

THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

Vol. I, No. 4

OTTAWA, DECEMBER, 1913

Ten Cents

A MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL.



"The policy I give you at this moment, the policy I believe every patriot in Canada ought to support, and the policy I believe it to be the duty of the Government to immediately inaugurate, is a policy of absolutely free food—food free from customs duties."—RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER—at the banquet of the Liberal Club Federation at Hamilton, Ont., on November 26th, 1913.

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FREE FOOD.

THE announcement by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Federation of Liberal Clubs' Banquet, at Hamilton on the night of November 26th, that the time had come for the abolition of all Customs duties on the food of the people, marks the beginning of a new epoch in Liberalism in Canada. The policy of "free food" as set forth is in accord with Liberal tradition and practice in both Britain and Canada. This great boon was obtained for the people of the British Isles three-quarters of a century ago. When the next appeal is made, it will be for the people of the Dominion, if it is not conceded to them before, to say whether they wish it then.

The Liberal policy with respect to the Tariff may be summed up in the words, stability and revenue, with constant regard to the welfare of the people as a whole. When the Liberal party came into power in 1896, its first work was that of Tariff revision. It sought to give to Canadian consumers relief from excessive taxation, and in doing so, it was guided by two main considerations, a regard for existing conditions and investments, and for Canada's relations with the Mother country. The British preference was an outstanding feature of the general revision effected. During the fifteen years of Liberal Administration, which witnessed these changes at its beginning, Canada prospered as at no time previously in her history. Near the close of the fifteen years, opportunity and necessity seemed to unite in making desirable a further change. The Laurier Government then proposed certain changes in the tariff, which, without injuring a single Canadian industry, or in any way proving prejudicial to Britain, would have secured wider markets to Canadian producers and a very material reduction of taxes on food to consumers. Mr. Borden and his friends fought against this change and for the retention of the taxes on food. Events have followed in rapid succession to justify the wisdom and foresight of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The Americans have altered their tariff to suit themselves, without regard to the needs of the Dominion, and as a consequence Canadian consumers are being made to suffer as never before. The high cost of living which had become a noticeable factor when the Liberal administration attempted its tariff revision, has under the Borden regime made itself felt more than ever. Meanwhile a depression in trade and industry recalling the last years of the previous Conservative Administration seems to be returning, and to the excessive hardships

imposed by the high cost of living, there promises to be added for thousands of families the ills of unemployment. The Government meanwhile, indifferent to all this, is increasing the burden by wasteful extravagance in expenditures, at a time when it should aim at economy in both outlays and taxation.

But the problem is more than a mere financial one. It has social consequences of the most far-reaching kind. The high cost of living is making itself adversely felt in a multitude of ways. No class in the community has escaped some privation in consequence of it. To the mass of men and women, the ever increasing cost of the barest necessities of life is coming to mean the difference between the realization and the denial of the possibilities of human happiness. Struggle as they may, hundreds of hard-working men and women are unable to earn enough for a decent subsistence. Were this condition likely to be temporary in its effect, it might be endured under protest, but the cruelty of the situation lies in what it involves of sacrifice not for the present only, but for the future as well. It is impossible for men and women to meet the demands that arise from day to day, and at the same time make adequate provision for the future. Nothing can be put aside to provide against possible illness or accident, or towards securing a certain competence for old age. Members of families, where the bread-winner is taken away, instead of becoming beneficiary legatees are being saddled with legacies of debt. Everything that prudence and foresight demand is being sacrificed to make ends meet. All this is wrong, and the people are very properly demanding some action which will afford immediate relief.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier has expressed the one obvious duty. While the Liberal party must continue its endeavour to secure wider markets for producers, it must also seek wider markets for consumers. Food is the first essential of life. It is in the prices of food that of all commodities the rate of increase has been greatest, and it is through this increase that the higher cost of living has made itself most keenly felt. The country can stand a reduction in its revenues without embarrassment to a single object of national concern. The people have a right to demand that huge surpluses and caution in expenditure should be made a means of escape from an increasing burden of taxation. With added emphasis, necessity and opportunity are once more demanding that whatever else may be considered, the time has come when taxation must be withdrawn from the peoples' food.

"Europe is an armed camp. Its leading nations spend from a third to a half of their revenues in munitions of war. . . . I don't believe any one of them contemplates aggression. They are only distrustful, and because they dare not join hands and work together for good—this is what they call 'The European Concert.' Sir, it is not a concert but a furnace, and yet it is into this furnace that the Government would lead us. If I speak strongly on this subject it is because I believe in the principle of Liberalism; the principle of autonomy and self-government; the only policy which will ever be accepted by the Canadian people.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at Hamilton, Nov. 26th, 1913.

THE BORDEN CABINET—III. THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

by H. F. Gadsby.



Hon. George E. Foster.

INTRODUCING the Minister of Trade and Commerce, better known as Far Flung Foster.

The British Empire is far flung, but it is not far enough flung for George Eulas Foster to fling himself in. The orb of the earth is his field. One of his first acts when he became Minister was to dismiss Mr. P. C. Larkin and appoint himself Canada's representative on the Imperial Trade Commission which was to be a non-political body. One reason for dismissing Mr. Larkin was that he is a Liberal; another was that Foster needed a roving charter that would take him away from Ottawa; still another was that it would give him an opportunity for globe-trotting and sight seeing at the public expense while calling the Junkets by the name of duty.

Any one of these three reasons would have been enough for Foster, but three reasons of a kind beat two pairs so the result is that he has been away from Ottawa in distant parts of the world for three-quarters of his time, and his Department of Trade and Commerce, which might have been made a fine instrument of Canadian expansion, is a standing joke. The office gives him a place to hang his hat, a chair to sit in, an excuse for foreign travel, emoluments of ten thousand a year and a prince's expense account. That's about all Foster wants out of it. As for

Cabinet meetings they can go hang, Foster's away in far Cathay avoiding the Canadian winter.

At the back of this wanderlust is pique. You will remember that Foster had his fling once before in the "Nest of Traitors." He had it again in the affairs of the Union Trust Company which were the subject of a legal investigation. So when his party came to power, instead of making him premier, they side tracked his spotted past in the Department of Trade and Commerce and Far Flung Foster instead of trying to live it down by good deeds flung out in a rage and has been circling round and round the world like a maddened equator ever since. The only time he cares to be on the spot is when his leader Borden is seeking health in Virginia and then he loves to be Acting Premier on the off chance that the dear fellow will not get better. Speaking generally, however, Foster's motto is that you can always go home when there's no place else to go to.

As far as the cartoonist can do it in a one column cut, he has pictured Far Flung Foster with the graces of travel still clinging to him. You notice the cap with the button, the badge of a mandarin of the first class—he picked that up in China. The kimona is the result of his sojourn in Japan. The boomerang is a souvenir of his Australian visit. He is playing on a samisen. The pine apple typifies his West Indian triumphs. The cross-legged attitude is a prevailing Eastern custom. These and a few literary impressions of Corea and other countries with which he entertains Canadian Clubs here and in the United States are about all Foster brought home with him. Trade and things like that he leaves to professional drummers—he scorns to soil his hands with it. They say travel is a great educator and yet with all his travel Far Flung Foster has not learned to have a meek and lowly spirit. He hates his colleagues like cold boiled veal.

Since he foreswore reciprocity in 1911, he has been telling audiences that he saw the Underwood tariff coming and that's why he behaved as he did. Without confronting

him with his speeches of 1911 or calling him a liar, we will say that he has a useful gift of talking his memory to sleep, and let it go at that. Recent utterances indicate that even now he has only a step-mother's love for lower food taxes, his idea of helping the cost of living being almost anything so long as it does not interfere with the tariff.

He has not had the nerve to deny what he said about the Canadian navy in 1909, when he spoke and voted, as did Premier Borden and the Conservative party in the House of Commons, as in fact Parliament did unanimously, in favour of what afterwards became the Laurier policy. Faced with his words the best this brazen old cynic can do is shrug his shoulders and say he has had a change of heart.

This brings us back to his picture again. Did you ever see sadder whiskers? For a time while hope beamed and there was a chance that Premier Borden would not fit there was a hectic flush on Far Flung Foster's cheeks and a bring light in his eye and he took to trimming his whiskers to a point, but as hope faded he grew careless, his whiskers reverted to type, so to speak, and presently he began to gad about like the Wandering Jew. Poor Foster! He started as a free trader and he swallowed that. He rose to notice as prohibitionist and he had to swallow that to get into Sir John Macdonald's Cabinet. He had some business scruples and he had to swallow them in the course of a short, but disastrous business career. All the way through the wretched man has had to swallow his own opinions. Eating crow is no fun. If the man looks sick put it down to that.

The trouble with Foster is that he has about as much red blood as a preserved fish. His party stands for him because he is a fluent speaker. Being a voice and nothing else he has the same influence in the party as a good phonograph. If the party were so unfortunate at this moment as to lose Premier Borden and had to choose between Bob Rogers and Far Flung Foster as his successor I think Bob would land it.

THE FOOD DUTIES.

THE retention of the duty on food stuffs cost the consumers of Canada during the last fiscal year over \$11,000,000 in customs taxation. The absolute removal of this toll on the cost of living is one tangible benefit to be derived from the adoption of the Liberal tariff policy which no amount of Tory argument can minimize or deny.

Food stuffs to the value of over \$50,000,000 were imported into Canada last year and the Government added over \$11,000,000 more to the total cost of these food stuffs to consumers by imposing a customs tax on every dollar's worth. These food stuffs were imported because they could not be obtained here, either at all, or in sufficient quantities to meet a real need. The government added one-fifth to the cost of these articles, before permitting them to pass from the importer to the consumer. That is a basic argument for free food stuffs which every consumer can grasp.

There are other arguments even stronger, such, for instance, as the undoubted opportunity that tariff protection gives all the year round to the middlemen and to the food monopolies to the canners' combines, to the cold storage men, to the packers, to the big commission houses—to enhance prices under seasonal or sectional limitations of supply. Other economic considerations have to be taken into account in this connection and the bearing is therefore not so readily seen. Here, however, are facts and figures which speak for themselves with simple and compelling directness.

Dutiable food stuffs imported into Canada during the fiscal year 1912-1913, with the amount of duty collected in each case:

	Value of Imports.	Duty Collected.
Sugars.....	\$17,392,146	\$4,162,672
Fruits and Nuts.....	8,782,395	1,821,422
Vegetables (canned and fresh).....	3,242,284	896,262
Meats and Poultry.....	5,338,673	1,040,547
Eggs.....	2,783,665	327,123
Fish.....	1,608,663	361,115
Butter.....	2,081,987	252,311
Prepared Cereal Foods in Packages....	3,650,101	42,069
Bread-stuffs, etc.....	1,260,357	261,403
Grain, Flour and Meal, etc.....	3,638,121	482,163
Lard.....	1,354,442	242,897
Cocoa and Preparations of Cocoa....	1,057,306	179,818
Mustard.....	216,434	44,707
Coffee (when prepared or roasted, etc.)	268,100	35,365
Pickles.....	456,546	1,166,651
Spices.....	378,568	50,643
Totals.....	\$53,679,793	\$11,367,172

WHAT NEXT?

Canada's trade is declining.—During the past three months, September, October and November, the Customs revenue has dropped by \$2,661,034. In his last annual report Mr. Harrison Watson, Canadian Trade Commissioner at London, says conditions “indicate a marked decrease of Canadian exports to England during the past year.”

Canada's borrowings have increased.—Already during this year Hon. W. T. White, Minister of Finance, has had to borrow \$45,000,000 on the London market, and further loans will be necessary before the close of the year.

Canada's credit abroad has suffered.—The London “Morning Post”, a Conservative journal, friendly to the Canadian Government, criticizes Hon. Mr. White's financial methods as no Canadian Finance Minister has been criticized before, and says his financial system is such that “It must be impossible for the investor to have any clear idea of the financial position of the debtor.”

Canada's interest rate on English debts has increased.—The last loan floated in London by Hon. W. S. Fielding, in 1910, at 3½%, sold at 99½, practically at par. The latest loan floated by Hon. Mr. White, during this December, at 4%, had to be sold at 97. The rate on Canada's loans has gone up one per cent since the Conservatives came to power.

Canada's public debt is again growing.—On September 30th last, Canada's public debt stood at \$299,587,275; on November 30th, it stood at \$303,115,195, an increase of \$3,527,920 in two months.

Canada's customs revenue has declined.—The Customs Revenue (the main source of income) for the first 8 months of this year was \$75,001,109; for the same period last year it was \$76,035,075. The decrease this year already is \$1,033,966. Since September the decrease has continued at over \$1,000,000 a month, and officials are anticipating a total drop of possibly \$10,000,000 before the end of the fiscal year.

Canada's expenditures are increasing.—In face of these lowering conditions Canada's total expenditures for the three months ending November 30 last were \$44,015,620, as against \$35,311,077 during the same period last year. During the eight months of this fiscal year total expenditures have grown by nearly \$25,000,000.

THE COST OF LIVING.

When the Borden Government took office in October 1911, the average wholesale price of 255 articles of general consumption in Canada was 128.9 per cent of the average price level prevailing during the decade of 1890-1899.

A year later the index number, representing the cost of living, had risen to 133.1.

For October last it had risen to 136.8. In the first two years of the Borden regime the cost of living has been increased by 6.1 per cent.

The trend is still upwards.

Toryism proposes no relief for the consumers.

Liberalism offers the wiping out of over eleven million dollars per year in food taxes.

PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE.

The Borden Halifax Platform and the Borden Government Record compared.

ON questions of public policy, on matters of trade, tariff, defence, transportation and the like there is room for honest and legitimate difference of opinion between the two great political parties in Canada. But on the question of honesty, honor and decency in the public men and in the public affairs of Canada there can only be one sound policy and one right standard. The lack of brilliant statesmanship, mistakes of policy or of administration may be excused or condoned in public men. For failure to observe in public life the common virtues of honest dealing there is no excuse, except moral cowardice.

There were fine promises of political rectitude in Mr. Borden's pre-election platform. There was fine scorn of all electoral chicanery or wrong-doing. A public prosecutor for the exposure and punishment of all crookedness in elections was urged; and by-elections were to be brought on within at least three months of the time a seat became vacant. There was scathing denunciation of patronage evils and a demand for extension of the Civil Service Act to the outside service with merit to be the only rule of appointment or promotion. There were high-sounding phrases about the conservation of the public domain for the people, about honesty and economy in the expenditure of the people's money, about clean administration and the elimination of all graft. For the most part the electors believed Mr. Borden and took his promises in good faith. That faith has been disabused. The promises have been unkept. The old reputation of Mr. Borden for sincerity and square-dealing does not now pass unquestioned even among staunch Conservatives.

Compromise and Expediency.

The first surrender of principles came with the alliance with the Nationalists in 1910. Ever since, Mr. Borden has been paying the penalty of that alliance. The coils have steadily tightened round him from the very first. The alliance with the Big Interests in the reciprocity campaign of 1911, the consequent collection of a huge campaign fund and the development of machine politics were natural steps after the first great surrender.

The fulfilment of the bargain with the Nationalists is the story of the bogus emergency and the hedging and twisting in order to avoid any declaration of permanent policy on the question of naval defence. In its train it brought closure and the arbitrary and unconstitutional restriction of the rights of free speech in Parliament by the people's representatives. British freedom, British constitutional usage and British fair-play were all sacrificed to the self-interest of the men who desired to hold office at all costs.

The fulfilment of the bargain with the Big Interests has been steadily carried out at the expense of the common people. The tariff law has been so rigidly and literally enforced that over one per cent has been added to the average percentage of duty collected on imports. The Anti-Combines law has become a dead letter. Labor complains that the sympathies of the Government are obviously with Capital where the ap-

plication of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act is concerned. Mackenzie & Mann have already been given \$15,000,000 and are coming back for more. There is no prospect of Tariff relief of any kind for the benefit of the common people.

In regard to these general aspects of legislative policy Mr. Borden as the head of the Government must stand convicted of deliberately setting the interests of party politics and of party friends before the interests of country.

Fraudulent Elections.

But it is in the concrete instances of electoral corruption, of machine politics and of administrative dishonesty that the conflict between Mr. Borden's pre-election promises and his post-election performance can best be gauged. Practically every principle enunciated on the Halifax platform and every pledge given to the electors has been violated by one or other of his ministers. And for every violation Mr. Borden stands responsible, for he has either allowed, or condoned, or defended the offence.

What of the promise of electoral purity and fair and honest elections? In South Renfrew and Richelieu a most deliberate attempt was made by ministers of the Crown to bribe the electors by wholesale promises of public expenditures in the ridings if the Government candidate were elected. In Richelieu, Sir Rodolphe Forget boldly declared on the public platform that the Minister of Public Works had promised to build a railway if the vote went right. In Macdonald the joint efforts of Hon. Robert Rogers and Sir Rodmond Roblin did not stop short of jailing Liberal workers on sight. Yet when investigation in the courts was asked there was no talk from Mr. Borden about speedy punishment or thorough enquiry by "A public prosecutor". Instead, after delaying the election trial on technicalities as long as possible the investigation was burked by a blanket confession of irregularities and the lid was kept down. In Hochelaga when Hon. Louis Coderre won out with the aid of systematic personation and bribery by cash and patronage, public investigation was again burked and Mr. Borden himself led the attempt to prevent any disclosures in Parliament or in the courts. In the Provincial by-election in Antigonish, N.S., brazen bribery went so far as to actually publish a list of public works estimates for the constituency. The total was nearly two hundred thousand dollars and the list was published before the estimates had even been passed upon by the Cabinet Council, let alone having been presented to Parliament. In Chateauguay the trail of the Rogers election machine was over every foot of the riding. The evidence is glaring and convincing and Mr. Borden must know it. Yet when a protest is entered the usual resorts are had to delaying investigation on legal technicalities and it is blandly announced in the Government press that appeals on points of law are likely to be taken both on the main and on the cross petitions, thus delaying the actual investigation for months. There has not been a single by-election

since Mr. Borden assumed office that has not been subject to the debauching influence of nearly every form of electoral corruption. Yet not a finger has been lifted to stop the carnival or punish the guilty by the man who declared one of the original planks of his Halifax platform to be "Elections untainted by the corrupting influences of bribery and fraud."

There have been as serious sins of omission. Redistribution has now been withheld for two years. Along similar lines of treachery to public morality has been the manipulation of by-election dates. When in opposition Mr. Borden urged an amendment to the Election Act providing for the compulsory filling of all vacancies in representation within at least three months. The record of Chateauguay, East Middlesex, South Bruce and South Lanark is the measure of this further apostasy. In South Lanark the by-election has been delayed for no less than nine months purely because of party exigencies and party squabbling.

Patronage Evils Increase.

"The appointment of public officials upon consideration of capacity and personal character and not on party service alone" was another of the planks of Mr. Borden's Halifax platform. The Government had not been in office twenty-four hours before the pledge was broken. There has been almost no attempt at fulfilment. "To the Victors belong the Spoils" was substituted for "Civil Service Reform". In every constituency in Canada the fact is recognized that partisan service is the only sure road to appointment or preferment in the civil service. The record of dismissals of Liberal office holders is so voluminous that the administration has not yet been able to present to Parliament a complete list. Hundreds of men, old in the service and of unexceptional reputation, have been summarily dismissed at the bidding of local patronage committees. The mad scramble for the spoils became so scandalous within a few months after the Government was formed that even a staunch Conservative like Sir Edmund Osler publicly expressed his disgust. Appointments on merit! The cynical disregard of the pledge is proven by scores of instances. In Nova Scotia a convicted forger, serving a jail sentence, was given office under the Marine Department, and to right matters he was released from jail by the Justice Department. An immigration inspector was appointed by Mr. Rogers in Manitoba and after his appointment it was discovered that he could neither read nor write. A lands agent in the Peace River district who supplanted a reputable Liberal Government employe had to be recently dismissed for dishonesty and graft. These are but samples. The practice is so wide-spread and the work of the local patronage committees is so generally recognized that amplification is unnecessary.

Two years ago even his bitterest party opponents would hardly have charged that Mr. Borden did not mean a word of his declaration for "honest appropriation of the public money in the public interest" and for "the conservation of the public domain for the benefit of the whole people". In the two years the list of administrative scandals already disclosed has completely belied the fond hope of decent and honest administration.

Dishonest Public Transactions.

The public domain for the people! Witness the Prince Albert Homestead deal. A "homestead" within the city limits of Prince Albert worth at least \$100,000 deliberately alienated for \$10 to a political friend of Hon. Robert Rogers. And at the crack of the party whip the transaction was actually endorsed by the Conservative majority in the House of Commons. A similar instance occurred recently at Gimli, Manitoba. Dominion lands worth at least \$15,000 were privately sold to a party friend for \$700. The publicity given to this deal and the public resentment aroused have however, frightened the spoilers. The final transfer of the lands is being now held up in the Manitoba courts.

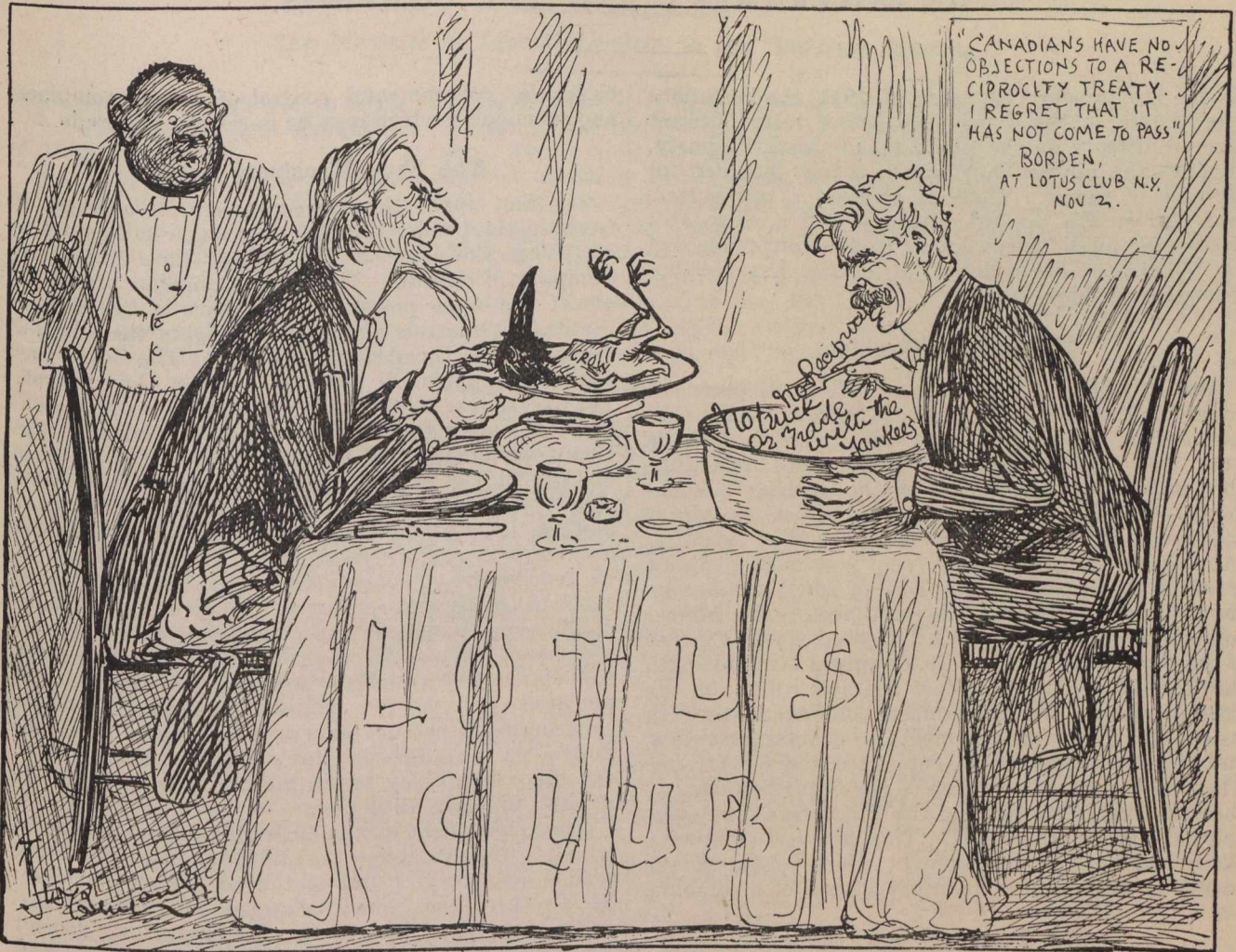
Honest appropriations! Mr. Borden said in opposition that at least ten millions of the Liberal Government's annual expenditure was wasteful or dishonest. He has added nearly one hundred millions to that expenditure and has increased the cost of the ordinary administration of the Government by 63 per cent. There is the "prima facie evidence of waste and dishonesty". There are numerous concrete instances. The Postmaster-General provides a conspicuous example. Without calling for public tenders, he gave to a specially formed company of political friends a contract for 350,000 mail bag locks at one dollar apiece—more than twice as many as have been used in the whole history of the Post Office Department. It has not been proven that the locks now in use really are inadequate or defective. It has been shown that if they were defective they could have been made secure by the simple expedient of inserting a small metal disc costing five cents apiece. That transaction Mr. Borden has defended by continuing his trust in Mr. Pelletier.

The site for the new military barracks at Dorval was bought by the Government last year for \$180,000. The owner, Major Rodden of Montreal, had bought it within the year for \$84,996 and a considerable portion of the property he had purchased but sixteen days before it was transferred to the Government. The profit was nearly \$100,000. Is that Mr. Borden's idea of "honest appropriation of the public money in the public interest"?

Hon. J. D. Reid, Minister of Customs, prior to January 31st, 1912, had been heavily interested in the Starch Works at Prescott as director and stockholder. The Company had ceased operations. On the above date the minister formally severed his interest in the Company. Shortly afterwards the Government acquired the plant for \$47,500 to be "used as an extension of the Marine Yards at Prescott!" Was that appropriation in the interest of the public or was it in the interest of Hon. J. D. Reid?

When Mr. Borden talked scandal and graft in his opposition days, he dealt usually in generalities. There were no real pegs on which to hang his charges. The charges of graft in the construction of the National Transcontinental Railway were not substantiated despite years of patient and thorough investigation by the opposition during the Laurier regime. Since then there have been two more years of costly scandal-hunting. And not a scandal to tarnish the reputation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier or of any of his colleagues has been unearthed.

THE LOTUS EATER---EATING HIS OWN WORDS.



[“In regard to reciprocity between this country and Canada, Mr. Borden said that the Canadians had no objection to such a treaty, and that Canada felt that she had done her fair share toward it. He said that he regretted that it had not come to pass, but, he added, ‘Canada will conduct affairs so as to be the bond between the United States and the British Empire.’”—From the account of a dinner to Cyril Maude, an English actor, at the Lotus Club, New York, on the night of Sunday, November 2nd, in the New York Herald, Monday, Nov. 3.]

FOOD TAXES AND REVENUE.

Are Duties on Food Necessary for Revenue?

THE ANSWER.

FISCAL YEAR 1912-13.

SURPLUS OF REVENUE

Over all expenditures, including Capital Account,

\$24,233,550.

SURPLUS OF REVENUE

Over all expenditures for ordinary cost of administration,

\$55,630,366.

THE EXPENDITURES FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1912-13 BY THE BORDEN GOVERNMENT WERE THE LARGEST IN THE HISTORY OF CANADA.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE COMBINES.

IN the Reciprocity Campaign of 1911, the battalions of wealth, of tariff privilege and of vested interest were admittedly on the side of the Conservative party. To them the Borden Government is now indebted for its lease of power. There is at least a prima facie case against the present Ministry and a reasonable ground for public suspicion as to the continuance of the alliance. The evidence of events has steadily strengthened this suspicion.

The Lumber Combine.

Almost the first act of the Customs Department under Hon. J. D. Reid, was to make a ruling that rough-sawn lumber imported into Western Canada from the United States should be considered dutiable instead of free as under the Laurier Government. To the consumers of the prairie provinces that meant an extra tax on one of the chief essentials of western development. The new ruling meant in effect an increase in the cost of rough lumber by about two dollars per thousand feet. The lumber combine of British Columbia benefited at the expense of the western consumer. On an appeal being made to the Exchequer Court against the new ruling of the Customs Board the Government of Canada through its counsel presented arguments to sustain the ruling, and the Exchequer Court supported the Government. An appeal was further taken to the Supreme Court by the Canadian importers and the Supreme Court overruled the previous decision. Thus it was the Supreme Court and not the Government which protected the consumer against the predatory attack of a combine.

The Protected Interests.

Then came the attempt to appoint a Tariff Commission composed of "experts in sympathy with the views of the Government in regard to protection". The time of the first session of parliament was largely taken up with the discussion of the proposed Commission, and the powers it was to possess, but because the Senate amended the bill so as to give the Commission the power to inquire into the amount of profits, the extent of watered stock and the rate of wages paid in cases where corporations were applying for an increase of protection, the government on the advice of the Minister of Finance and his wealthy colleagues, refused to accept the amendment so obviously in the public interest, and unable to get the bill through without the amendment let the whole legislation go by the boards. The appointment of Mr. R. W. Breadner, tariff expert of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association to be chief tariff adviser to the Ministers of Customs and of Finance was made instead.

Striking evidence of the Government's desire to keep hands off special interests is found in the negative attitude assumed in connection with the enforcement of the Anti-Combines Act. This legislation, passed in May, 1910, by the Laurier administration, has been declared by international authorities to be the most advanced and effective piece of legislative machinery yet devised under a protective tariff system

to secure governmental control of trusts, combines and monopolies which may be in restraint of trade.

The Shoe Machinery Trust.

The first application by consumers for a Board of Investigation under this Act was made in November of 1910 in the case of the United Shoe Machinery Company of Canada. This is the Canadian branch of one of the most powerful monopolies in the United States. It controls under patent rights the sale and use of practically all shoe machinery. The Board was promptly appointed by the Laurier Government. For over a year the Company employed every possible legal resource to delay proceedings. Finally the Board announced its findings to the Government on Oct. 18th, of last year. The majority report, signed by Mr. Justice Laurendeau, the Chairman, and Mr. J. C. Walsh, found a clear-cut case against the Company in unduly restricting the sale and use of its machines and consequently enhancing the price of shoes to the general consumer. To give the Company ample time to remedy the conditions complained of, a delay of six months was recommended before steps to enforce any penalties were to be taken. The penalties provide for removal of tariff protection, cancellation of patent rights or a fine of one thousand dollars per day, for each day's failure to comply with the law. The delay of six months was granted. It expired on May 19th last.

The Department of Labour is still in the dark as to whether the combine is still "unduly restricting trade" and levying unjust toll on every Canadian. Mr. Crothers, the Minister charged with the enforcement of the provisions of the Act, apparently doesn't know and doesn't care. The Act has become a dead letter so far as the present Government is concerned. Mr. T. Chase Casgrain, K.C., of Montreal, who was offered a portfolio last year by Premier Borden, is counsel for the Company. He is satisfied. So is the United Shoe Machinery Company of Canada, an American organization. Apparently reciprocity in trusts is right, but reciprocity in food-stuffs is wrong.

The Question for the People.

The reasonable control of trusts, combines and monopolies, was provided for by Liberal legislation. The present Administration leaves the control of the consumer in the hands of the trusts, combines and monopolies. Under the present administration "Tariff relief" is seen only from the angle of those who benefit by restriction of trade through tariff protection.

The evidence as to the Government's partnership with "the vested interests" at the expense of the average consumer is rapidly growing. And the most disturbing feature of the situation is that the longer the process of trust-incubation is allowed to continue in Canada, the more difficult it will become to later secure removal of trust-injuries without causing disastrous industrial dislocation, and far-reaching disturbance of settled conditions. That has been the experience of the United States. Is it to be Canada's as well?

THE BATTLE-CRY OF LIBERALISM.

The Message of Liberal Leaders at the Hamilton Meeting.

"FIGHT on—I call you to fight with me, to fight the battle of public service."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's ringing words to the young Liberals of Ontario gathered at Hamilton on November 27th, his clear-cut enunciation of Liberal policy based on the fundamental principles of Liberalism, are renewed inspiration to every Canadian Liberal, young and old. It was the message of the greatest Canadian speaking with the authority of thirty-two years of continuous service as leader of his party, speaking with the strength of positive conviction in the justice and ultimate triumph of the principles for which without faltering he has fought, for half a century.

It was the message of a statesman of courage, imagination and clear-vision, who has fought and won through a generation the battles of Canadian democracy for responsible government, for social justice, for equality of opportunity, for freedom for the common people, in the age-long fight between entrenched and aggressive self-interest and altruistic common-interest—between Toryism and Liberalism.

"Political life is often punctuated by reverses" said Sir Wilfrid. But a good cause knows no defeat. Reverses in a good cause but try the metal and fire the courage. So it has been with the "Old Chief" and with his lieutenants and with the rank and file of Liberalism. The party is stronger, more united and in better fighting spirit today in Canada than it was even in the days when it held office. The election of September 21st, 1911, was a temporary reverse for Liberalism, but it was not a defeat for the principles for which Liberalism stands. Those principles are firm-based, world-wide and undying. The response all over Canada to the rallying-cry which Sir Wilfrid has given anew to his followers is spontaneous and whole-hearted. There was at the Hamilton meeting only the note of optimism and confidence. There was no hint of despair or discouragement.

Liberalism was never prouder of

its leader than it is today, never prouder of its history and of its task. The review of the whole political situation with the statement of the issues, National and Imperial, economic and social, which Sir Wilfrid and Mr. N. W. Rowell, the Ontario provincial Liberal Leader, presented to the 700 representatives of young Liberalism at the Hamilton banquet were

"Stand to your ideals. Stand fast, stand true. Fulfill the great duties that belong to British citizenship. Keep your ideal before you like the cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, which guided the people of God from the tribulation of bondage. Let all together, young and old, join hands. Gird our loins, buckle on our armour, unfurl our standard and go forward together in service in earnest, whole-hearted, unselfish, service for Canada first, Canada last and Canada for ever."—Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"When others were in doubt Sir Wilfrid Laurier saw clearly that there could be no permanent unity among the free peoples of the Empire except upon the basis of an equality in status of all the free and self-governing portions of the Empire. He realized that the status of Canada must be changed from that of a colony to a free nation within the Empire; that this change should be brought about, not by legislative enactment, but by the demand on our part for a new status, persisted in until the people of Canada were convinced of its necessity, and persisted in until the people of Great Britain were convinced that it was right. His steady pursuit of this policy until the new status was recognized and accepted constitutes one of his greatest achievements."—Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.P.

"Let us not forget Liberalism is the creed of the democracy, and the democracy has not yet come to its own. It is the party of progress."—Mr. N. W. Rowell, K.C., M.P.P.

compelling in their logic and in their call for support.

"While we proclaim our allegiance to the British Crown and our love of the British race, we are Canadians and as Canadians we have rights as well as duties" said Sir Wilfrid in giving the key-note to his declaration of policy in regard to naval defence and Canada's Imperial relationship. Self-government he reasserted, was a fundamental principle of Liberalism and

local autonomy was a fundamental principle of Imperial unity. "The Empire rests on that principle. If any man wants to rupture the Empire, let him lay rash hands on that principle and bring us back to the old days of concentration in London. The love and allegiance of the Canadian people have grown apace with the growth of self-government." And summing up the record of the long development of British constitutional freedom wherever free British men dwell, he applied the moral to the concrete issues of naval defence. "I pin my faith to this; that any money raised out of the pockets of the Canadian people must be expended by representatives of those people duly elected by them". The battle has been won by Liberalism in the past. The fight is now to maintain the field against the subtle attack of re-actionary Toryism.

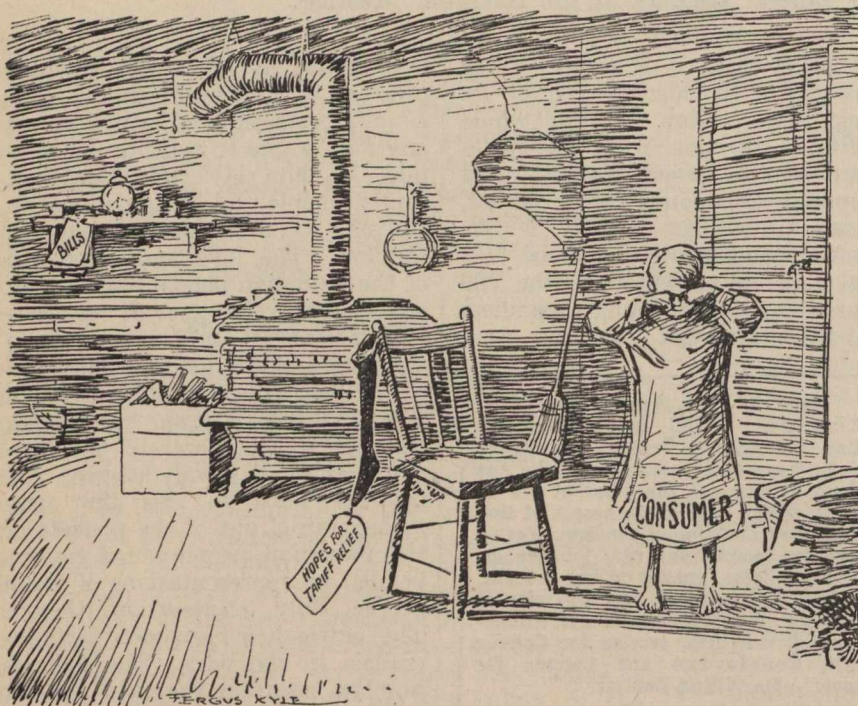
But an even greater issue holds the first place in regard to present issues of national concern; that is the problem of economic justice to the common people. Sir Wilfrid launched at Hamilton, a new crusade against monopoly and restriction.

To-day the problem of the cost of living for the average man has become the vital issue of Canadian political life. Sir Wilfrid proposed at Hamilton the first great step towards the solution of that problem. The enthusiasm with which his Hamilton audience greeted his declaration of policy has been followed by a truly remarkable demonstration of popular acclaim from Canadians in every part of the Dominion.

"Stand to your ideals", declared Sir Wilfrid in concluding one of the greatest speeches of his career. "Liberalism must turn with the same invariable courage to the new problems of social reconstruction and social reform as our fathers applied to the large and pressing problems of constitutional reform" declared Mr. Rowell.

With such leaders and with such inspiring key-notes to political faith, Liberalism confidently continues the fight for constitutional liberty and economic justice.

EMPTY!



[Since the Borden Government assumed office in October 1911, the cost of living has increased as never before in the history of Canada. Instead of giving Consumers relief by tariff reduction on the necessities of life the Government has aggravated the situation by reckless extravagance in expenditure. The Christmas of 1913 will witness a greater amount of unemployment in the cities than has been known since the last years of the previous Conservative Administration. Altogether the outlook for wage-earners and persons of limited incomes is anything but promising.]

TAXING THE CHRISTMAS DINNER.

WHEN the Christmas dinner is being prepared the Canadian housewife, with her butchers' and grocers' bills on the hook over the kitchen table in front of her, might moralize on these facts:—

On every pound of currants that goes into the Christmas cake or the Christmas pudding the Government increases the cost by 2 cents a pound in customs tolls. Last year the total tax on dried currants imported was \$81,422.73.

If dates are added the Government collects a toll varying from half a cent to 2½ cents per lb. Last year this tax aggregated \$21,906.47.

Raisins, a necessity of the Christmas dinner table, cost the consumers ⅔ of a cent more for every pound because of customs. The total duty last year was \$162,819.17.

Sugar, that absolutely indispensable article, is subject to a general customs tax of \$1.08 per hundred lbs. On imported sugars last year the Canadian consumers paid in duties no less than \$4,162,672.

Here is one item alone where the tax on food means on an average over two dollars per year added directly to the cost of living for every family. Indirectly it means much more than that amount.

At the present time eggs are being imported in large quantities to meet the local shortage of supplies. If they could be brought in free of duty the price to the housewife would be reduced by the amount of the customs duty, viz., 3 cents per dozen. Last year the total duty paid on eggs was \$397,123.48.

From Chicago and other meat packing centres come bacon and hams, canned meats and poultry, meat extracts, tinned soups, etc. On these the rate of duty is 20-27½ per cent ad valorem or 2 to 3 cents per pound. Last year the total customs tax collected was \$1,040,547.78. And this tax is on a restricted importation which allows the local canning and packers combines to keep up prices the whole year round.

On the Christmas turkey there is a tax of 20 per cent, or one-fifth of the total price and on cranberries for the sauce a duty of 25 per cent. No less than \$32,897.50 was taken by the Government in duty last year on cranberries alone.

On all the imported spices used by the housewife there is a customs tax of from 12½ to 27½ per cent ad valorem or of from 3 cents to 10 cents per lb. The total customs tax last year on spices, including mustard, was \$95,350. On vinegar the duty is 15 to 17 cents per gallon and last year the amount collected was \$22,152.52. On pickles \$116,651.97 was collected and on sauces and ketchups \$101,207.71.

Imported fruits and imported vegetables also jump in price to the consumer the moment they meet the customs man. The canned variety bought at the grocers cost from 1½ cents to 2¼ cents per lb. more than they would cost if the duty were removed. Last year Canadian consumers added in customs duties alone \$896,262 to their bills for this item of food.

If dainties such as figs, grapes or nuts should be thought of in connection with the Christmas dinner, a tax will have to be paid on all these; last year \$24,316.38 was collected on figs, on which there is a duty of 55 cents per 100 lbs; \$124,945.29 was collected on grapes, the rate being 2 cents per lb.; \$414,078.41 on nuts of different kinds. On candies and confectionery \$406,024.63 was collected, and on biscuits, \$52,522.31.

Perhaps if the cost of living continues its steady upward flight the housewife will be forced to restrict the Christmas dinner to prunes and rice. But even here she will not escape the Government's tariff toll. On rice the general customs tax is 75 cents per 100 lbs. Last year the total duties amounted to \$81,979. On prunes the tax is ⅔ of a cent per pound and it added \$59,617.42 to the total cost of food stuffs. Even on tapioca and sago there is a tax of 27½ per cent, and \$32,887.17 was taken by the tax collector last year on these items alone.

The Liberal tariff policy of free food would wipe out all these unnecessary taxes. The Borden Government says the taxes should be continued and the national expenditures increased.

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

1913.
November.
- 2 **RT. HON. R. L. BORDEN** at **LOTOS CLUB, NEW YORK** reported as saying, regrets Reciprocity had not come to pass.
- 3 Customs returns for October show decrease of \$922,911.
PEEL (Ont. Provincial) BY-ELECTION, consequent on resignation of **MR. SAMUEL CHATTERS (C)** to accept registrarship
JAS. R. FALLIS (C) 2,546—408.
A. H. MILNER (L) 2,138.
Representation unchanged.
- MR. RICHARD JEBB**, in **LONDON MORNING POST** criticizes efforts to centralize Naval Defence.
- 6 **HON. W. S. FIELDING** in **LONDON MORNING POST** discusses letters by **MR. RICHARD JEBB** and **ADMIRAL FREEMANTLE** on **IMPERIAL NAVAL DEFENCE**.
- 7 **ARMSTRONG-WHITWORTH SHIP-BUILDING COMPANY** secures Canadian Incorporation, to establish plant at Montreal.
REPORT ON CONTROL OF OCEAN FREIGHT RATES presented by **CHAIRMAN H. L. DRAYTON** of Railway Commission.
- 10 **RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL** at **GUILDHALL BANQUET** says British Navy greater than it has ever been, and that there is less danger to European peace than for many years.
ST. JOHNS COUNTY (Quebec Provincial) BY-ELECTION consequent upon **SIR LOMER GOVIN** vacating his seat for another riding.
MR. MARCELLIN ROBERT (IND. L) 938—119.
MR. BROSSARD (L) 819.
MR. POULIN (L) 616.
MR. TRUDEAU (IND.) 9.
Representation unchanged.
- HUNTINGDON (Quebec Provincial) BY-ELECTION** consequent upon death of sitting member, **MR. H. WALKER (L)**.
MR. ANDREW PHILLIP (L) 1,292—161
DR. MOORE (C) 1,131.
Representation unchanged.
- 11 **HON. MESSRS. G. E. FOSTER** and **L. P. PELLETIER** at **Canadian Club, NEW YORK**, on **RECIPROCITY** and **PARCELS POST**.
MACDONALD (Man.) BY-ELECTION voided, the respondent, **MR. ALEX. MORRISON (C)** admitting that his election had been secured by corrupt means.
QUEBEC LEGISLATURE opens.
- 14 **CHATEAUGUAY BY-ELECTION PROTEST** filed by Liberals; demands unseating and disqualification of **MR. JAMES MORRIS (C)**.
- 20 **MR. AETHUE HAWKES** announces himself as **INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE** in the **SOUTH LANARK BY-ELECTION**, declares for "Canada First" and opposes Borden Naval Contribution.
LORD EMMOTT, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies at **LONDON** says time not ripe for any organic change in direction of Imperial Federation.
SIR WILFRED LAURIE celebrates his seventy-second birthday at Ottawa; receives congratulations from King George and from statesmen in all parts of the world.
- 22 **CHATEAUGUAY CONSERVATIVES** file preliminary objections to Liberal protest against election of **MR. JAS. MORRIS (C)**.
DELEGATION OF SEED MEN wait upon **HON. MR. PELLETIER** with protest against increase of postage on seeds.
- 24 **RT. HON. HERBERT SAMUEL** at **NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB, London, Eng.**, on "Liberalism and Imperial Policy".
- 25 **TOM RICHARDSON**, British Labour M.P. at **LONDON** denounces use of Militia in Nanaimo strike.
- 26 **SIR WILFRED LAURIE** at **HAMILTON BANQUET** given by **ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LIBERAL CLUBS** to **SIR WILFRED LAURIE** and **MR. N. W. ROWELL** enunciates **LIBERAL POLICY** of removing all **CUSTOMS DUTIES ON FOOD** in order to reduce cost of living. **MR. W. B. PRESTON**, President, in the chair. Speeches by Messrs. Preston, O'Connor ((Kingston), J. A. Soule (Hamilton), Stanley Kerr (Toronto) and by **Hon. Messrs. N. W. Rowell, K.C., Graham, King** and **F. F. Pardee, M.P.**
- 27 **EAST MIDDLESEX (Ont. Provincial) BY-ELECTION** consequent upon death of **MR. GEO. W. NEELY (C)**.
MR. JOHN MCFARLAN (C) 2,265—293.
MR. JOHN LAIDLAW (Alliance-L) 1,972.
Representation unchanged.
- MEETING OF 1,500 UNEMPLOYED** at **WINNIPEG** demands corporation relief works.
SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATURE adopts resolution demanding free wheat, only three Conservatives voting against it.
- 28 **GENERAL REFORM ASSOCIATION OF ONTARIO** annual meeting at **TORONTO**. President, **HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING** in the chair. Annual address by President and speeches by **MR. N. W. ROWELL, K.C., HON. G. P. GRAHAM, SENATOR J. K. KERR**, and others. Resolution unanimously carried endorsing Liberal policies and leaders in Dominion and Province—Election of Officers 1913—14.
HON. MESSRS. GRAHAM and **KING** at **TORONTO WARD III LIBERAL ASSOCIATION** on **CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT RECORD** and **FREE FOOD POLICY**.
GOVERNMENT ISSUES STATEMENT that expenditures will be greatly increased during year to tide country over hard times.
- 29 **KILDONAN & ST. ANDREWS (Man. Provincial) BY-ELECTION**, consequent on resignation of **DR. O. I. GRAIN**.
HON. DR. MONTAGUE (C) elected.
MR. A. E. BREEDIN (L).
Representation unchanged.
- PREMIER BORDEN** returns to Ottawa after absence of a month in Virginia.

THE MACHINE AND THE PEOPLE.

THERE is a prevailing suspicion all over Canada that the political life of the country is being debauched by Hon. Robert Rogers with the knowledge and consent of Premier Borden and the other members of his Cabinet. This general suspicion has been confirmed by the voiding by the court on November 10th of the seat in Macdonald. Alex. Morrison the Conservative candidate elected in the by-election in October of last year confessed through his counsel that his campaign agents had committed serious irregularities and improprieties. The charges of wholesale corruption and intimidation were substantiated by affidavits read in the Commons last session. These affidavits showed that the by-election of last year was characterized by practically every unscrupulous device of machine politics known to Messrs. Rogers and Roblin. "I know how to win elections", was Mr. Rogers' cynical comment in the Commons last session on the storm of protest against the Macdonald outrages on political decency and fair play. The outcome and the hasty throwing up of the sponge by Mr. Morrison on instructions from Mr. Rogers, with the connivance of Premier Borden, shows how Mr. Rogers "wins elections".

It was Mr. Rogers, too, who took charge of the Hochelaga by-election a year ago, and the Hon. Louis Coderre still confronts the unrefuted affidavits charging bribery and promises of government positions to influential voters who had to be conciliated.

In Chateauguay where Mr. Rogers took personal charge of the Government's campaign methods, the ensuing "victory" promises to be much more costly than defeat.

On November 19th, a protest was entered by the Liberals of the riding, demanding the unseating and disqualification of Mr. Morris, the Conservative Candidate. The protest is now pending before the courts.

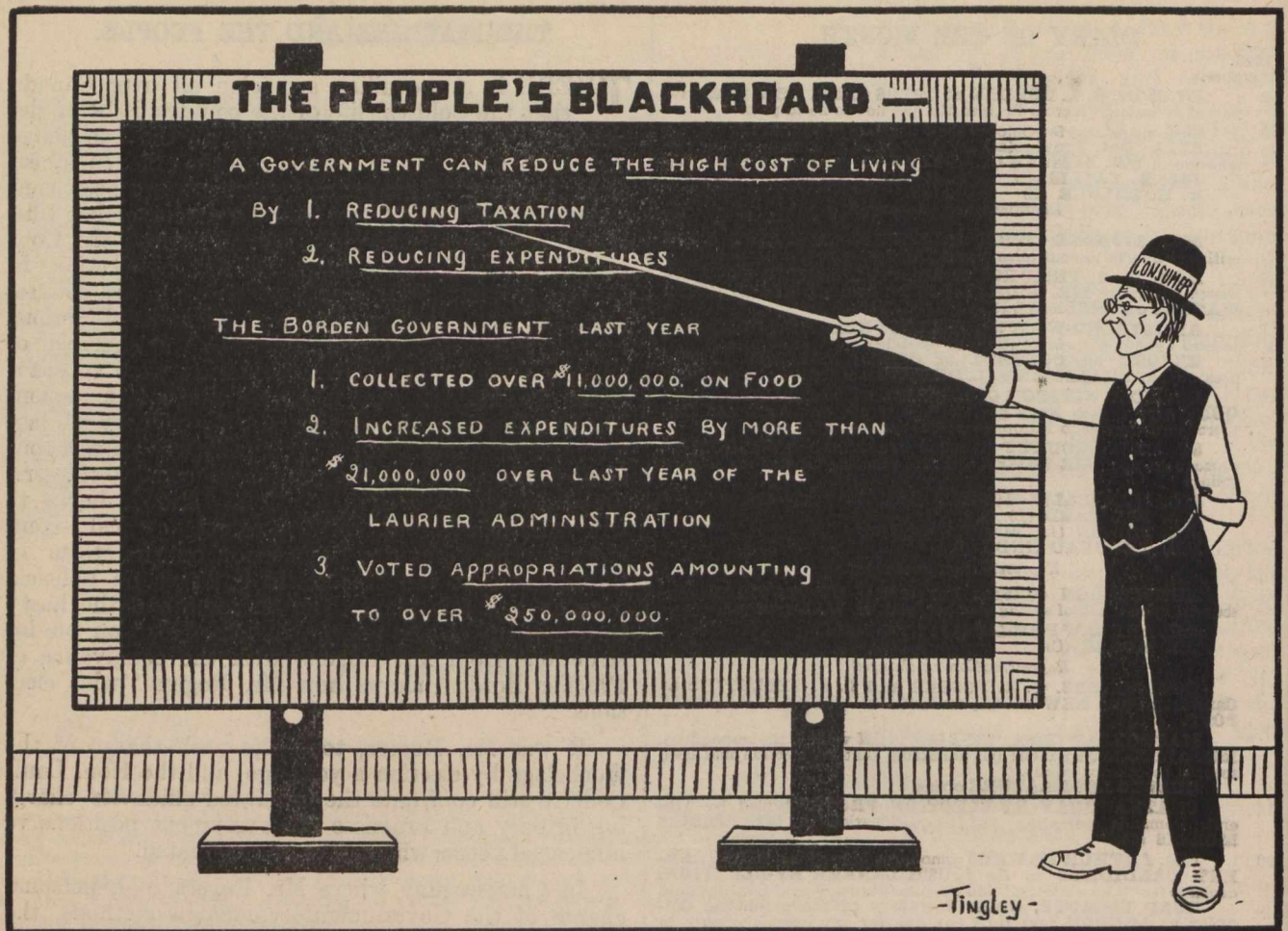
In East Middlesex, the only other by-election where the Government candidate won, Mr. Rogers did not take personal charge of the campaign and the Conservative majority in 1911 was reduced by 256.

Liberalism meanwhile has in the federal arena won South Bruce, South Renfrew and Richelieu.

In Ontario the last three by-elections have shown a similar tide against reactionary Toryism in provincial politics. In East York a Conservative majority of 782 in December 1911, for the Whitney Government was reduced on September 8th last to 702. In Peel the Conservative majority of 716 at the general election of 1911 was reduced on November 3rd last to 408. In East Middlesex a Conservative majority of 539 obtained in 1912, was reduced on November 27th last to 293.

The by-elections that have been nominally won for Premier Borden and for Sir James Whitney have brought no solace or encouragement to them. Either previous Conservative majorities were reduced or else, as in the cases of Chateauguay and Macdonald, defeat were preferable to the victory gained.

The by-election record clearly indicates the trend of public opinion.



THE ONTARIO REFORM ASSOCIATION.

THE eighth annual meeting of the General Reform Association of Ontario, held in Toronto on November 28th, was marked by an exceptionally large attendance of representative Liberals from all parts of the Province and by a dominant note of optimism and enthusiasm in regard to the future of Liberalism both in provincial and federal politics.

The entire accord of the meeting with the policies enunciated by the Federal and Provincial Liberal leaders was evidenced by the unanimous passing of the following resolution: "This Association hereby places upon record its hearty appreciation and enthusiastic support of its distinguished leaders, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. N. W. Rowell, and pledges them its unhesitating support of the policies of the Liberal party."

Mr. Rowell in an inspiring address to the Association reviewed the progress and work of Liberalism especially in the sphere of social

reform. Hon. George P. Graham, speaking for the Liberal members of the Dominion Parliament brought the message that the outlook for the party in federal politics had steadily and rapidly improved since the reverse of 1911 and the next appeal to the electors could be faced with a confident hope of success. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, President of the Association in his annual address, dealt with the encouraging record of the by-elections of the past year in both provincial and federal politics, and reviewed the Liberal policies in regard to social and economic reform. Contrasting the standpoints of Liberalism and Toryism in regard to Imperial relations President King said: "On the question of the future constitution of the British Empire, I would say that the Liberals put the emphasis on the word 'British' and the Conservatives on the word 'Empire'."

Officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows:

President, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C. M. G.; Vice-Presidents, F. F. Pardee, M.P.; C. M. Bowman, M.P.P.; A. J. Young; Edmond

Proulx, M.P.; Treasurer, A. E. Dymont; General Secretary, F. G. Inwood; Auditor, J. F. MacKay; Executive Committee, Hon. Geo. P. Graham, M.P., H. M. Mowat, K.C., Lt. Col. A. T. Thompson, Hugh Guthrie, M.P., W. M. German, M.P., R. E. Truax, M.P., D. Racine, M.P.P., Z. Mageau, M.P.P., Dr. James McQueen, M.P.P., J. E. Atkinson, John Lennox, Gordon Waldron, Walter Harland Smith, D. K. Erb.

The Canadian Liberal Monthly

Issued by

THE INFORMATION OFFICE

of the

CANADIAN LIBERAL PARTY

HOPE CHAMBERS, Sparks St., OTTAWA, ONT.

Subscription Rate, \$1.00 per annum

Single Copies, 10 Cents

\$1.00 per Dozen Copies

Special rates to Clubs and Associations, 80 cents per annum on five or more subscriptions.

Five new subscriptions entitles the sender to a FREE subscription.



Issued by the Liberal Information Office of the Canadian Liberal Party, Hope Chambers, Sparks St., Ottawa, and printed by Capital Press Limited, 225 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ont.