

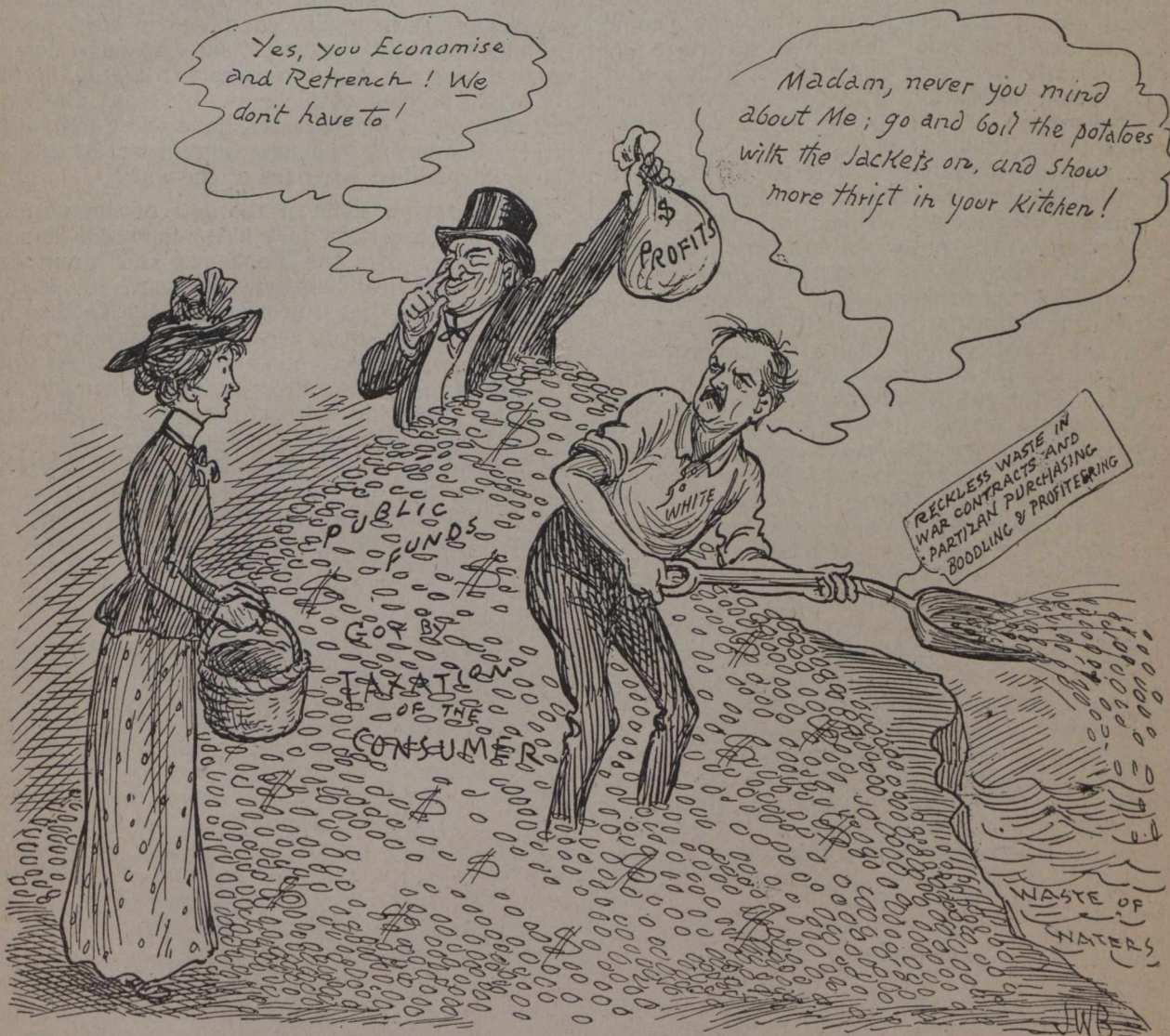
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THE THRIFT ADVISER



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BRITISH INSTITUTIONS IGNORED.

The fundamental principle of British law and of the British constitution as handed down to us for centuries, and only won after an arduous struggle against the barons since the time of King John, is that the people shall govern. But the beef and bacon barons, the munition and shell barons, the newspaper barons and all the lesser tribe of profiteers and knighted gentry are determined that the people of Canada shall not rule. The interests are in the saddle and intend to stay there if manipulation of constituencies, revocation of the voting power and general disregard for all the principles of British justice can keep them there.

The trail of Prussianism is over the attitude and acts of the Borden government and in no place are the evidences of autocracy so clear as in the framing and enacting of the notorious Military Franchise Act which has been foisted upon the helpless people of Canada by the junkers under the direction of the tariff and money barons of the Dominion.

But not satisfied with depriving thousands of loyal citizens of their legitimate rights, not satisfied with treating the solemn promises of the nation to these citizens as scraps of paper, not satisfied with out-Kruger-ing Kruger, the patchwork government now posing as the only possible win-the-war combination has gone a step further. It is now proposed that the new machine foist its candidates upon the various constituencies of the Dominion during the coming election. If any body of citizens nominate a candidate who is not pleasing to the "union" government, or rather, who is not pleasing to the interests behind the alleged union government, the machine will not endorse him and will throw every obstacle in his way. But this is not all. The government has arranged throughout the country to elect by acclamation the candidates it may select in different constituencies. This means, of course, that the people have no say as to who shall represent them in parliament. Only pliable tools of the interests will be allowed to sit in the coming parliament, if the patchwork administration has its way—and "money talks."

THE "WIN-THE WARRIORS".

Those who have studied or followed the trend of Canadian affairs during the past few years, or since the beginning of the great conflict for human liberty now convulsing the world, will be puzzled at the insistence on the part of the newly formed "union" government to identify itself with the winning of the war as its sole reason for being called into being at this time. It prefers to be known as a win-the-war government, in name at least. Naturally this presupposes that there is some organized

or unorganized attempt to lose the war, and this implication the government press does not hesitate to elaborate by unblushingly asserting that the Liberals under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier are not as wholeheartedly in favor of an Allied victory as the alleged patriots who have mismanaged the affairs of the Dominion so shamefully during the past three years and have done more to paralyze Canada's efforts to win the war than any enemy influence here or abroad. The cool assumption of the administration press and the motley collection of "statesmen" now posing under the old flag as the only simon pure patriots, and the only safe guardians of the honor and earnestness of the Dominion in this crisis, would be amusing were it not dangerous. Plainly put, the alleged "win-the-war" government is in reality composed in large part of the elements and the very men who have done so much during the past three years to LOSE the war. By what process of alchemy, by what theory of metamorphosis of character have these individuals largely composing the new administration become the only qualified **winner**s of the war?

Let us review some of the acts of this administration and ascertain just how much was done to win the war. Did the Mackenzie and Mann sixty million dollar deal help win the war? Was it intended to help that object? Did the Quebec and Saguenay deal assist in winning the war in any way? Did Allison and the profiteers who flourished under the ægis of the Borden government help win the war? Did the Ross rifle help win the war? Did Hon. Robt. Rogers help win the war? Did the refusal of the premier to conscript the resources of the nation and of privileged wealth help win the war? Was the typical Prussian franchise act, introduced in the dying hours of the session, intended to win the war? Were the food pirates under the leadership of Sir Joseph Flavelle intended to frighten off the Germans?

The voters of the Dominion should ask themselves these questions before accepting the self conferred title of "Win-the-War" government as descriptive of the aggregation of opportunists and regulars from the old Borden cabinet now posing as the saviours of the country. As stated, these are the very individuals who prevented Canada from putting forth her best efforts during the past three years. What guarantee have the people of this country that these men intend to do better? By their acts, not their words, they are known. The leopard cannot change his spots.

On the other hand, who are the men who, inferentially, are supposed to be the lose-the-war party? They are the Liberals under Sir Wilfrid Laurier who, when the first breath of impending trouble threatened the Empire, arose in his place in the House of Commons and tendered his full and hearty support to the government of the day in all its contemplated efforts to help in the great cause; the same leader who has consistently tendered his aid and advice whenever honestly and sincerely called upon to do so; the same leader who has repeatedly declared that he favored even compulsory service if the people wished it; the same leader who has repeatedly asserted that conscription, now the law

of the land, should be unhesitatingly obeyed; the same leader who has promised, if returned to power, to prosecute the war to the end with all the resources and energy of which the Dominion is capable. This is the man who is accused of leading a disloyal faction, and accused by men who gained power and hope to retain power by the Nationalist element in Quebec, who boast even now that the election will be decided against the Liberals by the Nationalist vote in Quebec, who depend upon outspoken and disloyal elements in our population to keep them in office!

Electors of Canada, whom do you prefer—the men who were tried and found wanting and now come to you with a pretence of reform and union for another term of office, allied to the money barons and the profiteers; or the safe, sane and practical statesman who leads a united and determined and patriotic party? Are we to have a real win-the-war government or another orgy of profiteering, grafting and maladministration while our boys suffer and die in the trenches?

THE INTERESTS AT WORK.

“LET us win the war first. Then we can look after the tariff and other matters” is the clever way in which the average Tory speaker and the Tory press reply to questions as to the fiscal policy and other principles of the new administration.

Now, this sounds well. It bears out the impression, intended to be conveyed, that the union policy is solely one of winning the war and that all other issues are to be subordinated to this one. But it will not bear analysis. The history of every European country during the present war is that reforms demand precedence over the war and that unless there is equality of responsibility and equality of taxation there is no possibility of employing the full strength of the nation. At the beginning of the war Germany threw her tariff overboard; then France followed suit; then Italy then Greece and Rumania and Russia. After the war had been in progress a year every protectionist belligerent had abandoned its tariff on foodstuffs and on many other articles. There was no attempt to postpone this reform until

after the war, as our alleged win-the-war government would have it. The nations abolished the tariff for two reasons; one was to secure more food and the other to equalize taxation. All appreciated that under the protectionist system the consumer was the victim of the trusts and big interests.

But the big interests behind the Canadian government will not listen to any proposal to lower or abolish the tariff at this time. “Tell them we’ll do it after the war” is the answer the big interests make, with their tongues in their cheeks, when the demand for lower priced foodstuffs goes up. “Tell them that winning the war is the main thing—wave the flag!” is what the tariff barons and the food barons tell the statesmen representing the new government. But the people of European countries could not be put off with that sort of sophistry.

The same demand for internal reform as characterized the European peoples in the case of the tariff was evinced in many other ways. British workers were given concessions for which their representatives in parliament had fought in vain for years. The vote was given to women. The Irish home rule question was taken up. The taxation of incomes was inaugurated. Social and political barriers were broken down. **THERE WAS NO ATTEMPT TO POSTPONE ANY OF THESE REFORMS UNTIL AFTER THE WAR. ALL WERE ESSENTIAL TO WINNING THE WAR.**

What is true of Britain is true of every one of the belligerent countries with one exception. That exception is Germany. In this respect the government of the Kaiser and the so-called union government of Canada are alike. **THE BORDEN GOVERNMENT PROMISES REFORMS AFTER THE WAR, AND THE KAISER PROMISES THE GERMAN PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT WHEN HOSTILITIES CEASE!**

Let the Western voters and true Liberals throughout the Dominion ask themselves why the tariff burden bearers of this country should be asked to continue to carry the load **during** the war when the profiteers are growing fat? Is there any chance of the big interests taking up their fair share of the burden **AFTER THE WAR, WHEN THEY SHRINK FROM DOING IT DURING THE WAR?**

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Manifesto of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier

(Issued Nov. 5th, 1917.)

TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

The writs for a general election have been issued.

A consultation of the people at short and regular periods is the right of a free people. The constitution provides accordingly for a general election every five years. It is undeniable that there has existed a strong desire in the community to avoid an election during the war, and both parties last year agreed to the extension for one year of the Parliament elected in 1911.

An impression prevails that had I accepted the invitation of the Prime Minister to join his government, a new extension would have been possible. This impression is absolutely erroneous, the fact being that the invitation extended to me was coupled with the stipulation that the coalition government would pass a conscription measure, and then appeal to the country, thus making an election unavoidable.

The government as recently reconstructed, the Union Government so-called, is now appealing to the country for support. Six members of the Liberal party, some of them close personal friends, have consented to become members of the administration, and the programme which they intend to follow has already been placed before the public, but in this programme no trace is to be found that the Liberal members of the administration have succeeded in influencing their colleagues to the adoption of measures which they deemed essential not only to win the war, but for the welfare of the country at all times.

The Government's Manifesto.

Most of the articles in the Government's manifesto are simply stale commonplaces extracted from the Conservative programme of 1911, forgotten after the election, resurrected for a new election. Such is the promise of economy of public expenditure, and such the promise of Civil Service Reform—two reforms which the Opposition would have been happy to support in the last Parliament, if the Government had afforded them the opportunity.

Immigration.

One particular item is deserving of attention. "A strong and progressive policy of immigration" is promised. This will be, perhaps, the most important question after the war. The burdens which are now being accumulated and which will have to be assumed and borne by the Canadian people can be faced if the enormous resources of the country are developed. But development demands a rapid increase in the population. Hence the necessity of a strong and progressive immigration policy. It is manifest that the promised strong and progressive policy has been seriously impaired by the breach of faith with naturalized Canadian citizens involved in the withdrawal of the political franchise from large numbers of these citizens. This must prove a serious blow to immigration, especially when the conduct of the Canadian government is contrasted with the attitude of the United States, where no such indignity has been placed upon naturalized citizens.

Canadian Northern Railway.

An article of the programme of the Government speaks of the development of transportation facilities, but in vague though rather ambitious terms. No mention is made of the acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway; yet this subject was not exhausted by the legislation of last session, and it will be one of the most important duties of the next Parliament again to review it.

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.

The Economic Situation.

It was natural to expect that the reconstructed government would give very serious attention to the economic situation of the country, which is admittedly critical. There is no allusion to it except the vague promise of "effective measures to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoardings and to prevent combination for the increase of prices, and thus reduce the high cost of living." The economic problems have to be grappled with at once, in no such vague general terms, but in vigorous and concrete proposals.

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.

Tariff Reform.

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". Of this obvious fundamental reform there is not a word in the Government manifesto. Indeed, members of the present Government have announced that all questions of tariff legislation must be relegated to after the war.

Believing that increased food production is one of Canada's best contributions towards winning the war, I would propose if entrusted with the administration of the country to immediately relieve Agriculture from its disabilities in this regard.

Since the commencement of the War, the Government placed an increase of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in our tariff on all commodities coming into Canada from outside Great Britain, and an increase of 5 per cent on the goods coming from Great Britain. I would immediately remove those two disabilities as respects commodities from all countries other than those with which we are at war. There is no doubt that under existing conditions, these increases in the tariff are a hindrance rather than a help to production in Canada, whilst it is certain that in the final resort the consumer has to pay these extra taxes.

The increased duty on imports from Great Britain was an unfriendly and an unnecessary action on the part of Canada towards the mother country, at a time when British trade was staggering under the disadvantages incidental to the war. It continues to bear unfairly and unduly on existing trade and should be speedily removed.

In further mitigation of disadvantages to agricultural production, I would immediately remove the duties on agricultural implements and other essentials, as demanded by the western farmers. A general well-considered reform of the Tariff for the purpose of helping Canadian production and relieving the Canadian consumer would also be an object of my administration.

Control of Food Supplies and Prices.

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

Nor is that all. 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.

As far back as the month of February last an Order in Council was passed by which it was enacted that "with a view to ensure to publishers of Canadian newspapers, newsprint paper at reasonable prices" the Minister of Customs was "authorized and empowered to fix the quantity

and price of newsprint in sheets and rolls to be furnished by the manufacturers to the publishers in Canada."

By virtue of this Order the Government have compelled manufacturers of print-paper, against the latter's protest, to supply publishers and newspapers at a price which they themselves fixed as reasonable. 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.

Profiteering.

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. 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. 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.

CANADA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR

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.

At the very beginning, penetrated of the immensity of the struggle and of the necessity of bending all our efforts to the winning of the war we, of the Opposition, gave to the Government every possible assistance. We assented to all their war measures, except when convinced that their measures would be detrimental rather than helpful.

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.

It should be remembered that previous to the war, in all British countries conscription was unknown. It was the pride of British peoples everywhere that compulsory military service, the bane of Continental Europe, had never been thought of in Great Britain, and that even the gigantic struggle against Napoleon had been fought on the purely voluntary system.

At the same time 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.

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 criticised 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".

No less emphatic had been the language of the government.

At the beginning of the session of 1916, in answer to my enquiry 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 today with emphasis."

Equally emphatic and unqualified were my own declarations on the subject.

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 frequent assurance that under no circumstances would conscription follow the adoption of our policy. Again and again after the outbreak of the present war I insisted that conscription should not be introduced in Canada. Such was my position when the government reversed its attitude and, without warning, introduced the Military Service Act.

To force such a drastic measure upon a people thus unprepared and against repeated assurances to the contrary, was neither wise nor prudent, nor effective. 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. It will create and intensify division where unity of purpose is essential.

I am only too well aware that the views which I here present have not met with universal acceptance, even in the party to which I belong, but even yet 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.

In combatting the policy of conscription, all that I asked was that a measure of such moment should not be enforced by Parliament without an appeal to the people. I supported a referendum for the reason that the referendum is the most advanced and the most modern method of consultation of the people, without the complications inseparable from a general election. A referendum had also been asked on this very question by organized labour. My request was denied.

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.

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. 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. 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 do her splendid part to win the war.

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 pledged myself to forthwith submit the Act to the people and with my followers to carry out the wishes of the majority of the nation as thus expressed.

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

To these views it is no answer to say as is now often said, that we must have conscription or 'quit.' This statement is falsified by a recent and conclusive example. Australia rejected conscription and Australia did not 'quit.' Australia is still in the fight under the voluntary system. 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 their entirety may be made of service in the successful prosecution of the war. 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.

Quebec's Part in the War.

Mr. Crothers, Minister of Labour, speaking recently at St. Thomas, declared that if "Quebec had done her duty, as the other provinces we should never have required the Military Service Act."

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."

That doctrine first put forth in the riding of Drummond-Arthabaska in the autumn of 1910 by the whole Nationalist body, including two of the present Quebec ministers, won the election for them. In the general elections of 1911, Reciprocity in Quebec was not the main issue; the main issue was thenaval policy of the late administration, which was bitterly assailed by the same men, on the same doctrine of "no participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory." And such doctrine taught on the hustings, circulated by the Nationalist press at the expense of the Conservative organization, had a powerful influence in educating the public against the participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory. The first result was at the 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.

The Returned Soldiers.

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. 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.

But there is another duty devolving upon us, the discharge of which should precede that above mentioned. The measures now in force for the maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependents and families are not adequate or equitable. In an effort to rectify this state of affairs and to emphasize its policy that 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, Mr. Copp, member for Westmoreland, at the last session of Parliament, during the consideration of the Military Service Bill, moved this thoughtful resolution:—

"That the further consideration of this bill be deferred until such adequate provisions has been made for the dependents of soldiers enlisted for overseas as will remove the necessity for raising money by public subscription for their support."

The resolution was opposed by the government and the motion for its adoption was defeated. But the necessity for action still exists, and 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.

The War Times Election Act.

In order to be effective, to satisfy the public conscience and to secure that acquiescence in a verdict which should be the last word on all questions submitted to the people, a general election should be an appeal to the electorate such as it exists under the law.

The government have discarded that fundamental principle of the institutions of a free people. They have designedly altered the sanctity of the franchise, by choking discussion, by ruthlessly using the closure, they have deliberately manufactured a franchise with which they hope to win a victory at the polls—a passing victory for themselves, a permanent injury to the country.

This act known as the War Times Election Act, is a blot upon every instinct of justice,

honesty and fair play.

It takes away the franchise from certain denominations whose members from ancient times in English history have been exempt from military service, and who in great Britain never were, and are not now, denied their rights of citizenship.

It takes away the franchise from men whom we invited to this country, to whom we promised all the rights and privileges of our citizenship, who trusted in our promises and who became under our laws British subjects and Canadian citizens. They are thus humiliated and treated with contempt under the pretence that being born in enemy countries, in Germany and Austria, they might be biassed in favour of their native country and against their adopted country. The assumption is false in theory and might easily be so demonstrated. It is sufficient to observe that it is also false in fact. There has not been any current of emigration from Germany to Canada during the last twenty years, and as to Austria, almost the total number, perhaps nine-tenths of the emigrants from that country, were not from Austria proper, but from those Slav provinces held by force by Austria, and whose sympathies are strong and deep against her, and for the Allies.

It gives the franchise to some women and denies it to others. All those whose privilege it is to have near relatives amongst the soldiers will be voters. The right will be refused to all those not so privileged, though their hearts are just as strong in the cause, and though they have worked incessantly for it. Moreover in five provinces of the Dominion, namely, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, women have been admitted to the franchise. According to the terms of the Dominion law, which no sophistry can blur, being electors in the province, women are electors in the Dominion. The Act of last session ruthlessly snatches away that right from them.

The Act is vicious in principle, and is equally vicious in its enacting dispositions. We have in most of the provinces of the Dominion, a regular system of preparing the voters' lists, and against that system no complaint has been heard during the last twenty years. That system is also cast aside, and lists are to be prepared by an array of so-called enumerators, whose work must be done in haste, whose powers are arbitrary, with no useful checks to be exercised in due time, and with all doors wide open for errors, confusion and frauds.

The Liberal members of the reconstructed government have put the mantle of their respectability upon this nefarious Act, as well as upon the Canadian Northern Railway Act, and upon many others against which they strongly protested and from which their presence in the government cannot remove the dangerous and indefensible character.

Such legislation is repugnant to every sense of justice and right. It has for its object and for its effect to discourage and to stifle the free expression of the will of the people, and to make parliamentary government a mere name without the reality.

A bold attempt is being made to silence the voice of the people by a systematic elimination of liberal candidates from the field.

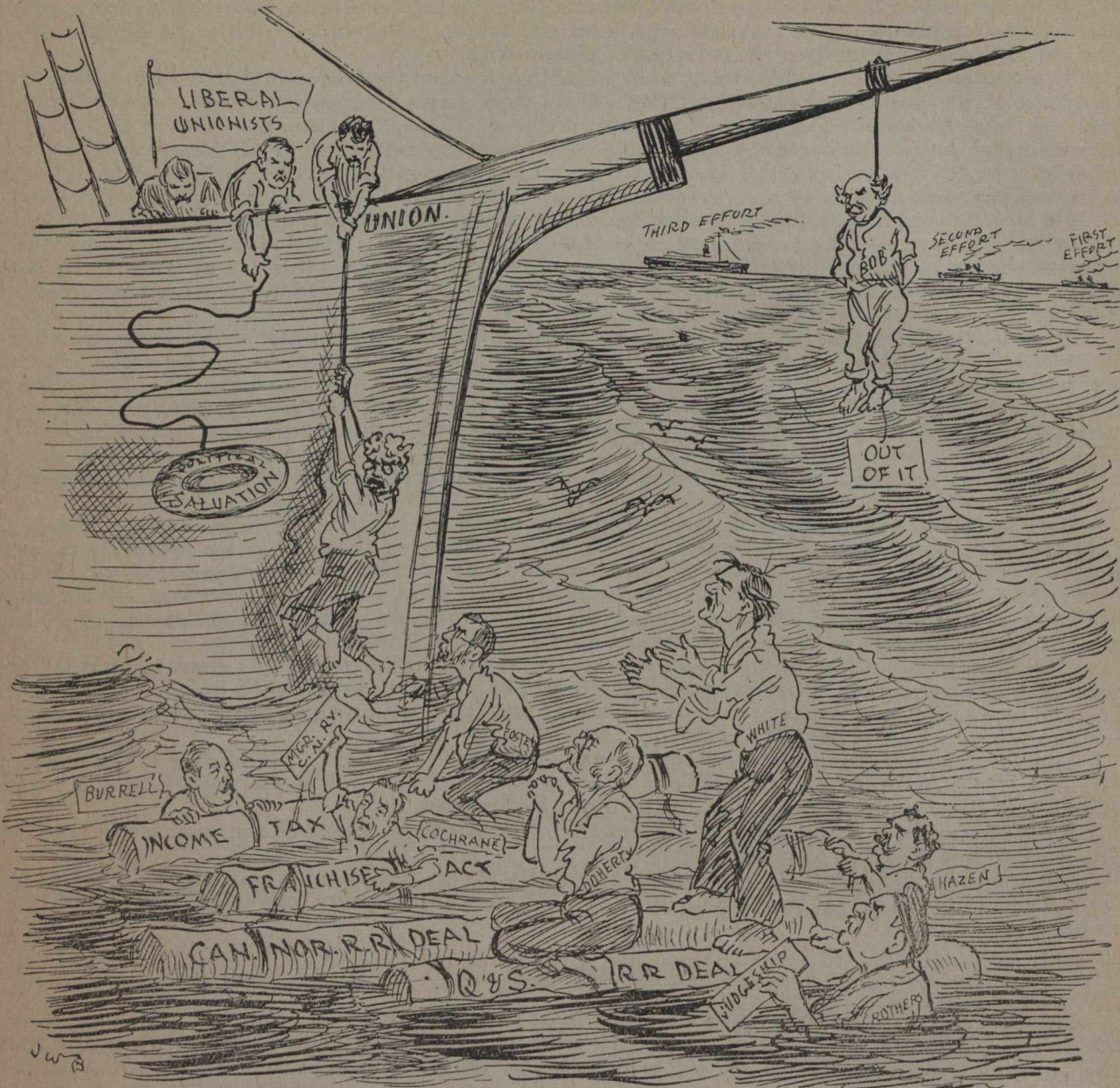
It is my duty to appeal to all the friends of political freedom in every constituency to organize at once in order to defeat such a conspiracy. Let the masses unite and select their own standard bearers.

Labour

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. It can only be done by honest agreement amongst all the different elements and interests of the country. 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. In this election it is my desire that the common people should have opportunity of expressing themselves in a free and untrammelled manner at the polls so that their views may obtain in the new Parliament and I trust that in every constituency candidates, representative of this policy may be nominated so that the people can vote for them.

These considerations I now place before my fellow countrymen of all creeds and of all origins for their appreciation and judgment. I have deemed it my duty more than ever perhaps in the course of my long public life to speak frankly and unequivocally upon the problems that now confront us. The obtaining on the retention of office is at all times, only a secondary consideration. In this election the supreme end is to assist in the tremendous struggle in which all are engaged, to maintain the unity of the nation, to avoid the divisions and discords which for many years kept in check, 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. Whatever may be the verdict at the polls, I will accept it, neither elated by victory, nor downhearted by defeat.

"A RAY OF HOPE"



SIR ROBERT BORDEN DID NOT DISCUSS CONSCRIPTION WITH BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The *Liberal Monthly* has been asked to reproduce any statements which have been made in regard to Sir Robert Borden discussing the question of Conscription in England with British officials.

Accordingly we reproduce herewith an extract from a statement which Sir Robert Borden made in the House of Commons, on June 11th, 1917. (See Hansard p. 2280).

Sir Robert Borden stated:

Some people afflicted with a diseased imagination have asserted that I took my present course at the request or dictation of the British Government. No more absolute falsehood was ever uttered by human lips. The subject was never discussed between myself and any member of the British Government; If there had been any such suggestion from them, I for one, would not have tolerated it.

We also reproduce a statement which appeared

in Canadian papers on June 21st which emanated from Mr. Walter Long of the British Government. The paragraph is as follows:

"London, June 21.—The Canadian Press is authorized to say that the attention of Mr. Walter Long having been called to a suggestion in the newspaper despatches that Sir Robert Borden had proposed conscription in Canada because he was urged to do so in the Imperial War Cabinet, the Colonial Secretary states there is not the smallest foundation for the suggestion that the Premier was urged to introduce conscription either in the Imperial War Cabinet or the conference. The matter was never even mentioned and the last thing the members of the Home Government would do would be to interfere in a matter which is entirely one for Canada. Mr. Long further adds that he saw Sir Robert frequently up to the last day he was here, but had no idea when he left that he was going to propose the introduction of conscription on his return to Canada.

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SHALL FREE DEMOCRACY PREVAIL?

The time has come in Canada to make a stand for free discussion free elections, freedom of all kinds. It is freedom, democracy, and justice that we are fighting for in France. We owe it to our soldiers to keep freedom alive in Canada, to "keep the home fires burning." In war there is a tendency to restrict freedom. Some restrictions may be necessary, but they are necessary evils, and should be kept within the narrowest possible limits. There is grave danger that they may be carried too far. Every community has its Prussian junkers, who are ready to seize upon a state of war as a pretext for domineering over their neighbors. War is the opportunity for heroes at the front. It is the opportunity for tyrants at home.

In this election the issue is clearly defined. On one side there are continual encroachments on liberty and disregard for fundamental rights. On the other side is a steady defence of liberty and right.

Both parties agreed to one extension of the life of Parliament. The motives were patriotic and conscientious. Yet perhaps here the first false step was taken. Here tyranny obtained its opportunity to enact laws without the consent of the people and without a mandate from the people. It was not intended that such an opportunity should be given, and to seize it by violence and fraud was a distinct act of bad faith.

Conscription is a kind of measure which ought not to be passed except by a Parliament possessing a clear mandate from the people. It was passed by a Parliament elected in 1911 upon the basis of the census of 1901. It was elected for five years, and in its sixth year it had no authority from the people. This added strength to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's demand that there should be a referendum. That would not only have safe-guarded popular rights, but it would have excluded party politics. Liberals and Conservatives would have voted for or against, without any consideration of party gain or loss. The real opinion of the people would have been obtained upon this question alone, confused with no other question, and without party bias.

This fair and reasonable demand being refused, the only thing remaining was to have a general election. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the greater part of the Liberal party insisted that the voice of the people should be heard, and refused to consent to any further extension of the life of Parliament, to any further exercise of power by a government and Parliament having no mandate from the people. It is because of this firm stand for popular rights that you are able to exercise your franchise to-day.

Still fearing and distrusting the people of Canada, the government introduced a bill designed to rob a large part of them of the franchise, of their rights as citizens and free men and women. Many were disfranchised, not because by word or deed they had shown hostility to the country, but simply because of the accident of birth. Many of these persons had actually left Germany or Austria because they detested the very tyranny against which our soldiers are fighting. They did not force themselves upon us. We invited them to come in and share their lot with us. We promised them the rights of citizen-

ship. This promise was basely broken, as basely as Germany broke its pledge to protect the neutrality of Belgium. Our promise was treated as a scrap of paper.

Even persons born in allied countries were disfranchised for no other reason than that their mother tongue was German or one of the numerous languages of Austria-Hungary. Many of these were natives of Russia, whose parents had migrated for the express purpose of escaping from the rule of our enemy.

The franchise has been granted to women in Ontario and the Western Provinces for Provincial purposes, and according either to law or custom they should have had the franchise for Federal purposes. The new Franchise Act withholds it from all except the women relatives of soldiers overseas. These relatives, of course, ought to have the vote. But there is no excuse for disfranchising women who have not the good fortune to be related to able-bodied men. Most of these are women of British birth or descent. Many have done splendid work for the cause which Canada has at heart. Defenders of the law say that men of German or Austrian birth are possible traitors. Then, by putting British women in the same class, they also insult British women as possible traitors and suspects.

The inspiration of this iniquitous law came from Germany, and especially from Prussia. It is by juggling with the franchise that the common people of Germany are deprived of their rightful voice in the Reichstag, and the Junkers, or aristocrats, retain their domination. True, things are not quite as bad yet in Canada as in Germany. But there is no assurance that they will not become as bad. The Parliament of Canada could if it chose disfranchise Roman Catholics, or any other religious denomination which is in a minority. It could disfranchise workingmen by insisting on a large property qualification for voting. It could make a property qualification for women voters. There is nothing that Parliament cannot do in the way of preventing the expression of the popular will. **Our** Junkers have discovered the way. Is it not likely that they will use their power, going from bad to worse until they turn popular elections into a farce, and make themselves absolute rulers of Canada?

The authors of this law pose as the friends of the soldier. But the soldier is just as much interested in liberty and justice as any other citizen. When the soldier returns, he can assert his rights only under a truly democratic system, and the authors of this law have struck the first blow at democracy, to be followed by other blows, unless soldiers and other citizens assert their rights now, in this election. The position of the private soldier in Germany is one of virtual slavery, in peace and in war. Our Canadian Junkers and plutocrats would be delighted to reduce the Canadian private soldier to the same position.

The crimes committed by Germany in this war may be traced back to State-worship, to tyranny on the part of governments and servility on the part of the people. The State or Government exacts

obedience from the people, and claims that it is itself subject to no law. It broke faith with Belgium because it regarded itself as bound by no law or obligation. It forced its soldiers to invade Belgium and encouraged them to murder and outrage its people. State-worship tends to grow worse and worse. It should be checked the moment it shows itself. Now is the time to check it in Canada.

Governments should be servants, not masters, of the people. But they are apt to forget their true position. The only remedy is to turn them out—to vote against them. That is exactly what a tyrannical government fears. That is why an attempt was made to extend the life of this parliament again—to dodge and postpone the expression of the popular will. But at last the opportunity of the people has come. Will they use it? Will they assert their freedom and their power? Or will they, by tame submission to these tyrants, take rank with the docile Germans who are kept in subjection by the Prussian junkers? It is the people's opportunity. It may be their last for rights and liberties, once lost, are not easily regained, and we have among us enemies of liberty in plenty. Observe the airs, the self-importance, the growing arrogance of persons in authority. Observe the

interference with the freedom of the Press, and with public meetings. Observe the grossly unjust decisions of magistrates. All these are warnings against that tame submission which will be indicated by marking a cross on the Government side you sign away your own freedom.

A vote against the Government will be a vote for freedom and democracy. For the soldier such a vote will mean, that he is not to be a machine, but a thinking, independent citizen, that he will not be Prussianized, but will remain British, with that sturdy spirit which defies unjust authority and makes tyrants quake. For the citizen at home it means that he will uphold the soldier's rights and liberties as well as his own. It will mean that when the soldiers come back we shall all stand together for the grand cause for which men are fighting and dying in France—for liberty and equality, for justice, for the rights of the people. It will be a stern warning to all governments that they are servants, not masters, creatures not creators. Turn this government out. Turn out its successor if it does not obey your will. Keep on turning governments out until they learn their place and heed the voice of the sovereign people.

DOES GREAT BRITAIN WANT FOOD AND SHIPS OR MEN?

Lord Northcliffe and Lord Rhondda made statements in regard to the food situation in Great Britain which have caused no little comment in Canada.

LORD Northcliffe, head of the British War Commission to the United States and Canada, at a Canadian Club luncheon in the City of Montreal, stated:

Sometimes we only think of the navy in terms of battleships, destroyers and submarines. Added to these are thousands of small craft, trawlers, drifters, observation ships and on every one of these, summer and winter—and do not forget we have a very severe winter in the North Sea and North Atlantic—are men who must have their daily full ration to carry out their work.

"Quite apart from our Navy, which has prevented any German ship from appearing on the ocean for the last eighteen months, are the men in the air. Can you conceive a man going through that hellish life, 18,000 feet up, clothed in electrically heated clothes and supplied with oxygen to enable him to breathe, can you imagine him doing that on half rations?"

"Can you imagine the boys in the trenches surviving a week if we had to cut down their pork and beans and the various things they have to eat? And can you imagine the men and women working in the factories and mines, here and in Great Britain going short? These are some of the reasons to which we in Great Britain attach such enormous importance in the control of the food of the people."

Speaking in Toronto Lord Northcliffe said:

"The question of the food supply of the army was, with the solitary exception of transatlantic shipping, the vital question of the war."

The following extract is from a statement recently made by Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller:

"The information I have is that during the forthcoming twelve months our minimum requirements in foodstuffs from the United States and Canada will amount to over ten million tons, and will represent an

expenditure, without freight charges, exceeding £250,000,000, or, roughly speaking, between three and four million dollars a day. Most of this will be for the purchase of cereals, hog products, sugar and meat.

"The danger of the food situation lies not so much in the submarine peril as in the world shortage of cereals, meats and fats. . . . The tightening of the blockade is a two-edged sword. Imports of bacon and other products into the United Kingdom from Denmark are thereby bound to be seriously reduced. This throws us more than ever upon the North American continent for our supplies. What we ask from the United States and Canada we cannot procure elsewhere. Unless the Allies in Europe are able to import the supplies necessary for feeding their armies and their civil populations, victory may slip from our united grasp."

Speaking in Winnipeg on Monday night, October 22nd, the Hon. T. A. Crerar, Minister of Agriculture, read a cablegram from Lord Rhondda the British Food Controller, saying:

"That the Allies needed from America the next year, ten million tons of foodstuffs, representing an expenditure on wheat, flour, bacon and other products of three to four millions a day. Canada, with the United States, must do her share in conserving her food supplies, and increasing her production.

Again Lord Northcliffe speaking in Chicago on October 24th, 1917, stated:

"I do not see the signs of that bridge across the Atlantic without which all this recruiting, all this enthusiasm, all this manufacturing will be null and void. Therefore, I urge you, entreat you, to believe that your army without transports will be valueless.

"In this matter of shipping you strike at a vital point in the waging of the war. If you cannot get the supplies to the men it seems to me almost idle to add to your already vast army."

WIN-THE-WAR RESOLUTION OF THE WINNIPEG CONVENTION.

THE war resolution of the Western Liberal Convention declares that:

"The imperative duty of the Canadian people in regard to the war is its continued vigorous prosecution. "By the maintenance in unimpaired strength at the front of our fighting forces, and the taking of all steps necessary to secure the reinforcements for this purpose."

While the convention thus pledged itself in unqualified terms to the maintenance of our fighting forces at the front it specifically and definitely refused to commit itself to the conscription measure of the Borden Government. If this resolution had been passed by the representatives of any other section of the Dominion than of the four western provinces, there might have been room for argument as to its completeness or sincerity as a declaration that Canada was in the war effectively to the end. But the actual circumstances forbid any such conclusion in the case of Western Liberals. Assuming that Canada's contribution to the war should reach a maximum of 500,000 men,—and the most vociferous or most irresponsible lip loyalist has not yet suggested a greater number,—each of the four western provinces have already contributed by voluntary enlistment more than their full share in proportion to their population available for service. There is no reason therefore from the point of view of selfish interest why they should refuse to endorse a measure that would require the rest of the Dominion to do what they have already done voluntarily, if that were the purpose of the measure. Nor was there any good reason why they having done their share should presume to dictate how the rest of the Dominion should do its share. The essential thing is that efficient men shall be secured in sufficient numbers. Experience has proven that this can be done in the western provinces without Conscription. The resolution is so worded that it covers Conscription as a means of raising men for the fighting forces, but does not assert it to be either necessary or desirable under existing circumstances or in the form proposed by the Borden Government.

An attempt to stampede the Convention into voting to support the Borden Conscription Act was flatly and promptly turned down. Naturally the supporters of that Government are displeased and as per usual voice their displeasure in accusations against the Convention delegates of having attempted to side step the question of effective participation in the war, or of disloyalty to the humour, as humour or circumstances favour.

The supreme test of loyalty is service and sacrifice. The Liberals who met in convention in Winnipeg are the men who have shown the way in sacrifice for loyalty to the rest of Canada. The West is Liberal by a huge majority, if the most recent elections are to be accepted as a standard. Opportunity in civil life is more available to the young man of military fitness in the West than elsewhere in the Dominion, therefore the average

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young man who volunteered in the West gave up more than the one who volunteered from the East. The West enlisted in larger proportion of men of military fitness than any other part of the Dominion. The majority of the people being Liberal, the majority of enlistments were naturally Liberal, and at the same time under the system of partizan preference upon which Canada's military organization was founded, the large majority of officers were of Conservative organizations. The Liberal majority furnished the majority of the men, while the Conservative minority furnished a majority of the officers. No one complained of this condition, but when the question of the respective loyalty of Liberals and Conservatives is up for consideration is a good time to let the facts be understood.

The loyalty of the Liberal West has been tried out in the fires of sacrifice as the casualty lists show. The men from the West are not the men who are holding down the Safety-First jobs in Canada or in England. They are bearing the brunt of battle to-day as they have ever since the war began. They are looking for reinforcements of volunteers, not of conscripts,—men who freely offer themselves as they have done, and as men are still doing in spite of the discouragements of the military administration of the Borden Government. They look to Conscription as a last resort—a means not to be taken unless and until it has been proven impossible under a proper military administration to keep up the fighting line. Certainly not as something to be undertaken for the purpose of creating a political issue in the hope of keeping in power the Government that the Convention went on record as opposing the resolution.

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SALT WATER TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A POUND.

AN Ottawa newspaper is much concerned because the British government was charged 25 or 28 cents a pound for salt water, in its bacon contract with a Canadian packing concern. It asks indignantly:

And, if the British Government didn't know more than to pay 25 or 28 cents a pound for salt water, was it nobody's duty to advise it? Was it just "business" for a wealthy company that was already making huge profits on a contract under which it could not possibly lose, to set itself out to secure 25 to 28 cents a pound for salt water from the British Government, from the public of Britain? And this a British firm?

We fear that the *Ottawa Journal's* justifiable concern comes a bit late. The Canadian firm responsible for this practice was but emulating the policy of silence adopted by the Canadian government when the British war office was being mulcted by Canadian munition profiteers and middlemen in the contracts given out in this country during the first eighteen months of the war. Was it not the administration's duty to advise the British war office that it was being bled by these gentry?

Apparently not. Not only was the government through its militia department, silent on this point but when the facts were revealed in the investigations into the doings of Allison and his friends the administration repeatedly took the position—even on the floor of the House of Commons—that, as it was the British government that was being swindled the matter was no concern of ours. The *Journal* continues in this strain:

This taking of payment for salt water was a "sore point" with Mr. Wardle, as a patriot and a Britisher, and he left the employ of the William Davies Company soon after the foregoing instructions were given to him. Were there no profit sharers of the company who, as patriots and Britishers, also felt it as a sore spot?

We ask, were there no ministers or officials in the government of Canada who as patriots and Britishers, felt it their duty to warn the British war office of the enormous overcharges for war material purchased in this country during a period of the struggle when every shilling should have made itself felt against the foe?

THE PLATFORM OF THE NEWLY MADE BORDEN GOVERNMENT.

AFTER weeks of negotiation Sir Robert Borden has eliminated from the Cabinet several of his former ministers, by giving them first class permanent and highly remunerative positions and taking in their place a number of gentlemen some of whom were recognized as active Liberals, others as Liberal in their views—and the balance unknown in the political world. This so-called Union Government has issued a statement setting forth in a series of paragraphs its policy. This document contains very little if anything new and so far as it applies is practically a reproduction of the Borden Halifax Platform of 1907 and 1911. It purports to deal with the various matters connected not only with the War but at the same time with problems confronting the Government after the war.

With this announcement no particular objection is raised but we may say that having heard and read of these high sounding platitudes for so many years we have serious misgivings about the fulfilment of any promises the Borden Government may make.

The platform as given out on the 19th of October, 1917 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 Government of the United Kingdom and of the other Dominions in all matters relating to the war.

Civil Service Reform.

2. Civil Service Reform, with a view to extending the principle of the present Civil Service Act to the Outside Service, and thus to abolish patronage and to make appointments to the Public Service upon the sole standard of merit. The Civil Service Commission has already been directed to make a report to the Prime Minister as to the necessary steps for that purpose. Such arrangements will be subject to the existing regulations, which give preference in appointments to returned soldiers who are duly qualified.

3. The extension of the franchise to women with suitable provisions for enabling married women to determine their nationality and to obtain naturalization notwithstanding marriage.

Taxation of War Profits.

4. Adequate taxation of war profits and increased taxation of incomes, as necessitated by the continuance of the war.

5. A strong and progressive policy of Immigration and Colonization, accompanied by suitable provisions to induce settlement upon the land, to encourage increased agricultural production and to aid in the development of agricultural resources.

6. Effective arrangements for demobilization, for the care and vocational training of returned soldiers, for assistance in enabling them to settle upon the land and for adequate pensions to those who have been disabled and to the dependents of those who have fallen.

7. The development of transportation facilities; the co-operative management of the various railway systems so as to ensure economy in operation, to avoid unnecessary construction and to secure the widest and most effective use of existing railway facilities; the encouragement and development of the shipbuilding industry and the establishment of steamship lines upon both oceans and upon the Great Lakes; co-operation with the various Provincial Governments for the improvement of high-

ways; the investigation of the possibilities of Air Service for important national purposes.

Avoidance of Waste.

8. The reduction of public expenditure, the avoidance of waste and the encouragement of thrift.

9. Effective measures to prevent excessive profits to prohibit hoarding and to prevent combination for the increase of prices and thus to reduce the cost of living.

10. The encouragement of co-operation among those engaged in agricultural production, with a view to diminishing the cost of production and marketing so that the price paid to the producer may conform more closely to that paid by the consumer.

11. The general development of all the varied resources of Canada, and their conservation and utilization to the best advantage of the people with the co-operation and assistance of the State in every reasonable way for that purpose.

12. Adequate consideration of the needs of the industrial population; the maintenance of good relations between employers and employed, and such conditions of employment as will ensure suitable standards of living among the labouring classes.

In dealing with the various items of this statement, we may say in passing that it is hoped that the action of the present Government in prosecuting the war will be in striking contrast to the awful record of the Administration from the commencement of the war to the present time. Our hope may be in vain, however, while a majority of the present Cabinet who were members of the old Borden Government remain.

Civil Service Reform has been apparently a matter of vital importance in Sir Robert Borden's opinion for some years long before and during the war—but up to the present time about the only reform accomplished is the appointment of about 12,000 more officials than when he formed his Government in 1911.

The extension of the franchise to women is promised, but under this head the question arises,—how was it when at the recent session of Parliament an Act was passed giving certain women the right to vote—the Act was made so restrictive in its operation? Surely there are hundreds and thousands of Canadian women loyal and true who may have no immediate relatives at the front but whose heart is for the winning of the war, and who have worked day and night in various ways towards that end. Why were they not allowed to vote? These women and their sympathy demand an answer.

We are also told that adequate taxation of war profits will be considered. The word "adequate" arouses suspicion. Adequate in what sense? For the benefit of the profiteer or for the public good?

We have serious doubts as to the probable success of a policy of immigration and colonization so long as the present Prime Minister and some of his old colleagues remain in the Government.

When hundreds of thousands of Canadian citizens against whom not one word is raised regarding their conduct since the war began are disfranchised by the recent Act and especially when of these a large number have offered themselves or have joined for service on behalf of the Allies, it is difficult to see how a Government, upon whom the responsibility for such legislation rests, can carry forward

an attractive policy of immigration.

The care of the returned soldiers cannot be overlooked. This country is under a solemn obligation to see that these men are looked after satisfactorily, and while many complaints have been heard as to the treatment of returned soldiers, one thing is certain that they will demand that this condition be remedied at an early date.

Paragraph seven of the statement deals with the development of transportation facilities. This, of course, is an old story and it remains to be seen whether the reconstructed Government exhibits greater energy in dealing with this matter than its predecessor.

The reduction of public expenditure is very far off if the record of the Borden Government is to be continued. The Halifax platform proclaimed in the strongest terms the necessity of reducing public expenditure as carried on under the Laurier Government, but whether any domestic or war expenditure reduction is the last thing to be seen in the action of the Borden Government.

We are afraid that in the opinion of the present Government composed as it is of so many friends of the financial magnates of this country, no very drastic scheme of curtailment will be enforced so as to reduce the profits of these gentlemen. They are of a class that will not stand for that kind of treatment.

The general development of the resources of Canada is one demanding the serious attention of any Government but it will require a strong hand at the helm to prevent the controllers of the administration from dissipating these resources if recent legislation, evidently endorsed by the present Administration, is carried into effect.

The last paragraph of the statement speaks of the needs of the industrial population. This presumably refers more particularly to the labouring classes. Six years of the Borden Government has failed to win the confidence of the labour men and we venture the opinion that so long as Bordenism predominates in the present Cabinet, especially when it is composed of so many of what are known as the big Interests men, little progress will be made towards satisfying the labouring classes.

Believing it will be of interest to our readers to compare the above Borden platform with the other platforms issued by Sir Robert Borden we reproduce what is known as the Famous Halifax platform and also the Borden anti-election platform of August 1911.

The Halifax platform which was issued in August 1907 is as follows:

1. Honest appropriation and expenditure of public moneys in the public interest.
2. Appointment of public officials upon considerations of capacity and personal character and not of party service alone.
3. More effective provisions to punish bribery and fraud at elections, to ensure thorough publicity as to expenditures by political organizations, to prevent the accumulation of campaign funds for corrupt purposes and to prohibit contributions thereto by corporations, contractors and promoters, to expedite the hearing of election petitions and to prevent collusive arrangements for the withdrawal or compromise thereof, to provide for a thorough investigation of corrupt practices, and if necessary to appoint an independent prosecutor

officer charged with that duty, to simplify the procedure therefor and to enforce the laws so amended.

4. A thorough and complete reformation of the laws relating to the Civil Service, so that future appointments shall be made by an independent commission acting upon the report of examiners after competitive examination.

5. Such reform in the mode of selecting members of the Senate as will make that Chamber a more useful and representative legislative body.

6. A more careful selection of the sources from which immigration shall be sought, a more rigid inspection of the immigrants and the abolition of the bonus system except under very special circumstances and for the purpose of obtaining particularly desirable classes of settlers.

7. The management and development of the public domain (in which are to be included great national franchises) for the public benefit and under such conditions that a reasonable proportion of the increment of value arising therefrom shall inure to the people.

8. The operation and management of our Government Railways by an independent commission free from partisan control or influence.

9. The development and improvement of our national waterways, the equipment of national ports, the improvement of transportation facilities and consequent reduction of freight rates between the place of production and the market, whether at home or abroad, and the establishment of a thorough system of cold storage.

10. The reorganization of the present Railway Commission as a Public Utilities Commission with wider Powers and more extended jurisdiction so as to establish thorough and effective control over all corporations owning or operating public utilities or invested with franchises of a national character.

11. The establishment after due investigation of a system of national telegraphs and telephones under conditions which shall be just to capital already invested in those enterprises.

12. The improvement of existing postal facilities, especially in newly-developed portions of the country and the inauguration, after proper inquiry as to cost, of a free system of rural mail delivery.

13. A fiscal policy which will promote the production within Canada of useful articles and commodities that can be advantageously produced or manufactured from or by means of our natural resources, having due regard to the interests of the consumer as well as to the just claims of our wage-earning population.

In August 1911, Sir Robert Borden issued his anti-election platform and gave his pledge to carry out the following policy if returned to power:

"1. A thorough reorganization of the methods by which the public expenditure is supervised. The increase in what is known as ordinary controllable expenditure from \$21,500,000 in 1896 to nearly \$74,000,000 in 1911 is proof of extravagance beyond any possible defence.

"2. The granting of their natural resources to the Prairie Provinces.

"3. The construction of the Hudson Bay Railway and its operation by independent commission.

"4. The control and operation by the state, of the terminal elevators.

"5. The necessary encouragement for establishing and carrying out the chilled meat industry.

"6. The establishment of a permanent tariff commission.

"7. The granting of substantial assistance towards the improvement of our public highways.

"8. The extension of free and rural mail delivery.

"9. The extension of Civil Service Reform.

"10. The granting of liberal assistance to the Province for the purpose of supplementing and extending the work of agricultural education and the improvement of agriculture."