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"DESPAIR OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT."

It is very obviously in the interests of the so-called union administration to gloze over the record of the Borden administration by emphasizing the patriotic side of the present campaign and studiously avoiding any reference to the accomplishments of the former cabinet. But this sort of camouflage deceives nobody. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his stirring manifesto placed his finger on the weak spot when he dwelt upon such incidents as the notorious Canadian Northern Railway deal. And such a reputable journal as the independent *Weekly Sun*, of Toronto, one of the most influential organs of the agricultural interests of the province, in reviewing Sir Wilfrid's message to the people of the Dominion remarks:

Not the least of the items of his manifesto is that which calls for a public review of the bargain with Mackenzie and Mann. We should despair of popular government, if that negotiation were, by any political manoeuvre or any urgency of civilization, to escape public judgment.

That is the chief point to be borne in mind by the hard headed farmers of Ontario and of every other province.

DO NOT LET ANY POLITICAL OR PATRIOTIC MANOEUVRE DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE NOTORIOUS RAILWAY DEAL WHEREBY THE BORDEN GOVERNMENT INTENDS TO PRESENT CERTAIN CLEVER PROMOTERS AND FINANCIAL INTERESTS WITH MILLIONS OF THE PUBLIC MONEY AT A TIME WHEN EVERY DOLLAR OF OUR FUNDS SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO CARRYING ON THE WAR. SIR WILFRID HAS PROMISED TO REVIEW THE WHOLE MATTER OF THIS BAREFACED ATTEMPT ON THE TREASURY SHOULD HE BE RETURNED TO POWER.

THE BORDEN FAMILY COMPACT.

The Borden Government, not content with disfranchising thousands of voters under the pretext of possible disloyalty on the part of these citizens, not satisfied with treating the obligations of the Dominion to its citizens as scraps of paper, perpetrated another franchise outrage by the taking from the women of Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan Alberta and British Columbia the right to vote, which the women of these provinces had won after years of legitimate agitation and propaganda. Under Chapter 6, Section 10, of the Revised Statutes of Canada the "qualifications necessary to entitle any person to vote at a Dominion election shall be those established by the particular province where the voter resides and which obtain in the case of a

provincial election." Now, the women of the five provinces named had the right to vote in provincial elections, and under the Dominion law they had therefore the right to vote in Federal elections. But along comes the Borden government with its War Time Elections Act and disfranchises the respectable women of these provinces—virtually tells them that only those who have relatives at the front are fit to vote and classifies all the rest with the alien enemies of Canada. The disfranchised women of these five provinces are now catalogued with the Moravians, Doukhobors, ukowinians and Ruthenians. Above them are the naturalized Hindus, Syrians, Armenians and Orientals!

Thousands of these devoted women have worked day and night for our brave troops at the front. They have organized campaigns, worked in munition factories and have borne the heat and burden of the day bravely and manfully in field and factory in order that our soldiers might be fed and comforted as they deserve. Surely they, if anybody, should have been protected in their rights. But no; the government for some reason preferred not to trust our Ontario and Western Canadian women. It deprived them of their votes while granting the franchise to 500,000 other women, whom it thinks it can convince that a change of government will affect their allowances from the public funds.

THE UNION GOVERNMENT HAVING BOUND AND GAGGED THOUSANDS OF ELECTORS OF THIS COUNTRY, MEN AND LOYAL WOMEN ALIKE, SEEKS TO REGAIN POWER AND FURTHER PRUSSIANIZE THE COUNTRY IN THE MATTER OF FRANCHISE AND SUFFRAGE. THE BORDEN ADMINISTRATION, IN SHORT, IS ATTEMPTING TO REINTRODUCE THE NOTORIOUS PERIOD OF THE FAMILY COMPACT IN OUR STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM.

CREATING PUBLIC OPINION.

General Mewburn, the new Minister of Militia, who wants to send not 100,000 more Canadians to the front but 200,000 or 300,000 or even more, until only the old men, the children, women and cripples are left, is evidently of opinion that if he can make this view popular it will become a mandate for such action. The *Weekly Sun* in this connection innocently remarks:

A disturbing observation made by the Hon. Mewburn, Minister of Militia, that public opinion was what you made it provokes the demand to know what are the means which you use to make public opinion.

In General Mewburn's case the wish is evidently father to the thought.

GENERAL MEWBURN AND THE MILITIA DEPARTMENT.

What has he done to improve it or punish the Guilty?

IN his no famous speech at the Hamilton Convention of Conscriptionist Liberals the new Minister of Militia, General Mewburn, described the "deplorable" condition in which he found the

Militia Department after three years of war. Nor did he confine his criticism to previous Ministers of Militia. He told also of his failure to induce the Government as a whole to get men under the Militia Act and frankly stated that even now he could not understand why the Government had declined to apply that Act. No statement could possibly be more damaging to the Government of which General Mewburn is a member.

A flood of light is thrown on General Mewburn's exposure of the criminal mismanagement of the war by the men with whom he is now associated by the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee on Returned Soldiers. Pull, patronage, stealing, and shameless graft have run riot in all branches of the Militia Department since the beginning of the war.

In his testimony before the Committee, Mr. J. W. Borden, Paymaster General of the Militia Department and the brother of Premier Borden, stated that he had been handicapped from the start in getting good men for the Separation Allowance and Assigned Pay Branch as he was obliged to select clerks from the lists sent him by the local Tory members. He asserted that all such appointments had to be made through the "local political chiefs" and that he was not at liberty to go outside and select competent men to do the work. Thus incompetent Tory hangers-on were placed in charge of the Separation Allowance and Assigned Pay Branch, and the interest of the soldiers and their families were secondary to political pull from the very beginning.

What followed is precisely what the Liberals have charged against the Borden administration.

Giving evidence immediately after Paymaster General Borden, the Auditor General, Mr. John Fraser, said that through incompetence and lack of system "hundreds of thousands of dollars" had been overpaid to persons who were not entitled to receive the money and that the matter of overpayments was so serious that he did not believe the amount overpaid would ever be ascertained.

Then Mr. Fraser told the Committee of "very serious leakages" that had occurred in connection with money refunded to the Militia Department and not accounted for. He had discovered that a large class of persons who had been sent cheques to which they were not entitled had afterwards been asked for a refund; that this had been made sometimes in cash, sometimes by money orders or cheques and that a lot of this money had never gone to the credit of the Receiver-General, but had been kept by the clerks who had received it. Mr. Fraser expressed a strong opinion that there should be some inquiry made into these stealings. The Borden Government made no inquiry and Mr. Fraser said he did not think it would be good business for him to spend \$500,000 or \$600,000 more in trying to do the work that ought to have been done properly in the first place.

But perhaps the most illuminating of all was Mr. Fraser's evidence about the doings in England of the Militia Department under Sir Robert Borden's management.

Describing the Pay and Records Office in London Mr. Fraser said that when he was there in December

last the office contained 2,500 able-bodied men, 1,700 being in the Pay Office alone; that a lot of them should never have been placed in the office; that they were incompetents and that it would have been cheaper for Canada to have paid them "to sit out on the sidewalk and leave the books alone." There were so many Colonels, Mr. Fraser said he was afraid to speak to a man lest he would give him the wrong title.

In withering terms Mr. Fraser told of the stupidity of applying a military system to the operation of what should be a business office. He stated that in the London Office they had "ranks," discipline and everything the same as if they were at the front fighting Germans instead of keeping books." He illustrated the working of the system by citing the case of an expert chartered accountant who was ranked as a "private" in the office and who on this account had to take instructions about matters of book-keeping from a Colonel who knew nothing about keeping books. The effect of this system cannot be better described than by using Mr. Fraser's exact words:—

"I am told that some of those chartered accountants brought from the front because they were experts became so disgusted with conditions that they purposely put their accounts wrong in order that they would be fired and sent back to the front again. They prefer being in the trenches."

Imagine what the conditions in the London office must have been when competent men would deliberately risk death at the front rather than stay there!

But that is not all. Proceeding with his testimony, Mr. Fraser told the Committee of the defalcations of "quite a lot of paymasters, some of them from Overseas." He specifically instanced the case of one paymaster who had stolen \$3,500.00. All that was done to this man was to discharge him and send him back to Canada. And then what? The defaulting paymaster being a good Tory was promptly given the rank of Colonel by the Borden Government and was placed in command of a new regiment. He has never repaid one dollar of the amount he stole. The Auditor-General said that he asked the Militia Department to deduct from the man's pay the amount that he had stolen, but the Department replied that they had no authority to do so, as they could not deduct from a Colonel's pay any money that he might owe as a Paymaster. The tax-payers of Canada will appreciate the nicety of this distinction when they are told that Mr. Fraser swore positively that the man's defalcation was well-known in the Militia Department, as the amount of it was clearly shown on the Militia books.

The question naturally arises what has General Mewburn or the Union Government done to stop the "hundreds of thousands of dollars" of overpayments, to check the stealing of refunds, to punish the guilty, to dismiss incompetents and send them to the front? These are matters of vital importance to the electors of Canada, because they affect not only the soldiers at the front, but also the welfare of the soldiers' dependents and families at home. What then has General Mewburn done?

THE TWO POLICIES.

What Borden Proposes—What Laurier Proposes —To Win the War.

Every person in Canada wishes to win the war. If the war is not won, freedom will be lost to the world for generations to come. For anyone to claim that his party alone, by whatever name it is called, is "the win-the-war party" is to dishonour the intelligence and patriotism of the Canadian people as a whole.

While all Canadians wish to win the war, the people differ in their opinions as to which method in Canada is best calculated to attain this end. Some favour Sir Robert Borden's policy of Conscription. Others believe that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy, which takes a comprehensive view of the necessities of the war, and of conditions as they exist in Canada, is the more statesmanlike, and the more likely to ensure the fullest measure of war effort from a United Canada.

Those who oppose Sir Robert Borden's policy do so because they believe that an attempt to carry it out will do more harm than good. They believe that, as it stands, it is a policy of coercion, and that as such it is creating unrest throughout the whole of Canada. They believe that its attempted general enforcement, without reference to the people, may lead to serious divisions and cleavages in our country, and that it will weaken Canada's power of service in the war by making for disunion rather than united effort. They fear that it may even provoke situations which will prove perilous, if not disastrous, to the British Empire and the Allies, at a time when of all times in the world's history it is necessary for the peoples who cherish freedom to present a united front to an enemy that menaces the liberties of mankind. They believe that the statesmanship of Canada is equal to finding the men necessary for overseas service by means less liable to provoke a grave situation.

Those who oppose Sir Robert Borden's policy do not question the sincerity of others who support it; indeed, they believe that the zeal which characterizes many of Sir Robert Borden's supporters is bred of the most earnest devotion to country and to the cause of freedom which the triumph of German Militarism would destroy. But those who oppose Sir Robert and believe that, under existing conditions, Sir Wilfrid's policy is a better one, are entitled to have their sincerity and patriotism equally respected.

It is in the interests of Canada's part in the successful prosecution of the war that all views should be accorded thoughtful consideration by the electors, at a time when the people are called upon to decide a great issue.

It is the people who will suffer the consequences of a mistake in policy. The people, therefore, should be accorded the opportunity of free and full discussion, and a free expression of their convictions at the polls.

The following quotations from the manifestos issued by Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier respectively will enable the electors, irrespective of party, to arrive at an intelligent understanding of

the war policies of the two leaders.

BORDEN'S WAR POLICY.

Sir Robert's policy is set forth in a manifesto issued by him on October 19th, and is as follows:

"(1) The vigorous prosecution of the war; the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary reinforcements; the immediate enforcement of the Military Service Act; and the most thorough co-operation with the governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the war."

The Military Service Act is the Act which enacts Conscription. The enforcement of this Act, without any reference of its provisions to the people, is the only point of difference between Sir Robert Borden's war policy and that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as respects the several items in this statement of Sir Robert's manifesto. Sir Wilfrid pledges his government, just as strongly as Sir Robert Borden to the vigorous prosecution of the war; to the maintenance of Canada's effort by the provision of necessary reinforcements; and to the most thorough co-operation with the governments of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the war. As respects Conscription, Sir Wilfrid takes the position that he "will not proceed further" under the provisions of the Military Service Act without consulting the people upon it by means of an immediate referendum.

Since Sir Robert Borden's manifesto was issued, the policy of conscription which it announces has been further emphasized by the Hon. General Mewburn, Minister of Militia in Sir Robert's government, who in speaking of the Military Service Act in an address at a convention of conscriptionists held at Hamilton on November 2nd, said:

"One thing I am opposed to in the new measure is the limitation to 100,000 men. We are in this war, or should be, not with one, two, or three hundred thousand, but to the very limit of our resources."

The Minister of Militia is the member of the Borden Union Government through whom it was expected that a complete statement of the Government's war policy would be announced. In the absence of any refutation by Sir Robert Borden of the Government's war policy as outlined by the new Minister of Militia, the policy stands as thus expressed. Sir Robert Borden's policy is, therefore, one of unlimited conscription of men and should be so understood by the electorate. Sir Robert is opposed to allowing the people any further opportunity than that which the present elections afford to express their views with regard to conscription." The people should know this, and understand clearly what it involves.

In a second manifesto issued by Sir Robert Borden, on November 12th, the following statement as to the numbers of Canadians already enlisted appears:

"By voluntary enlistment an army of over four

hundred thousand has been enrolled."

If the United States, which has just come into the war, does as well under conscription, in proportion to her population, as Canada has already done under voluntary enlistment, she will place immediately in the field an army of between four and five millions of men.

Laurier's War Policy.

Sir Wilfrid's policy is set forth in a manifesto issued by him to the people of Canada on November 5th.

As to the war and Canada's duty to participate in it, Sir Wilfrid says:

"It cannot be said too often that this war could not have been avoided by the Allies, and that it is a contest for the very existence of civilization. Of this the entrance of the United States into the conflict is further proof, if indeed further proof were needed. The American people long hoped that they would be spared that ordeal, but the ruthless violation by Germany of the most sacred canons of International law left them no option; they had to join in the fight against a power which has become the common enemy of mankind."

Sir Wilfrid promises, if returned:

1. To make the winning of the war the main object of his government. Sir Wilfrid says:

"Should I be called upon to form a Government I would hope to include in it representatives of business, of labour and of agriculture, of the men whose sole object in dealing with the affairs of the country will be to devote the whole resources, wealth and energy of the country to the winning of the war."

2. To find the men, money, and resources necessary to give the fullest support to our heroic soldiers at the front. Sir Wilfrid says:

"My first duty will be to seek out the ablest men of the country, men of organizing capacity as well as men representative of all classes in the community, and invite them, irrespective of what it may involve in the way of sacrifice of their personal interests, to join with me in the formation of a cabinet whose first object will be to find the men, money and resources necessary to ensure the fullest measure of support to our heroic soldiers at the front, and to enable Canada to continue to the very end to do her splendid part to win the war."

3. To give the soldier and those dependent on him first place in the concern of the State. Sir Wilfrid says:

"The man who is prepared to volunteer his services and to risk his life in his country's defence is entitled to first consideration. Those dependent upon him, and who spare him from their midst are the next most deserving of the State's solicitude and care. A policy which will accord first place to the soldier and the sailor in the concern of the State will, I believe, bring forth all the men necessary to fight its battles, without the need of recourse to conscription. If returned to power, I should adopt such a policy."

4. To make the entire resources and population of service in the war. Sir Wilfrid says:

"Each year has rendered increasingly apparent the necessity of organizing the nation, in order that, so far as may be possible, the resources and population of

Canada, in its entirety may be made of service in the successful prosecution of the war."

5. To so organize the nation that the armies of the allied countries may receive the help most needed. Sir Wilfrid says:

"To-day, under the exhaustion the war has caused in the old world, Great Britain and her Allies are appealing as never before for more food, more ships, and more coal. No country has vaster resources than Canada, to supply these imperative requirements. What is needed is vigorous efforts to further an unlimited production. To meet this existing need, I am prepared in addition to the measures already outlined to take what further steps may be necessary to increase, double, and quadruple the output of all that may be necessary for marching and fighting armies."

6. To treat all alike, and not to conscript human life only. Sir Wilfrid says:

"A fundamental objection to the Government's policy of Conscription is that it conscripts human life only, and that it does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Military Service Act. This is manifestly unjust."

7. To consult and abide by the decision of the people as to further conscription. Sir Wilfrid says:

"As to the present Military Service Act my policy will be not to proceed further under its provisions until the people have an opportunity to pronounce upon it by way of a referendum. I pledge myself forthwith to submit the Act to the people and with my followers to carry out the wishes of the majority of the nation as thus expressed."

8. To organize a government campaign for voluntary recruiting.—(Thus far recruiting for overseas service has been left wholly to private enterprise. Sir Robert Borden's efforts were confined to a campaign for voluntary National Service, under a department of the Government created and conducted at great cost and which has since been abandoned. National Service was apart altogether from overseas service. Neither Sir Robert nor his government has conducted a recruiting campaign. Nothing, for example, has been attempted by the Government in the way of recruiting similar to the campaign for the Victory Loan). Sir Wilfrid says:

"I would at the same time organize and carry out a strong appeal for voluntary recruiting."

9. To raise regiments in Quebec and avoid internal dissensions in Canada at a time when the preservation of Canadian unity is all important to the strength of the Allies. Sir Wilfrid says:

"It is a fact that cannot be denied that the voluntary system, especially in Quebec, did not get a fair trial and a fair trial would receive from a generous people a ready response which would bring men to the ranks, with good will and enthusiasm, and which would eliminate from our political life one of its most harrowing problems, as no loyal Canadian can view without the gravest apprehension a disunited Canada at this critical hour of our history."

10. To give the returned soldiers first claim

on the country's assistance and support. Sir Wilfrid says:

"The greatest service that can be rendered the brave men who have first claim upon our gratitude and sympathy is to replace them in civil life. How to do that in the way best calculated to enable each man to become, if possible, self-sustaining is a task that will call for the display of all that is noblest and best in the Canadian people."

11. To be generous and patient in the treatment of returned soldiers. Sir Wilfrid says:

"In a vast number of cases re-education and technical training will be necessary. In these cases patience and generosity on the part of the State, combined with sympathetic understanding, practical experience, and scientific knowledge on the part of those whom the State will call in to aid its efforts will go a long way towards helping the returned soldier to overcome the handicaps of war. If we but set ourselves resolutely to this task, its accomplishment will be hastened by the hearty co-operation of every man who has been on service overseas."

12. To make more adequate provision for the soldiers' dependents and families. Sir Wilfrid says:

"The measures now in force for the maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependents and families are not adequate or equitable..... The nation's obligations to the soldiers and their dependents must be discharged by the nation, and not through the medium of public benevolence or charity."

13. To take prompt action to put the soldiers and their dependents beyond any possibility of want. Sir Wilfrid says:

"Prompt action must be taken to put the soldiers and their dependents beyond any possibility of want after public subscriptions have ceased and the glamour and excitement of the war have worn away."

14. To put a stop to Profiteering. Sir Wilfrid says:

"One of the most important contributions towards winning the war is to put a stop to profiteering on war supplies. The Government has deliberately encouraged profiteering for the benefit of its partisan followers. A first duty of my administration would be to secure to the country which pays for war supplies, the excess of exorbitant profits being realized by profiteers."

15. To have the State take control of the factories making munitions of war. Sir Wilfrid says:

"Should it be necessary, I would not hesitate, in order to immediately stop profiteering, to take control of the factories which are engaged in the supply of war materials, as has been done in Great Britain, and run them on the principle of reasonable return on investment for the owners, and reasonable legitimate profit."

16. To use the Government shops to make war materials, build ships, etc. Sir Wilfrid says:

"I believe that one of the best methods of providing war supplies, and of saving the country from being exploited by profiteers would be to turn the government shops which are suitable for such purposes to the production of war materials, ships, etc., for the benefit of the

country at cost price."

17. To prevent organized wealth and privileged interests from controlling the government. Sir Wilfrid says:

"I would hope to have a Government representative of the masses of the people, the common people whose guiding principle should be to defend them against organized privilege which has heretofore had far too much control over the Government of the country."

18. To control food supplies and fix prices by the Government. Sir Wilfrid says:

"In connection with the high cost of living, I would take drastic steps to bring under government control all food producing factories so that food may be sold at a fixed price under the control of the government, as has been done in Great Britain. To this end, arrangements should be made with the management of the food producing factories allowing for a fair interest on investment and fair and reasonable net profits, so that food may be obtainable by the ordinary consumer at the best possible prices."

19. To commandeer all food factories if necessary. Sir Wilfrid says:

"Should such arrangements not be possible, I would not hesitate to commandeer all food factories."

20. To reduce prices of commodities, where excessive, to reasonable rates." Sir Wilfrid says:

"The government is invested with powers which they could and should have used to reduce the price of all commodities. These powers they have already exercised in the case of newsprint-paper."..... "If they could thus reduce the price of paper to consumers of paper, why did they stop there? Why should the Government not also have reduced to the hundred of thousands of anxious housewives and bread-winners the prices of all those commodities which make the ever-increasing cost of living one of the most insistent and dangerous of all the problems that now confront us."

21. To put a stop to practices that rob the consumer and make the cost of living unbearable.

"The prices of all commodities have been steadily rising since the beginning of the war. The daily provisioning of the family table is from day to day becoming a more and more alarming problem for all classes of wage-earners and for all people of small and of even moderate income. It is no answer to say that this is the natural consequence of the war. When it is considered that the price of bread and bacon—to speak only of these two commodities—is higher here in Canada than in the United Kingdom, this of itself is proof sufficient that the prices here are inflated by methods which are in no way connected with the war, unless the war is taken advantage of for the very purpose of inflation. Indeed, the principal causes of these ever soaring prices are none other than those described in the Government manifesto as "excessive profits", "hoardings", and "combinations for the increase of prices." Since the Government knows where the evil is, what prevents the Government from striking the evil, and striking hard? The remedies are at hand, and I at once set down the policy."

22. To destroy trusts and combines where there are excessive profits, hoardings, and combinations. Sir Wilfrid says:

"No measure to reduce the cost of living can be effective unless and until the tariff is reformed and its pressure

removed from those commodities in which there are 'excessive profits', 'hoardings', and 'combinations for the increase of prices.' "

23. To save the country millions by having the new parliament pass upon the transactions of the Borden Government in their dealings with Mackenzie and Mann. Sir Wilfrid says:

"One feature of the act of last session is that the Government becomes the owner of the stock of the Company, of the nominal value of sixty million dollars. There never was a dollar paid in that stock. The experts employed by the Government to appraise the value of the whole enterprise, men of acknowledged ability and experience, themselves have reported that the stock of the Company has no value whatever.

"Yet the Government have taken authority to appoint a board of arbitrators to give a value to that property, which their experts have declared absolutely without value.

"The Opposition asked that the report of the arbitrators, whatever it might be, should be laid before Parliament for approval. Though this motion was rejected it is the right of the people to declare that the case should not have been finally closed by the action of a moribund Parliament, but that the whole matter should be reported to, and adjudicated upon by the new Parliament."

Laurier's Attitude on Conscription.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier has not said that he will not have Conscription under any conditions. All he has said is that he is opposed to further conscription without the people being given a chance to pronounce upon it, and this for the following reasons:

1. Because it will hinder rather than help to win the war. Sir Wilfrid says:

"This year the Government introduced a bill to make military service compulsory. With this policy I found it impossible to agree. If it be asked how this view is consistent with my oft expressed determination to assist in winning the war, I answer without any hesitation that this sudden departure from the voluntary system was bound more to hinder than to help the war."

2. Because it will disunite Canada. Sir Wilfrid says:

"It will create and intensify division where unity of purpose is essential."

3. Because it will destroy the united purpose and enthusiasm necessary to winning the war. Sir Wilfrid says:

"It may bring men to the ranks but it will not infuse into the whole body of the nation that spirit of enthusiasm and determination which is more than half the battle."

4. Because coercion is not sound policy. Sir Wilfrid says:

"I hold that to coerce when persuasion has not been attempted, is not sound policy, and in this I appeal to the impartial judgment of all Canadians."

5. Because the manner of its introduction was neither wise, prudent, nor effective. Sir Wilfrid says:

"To force such a drastic measure upon a people thus unprepared and against repeated assurances to the con-

trary, was neither wise nor prudent, nor effective."

6. Because its introduction at this juncture was a grave error. Sir Wilfrid says:

"I appeal with great confidence to the fair judgment of the country that the introduction of conscription at this juncture and in the manner above described was a grave error, if it is remembered that the supreme object should have been and still should be to bring all classes of the community to hearty co-operation in the task which we assumed."

7. Because the people of Canada were unprepared for its introduction. Sir Wilfrid says:

"It must be pointed out that in Great Britain for some years before the war, in view of the immensity of war preparations amongst all the nations of the continent, the question of conscription was seriously and increasingly discussed in Parliament and in the press, so that at last when a measure to that effect was introduced by the government, it came as no surprise. It found the people prepared, and yet even then strong protests were heard from many classes of the community.

"Very different was the introduction of Conscription in Canada. It came as a complete surprise. It never had been discussed in Parliament, and the voice of the press had been strong against it."

8. Because the press of Canada, till Conscription was introduced, educated the people against the very idea of Conscription. Sir Wilfrid says:

"In the month of July 1916 such an important paper as the Toronto 'GLOBE' deprecated the very idea of Conscription. Here is what it said in a carefully reasoned editorial:

"The 'GLOBE' in its editorial columns has consistently pointed out that in a country such as Canada conscription is an impossibility, and that no responsible statesman of either party capable of forming or leading a Canadian War Ministry would propose compulsory service. Nor has the 'GLOBE' unduly criticized the failure of the Borden government to do more than it has done to assist voluntary recruiting. The criticism of the 'GLOBE' and of most Liberal papers have been exceedingly mild when compared with the vitriolic denunciations of the Toronto 'TELEGRAM', the Winnipeg 'TELEGRAM', the Montreal 'DAILY MAIL' and other journals that have absolutely no sympathy with the Liberal party."

"Even as late as December 27th, 1916, the 'GLOBE' repeated its warnings against any effort 'to force Canadians into the ranks' and summed up public opinion thus:

"Trades unionists are found opposing Conscription, and the leading opponents of every manifestation of democracy are favouring the system."

9. Because the Government stated there would be no conscription. Sir Wilfrid says:

"No less emphatic had been the language of the government. At the beginning of the session of 1916, in answer to my inquiry whether the promise recently made by the Prime Minister of enlisting 500,000 men meant Conscription, he answered in these words:

"My Right Honourable friend has alluded to Conscription—to the idea in this country or elsewhere that there may be Conscription in Canada. In speaking in the first two or three months of this war, I made it clear to the people of Canada that we did not propose Conscription. I repeat that announcement to-day with emphasis."

10. Because the Nationalist-Conservative

Alliance has made it impossible, except on a referendum, for Sir Wilfrid to support conscription without deceiving the people. Sir Wilfrid says:

"Throughout the whole campaign of 1910 and 1911, I may recall that the Nationalists-Conservative alliance which opposed the naval policy of the Liberal government of that time asserted that such a policy meant conscription. Meeting these assertions I gave the public the frequent assurance that under no circumstances would conscription follow the adoption of our policy."

Sir Wilfrid adds:

"If enlisting in Quebec was not on a par with enlisting in the other provinces, on whom does the responsibility rest? On whom but the Borden government, whose Quebec members openly, strenuously and persistently preached the Nationalist doctrine of 'no participation by Canada, in Imperial wars, outside her own territory'..... Such doctrine taught on the hustings, circulated by the Nationalist press at the expense of the Conservative organisation, had a powerful influence in educating the public against the participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory. The first result was the at polls when the Liberals won 38 seats and the Conservatives-Nationalist alliance won 27, the popular vote being even more evenly divided, the Liberals polling 164,281 votes and the Conservative-Nationalists alliance 159,299. The second result was when the war broke out and a call made by the government for volunteers. They reaped what they had sowed. There was one half of the province which they had educated to reject such an appeal.

Bourassa and the Nationalists.

Bourassa and the Nationalists of Quebec are asking that candidates pledge themselves not only to a repeal of the Military Service Act, but also to require that it "be considered as void and without effect from its very origin." Bourassa demands that the Nationalists exact pledges of candidates that they put themselves on record as being "against any and all additional efforts to prosecute the war."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier takes the position that the Military Service Act is law, and that its provisions must be obeyed until opportunity is afforded the people to say whether it shall be further proceeded with or repealed. Sir Wilfrid in his manifesto says that he will "find the men, money, and resources necessary to ensure the fullest measure of support to our heroic soldiers at the front," and that Canada should continue to the very end to do her splendid part to win the war."

Speaking in the city of Quebec on November 9th, at the opening meeting of his campaign, Sir Wilfrid said:

"The great and dominating question, the one question, is the problem of the prosecution of the war. Every other issue is swallowed up in this. What will we French Canadians do? I come to speak to you frankly, with the same honesty as ever. I never deceived you, and I have confidence in my compatriots. With pleasure or pain I always spoke the language of the truth. I shall do the same to-day. I BELIEVE THAT OUR FIRST AND PRESSING DUTY IS TO SHARE IN THE FIGHT. I BELIEVE THAT IT IS OUR IMMEDIATE DUTY TO HELP OUR ARMIES WHO HAVE COVERED THEMSELVES WITH GLORY. WE MUST SUPPORT THEM WITH MEN. WE MUST FEED THEM. WE MUST SERVE."

In his endeavour to further the best interests of Canada as a part of the British Empire, Sir Wilfrid is placed again in the position he was in during the

general elections of 1911.

In pursuance of the unanimous resolution of the House of Commons of 1908, the Laurier Government, prior to the elections, had commenced the formation of a Canadian Naval Service, as a part of the British Navy. For this Sir Wilfrid was denounced in Quebec by Bourassa and the Nationalists, who preached the doctrine of "no participation by Canada in Imperial wars, outside her own territory", and asserted that Sir Wilfrid's naval policy meant conscription. Sir Wilfrid was called "too British, too Imperial". In Ontario the cry was that his policy was not British nor Imperial enough. The events of the war have proven conclusively that Sir Wilfrid's naval policy was right. Sir Robert and his Government have never repealed the Naval Service Act, they are carrying out its provisions to-day. Had the Act been promptly proceeded with, instead of being held in abeyance till the war started, at the instance of the Nationalists in Sir Robert's cabinet, Canada would have had at the commencement of the war a navy like Australia's. She would have been able as Australia was to capture many enemy ships upon the high seas, to defend her own coasts, to aid effectively in the transportation of her own troops and munitions, and to render Great Britain and the Allies a service on the seas similar to what she has rendered on land.

Out of the wisdom born of years of leadership, and an understanding of the problems of government in Canada which no other leader save the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald has had, Sir Wilfrid is seeking to-day once more to adopt the course which will avoid extremes in either direction and maintain Canadian unity, that Canada may do her utmost in the prosecution of the war. He refuses Bourassa's demand for a repeal of the Conscription Act, and to set at naught what may be done under it. He will have no repeal without first giving to the people a chance to express their wishes. He agrees to abide by their decision whatever it may be. He holds that Canada must participate in the war to the very end, and must do her utmost in men, money, and resources to win the war. Unless the loyal citizens of Ontario are prepared to stand by Sir Wilfrid in his patriotic effort to keep all parts of the country united in the prosecution of the war, Canada will become a second Ireland, the control of her affairs will pass into the hands of extreme men, and instead of being able to support her brave soldiers at the front, and to help the allied nations in this great crisis, our country will become, as she is threatened at this moment to become, a source of weakness rather than of strength to the British Empire and the Allies.

Let the electors ponder carefully the possible consequences of rash action at the present time. Edmund Burke said, "You cannot indict a nation." Neither can you indict a province, or any great body of public opinion. Much less can you coerce.

The Supreme Issue of the Election.

In concluding his manifesto, Sir Wilfrid

says:

"In this election the supreme end is to assist in the tremendous struggle in which we are engaged, to maintain the unity of the nation, to avoid the divisions and discords which for many years kept in check, and are now unfortunately again looming up dangerous and threatening, to resolutely face the economic situation with the view of avoiding and lessening privations and sufferings, which should not exist in a country so richly endowed by nature as our country."

ELECTORS:

Consider well which of the two policies is deserv-

ing of your support.

The issue in the present contest is much broader and more far-reaching than that of Conscription or no Conscription. It is whether in the face of a powerful and brutal enemy, at a moment when internal dissension is weakening some of the allied nations, we shall have a united or a divided Canada.

Remember Canada is at war, and remember "if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand."

CAN HE SHAKE HIS GHOSTS'?



AN INSULT TO LIBERALS.

If Sir Thomas White and the Borden Government had deliberately mapped out the "Victory Bond" campaign in a manner to be the most insulting to the Liberals throughout Canada, they could not have succeeded better.

From one end of Canada to the other Tory newspapers and leading Conservatives are waving the flag and shouting their patriotism and at the same time pointing to the Liberals as not being desirous of continuing to take our part in the prosecution of the war. In fact, many leaders of the present Conservative party do not hesitate to state quite openly that they are the "loyal" party and that the Liberals are "disloyal."

The Conservative headquarters at Ottawa are sending broadcast through the country editorial impressions that Sir Wilfrid Laurier is in league with the Kaiser. They have covered hundreds of huge Bill Boards with big posters bearing the inscription

"Who would the Kaiser vote for?" a direct insult to every Liberal. Buttons are being prepared and distributed for the purpose of informing the public that the Tory party is the only win-the-war party.

Yet Sir Thomas White sits idly by and permits all this to go on and at the same time he expects the Liberals to unite to make his "Victory Bond" campaign a huge success.

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MEMBER OF UNION GOVERNMENT ATTACKS BORDEN ADMINISTRATION.

General Mewburn is reported to have stated at the Hamilton conference:

"I know of the abuses that have been going on whereby officers and men have been allowed to remain in Canada for months and years."

"I received a very bad legacy when I took over the Department of Militia and Defence."

"New Brunswick was the worst Province from this standpoint, and now it has been created into a new military district. Previously thirty-two officers held positions there and had not been overseas. Now six returned men are in charge of the district and the others have been discharged."

"I might mention a case of two Western battalions which were brought to an Eastern point. I found in one of these battalions twenty-two officers, thirty-two bandmen, sixteen Corporals, and 110 men. I at once, on learning this, amalgamated the two battalions and discharged thirty-four officers."

"This was no fault of the officers, but of the rotten system."

"Within a few days I had more than 100 letters from Cabinet Ministers, members of both sides of

Parliament and other people protesting. My answer was that the Canadian militia was no charitable institution."

These bold remarks of Canada's Minister of Militia have caused considerable comment. The Hon. Mr. Rowell has issued a statement in defence of General Mewburn, stating that the criticism of the Militia Department referred to a date prior to the time Sir Edward Kemp took charge of the Department, obviously when Sir Sam Hughes was in control.

Is Mr. Rowell playing with the intelligence of the people of Canada or is he sincere? Sir Sam has been out of the Department exactly a year. Surely these two Western Battalions have not been in this position all the time. A whole year one battalion with 110 men, 16 corporals, 32 Bandmen and 22 officers. That is what Mr. Rowell says, and he is now undertaking to defend it.

FRENCH-CANADIAN ENLISTMENT AND HOW IT WAS AFFECTED BY THE BORDEN-BOURASSA ALLIANCE.

We Reproduce Herewith Extracts from a Speech Delivered in the Senate by the Honourable Raoul Dandurand on Tuesday, July 31st, 1917.

Honourable gentlemen, as it is quite evident that the campaign which is being prepared in ministerial quarters will be mostly directed against the province of Quebec, I intend to preface the remarks which I desire to make with a short history of the people of my province, whose ideas and opinions I intend to champion in this Chamber.

No Politics Since War Started.

I may state that since the 4th of August, 1914, I have not uttered one word that could be considered a partisan word. Since the 4th of August, 1914, all my energies have been devoted to helping in this great cause. I have done my bit in attempting to recruit. I have sat with some members of this honourable House on recruiting committees and other committees which have helped in furthering the cause. It may be said when I am through that some of my remarks will recall the old days, the ante-war days. They will, perhaps, but only incidentally. I am still in the fight to the finish, and there is no conscriptionist who is more desirous than I am to win this war, although I am against conscription.

Very few English-speaking Canadians know anything of their French Canadian compatriots. To know them well one needs to live among them and to speak their language. Even then, if my English friend is not a psychologist or an observer, he will probably never have the occasion of knowing the feelings or sentiments of his neighbour on certain questions.

First Contingent.

There was a call to arms in August, 1914, 33,000 men offered their services and were enlisted. When they had reached Valcartier the rumour began to circulate that there were very few French Canadians among them, and I met in many places Anglo-Canadians who were scandalized at such a poor showing on the part of my compatriots. I was told that the judgment of some of them was expressed in harsh, very harsh terms; but the resentment thus felt and expressed gradually vanished when it was learned that out of the 33,000 men in camp 28,000 were British-born, 4,000 British-Canadian-born, and about 1,000 French-Canadian born.

British-born Enlistments.

The last figures given recently by the Department of Militia of enlisted men show 155,000 British-born and 125,000 British Canadian-born. If the latter had proportionately done as well as the British-born, he should have enlisted to the extent of 333,000 instead of 125,000. Why is there such a difference between those two groups, which claim the same ancestry, which are of the same blood? When you have found a satisfactory answer you will be in a frame of mind to understand the situation of the French Canadian. My contention is that all have enlisted in inverse ratio to the number of years which they have been in this country. The British-born has been here an average of ten years, the British Canadian-born about 60 to 70 years, the French Canadian over 250 years.

French Canadians, last 100 Years.

Have you stopped to ask yourselves, honourable gentlemen, what had become of the French Canadian soul during that one hundred years which they passed under a foreign flag? They already were Canadians, mark you, in 1760. Their mother country, France, had dropped them here in the grip of a mother-in-law, and they struggled and fought for one hundred years to free themselves from European or Downing Street control and misrule. Do you think that you will find them less Canadian and more European after that experience? They have, during that long period, laboured incessantly

for liberty at home. All that they possess is here. No sentimental tie binds them to Europe. The link is solely political, and so insignificant in the eyes of many of the most important men of the colony in 1849 that they sign, both English and French, the famous annexation manifesto.

The Nationalists' Monument in Canada.

Our South African contribution in men and money brought home to the Canadians the responsibilities which they would have to assume in the larger associations suggested, and the Nationalist movement was the result of our first participation in foreign Imperial wars. The young men who joined that movement adopted a platform the first article of which reads as follows: "NO PARTICIPATION BY CANADA IN IMPERIAL WARS OUTSIDE HER TERRITORY."

The Conservative-Nationalist Alliance.

It was realized that the sentiment in that province (Quebec) was Canadian and not Imperial, and the Opposition (Conservative), by agreement with the leader of the Nationalist party, Mr. Bourassa, gave the Nationalists a free hand in the French counties in the election of 1911. The campaign which followed had the effect of transforming into a concrete principle what had heretofore been but a latent sentiment. It is not my object to charge the Conservative party with the creation of an exclusively Canadian sentiment in my province in financing that campaign throughout; it is simply responsible for intensifying it and crystallizing the sentiment into a doctrine. The Nationalists had no money individually, and no party fund other than the moneys furnished to all of them by the Conservative party, and their needs were liberally provided for. Under the agreement entered into the Conservative party took charge of the English-speaking counties and the partly English and partly French counties—some eighteen in all—which remained under the immediate supervision of the Conservative organization represented by Sir Herbert Ames. The campaign in all of those counties was carried on along the same lines: the French were urged to overthrow the Laurier Government because of its naval and anti-Canadian policy, while the English-speaking electors were asked to vote against reciprocity because of its anti-British tendency.

Tory money paid for circulating Mr. Bourassa's paper.

Sir Herbert Ames took from the electoral lists of those bilingual counties all the names and addresses of the French-speaking electors, and brought those lists to Mr. Bourassa's paper, *Le Devoir*, and paid for the service of that newspaper to those electors for the whole period of the elections. During six weeks all the counties of the province were thus appealed to.

Twenty-seven seats were carried in Quebec for the Conservative-Nationalist coalition with the cry: "NO PARTICIPATION IN IMPERIAL WARS! NO LAURIER NAVY NOR BORDEN CONTRIBUTION TO THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY!" Yes, Borden's policy was denounced vigorously by the men who on the morrow of the victory accepted portfolios from him without asking any explanation as to what was to be the naval policy of the coming Government. The Liberals carried 38 seats while proclaiming that the Canadian navy was but the development of the Canadian defence under the voluntary system of enlistment.

Borden and Bourassa join.

I recite these facts so that you may understand the mentality of the French Canadian. The Conservative

party seemed to understand it thoroughly when it organized its campaign six years ago. It found a ready answer to them. Where were the leaders in that coalition leading to with diametrically divergent programmes? The ones, the many, were simply leading to power, the others, the few, towards their ideals. The idealist was the dupe of the materialist. According to Mr. Bourassa's official statement as to the basis of the coalition, the agreement was that the two parties should join their efforts to defeat the Laurier Government, and no permanent naval policy would be adopted without submission to the people.

Nationalists and Conservatives are one.

The victory had been an easy one, for most of the elected Nationalists were Conservatives who returned to the fold the day after the elections. But what about the electors who had been given the Nationalist doctrine and had accepted it? The Minister of Trade and Commerce could boast that Imperialism had won in the House of Commons, but must he not now confess that, with his co-operation and that of his party, Imperialism lost in the province of Quebec? "ANYTHING TO BEAT LAURIER" had answered the same minister when he was asked his opinion on the Nationalist campaign in Drummond and Arthabaska.

What Is a Slacker?

Laurier was defeated by Nationalism supported and subsidized by Tory funds. When one has before him the above facts, he cannot but be amused at the daily tirades which he reads in the Conservative press against the slackers of Quebec? What is a slacker? It is the man who, hearing and feeling the call of duty, has not the courage or virility to answer it. This epithet does not cover the case of the man in Canada who takes no interest in European or African or Asian affairs, and who was persuaded some five years ago to go to the polls and vote against any participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory. Was it not Sir John Willison, of the Toronto Evening News and of the London Times, who wired his congratulations to Mr. Bourassa on the night of the elections? How can a Conservative muster up enough courage to reproach a man on the very attitude which he urged him to assume through his subsidized Nationalist ally?

The Montreal Star helped Bourassa.

The Montreal Star has lately gone the length of suggesting that German money was possibly helping the anti-conscriptionist movement. It was made as an innocent guess. Against that surmise I will oppose a cold fact: the anti-conscriptionist movement received its greatest impetus at the last general elections, when candidates were lined up throughout the province of Quebec to uphold the principle that Canada should not participate in Imperial wars outside its territory. The principal owner of the Montreal Star was very much interested in the outcome of those elections, and he subscribed liberally to the Conservative-Nationalist alliance. And in the last days of that struggle Sir Hugh Graham, who has always been a most generous contributor to the Conservative party, added out of his own pocket a supplement of \$2,000 to each of the 20 counties which seemed most likely to be swayed to the Tory-Nationalist column. These counties, so I am informed, were all being contested by Nationalists. In this case it was Conservative and not German money which was at the back of the anti-conscription movement.

MILITIA DEPARTMENT USING EMPLOYEES TO COMPILE POLITICAL LISTS.

Notwithstanding that General Mewburn and other Members of the new Borden Government, have been for the past six weeks, heralding throughout Canada the fact that patronage has been eliminated, it now transpires that the facts are absolutely

THE FAME OF "SALADA"

B377

has spread throughout the continent. To-day it is used by millions for its unique, delicious flavour.

the opposite.

In one branch of the Militia Department at the present time, (November 21st,) a large staff is working on the preparation of lists of the names of the soldiers' wives, assignees and dependents for political use of some of the Unionist Government candidates. The greater part of the staff in the Separation and assigned Pay Branch have been shifted to this work and in addition a number of new employees have been added. Only last week a young gentleman who had been asked to compile a list of the soldier's wives, assignees and dependents for St. Anne constituency, in the city of Montreal, at the request of the Hon. Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice, refused and when the matter was brought to the attention of his superior officer, this employee was immediately suspended and within forty-eight hours afterwards dismissed.

Immediately on learning of this dismissal, (which as stated above was due to the fact that this young man did not feel that the Government should be making out these political lists), on November 14th, a communication was sent to General Mewburn in the following terms:

"We have been asked for a copy of the names of the Soldiers' wives, assignees and dependents for the Electoral District of Temiskaming. Would it be possible to secure such a list from your Department?"

This communication was acknowledged by General Mewburn's private Secretary on November 15th in the following terms:

"In reply to your letter of the 14th instant, addressed to the Honourable the Minister, I beg to advise that a statement such as you ask for is not available in this Department."

We leave it to our readers to say whether General Mewburn's Department is being used for political purposes or not.