Meighen's full approval,but nevertheless,as leader of the Party,he has to assume responsibility for the utterances of so prominent a lieutenant as Mr.Guthrie.

However,far be it from me to criticize political strategy when I know nothing about it,and I can only judge the moral aspect of such moves as they appeal to my own mind.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) John H.Price.

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Ottawa, February 5, 1926.

My dear Senator:

Many thanks for your letter of the 1st instant. Captain Price appears to have developed very rapidly and to have fitted into a very high position at an exceedingly early age. I am very glad to note the interest he is taking in politics and earnestly trust that he will see his way to associate himself more closely with that great sphere of activity. I congratulate you on the progress you are making. I am getting some good news every day.

Yours very truly,

Hon. D.O. L'Esperance,
The Senate,
Ottawa.

Send to Quebec instead

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THE SENATE
CANADA

057239

Montreal, February 11th., 1926.

Private and Confidential.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

Senator Webster has shown me Mr. Cameron's letter which you have sent to him.

It is all very nice, except that Mr. Cameron, like many other men who have not closely followed the history of the Conservative and Liberal parties, bases his arguments on false premises. In looking over past history, I cannot find anything in the acts or words of the leaders of the Federal Conservative Party ever since the death of Sir John A. Macdonald that can be interpreted as hostile or antagonistic to the minorities or to the Catholic Hierarchy. As I have been continually telling all those of our men whom I have been able to meet of late, the Conservative Party in this Province has forgotten that it was a Provincial Liberal Government which has interfered with the minority rights in Manitoba, while it was a Federal Conservative Government and Party which lost power and its popularity in attempting to have those rights restored in accordance with the demands of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of this country, and it was the Federal Liberal Party, headed by a French-Canadian Roman Catholic, that prevented the Conservative Party from carrying out its programme.

I think perhaps you might write in this sense to Mr. Cameron, putting it of course much better and more strongly than I can do myself. If you have no objection, perhaps you would also add that you have entrusted me with the organization of the Conservative Party in the Province of Quebec,

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THE SENATE
CANADA

and that you would be very pleased if he could arrange a meeting with me. You may assure him that I will be pleased to go and see him wherever and at any time that is suitable to him.

Although things may look quiet to many, I can assure you that I am losing no time. I am amking a full inventory of the whole situation in the Province of Quebec. I am getting lists prepared so as to be able to reach every class of the population in every County at a moments notice, by circulars, pamphlets or otherwise. This was entirely lacking, and I consider it is of the utmost importance that the ground should be prepared. We have good men in each County, when the time comes to start meetings, but I do not believe in the effectiveness of meetings unless the ground has been prepared.

Please keep this private, as I do not want our opponents to know what I am doing: Some of our well meaning friends in Quebec are so indiscreet!

Faithfully yours,

D. L. Sevanne

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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Ottawa, Feb. 12, 1926.

Honourable D.O. L'Esperance,
Montreal.

Dear Senator L'Esperance:

Mr. Meighen has asked me to say to you that he has replied to Mr. J.A.H. Cameron whose letter you have already read, suggesting that Mr. Cameron get in touch with you. I am sending you copy of Mr. Meighen's letter to Mr. Cameron.

Yours faithfully,

Cameron letter file 17

Private Secretary.

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Ottawa, February 15, 1926.

Dear Senator L'Esperance:

I had a long talk with Mr. Boulais on general matters last Thursday evening. This morning I received from him a communication enclosing some others all to the effect that steps should be immediately taken in the county of Richelieu to hold a convention and that if the county is to be won a change in candidate will be necessary. I am not sending copy of these communications to you as I have not had his permission. I enclose, however, copy of my reply to Mr. Boulais.

see file 17

Yours very truly,

Hon. D.O. L'Esperance,
The Senate,
Ottawa.

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Ottawa, Feb. 19, 1926.

Honourable D.O. L'Esperance,

Montreal.

My dear Senator:

Ross McMaster was in to-day and pressed upon me the need of getting ready in Quebec for a bye-election as in his opinion Mr. Marler is very likely to contest a seat. It would seem that if Marler does run it will either be in Missiquoi-Brome or in Richmond-Wolfe. I presume you know P.C. Armstrong of Sweetsburg. He seems to know the first county pretty well. Dr. Hayes is or was our chief man in the latter county. However, you know these counties better than I. I merely pass on the suggestion. For myself I think it is about even odds whether a vacancy is made for Marler or not.

Yours very truly,

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THE SENATE
CANADA

Montreal, February 19th., 1926.

Private and Confidential

Dear Mr. Meighen:

Mr. J. E. C. Bumbray is giving a dinner on Monday evening to a large number of friends, at which I will be the guest of honour. His first intention was to invite you to be present to say a few words in regard to the organization, but I have represented to him that you are so busy in Ottawa that it would no doubt be asking too much to come down at the present time, and the same object will be accomplished by your writing a letter to

Mr. J. E. C. Bombray,
Advocate,
92 Notre Dame Street East,
Montreal.

giving your reasons for not being able to attend and thanking them for co-operating with me in the organization of the Conservative Party.

I can assure you that the real workers of the Conservative Party are behind you in the Province of Quebec, and they have shown a willingness to help and co-operate with me to an extent that I had not even anticipated. I have now before me a fair inventory of the situation in the Province, and the real work is going to start. I have discarded affairs which would have distracted me from this important work, and will devote, from now on, practially all my time to the organization. I intend in the very near future to visit the principal centres

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of the Province and then will go through each County.

I would thank you to mail your letter to Mr. Bombray so that he will surely get it Monday morning.

Yours faithfully,

D. O. Sullivan

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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Ottawa, Feb. 20, 1926.

Honourable D.O. L'Esperance,
c/o Mr. Bender,
Mgr., Royal Bank,
Cor. St. Denis & St. Catherine Sts.,
Montreal.

My dear Senator:

I just received your letter of the 19th referring to the Monday night supper given in your honour by Mr. Bumbray. Have written Mr. Bumbray in reply as per copy of my letter attached. It is being mailed at noon topday.

There could be no more pleasant news than that contained in the latter part of your letter. I feel certain your tact and determination will overcome all obstacles.

Yours very truly,

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057247

THE SENATE
CANADA

Montreal, February 19th., 1926.

Private and Confidential.

Dear Mr. Meighen:

I met Mr. Wm. Morgan, ex candidate in Richelieu County in Montreal yesterday.

I understand that there has been work going on in the County of Richelieu to call a convention, and at the same time, that circulars were being sent out in the County to ask Mr. Boulais, ex candidate in the County of Yamaska, to run in Richelieu.

I understood that Mr. Boulais had an interview with you in Ottawa. Mr. Boulais, after his interview, telephoned to Mr. Provost, Official Stenographer of Sorel (the party through whom this convention was being organized) to tell him that he had been in Ottawa to see you and that everything was alright. I am sure that Mr. Boulais did not correctly represent you when he led the people of Richelieu to believe that you were behind him in this convention, and this is most unfortunate. A convention called under such conditions will split our friends in the County of Richelieu.

I immediately got in touch with Mr. Provost, whom I know very well, and he told me that had he been informed that I had something to do with the organization, he would never have proceeded on the lines he did, but that unfortunately it was rather late now, as the delegates had been called for today, Friday.

I understand that Hon. Mr.

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Fauteux was aware of what was going on, and I have expressed to him my surprise that he never communicated with me in that respect, as he knew very well that I had been entrusted by you with the organization. Mr. Fauteux left yesterday for Sorel, and I told him that he should persuade the friends down there to put off the convention. I have succeeded in obtaining a letter from Mr. Morgan that if the convention is put off and another one called regularly, he would agree to submit to the choice of the convention, and help co-operate with whoever is chosen as candidate.

My object in writing this is to emphasize once more how important it is that you say to whoever calls upon you in regard to the organization in the Province of Quebec that I have been entrusted with this organization, to see me and to co-operate with me. You will be relieved of a lot of unnecessary worry and trouble, and I know that it will be easy for me to fix these troubles provided I am made aware of them.

In future, you will always be able to reach me through Mr. Arthur Lalonde, Lawyer, 35 St. James Street, Montreal, (telephone Main 8494) in day time. After office hours his residence is 843 St. Hubert Street (East 2281-'phone) Mr. Lalonde has agreed to give me all his time, and he will always be able to tell you where I am, or you may entrust him with any message for me. In future, please address all letters for me in Montreal at his office, 35 St. James Street.

Yours faithfully,

D. O'L Espérance

Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario.

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057249

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Ottawa, February 20, 1926.

Dear Senator L'Esperance:

Referring to yours of the 19th and Mr. Boulais' visit. On the visit referred to Mr. Boulais took up so many subjects that the matter of the convention was more or less incidental. I gave no authority and made very clear to him that I never interfered in such matters and could not give authority. As soon as he returned he wrote me and asked for authority by wire. I sent him a reply by wire immediately and also a letter, copy of which has already gone to you embodying the telegram. You will see by this that I carried out just what you suggest in yours of the 19th.

Yours very truly,

Hon. D.O. L'Esperance,
c/o Mr. Bender,
Manager, Royal Bank of Canada,
St. Denis and St. Catherine Sts.,
Montreal.

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057250

THE SENATE
CANADA

Quebec, February 20th.1926.

Private & Confidential

Right Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition. Ottawa

Dear Mr.Meighen :-

With further reference to my letter of the 19th.Re-Convention in the County of Richelieu-. I am informed that Mr.Morgan and his friends were not even admitted to the room where the convention was taking place and that the result of the convention at which Mr.Boulais was proposed and chosen is considered nul by Mr.Morgan and his friends . If it is true that the latter were not admitted to the convention room, I do not blame them for refusing to stand by the convention.

I am getting in touch with some of the friends in Richelieu and will visit Sorel on Thursday evening, the 25th. instant.

Will you kindly drop me a word c/o Mr. Arthur Lalonde ,Room 23, 35 St James street,Montreal ,to say that you are pleased to hear that I am going in the County of Richelieu and that you trust all the friends of the conservative cause will get together and unite in the interest of the Party.

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I have this to say of Mr.Morgan,the ex-candidate: he has shown a sincere desire to do his share to bring harmony by giving me a letter in which he accepts in advance the choice of a regularly called convention. He may be all that his opponents say;but,after all,he has stood for the Party in the dark as well as in the happy days,for the last thirty years. He is or has been Mayor of his city and he has his friends. He also owns the "Sorelois" a local conservative paper. It is foolish to attempt to win the County by trying to kick such a man as he, out of the ranks.

Yours faithfully.

D. O. L. Espérance

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CANADA

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THE SENATE
CANADA

Quebec, February 21st. 1926.

Private and Confidential

Honorable Arthur Meighen,
Leader of the Opposition.
Ottawa.

Dear Mr.Meighen :-

I have received yesterday only your letter dated February 15th. re Mr.Boulais and the Richelieu convention. This letter was addressed to me at the Senate,but it was certainly not in my box when I reached Ottawa on Tuesday the 16th. From the Senate,it was re-addressed to Quebec and enclosed in a package containing copies of the Hansard .

I may say that neither Mr.Boulais nor Mr. Fauteux communicated with me in regard to this matter. I was kept in absolute ignorance until,at your request,I met Mr.Morgan in Montreal,on Thursday morning.Mr. Provost claims that Mr.Boulais telephoned from Montreal to say he had your authority to proceed with this convention.

I have already written you to say what I did after meeting Mr.Morgan.Today,Sunday, I have received a telephone call from Mr.Provost. I do not care to repeat this conversation as I do not hold Mr.Provost responsible for all he said. I have my own opinion as to who was behind him to urge him on to this conversation. I may say that Mr.Provost,who is as nice and courteous a gentleman asthe average, told me that if I continued to interfere,many shorthand notes taken in Bagot might be published and prove very unpleasant for me. This is nothing short of black mail. Once more, I do not hold Mr.Provost responsible as I feel certain that he was lead on to this by someone more audacious and less scrupulous than he is himself.

I fully realize now why Mr.Boulais, while he was at the Grand Central Hotel,at St.Hyacinthe,always had on hand a stenographer to take notes of everything that was going on when visitors were there. I remarked to him,at the time, that this was a very dangerous precedent and one which might

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THE SENATE
CANADA

lead to trouble. If I say this ,it is not that I care in the least about what Mr.Provost or any one else might have to say against me, but it is to makeyou realize what type of flibusteers some of those so called loyal friends are.

Mr.Provost told me,over the telephone,that he was preparing a confidential report to you. I trust that you will take no action in this matter until I am in a position to see that report and advise you .

As I did not want to prolong the conversation over thetelephone,I asked Mr.Provost to meet me in Montreal on Thursday noon,and he promised to do so. It is possible that after meeting him,I may proceed to Ottawa.

I need hardly repeat here how important it is that I be communicated with immediately in all matters affecting the organization in the Province of Quebec. Had I been advised at once when Boulais went to see you at Ottawa,we might have avoided this imbroglio which may prove now to be somewhat unpleasant and will, at any rate, make me lose time which could be better utilized.

As stated in a previous letter, you will,from now on, be able to reach me promptly through Mr.Arthur Lalonde,lawyer,Montreal,whose address I gave you in another letter.Mr.Lalonde will always know Where I am and how to reach me.

For the last 15 years,the Conservative Party has been defeated in Quebec not so much for the want of numbers as for lack of discipline. What has just taken place in Richelieu is but a repetition of what happened in Quebec since I relinquished the organization after 1911.

Yours faithfully.

D. O. Lespérance

Since dictating this letter,I have received an important letter from His Grace the Bishop of Gaspé,and I feel that I will now have to go to Ottawa on Tuesday next.

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057254

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Ottawa, February 22, 1926.

My dear Senator:

I am indeed glad that you have decided to go into the county of Richelieu. May I express the earnest hope that all our friends there will give most sympathetic consideration to any suggestion you make looking to the unity of our party in that county, and that they will get together and make certain that a united front is presented.

Very sincerely yours,

Hon. D.O. L'Esperance,
c/o Arthur Lalonde, Esq.,
Room 23,
35, St. James St.,
Montreal, P.Q.

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SUMMARY

057255

Sorel, February 22nd, 1926.

Honourable Senator D. O. L'Espérance,
Organizer for the Conservative Party
in the Province of Quebec.

Senator:-

On the 19th of February 1926, a convention was organized to nominate Mr. J. F. F. Boulais Conservative Candidate in the County of Richelieu.

A great portion of our conservative friends in the City of Sorel and in the whole County of Richelieu objects to accept Mr. Boulais as our candidate for the reasons hereinafter set forth:-

I - This convention was not called as it should have been, but was done secretely in order to allow only voters in favor of Boulais or voters directed to support him to be present.

II - This convention was not called by the Conservatives of the County of Richelieu but by a few interested partisans to obtain the nomination of Mr. Boulais as the Conservative Candidate.

- I -

The convention is said to have been called by five persons whose names are: Alphonse Provost, A. Langlois, J. B. Falardeau, A. P. Vanasse and Louis Lacouture,- who have issued notices without consulting any of the leaders of the different parishes of Richelieu. These notices were sent out by telephone or letters to select persons in certain parishes, but the convention was not advertised at the church's door of the different parishes as it should have been.

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For St-Marcel, Ste-Victoire, St-Ours, St-Joseph de Sorel, Village and Parish, the delegates were appointed by telephone. As to the town of Sorel, a meeting was called for 10 o'clock on the morning of the 19th Of February and the convention held in the afternoon. To this meeting the laborers of Sorel could not be present as they were at work, and our conservative friends were not aware of the meeting, which was presided by one named Papillon, a devoted partisan of Mr. Boulais. The meeting was opened, the list of delegates read by the Chairman and the meeting closed immediately without any chance for any one to oppose or nominate other delegates.

It appears that this convention was a conspiracy between Mr. J. F. Boulais and Aimé Chassé and some others to assure the nomination of Mr. Boulais who is not known in this county, being an absolute stranger, and whose financial condition is of no recommendation.

Systematically, the partisans of Mr. Morgan were kept out of the knowledge that this convention was to be held.

PROCEDURES AT THE CONVENTION

It had been known that Senator L'Espérance has issued instructions to Messrs. Provost and Latraverse, two leaders of the convention, that it was the desire of the organizer and also of our Leader that the convention be postponed; and Honourable Mr. André Fauteux, who had accepted to preside at the convention, had been entrusted by Senator L'Espérance to deliver a message to the same effect to the delegates at the meeting. At the opening of the meeting in the afternoon, Messrs. Provost and Latraverse denied having received any direction or letters from Senator L'Espérance, and Mr.

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Fauteux did not in his speech refer to anything. And all the partisans of Mr. Morgan were refused admission in the hall on account of not being regular delegates.

Mr. Boulais, in his speech at the convention, declared that the convention was approved by the Leader of our Party, the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, and without any objection the Convention was held and Boulais nominated.

After the convention was over, a general meeting was held and then the partisans of Mr. Morgan came in and placed before the meeting the fact of the letters and instructions to postpone from Senator L'Espérance to Mr. Provost and Mr. Latraverse and Boulais, and then the delegates saw that they have been mislead and disapproval was general.

The report of Mr. L'Heureux goes on to say that our conservative friends in Richelieu blamed Boulais and the Honourable Mr. Fauteux of having framed up the conspiracy to nominate Boulais.

- II -

This convention was not called by the Conservatives of the County of Richelieu but by a few interested partisans to obtain the nomination of Mr. Boulais as the Conservative Candidate.

The report says that Boulais and Chassé are not electors in the County of Richelieu. They are both known to be in a difficult financial situation and both have not the confidence of our friends in that county.

Mr. Napoléon Latraverse, who was also responsible for this convention, is an undesirable organizer in Sorel. The five gentlemen who have signed the petition are only instruments in the hands of Latraverse and Aimé Chassé, and Boulais.

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The report goes on to say that the convention should be annulled and, if not, it would be the cause of misunderstandings and difficulties. No conservative in the County of Richelieu can accept Boulais who is a stranger in Richelieu and who is supported by Napoléon Latraverse and Aimé Chassé.

The only way to remedy to the whole situation will be for Mr. Boulais to declare that he does not accept the nomination.

A convention could then be called with the approval of the Chief Organizer in the proper way after notices published in every parishes, and the candidate then selected will meet with the approval of the whole Conservative Party of Richelieu.

THE WHOLE RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED.

J. H. A. L'HEUREUX.

Report sent to Senator D. O. L'Espérance by the notary J. A. L'Heureux of Sorel.

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Ottawa, Ont., 23rd February, 1926.

Dear Senator L'Esperance,

I have your letter of the 21st. As I am expecting you today according to the post script in your letter it will not be necessary for me to do more than acknowledge the letter now.

Yours very truly,

The Honourable D.O.L'Esperance,
c/o Arthur Lalonde, Esquire,
Barrister, etc.,
35 St. James Street,
Montreal, Que.,

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Club Carter
Chicago

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Ottawa, Ont., 23rd February, 1926.

1582 St Denis St
McW

CONFIDENTIAL.

Dear Senator L'Esperance:

Speaking at a luncheon about two weeks ago Mr. C.H. Cahan, M.P. for St. Lawrence-St. George, made a statement to the effect that after his many years of service to the Conservative party he found now in his own riding organization work going on against him and going on under the name of the Leader of the Party. I have heard from other sources that Mr. Cahan feels that you have undertaken certain organization work in his county without consulting him.

At the time the statement at the Country Club was made I had not the slightest idea of what he was referring to unless it might be that others were seeking to strengthen themselves with a view to nomination. This, of course, would be the right of any aspirant as long as his work was done in an honourable way. It was quite unjust to associate myself with the charge, as, of course, I had nothing whatever to do with anything of the kind.

I feel also that you similarly have had nothing to do with any unworthy effort to undermine Mr. Cahan. I think, and I am sure you will agree with me, that while a man is a Member of the

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House and giving his support loyally to the Party in the House then he is entitled to be consulted with respect to all matters of organisation in his riding in so far as such organisation is directed by, or assisted by, the Party as a whole. So far as I am concerned this would hold true of all Members, and always has held true with respect to every constituency in Canada. Within the protection of this principle Mr. Cahan is certainly entitled to come.

I would be glad if your views agree with mine or to know if they differ in any way.

Yours very truly,

The Honourable D. O. L'Esperance,
c/o Arthur Lalonde, Esquire,
Barrister, etc.,
35 St. James Street,
Montreal, Que.,

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