

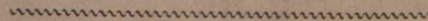
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The  
Canadian Liberal Monthly

Volume 1

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CENTRAL INFORMATION OFFICE  
OF THE  
CANADIAN LIBERAL PARTY  
HOPE CHAMBERS, OTTAWA.  
1914

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# ***THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY***

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## THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

LIBERALISM in Canada has never wanted for advocates and upholders of its principles. It has been fortunate in the powerful support which it has received from the newspaper press and in the able and convincing exposition of its traditions and policies by the party leaders in parliament and in the country. But on these two influences the educational work of Liberalism in Canada has in the main relied. Of pamphleteering there has been but little, less in recent years than in the earlier years of our history. The writing of books on Liberalism has been the work of authors in other lands. What there is of recorded political history is mostly biographical. Our statesmen have been more concerned with the practical application of constructive ideas than with theory or precept.

The national and imperial questions of the present have revived a form of public discussion less fugitive than that of the press, and less ephemeral than that of parliamentary debate or the public platform. The question of reciprocity involved a consideration of issues which are fundamental as regards taxation and trade; the Naval question which has succeeded it, involves political considerations that lie at the very foundations of government and national well-being as they exist in the British Empire to-day. Both questions have produced a volume of political literature unequalled in previous years. Some of the methods and tendencies of public discussion on these subjects have compelled a reconsideration of first principles and a closer examination of the aims and objects of the political parties of the Dominion. In being thus forced to reassert fundamental principles, Liberalism in Canada has gained immensely in strength and vitality, and, its true significance and purpose being better understood, it gives promise of becoming increasingly powerful in moulding and directing public opinion.

THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY is published by the Central Information Office of the Canadian Liberal Party. It appears at this time, neither as a rival nor as a competitor of any of the agencies already at work in the spread of Liberal ideas. Its purpose is rather to co-operate with these by assisting to bring together and preserve, in a form available for ready and permanent reference, expressions of Liberal thought and records of Liberal achievement. Though published in the interests of Liberalism, its appeal is not to partisans, but rather to all persons, irrespective of party, who desire a fair understanding of public ques-

tions and honest, efficient and progressive government in Canada. It appeals to democracy in the best sense of that term, and is the natural outcome of sincere political convictions, and of a belief in the compelling force of an honest presentation of facts.

As its name suggests, THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY will aim at recording from month to month, opinions and events which are of interest to the Liberal party in Canada, and the promotion of Liberal principles in matters of government. Its main purpose is educational. It will seek to give its readers an intelligent appreciation of Liberalism—what Liberalism stands for; what the Liberal party has accomplished for Canada in the past, and what are its present policies and aims. It will present a comprehensive view of the political situation in the Dominion, and of movements affecting Canada in her imperial and international relations. It will endeavour to make clear the lines of cleavage between Liberalism and Conservatism, between the present Government and the present Opposition in parliament. This will be done by fair and impartial statement of the facts as they are, and by a critical examination of the work of the Administration and of the respective attitudes of the political parties on matters of public controversy. The questions of our national defence, trade and transportation, the tariff, finance, agricultural and industrial development, labour, the franchise, social, moral and governmental reform will all receive careful attention. Matters affecting the resources and development of the Dominion will also be dealt with. Special attention will be given the administration of the several Government departments and to the proceedings of parliament. The humorist and the cartoonist will also have their place in the pages of THE MONTHLY.

For the present THE MONTHLY will concern itself primarily with federal politics, and will notice Provincial issues only in so far as they have a direct bearing upon the politics of the Dominion. The same restriction will be exercised in regard to political happenings beyond the borders of Canada. There will be no such limitations, however, with respect to expressed opinions or the experience of other countries or times where these appear to illustrate what Liberalism means and what it has accomplished.

THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY will be published in a form which will permit of the several numbers being bound in a volume at the end of a year. A carefully tabulated index covering the contents of the twelve numbers will be issued to subscribers. In the preparation of current issues, while the interest of the general reader will be a first concern, the purpose of the publication as a work of reference will be kept in mind, as also its possible service to the student of politics, to members of parliament, and to Liberal writers and speakers.

"If there is one thing to which I have given my political life it is to try to promote unity and harmony and amity between the diverse elements of this country."—Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"In our belief, if you give free and local autonomy, there will come the sense of responsibility, and the spirit of tolerance."—Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith.



## PRINCIPLES OF LIBERALISM

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

A man's political faith like his religious faith lacks the vitalizing germ unless he can "give a reason for the faith that is in him." It is true that in politics as in religion one is "born to the faith." As it is put in Pinafore:—

Every boy and every girl  
That's born into this world alive  
Is either a little Liberal  
Or else a little Conservative.

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

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

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

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

Liberalism recognises that the teaching of history shows that progress is more continuous and secure when men are content to deal with great reforms piecemeal than when they seek to destroy root and

branch in order to erect a complete new system which has captured the idealistic imagination. But its grappling with reforms is continuous. Conservatism, while believing in "the god of things as they are," has usually grappled with reforms under the stimulus of an increasingly feared and potent democracy. Liberalism has had to wrench from Conservatism responsible government by the people, manhood suffrage, equal taxation, the right of like opportunity for all classes of the community. Conservatism has clung to precedent, the established order, the old authoritarian basis of government and has yielded but slowly and as a rule only on compulsion.

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

Toryism is ever invoking the forces of reaction, as was evidenced last session in the application of closure by arbitrary and unconstitutional methods, the attempt to centralize in the ministry control of expenditures and in the effort to revert to Downing Street rule in regard to Naval defence.

The main battlements of privilege and vested authority have been won by Liberalism through centuries of struggle. The fight

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

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

First principles must first be grasped before a man can be either a good citizen or an intelligent adherent of the Liberal party. The application of these principles to the problems of Canadian politics in relation to national, imperial and world-wide interests is the work of the Liberal party in Canada.

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

**THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSERVATISM is MISTRUST of the People Qualified by Fear.**

W. E. GLADSTONE.



# THE NEW IMPERIALISM



**T**HE following Press despatches to the Conservative papers of the Dominion, speak for themselves. *Special to The Gazette.* Ottawa, August 21—The following comprise those going on the steamer *Royal George*, to England, in connection with the British manoeuvres. A number of the wives and children of the officers are accompanying them, purely in a personal capacity.

Colonel the Hon Sam Hughes minister of militia and defence; Mrs. Hughes, Miss Aileen Hughes, Miss Ena MacAdam, private secretary; Miss Isobel MacAdam, assistant private secretary; Col. A. E. Cruikshank, Calgary; Col. J. Lyons Biggar, Ottawa; Lieut-Col. J. H. Cowan, and Mrs. Cowan, Portage la Prairie; Col. F. J. Clark Brandon; Lieut.-Col. the Hon. H. F. McLeod, Fredericton, N.B.; Lieut.-Col. S. C. Mewburn, Mrs. Mewburn, Master and Miss Mewburn, Hamilton; Lieut.-Col. W. S. Bruell and Mrs. Buell, Brockville; Lieut.-Col. A. G. F. MacDonald, Alexandria, Ont; Lieut.-Col. R. G. E. Licke, Vancouver; Lieut.-Col. M. S. Mercer, Toronto. Lieut.-Col. F. C. Jamieson, Edmonton; Lieut.-Col. E. A. Howard and Mrs. Howard, Brantford; Lieut.-Col. D. Watson, Mrs. Watson and Miss Watson, Quebec; Lieut.-Col. C. H. Rogers and Mrs. Rogers, Peterboro; Lieut.-Col. J. T. Ostell, Mrs. Ostell and Miss Gravel, Montreal; Lieut.-Col. A. C. MacDonald, Winnipeg; Lieut.-Col. E. S. Wigle, Windsor; Major Peers Davidson, Mrs. Davidson and Miss Phylis Davidson, Montreal; Major Struan, Robertson, Pictou; Major L. Ledue and Mrs. Ledue, Montreal; Captain W. H. Bell, Toronto.

*Special to The Gazette.*—Ottawa, August 22. The part of twenty-two military men, headed by the Minister of Militia, will leave Canada on Saturday for England for the autumn army and divisional

manoeuvres. They will visit the school of Musketry at Hythe, also Woolwich Arsenal, Enfield, Vickers-Maxim, Coventry works, the Whitworth-Armstrong works, the defences at Portsmouth, and, if possible, visit several of the large men-of-war. The divisional manoeuvres at Salisbury Plain and at Aldershot and other centres will be witnessed by the party; Colonel Hughes will personally visit the Continent to study the remount question. He will study the question particularly in Italy and France, also in Germany and in Switzerland.

*Canadian Associated Press:*—London, September 7. Colonel Sam Hughes, Canadian Minister of Militia, who is staying at the Savoy Hotel, preparatory to proceeding to the manoeuvres at Aldershot, is hailed by one newspaper of flamboyant imperialist type, as "Empire Army Herald."

*Ottawa Citizen:*—Quebec, Sept. 8.—A cablegram received this evening from Colonel Watson, 88th Royal Rifles, dated Verne, Switzerland, September 7, states that Colonel Hon. Sam Hughes, minister of militia, and Canadian officers have been occupied three days visiting the strategic positions of the French and German frontiers. Tomorrow they will attend the Swiss army manoeuvres. The party is all well.



## THE BORDEN GOVERNMENT

### Characteristics—Influences—and Tendencies

**THE BORDEN MINISTRY** was formed on the tenth of October 1911. It is therefore on the threshold of its third year of office. A sufficient time has elapsed to enable an estimate to be formed of the Government's capacity, its characteristics and its tendencies, and the influences that are controlling its policy and administration. These influences, which afford a key to all the rest, are identical with the forces that combined to bring the Government into existence.

Despairing of ever gaining power by virtue of a constructive policy, the once formidable Conservative party in Canada determined, in the chance which Reciprocity offered in the campaign of 1911, to throw its best traditions to the winds, and by hook or crook, by alliances natural or unnatural, by pledges consistent or contradictory, by conduct patriotic or unpatriotic, to cripple the power of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and reduce his following in the Commons. In this circumstance, Conservative leaders find an excuse, though not a justification, for much of their compromising conduct during the campaign; it is also their apology for self evident limitations in the personnel of the Administration itself.

#### The Nationalist-Conservative Alliance.

The alliance with the Nationalists was one factor which helped to bring about the Conservative victory. In point of time it was the earliest, for the alliance was first entered into secretly during the Drummond Arthabasca by-election in November, 1910.

In the Province of Quebec, prejudices had been aroused by a small group of Nationalists against the Laurier Government for proceeding to carry out the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of March, 1909. This resolution provided for the speedy organization of a Canadian Naval Service as Canada's most effective means of co-operating with the mother country in the defence of the seas. This resolution remains unrepealed. The Conservative party decided to make the by-election in Drummond-Arthabasca a test of the strength of these prejudices by refraining from placing a candidate in the field and allowing the battle to be fought between the Nationalists and the Liberals on the Naval issue it being understood that Conservative support would secretly be given to the Nationalist candidate. This unholy alliance succeeded, and what was tried as an experiment in 1910 became from that time forward a part of the recognized plan of campaign.

Notwithstanding that the Tory party has always claimed a monopoly of loyalty, its leaders did not hesitate to finance in large part the Nationalist campaign. Besides defraying some of the election expenses of Nationalist candidates, they assisted in paying for the circulation of *Le Devoir*, the Nationalist organ. The articles in this paper were designed to inflame the passions of French Canadians against any assistance by Canada to Britain in the maintenance of British power at sea. In many constituencies in Quebec, the Conservatives placed no candidates,

but supported the Nationalist candidate against the Liberals. In French Canadian constituencies in Ontario, Mr. Henri Bourassa, the Nationalist leader, was invited by the Conservative leaders to address the electors on behalf of their candidate. Mr. Borden's own utterances with reference to Naval policy, both in his manifestoes and his speeches, were carefully conceived so as not to antagonize Nationalist sentiment, and to further the Nationalists-Conservative Alliance. He even went so far as to permit straight Conservative candidates, in constituencies where there was some Nationalist following, to make pledges to the Nationalist party, and himself endorsed their action by supporting their candidature in person.

By unpatriotic action of this kind, the Nationalists, with Conservative aid, succeeded in carrying twenty-two seats in Quebec; the Conservatives, with Nationalist aid, carried four, and Mr. Borden was thus given the combined following of twenty-six from that province. But the price of this support necessitated the entire French-Canadian representation in the Cabinet being Nationalist. Messrs. Monk, Nantel and Pelletier, three outstanding Nationalists, were accordingly taken in as members of a Tory Cabinet, and later, when Mr. Monk resigned, Mr. Coderre, another Nationalist, became Mr. Monk's successor.

This Nationalist influence in the Cabinet has been far-reaching. True, it has been a negative, not a positive influence, but it has been responsible more than all other influences combined for the inaction, the duplicity, the twists and the turns, which have characterized Mr. Borden's leadership on the important question of Naval defence.

#### Organized wealth and the Interests.

When the Laurier Government brought down its proposal of Reciprocity, notwithstanding that it was based upon and practically limited to an exchange of natural products with the United States, an object hitherto sought by Conservatives and Liberal Administrations alike, "the interests" took alarm. They professed to see, in the removal of tariff barriers of any kind, a possible attack, at some future time, upon their privileged positions. With men and with money they rallied to the side of the opposition, and with men and with money they helped to carry Mr. Borden into power though among the number were several who up to the day victory was assured persisted in maintaining they were Liberals still. One of these was the Hon. W. T. White, the present Minister of Finance. Mr. White and his particular portfolio represent, in part, what the monied interests demanded of Mr. Borden on the morrow of his victory. With Mr. White lies the shaping of the tariff, with Mr. White rests the supervision which the government exercises over the banks; It is Mr. White who has the final word as to railway subsidies and grants. Not that Mr. White will seek to be other than honest, or actuated by other than public spirited motives in the discharge of his duties. But he is himself a wealthy man, whose associates are



in the main wealthy men. It is natural enough that to him the prices of stocks and bonds, rather than the prices of the necessaries of life, should reflect the progress of the country and the well-being of its people. In the Cabinet besides him are four or five colleagues commonly reputed to be millionaires, and others not so wealthy who are generally believed to be the nominees of particular interests. From this Cabinet of combined wealth, consumers may expect little in the way of legislation calculated to lessen the ever increasing cost of living; combines and trusts may continue to multiply their exactions without fear of restriction; railway and other monopolies may look for a still larger share of the wealth which the community creates. Where the rights of the many come into conflict with the privileges of the few, a way to justify privilege is likely to be found. Two years have been sufficient to give ample evidence of these tendencies.

### Machine Methods and Boss Rule.

How largely the "political boss" and "machine methods" contributed to the success of the Conservative party at the polls is necessarily a matter of surmise. That the Tory campaign fund was the largest ever possessed by a political party in Canada has been the boast of men who profess to know, and that it was made such through contributions from interested sources in Canada supplemented by contributions from the United States and Great Britain, there are strong grounds for believing. Be this as it may. This at least is certain that when, in the formation of his cabinet, Mr. Borden passed over the heads of all elected members to take in Hon. Robert Rogers of Manitoba, and Hon. Frank Cochrane of Ontario he conveyed the impression that some acknowledgment was due to this source as a factor in his success; and in choosing Mr. Rogers as his right bower, he has made it evident that it is to the political machine he proposes to look as the main instrument of retaining power.

It would perhaps be unfair to saddle Mr. Robert Rogers with all the unscrupulous acts of the Borden Administration. Some of his colleagues, the Hon. Dr. Reid, for example, during the Renfrew by-election did not hesitate to tell the electors openly that they could hope for little from the administration unless they sent a supporter to Parliament. But Mr. Rogers has boasted that he knows something about winning elections and the disgraceful methods adopted in the Macdonald by-election in Manitoba are known to be his. As Minister of Public Works he even went so far, for the purpose of influencing the result of a Provincial by-election in Nova Scotia, as to publicly announce expenditures which would be made in the riding, before even parliament, whose duty it was to vote the money, had been aware of them. In the appropriations for the present year he has jumped the proposed outlays on public building and public works from \$12,364,045 the amount expended on current and capital account in the last year of the Laurier Administration to \$47,680,751. It is known that this enormous increase is wholly unwarranted.

The resort to the spoils system in dismissals and appointments, and the reckless use of public moneys as a means of bestowing patronage to reward party service are the crudest methods of using power to serve party ends. One has only to look at the list of dismissals—so large that complete returns could not be given to parliament—and at the numerous commissions and other appointments to realize that the Government in using these methods has lost regard for even the semblance of public decency.

### Militarism and Imperialism.

Of the use that was made of "the flag" in the general elections of 1911 nothing need here be said. The cry of "annexation", where there was no thought of annexation, was raised to serve party ends; just as was the cry of "emergency", when there was no emergency, last session. The one helped to win the elections as the other helped to provide the Government with the instrument of the closure. To such lengths have the Conservative party gone in trafficking with a people's patriotism.

But it is becoming apparant now that there are yet other ends which it is intended the flag shall serve. With the announcement from Europe that the Minister of Militia and Defence of Canada and his staff have spent days in inspecting the strategic positions between France and Germany, comes a deepening of the conviction that behind all else there is in the mind of the present Government the fostering of a new Imperialism, coupled with Militarism, which is to change the self-governing relations as they exist between the different parts of the British Empire to-day, and substitute therefore a policy of centralization which will serve to draw the Dominions without pretext or voice into the vortex of old world conflicts.

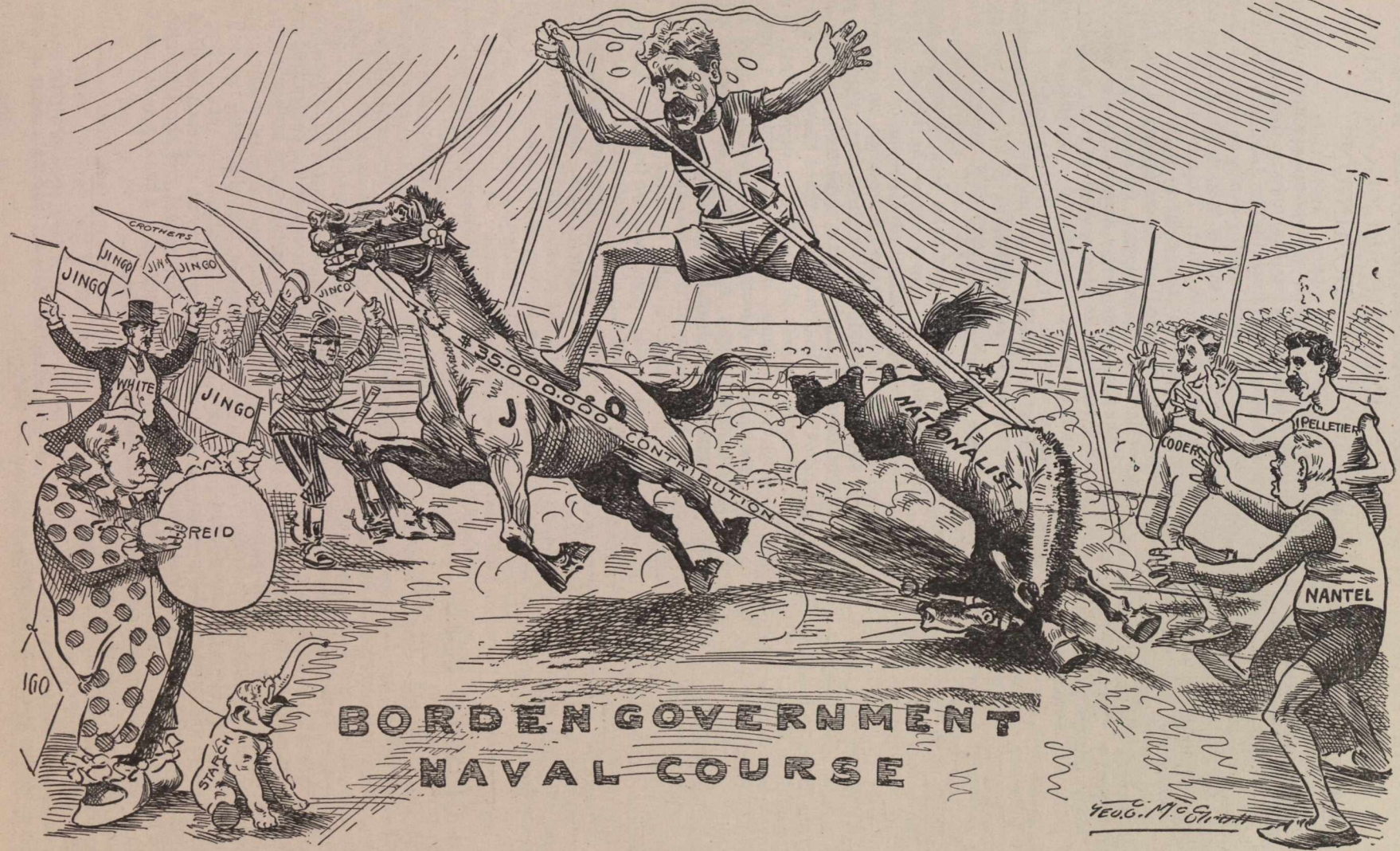
The following quotation, illustrative of conditions in the United States at one stage of their development, and paralleled time and time again under Toryism in Britain, is significant of what may be expected in Canada once the Borden Government becomes established in its methods. This passage might well have been written of the present federal Administration.

"Against the Commonwealth three forces, distinct but convergent are now arrayed. They are Plutocracy, Militarism and Imperialism. The three instinctively conspire; to the plutocrat, Imperialism is politically congenial, while he feels that militarism impregnates society with a spirit of conservatism, and may in case of a conflict of classes furnish a useful force of repression."

The efforts of Mr. Borden and some of his supporters in Parliament to transfer control in many directions from the self-governing dominions to an imperial council, the wanton extravagance of Colonel Hughes, and the support given him by the government in military expenditures and display, the desertion of his post by Mr. Crothers, the Minister of Labour and the use of the militia to settle industrial differences on Vancouver Island, are incidents which suggest themselves so naturally that the reader might suppose this passage had been written in reference to them instead of having been published, as it was, more than a decade ago. History is forever repeating itself, and Plutocracy, Militarism and Imperialism having converged in other countries at other times, it is scarcely probable that Canada will escape this baneful combination. Indeed, it looks as though already its shadow were being cast across the Dominion and that the struggle of Liberalism and Conservatism in Canada during the next few years may be the determining of whether this shadow shall darken or disappear.



# THE REAL EMERGENCY.



**BORDEN GOVERNMENT  
NAVAL COURSE**

On January 12, 1910, in proposing an amendment to the Naval Service Act and again on December 5, 1912, in introducing the Naval Aid Bill, Mr. Borden maintained that a contribution was preferable to a permanent policy because of an emergency which threatened the existence of the British Empire. Events have proven conclusively that the real emergency was Mr. Borden's own, occasioned by his efforts to keep together the jingo-imperialists of Ontario on the one hand and the Nationalists of Quebec on the other.

The emergency contribution of \$35,000,000 was hit upon as the only basis of compromise possible between these two extremes in Mr. Borden's following. It afforded the jingoes ground for maintaining that the contribution was only a beginning and that a permanent policy, would follow and it enabled the Nationalists to say that the contribution was a means of escape from any permanent policy of Naval defence. The Real Emergency, in this sense, still continues; how long it may last is the interesting question in Canadian politics at the present time.



## THE NATIONALISTS AND THE NAVY

THE Nationalist influence in the Borden Government has been paralyzing. It completely paralyzed the whole Administration during the entire first year of its existence so far as action of any kind on naval defence was concerned. It rendered impossible from the outset, and still renders impossible, any pronouncement of a permanent naval policy by the Prime Minister, because Mr. Borden has given his word to the Nationalists, and the Nationalists have given their word to their constituents, that there will be no permanent policy without an appeal to the people. An appeal to the people is manifestly the last thing Mr. Borden desires, as witness his broken promise, publicly given on more than one occasion, that if denied by parliament the thirty-five millions for "emergency" purposes, he would appeal from parliament to the country. This same Nationalist influence rendered necessary an "emergency" policy when there was no "emergency", as the only basis of compromise possible with the jingo imperialists. It accounts for the empty ships the Government proposed to send to Britain. With such a proposal Mr. Pelletier's followers in Quebec might state to their constituents, as he did in parliament, that Mr. Borden's scheme would render it unnecessary for Canada to supply any men, and that in case of conflict, the fighting would be done by "the English." This same influence controls the administration at this moment, allowing months to pass, and year to succeed year without anything being done by the Dominion towards carrying out the unanimous resolution of parliament of March, 1909 respecting the defence by Canada of her own coasts as part of the common defence of the Empire. This influence will continue to control when parliament meets, obliging Mr. Borden to find further excuses for avoiding a permanent policy, and compelling him to devise further devious and circuitous routes towards centralization in imperial affairs which is the end he is really seeking to serve.

## FROM GRIT TO TORY

TORYISM has always found its stronghold in "the interests." Whether it has been land seeking to maintain its monopoly, or manufacturers claiming higher protection, or railways looking for subsidies, or banking corporations pressing for additional privileges from parliament, wherever, through the endeavour of government to enlarge the bounds of freedom for the mass of men, plutocracy in any form has thought its position of privilege threatened or assailed, it has rallied under the flag of Toryism in order to "conserve" its alleged rights. This is Conservatism undisguised. It has been during times of struggle for a wider liberty, that men fettered by the allurements of wealth or social prestige, professing Liberalism while Liberalism held the day, have openly forsaken the principles which gave them the common touch with the masses and enrolled themselves permanently with the privileged classes. The history of Conservatism in Canada has been no exception in this particular to the history of Conservatism the world over.

## MR. CHURCHILL, THE ADMIRALTY AND THE SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS

NO more valuable or opportune contribution to the Naval controversy has appeared than a small pamphlet entitled "Mr Churchill The Admiralty and the Self-Governing Dominions," by Outis, published in London, England, during July by the National Press Agency Limited. It is "A Short Examination of Admiralty Intervention in the Sphere of Imperial Politics." Not less valuable than the pamphlet is the foreword by Mr. W. H. Massingham, for some years the Editor of The Chronicle and the present Editor of The Nation. This foreword is here quoted in part, as being "An exposition of the true attitude of Liberalism" towards Naval defence, whether it be in Great Britain, Australia, Canada, or among any of the other self-governing British peoples."

### Mr. Massingham says:

"The following pamphlet is a clear and powerful statement of the case between the British Admiralty and the self-governing British peoples in regard to naval defence. It is also, and necessarily, an exposition of the true attitude of Liberalism, from which the policy of naval contribution is a departure. The history of that policy is divided into three chapters. The first chapter exhibits the Admiralty in an effort to press upon the Colonial Ministries the idea of a single Imperial Navy, directed from the centre, and fed by voluntary levies, in the shape of grants of money, men, or ships, from the Dominions. The second shows the breakdown of this idea, and the reversion, under Mr. McKenna, to the sounder conception of local Colonial navies, organized for Colonial purposes, but subject to the call of the Motherland in case of need. This, in brief, is the policy of co-operation, as opposed to that of contribution. It has the great advantage of stimulating the affectionate feeling of the younger British nations for the Motherland, while preserving their constitutional rights and responsibilities, and uniting payment and control. It also follows the general line of development of Colonial statesmanship in regard to defence.

The third chapter records a sharp and sudden reversion, under Mr. Churchill's guidance, to the most obsolete policy of contributions. Readers of this pamphlet will find it stated with great moderation of phrasing and argument, and, I venture to think, with an appeal to principles which are innate in Liberalism. In practice, the reintroduction of the centralised conception of naval defence has already broken down. Incidentally, it has given fresh vitality to our dying differences with Germany; but this, we may well hope, is an incidental and passing misfortune. It is of far greater consequence to avert a breach of good feeling between the Motherland and the Dominion, and to secure, while there is yet time, a reversion to the wiser policy of 1909.

We are all scaring each other [into fresh expenditure and no country in the world has the courage to stand up against it.—

David Lloyd George.



## SUPPOSING:—

## (Some Administrative Records Reviewed)

JUST suppose the cases were reversed and Liberal Ministers were now in power and things are as they are. Imagine what the Conservative press and Messrs. Borden, Rogers, Crothers et al would say:—

Supposing SIR WILFRID LAURIER had formed an alliance with the Nationalists of Quebec, declared that unless Parliament gave three Dreadnoughts to the Admiralty, he would appeal to the country and then had gone quietly away to the seashore.

Supposing HON. W. S. FIELDING, Minister of Finance had brought down appropriations last session aggregating \$250,000,000, and had practically doubled the expenditure in two years. Supposing he had given a charter to LA BANQUE INTERNATIONALE after a memorandum of the Treasury Board had set forth reasons why a charter should not be granted. Supposing he had consented to a straight gift of \$15,000,000, to Messrs. Mackenzie and Mann, had then gone off to enjoy himself for two months in Europe, and had returned with Sir William Mackenzie on a Mackenzie and Mann steamer, as did Hon. W. T. White.

Supposing HON. WM. PATTERSON, as Minister of Customs, had sold his biscuit factory to the Government for marine works as did Hon. J. D. Reid in the case of his starch factory at Prescott.

Supposing HON. FRANK OLIVER, as Minister of the Interior, had given away to a prominent Liberal politician in Prince Albert a home-stead worth \$375,000.

Supposing HON. GEO. P. GRAHAM, as Minister of Railways had degraded the National Transcontinental Railway and had raised rates on the Intercolonial Railway at the same time that the people of Western Canada were applying to the Railway Commission for a decrease of railway rates.

Supposing HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, as Postmaster General, had suddenly placed with a newly organized company of Liberal politicians an order for mail bag locks at one dollar apiece, sufficient to supply the department for a lifetime.

Supposing HON. WM. PUGSLEY,

as Minister of Public Works, had increased in two years the vote for public buildings from Eight Millions to Twenty-eight Millions per year and the Total Expenditure of his department on capital and current account from Twelve to Forty Eight Millions; or supposing that he had been the prime mover in instituting brute force methods in Parliament and had substituted the "gag" for the constitutional rights of free speech.

Supposing SIR FREDERICK BORDEN, as Minister of Militia, had suddenly jumped expenditures for Militia purposes from less than Seven Millions per year to over Twelve Millions and had started to scatter Drill Halls all over the country whether there happened to be militia units at the chosen centres or not; supposing as did the present Minister of Militia, he had taken Sir Ian Hamilton at the country's expense to a Liberal picnic and pinned a Liberal badge on his breast; or had travelled across Canada by a special military train and charged the country \$40,000, therefor; or had gone to England to again witness the British army manoeuvres and taken 23 officers with their wives and lady private secretaries with him.

Supposing HON. MACKENZIE KING, as Minister of Labour, had failed to apply the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act to the Vancouver Island miners' strike, had merely made a cursory and belated personal investigation, reported failure of his attempt at personal intervention, had a business associate and personal friend accompany him at the country's expense and had left his friend to make a formal report, at a large fee per day, as to why the militia had to be called in and then had gone blandly off on a two month's holiday jaunt to England.

Supposing—but what's the use continuing the analogy? The howl that would be going up from the Conservative ranks if Liberal Ministers had been guilty of one half the sins of omission and commission already accumulated by the present ministry, would even on the few counts just noted, be loud enough to spread over at least two general elections.

## POSSIBLE NEW BOOKS.

"How to Win Elections",—a breezy autobiographical sketch by Hon. Robert Rogers, author of "The Macdonald By-Election, a treatise on the beneficial effects of jail for election opponents," "The Prince Albert Homestead," a manual of "Political Real Estate manipulation", "Richelieu, a French Canadian Romance of railway exploitation," "Public Works and Their Effects upon Voters", etc. Mr. Roger's latest work shows that he still retains his old grip on devious electioneering methods.

"How to Conquer the Boers", by Col. Hon. Sam Hughes, author of "Me and Dick Turpin (with Lantern Slides)," "The Effect of Gold Lace upon Electors," "Secrets of Free Advertising", "Dry Camps for the Militia," etc. In this work, while Col. Hughes does not show any insight into military work, he exhibits considerable knowledge on how to bluff the public. From the Tory point of view it should prove a valuable treatise.

"Civil Service Reform", by Hon. L. P. Pelletier and Hon. Dr. J. D. Reid. Illustrated with fine plates showing how a postmaster when dead four years can become an offensive partisan. This work contains invaluable advice to politicians as to the easiest method of getting rid of Civil Servants in order to make room for partisan supporters. In the collaboration by Hon. Dr. Reid some useful advice is given on how to dispose of idle property to the government at a profit.

"Synchronizing in Politics" by Hon. W. T. White. This is a valuable little brochure in Mr. White's most racy style. It shows how by synchronizing his politics with current events he was able to secure a cabinet position. Departing from the personal vein, hints are given as to how bank charters and railway subsidies may be used to assist both the government and its friends.

"Labour and How to Avoid It," by Hon. T. W. Crothers. This is apparently the journal of a political gamester, whose love of office overcame his friendship for the proletariat. Mr. Crothers in this tasty little volume gives some valuable hints as to how to dodge the most obvious of public duties and the enforcement of labor laws when they discommodate influential friends. The introduction to this volume has been written by the Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden in which he discusses the necessity of occasionally sending ministers on holiday trips to England in order to keep them out of trouble.

## NOTES.

The Militia Department estimates the cost of Hon. Col. Sam Hughes trip to England, with his entourage of officers, officers' wives and private secretaries, at \$20,000. It will be charged up to "annual drill."

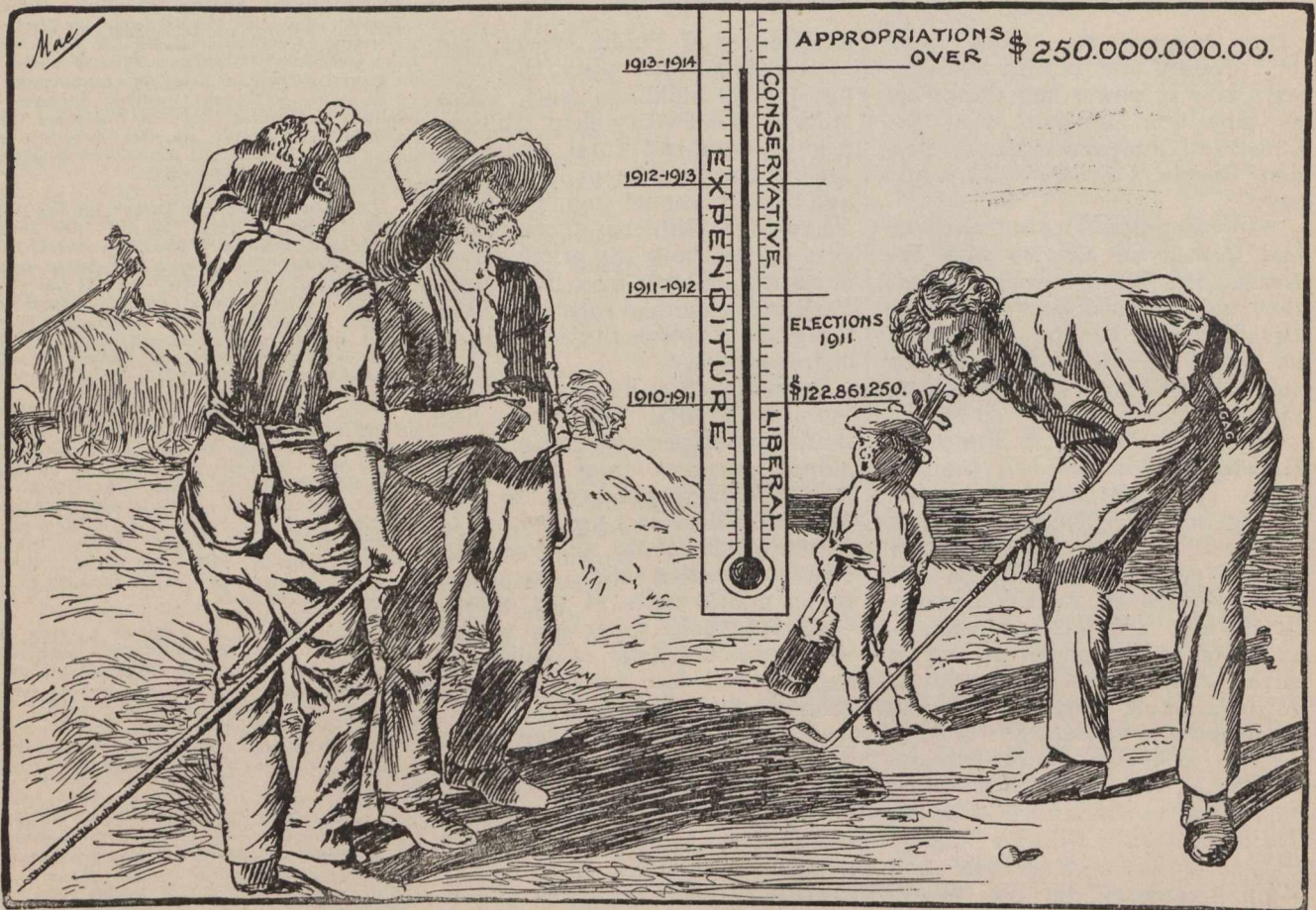
Civil Service Reform advances apace. Hon. Bruno Nantel has appointed the law partner of his son-in-law to be assistant Deputy Minister of Inland Revenue with prospective promotion to the Deputy Ministership in a few months. Mr. J. U. Vincent, the new appointee was the unsuccessful Conservative-Nationalist candidate in Russell at the last election.

"Every man has his Price"—as the Minister of Labor said after getting his law partner into another Department of State as "a special commissioner" at a fat fee. Mr. Price is now working on retainers from Hon. Frank Cochrane, Hon. T. W. Crowthers and Hon. Dr. Roche.

One of the principal troubles of the Ministry this summer has been that there have not been enough private cars to go round—despite the purchase of two new ones for Hon. Robert Rogers and the Hon. Col. Sam Hughes. With only three or four Ministers in the Capital at a time, and the rest on tour the demand for Ministerial cars has exceeded the supply. More cars will have to be purchased.



## THE SESSION AND AFTER



**PREMIER BORDEN** :—(To Caddy who is watching the workers in the field) Now then, my boy, never mind those fellows, they are only thinking of the rise in temperature—the country can stand it.

**CANADIAN TAXPAYER**:—(Alarmed at the enormous appropriations) No wonder we feel the high cost of living when expenditures go up like that—the country can't stand this very long.

[During the last session of Parliament the total appropriations exceeded \$250,000,000. This is more than double the total expenditure of the Laurier Administration in its last year of office. A quarter of a billion dollars expended means taxation at the rate of over \$31.00 per head of the population, or over \$155 per average family.]

### PRECEPT AND PRACTICE.

**T**HE difference between Precept and Practice in the case of the Conservatives seems to be the difference between being in power and being out of power.

In opposition Mr. Borden was a stout defender of the principles of responsible government, of provincial rights, of low taxation, and of careful regard for the constitutional rights of all minorities. In power, Premier Borden has let Toryism run riot. Responsible government has been attacked by proposing to give Downing Street control of the expenditure of Dominion funds; and Provincial rights,

in the matter of provincial jurisdiction over moneys spent on highways, were safeguarded only through the action of the Senate. The pre-election promise to save "a waste" of at least ten millions in the public expenditures with resultant decrease of taxes has been belied by an increase of nearly ten times that amount in expenditures, and the constitutional rights of minorities have been overridden by the arbitrary and unconstitutional application of the Gag.

### THE ARGUMENT IN A NUT-SHELL

**P**ATRIOTISM is the basis of loyalty; Canadianism is the basis of

enduring Imperial unity. Full and free public discussion is the basis of responsible government; upon it rest the rights of both majorities and of minorities in Parliament. That is sound Liberal doctrine.

Loyalty overrides patriotism; Imperial unity is founded on colonial subservience. Responsible government means the dictation of the majority in Parliament to the minority regardless of constitutional rights, parliamentary usage and the people's mandate. That is sound Tory doctrine.

Within these four corners lies the argument for and against a policy of naval contribution and for and against the gag in Parliament.



BY-ELECTIONS—PAST AND PENDING.

SINCE the Borden Ministry assumed office on October 10th, 1911, there have been in all 23 by-elections. Of these 15 were the elections of the Ministers, none of whom were opposed. A by-election was held in Hochelaga, Quebec, on November 19th, 1912, consequent upon the appointment of Mr. Louis Coderre, the sitting member, as Secretary of State, and a by-election in Portage-la-Prairie, Manitoba, on July 19th of the present year, following the appointment of Mr. Arthur Meighen, the sitting member, as Solicitor General. In neither of these instances was the Government candidate opposed by Liberals, though Mr. Coderre was opposed by a Labour-Nationalist candidate. Of the remaining six by-elections, three were occasioned by the appointment to office of the sitting member, one by the death of the sitting member, one by the resignation of the sitting member in order to open the riding, and one on account of the unseating of the sitting member under the Dominion Controverted Elections Act. Of these six constituencies, four were represented by Conservatives prior to the by-elections, and two by Liberals. In all cases the representation remained unchanged; in three cases the candidates were returned unopposed; in one case, that of the by-election in Macdonald, Manitoba, a protest has been entered on the ground of corrupt practices but the

petition has not yet been heard by the courts.

By-elections are pending for the House of Commons in the constituencies of South Lanark, East Middlesex, Chateauguay, and South Bruce, respectively. Three of these have been occasioned by the death during the past session, of the sitting members, the late Hon. John Haggart (C) in South Lanark; Mr. Peter Elson (C) in East Middlesex, and Mr. J. Brown (L) in Chateauguay. The fourth constituency, South Bruce, was opened by the elevation of the sitting member, Mr. J. Donnelly (C) to the Senate.

**South Lanark** has been Conservative since Confederation, with majorities ranging from 324 to 1167. It was represented continuously by the Hon. John Haggart from 1872 until his death.

**East Middlesex** has also been Conservative since Confederation, although the present constituency was only established in 1903. Since that date East Middlesex was represented continuously by Mr. Peter Elson, up to the time of his death, Mr. Elson's majority being 219 in 1904, 249 in 1908, and 661 in 1911.

**South Bruce** like East Middlesex was made a constituency at the time of the Redistribution in 1903. It was then separated from the Bruce ridings of that day. In 1904 a Liberal was returned for South Bruce with a majority of 144. In 1908 Mr.

J. J. Donnelly, Conservative, was elected by 193 and again in 1911 by 103.

**Chateauguay** has been one of the most consistent Liberal ridings in the Dominion, and has had only three representatives since Confederation. From 1867 to 1880 it was represented by Mr. Luther Holton, Liberal, from 1880 to 1891 by Mr. Edward Holton, Liberal, and from 1891 until his death a few months ago by the late Mr. J. P. Brown, also a Liberal. In 1908 Mr. Brown received a majority of 305; by the alliance of Nationalists and Conservatives, this was reduced to 40 in the general election of 1911.

On July 14th, 1908 when the revision of the Dominion Elections Act was up for third reading in the Commons, Mr. Borden as Leader of the Opposition, moved an amendment providing that after a certain delay, in case there should be a vacancy in the representation, the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery should have authority to issue the writ himself "so that no constituency should remain unrepresented for a longer period than three months."

No dates have as yet been fixed for the filling of these vacancies. This is but another instance of how far the Rt. Hon. Mr. Borden as Prime Minister is prepared to give effect to policies advocated while Leader of the Opposition.

Pending By-Elections for House of Commons.

Constituency	By-Election Consequent Upon	Date of vacancy	Date fixed for By-Election	Record of Constituency.	
				Election of 1911.	Elections of 1908 and 1904.
South Lanark, Ont. . . . .	Death of Hon. John Haggart (C)	Mar. 13, 1913	None	Number of registered electors 5,591 J. G. Haggart (C) . . . . . 2,234 G. F. McKimm (L) . . . . . 1,067 Majority (C) . . . . . 1,167	1908 Haggart (C) Majority . . . 759 1904 Haggart (C) Majority . . . 890
South, Bruce, Ont. . . . .	Appointment to Senate of Mr. J. J. Donnelly (C)	May 26, 1913	None	Number of registered electors 7,547 1911 J. J. Donnelly (C) . . . . . 2,878 R. E. Truax (L) . . . . . 2,775 Majority (C) . . . . . 103	1908 J. J. Donnelly (C) . . Maj . . 193 1904 P. H. McKenzie (L) . . Maj . . 144
Chateauguay, Que. . . . .	Death of J. P. Brown (L)	May 30, 1913	None	Number of registered electors 3,414 Jas. P. Brown (L) . . . . . 1,281 Jas. Morris (C) . . . . . 1,241 Majority (L) . . . . . 40	1908 J. P. Brown (L) . . Majority 305 1904 J. P. Brown (L) . . Majority 46
East Middlesex, Ont. . . . .	Death of Peter Elson (C)	June 11, 1913	None	Number of registered electors 5,862 Peter Elson (C) . . . . . 2,477 C. A. Routledge (L) . . . . . 1,816 Majority . . . . . (C) . . . . . 661	1908 Elson (C) Majority . . . . . 249 1904 Elson (C) Majority . . . . . 219



### Liberal Club Federation

THE following of Liberalism among young men is one of the most hopeful and valuable indications of the growing strength of Liberalism in the Province of Ontario.

It is being rapidly organized by the Liberal Club Federation of Ontario, one of the most promising organizations in the political history of the Dominion.

The work and aims of the Federation are expressed officially as follows:

To give young men interested in politics (and what young man shouldn't be?) a chance to talk about politics and hear them discussed on broad, fundamental lines free from offensive and narrow partisanship.

To encourage belief in liberal principles. The Federation has no connection with the official organization of the Liberal party.

To encourage fraternal visits among young men.

To establish a first-class Speakers' Bureau to supply speakers to the Clubs.

After a month or two of preliminary work, the Federation was formed at a mass meeting held in Toronto during March of this year. Twenty-five Clubs were represented both at the Business Meeting and at the dinner given in honor of the delegates by Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.P., at the Ontario Club. A strong executive of eleven men from every section of the Province was chosen, with Mr. W. B. Preston of Brantford as President. The preliminary enrollment of twenty-five Clubs has already increased to forty and negotiations are in progress for a large number of new societies.

The Speakers' Bureau stands out as one of the most important projects of the Federation. Claude Sanagan of London is Chairman of this Committee but all the Clubs and members are co-operating to make the Bureau a success. Upon application to the Business office of the Federation, speakers will be supplied to various Clubs on special occasions when they desire outside speakers.

"No City too big, no countryside too small for a Federation Club" is one of the slogans of the new movement. The forty Clubs already in the union include Clubs in cities, towns, villages and rural districts. The general offices of the Federation are in the Canada Life Building, Toronto.

An interesting booklet just issued by the Federation gives a page of most useful business-like advice as to how to form a Club.

### The Canadian Liberal Monthly

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Commencing with the October issue, Mr. Harry F Gadsby, one of Canada's most brilliant writers, will contribute a series of character sketches on the Borden Ministry, beginning with the Prime Minister.

#### PERSONALS.

Hon. T. W. Crothers is taking the rest cure in England.

Hon. Martin Burrell has just returned from England to help make up the necessary quorum in case of Cabinet meetings.

Hon. L. P. Pelletier is making a run across the Continent, giving Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel, the British P. M. G. a few lessons on how to form a padlock syndicate.

Hon. Geo. E. Foster, Minister of Trade & Commerce, has just returned from enjoying a magnificent trip to China, Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Honolulu and other centres of Canadian trade.

Hon. W. T. White, Minister of Finance, has returned from spending a pleasant summer in England where he looked up the chance of securing another Canadian loan to assist the Dominion in making an "emergency" contribution to the Mother Country.

Hon. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, has returned from a western trip, where he revived old acquaintances in Macdonald and Prince Albert.

Hon. Frank Cochrane is making a tour through the West, giving brief addresses on how to improve the National Transcontinental Railway by de-grading it.

Hon. Bruno Nantel, when last heard of, was patching up some broken political fences in Quebec province.\*

\* For further particulars regarding expenses of all these trips, see next Auditor General's report.

#### SUGGESTED TENDER FOR NAVAL POLICY

Sealed tenders addressed to the undersigned and marked on the envelope "Tender for formulation of a naval policy" will be received up till the 31st of December, 1913. All tenders must be addressed to the Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, Ottawa, marked private and confidential. No tender will be considered unless accompanied by an accepted certificate that sender is a reliable government supporter.

The following conditions are attached to all tenders:—

They must be sufficiently indefinite to convey the impression that something is to be done, without displeasing the jingoes who want Imperial centralization or the Nationalists who want nothing done at all.



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They must sound a note of loyalty to the Imperial spirit and at the same time indicate that the government is opposed to "the equally nefarious policy of Mr. Borden." These specifications should be sent on separate sheets, one for use in Quebec and the other in Ontario.

Any tenders providing for the employment of Canadians, the building of ships in Canada, or the protection of Canadian shores will not be considered.

Plans providing for occasional lightning on the horizon and the booming of distant thunder will be given special consideration.

The government will not pay for the publication of this advertisement in any but recognized Tory newspapers.

(Unsigned by J. D. Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries and Naval Affairs).

### PAMPHLETS & LEAFLETS

The Central Information Office has available for distribution a series of Pamphlets and Leaflets on questions of national concern now before Parliament and the people. These publications are of value and interest to every Canadian who is concerned with public affairs and in the problems of good government. They will be sent free of charge to any address on application to the Secretary—Address:

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The Pamphlets issued thus far include the following:

- No. 1.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Speech before the Montreal Reform Club, May 29th, 1902.
- No. 2.—Growth of Constitutional Government in Canada. An address given in Montreal, Nov. 11th, 1912, by Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.P.
- No. 3.—The Story of the Macdonald By-Election.
- No. 4.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Speech in Moving the Liberal Amendment to the Naval Aid Bill in the Commons, Dec. 12, 1912.
- No. 5.—An analysis of the Admiralty Memorandum on the General Naval Situation.
- No. 6.—The Facts about "The Emergency."
- No. 7.—Canada's Position on Naval and Military Defence.
- No. 8.—The Nationalist-Conservative Alliance and the Real Emergency.
- No. 9.—The Defence Problem in New Zealand and Australia.
- No. 10.—Premier Borden's Arguments Against Contribution and For a Canadian Navy.
- No. 11.—Hon. George E. Foster and the Unanimous Resolution of March, 1909.
- No. 12.—The Two Naval Policies Compared—100 Reasons for the Laurier Policy.
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